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*The object of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries
into the History, Religions, Language, Literature, Arts,
Sciences and Social Conditions of the present and
former peoples of the Island of Sri Lanka and
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The contributions marked with an asterisk are those submitted to the Academic Sessions held in March 2006. A few more selected papers from these sessions, excluded from this journal due to lack of space will be published in the next journal as decided by the Publication Committee.

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**Medicinalia Ceylonica:
Specifications of Indigenous Medicines of Ceylon sent
by the Dutch to Batavia in 1746**

by
K. D. Paranavitana and C. G. Uragoda

A consignment of indigenous medicines, consisting mainly of components of plants, such as leaves, roots, seeds, barks and fruits was shipped to Batavia from Galle in 1746. At that time Batavia was the centre of administration of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Batavia is now known as Jakarta, capital of independent Republic of Indonesia.

At that time Galle was the leading port in Sri Lanka, and while some goods were shipped direct to Holland, others went there via Batavia. Probably when ships going direct to Holland were not available, goods were sent to Batavia and from thence to Holland. It may be that ships to Holland were more frequent from Batavia than from Galle.

Dutch manuscript

A Dutch manuscript containing details of indigenous medicines sent to Batavia in two containers was found by one of us (K.D.P.) in the Sri Lanka National Archives (SLNA 1/3416) in 1989. This document was written in archaic Dutch, which is now understood by a limited number of people the world over. One of them was S A W Mottau, who was Senior Assistant Archivist. In 1989 he wrote:-

“The particularly Dutch volume now translated by him (K.D.P.) into English is the only one, as far as I know, that has been left on record among the archives of the Dutch period in the National Archives of Sri Lanka. It has hitherto remained more or less in

oblivion as one of the ‘hidden gems’ of the Dutch legacy to Sri Lanka in their voluminous series of valuable records, which has never been taken up for translation or publication as it is written in the Dutch Language, in more or less ancient language type and script.

“I am fully aware of the amount of time and labour involved in Mr. Paronavitana’s laudable effort to bring the contents of this original Dutch work to light for the benefit and use of readers, not only in Sri Lanka but also abroad.

“I have no doubt that Mr. Paronavitana’s labours and work would be amply rewarded by his personal satisfaction over a difficult task well and truly accomplished in the interest of students of our island’s resources in the field of botany and ayurvedic science”.

Early medical literature

The ancient medical science of Sri Lanka was much influenced by contemporary theories and practices that prevailed in neighbouring India. Throughout the centuries medicine in Sri Lanka has been enriched by contributions from expert ayurvedic physicians and surgeons locally, particularly by authorities such as King Buddhadasa (362-409) and King Aggabodhi VII (776-782). The first ayurveda work in Sanskrit in Sri Lanka is *Saratha Sangrahava* (de Silva, 1913). This book contains ‘a summary of the essential contents of all the medical text books’ (Godakumbure, 1955). and is attributed to King Buddhadasa. King Aggabodhi VII “studied the medicinal plants over the whole island of Lanka (to find out) whether they were wholesome or harmful for the sick. This is perhaps the first recorded instance of medical research in Sri Lanka” (Uragoda, 1987). The local treatises on medicine, such as *Bhesajjamanjusa* (The Casket of Medicine) in Pali and *Yogarnavaya* (The Mine of Precious Prescriptions) in Sinhala, written in the 13th century evidently contributed to the advancement of medical science in Sri Lanka.

In the early 16th century this traditional science was exposed to Western scrutiny with the arrival of the Portuguese. After the

establishment of their power in the maritime provinces of the island, the Portuguese gradually came to be aware of the ability of local physicians and their system of treatment, which was mainly based on herbs and minerals. The Portuguese physician, Garcia da Orta, who lived in Goa from 1534 to 1570, has referred to some medicinal plants that he became aware of in Sri Lanka (Petch, 1919). His work, *Colloquies dos simples edrogas he causas medicinais da India* (or *Colloquies on the simoles and drugs of India*) was published in 1563 (da Orta , 1913). It is doubtful whether he ever visited Sri Lanka (Peiris, 1973).

Studies in medical herbaria received a tremendous boost when the Dutch East India Company took over the administration of maritime provinces from the Portuguese. The Dutch showed a keen interest in the local system of medicine, where plants and minerals were used by local physicians in the treatment of their patients. Since the very inception of their administration they observed and collected information as well as samples of the components of plants, such as seeds, roots, leaves and bark, and minerals. Wouter Schouten, a Dutch surgeon who visited Sri Lanka in 1661 stated, "Their medicines consist of freshly plucked herbs and flowers, of which they know how to make decoctions, stapes, poultices and the like." (Schouten, 1890).

The next person to observe Sri Lankan medicinal herbs during the Dutch period was a Belgian physician, Aegidius Daalmaans , who arrived in Sri Lanka in 1687 and worked under the Dutch East India Company for eighteen months. He was sent here "to look for new herbs and roots that grew wild in great abundance of which I had already made such a large collection that (I) presented to the Governor Pyl the Pharmacopoeia of Ceylon comprising both external and internal remedies without there being any necessity for sending out for a single other from the Fatherland." (Daalmans, 1888).

The first serious study of Sri Lankan botany, including medicinal plants, was conducted by Paul Hermann, who has been praised by Peiris (1952) as father of botany in Sri Lanka, and by

Linnaeus as the prince of botany (Uragoda, 1987). He served as chief surgeon of the Colombo Hospital from about 1672 to 1679, until he was selected for the chair of botany in the University of Leiden in 1680 (Uragoda and Paranaivitana, 1985). The herbarium he collected from Sri Lanka was described in *Flora Zeylanica*, which was edited by Linnaeus in 1747 and published in Stockholm, Sweden about seventy years after Hermann's death. Koch (1871) wrote:- "It must be remembered that Ceylon possesses the distinction of having had her flora arranged and described by the great Linnaeus in a work in which he first applied his sexual system `in the arrangement of plants".

The Heren Seventeen, who administered the Dutch East India Company in Holland, paid little attention at first to the promotion of scientific knowledge as it was not in harmony with their objectives. The persons who pursued and promoted scientific knowledge did not always meet with favour from their superiors and were sometimes exposed to severe criticism. Even among the military officers and administrators there were students of botany. An example is Hendrik Adriaan van Reede of Drakestein, Lord of Mydrecht, who first served as Sergeant Major of Ceylon for some years and returned to Malabar in 1670 as Administrator there. Later, he served as High Commissioner to Bengal, Choromandel and Ceylon between 1684 and 1690. He compiled a voluminous work entitled *Hortus Malabaricus* (van Berkel, 1987). It was a systematic inventory of medicinal herbs of all genera found in the Malabaar District. The Dutch East India Company was generally not interested in this kind of studies at the beginning, but later realised that these could lead to a commercially important supply line of medicaments to the whole of Asian region under their control and thereby cut down the expense of importing medicines from Europe.

The work of Hermann of Leiden was continued by John Hertog who was sent to Sri Lanka by the authorities in Holland. He collected and dispatched some medicinal plants to Holland. John Burmann, Professor of Botany in Amsterdam published a book in 1737 entitled *Thesaurus Zeylanicus* which was based on Hertog's material on Sri Lankan herbaria (Burmann, 1737).

When the Dutch authorities realised the financial benefits of utilizing local medicines in their Asian territories, the study of plants automatically received official recognition. Subsequently, it became a practice to dispatch lists and samples of medicinal plants annually via Batavia or direct to Holland. Attempts to grow such plants and seeds were made in botanical gardens in Leiden, Delft and several other centres in that country. Such lists are to be found among the annexes of letters sent to Holland or to Batavia from Colombo or Galle (Juriaanse, 1943), as well as among the records in the National Archives in The Hague, Holland (Coloniale Archieven, KA 1495). One comprehensive list of this nature was found among the Dutch records at the National Archives of Sri Lanka. As far as it could be ascertained, this is the only one of its kind available at the National Archives.

This document lists a total of 170 items, of which 163 are on plants, 6 on minerals and finally one on a mixture of medicaments, such as oils and chemicals. The items contain specifications, actions and uses. The title of the document as set out at the beginning of the manuscript is, "Specifications of the medicines of Ceylon sent to Batavia in two containers described as 'Medicinalia Ceylanica', together with their virtues and qualities in compliance with the highly esteemed order of Batavia as well as of Ceylon". It is evident from this description that the purpose of complying with this order is more medical than botanical. The compiler may have probably utilized the knowledge of one or more experienced local physicians (*vedaralas*). He describes the curative properties of plants, roots, barks, fruits and leaves. At the beginning he had tried to give Latin, Sinhala, Portuguese, Malabaar (Tamil), and Dutch names, in this order, of the items he described but failed to go beyond the 57th item. Apparently he may have faced difficulties in finding exact translations of Sinhala names in other languages.

The compiler of this document is likely to have been acquainted with botany, for he had a knowledge of Latin terms, which are of a scientific nature. In item No. 17, for example, the Latin name given in the document is *Broynia*. Burmann (1737) cites its scientific name as *Bryonia zeylanica*. The knowledge exhibited

by him in quoting Portuguese and Dutch names of some of the plants at least go a long way in proving his knowledge of the plants.

Identification of plants

Since the vast majority of items in this document concern plants, attention will be paid almost exclusively to them. The first 57 items have Latin and Sinhala names, while Portuguese, Tamil and Dutch names, either singly or in combination, are missing from many of them. It is likely that some plants were not named by the Portuguese and the Dutch as almost all of these plants were seen for the first time by these nationals after arrival in Sri Lanka. As regards Tamil names, it has to be mentioned that this consignment was dispatched from the southern port of Galle, and therefore the consignee would have been ignorant of the Tamil names, even if many plants that were described had them. On the other hand Sinhala names of the plants have been mentioned in all the 163 entries except four, namely Nos. 68, 70, 71 and 98, where the Tamil names have been given.

This consignment was dispatched from Sri Lanka one year before Linnaeus published his classification of plants, which was in 1747. Most of the Latin names given by the compiler in the first 57 items, therefore, do not agree with those used by Linnaeus in his sexual system of classification and others in subsequent classifications. As a result, only a few of the Latin names then in use are in vogue now, and it is not possible to trace the identity of most of the plants by their Latin names mentioned in the manuscript.

The most recent nomenclature of plants in Sri Lanka is that adopted by Dassanayake *et al* (1980-2003) in a 15-volume work. The current scientific names of plants that were identified in the manuscript are given as notes in the respective entries. These current names are different from those mentioned in the manuscript, except in the case of entry Nos. 9, 25, 26, 27, 28, 32, 35, 37, 45, 47 and 55. In these instances either the generic or the specific names agree.

Burmah (1737) published his book on Sri Lankan plants 9 years before this shipment was dispatched. The Latin names entered

in the consignment document agree with at least some of the scientific names used by Burmann, examples being Nos. 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. In all these instances the generic name given by Burmann is the name that is quoted in the document. In No. 9, for example the Latin name mentioned in the manuscript is *Lycopodium*, while Burmann (1737; p. 145) gave the scientific name as *Lycopodium zeylanicum*.

It may be seen that Sinhala names of plants quoted in this document, as well as in the publication of Burmann (1737), are still the same even today. These have not changed even after 2 ½ centuries, while the scientific names have undergone changes several times during this period.

The few Portuguese and Dutch names attached to some of the plants do not help in identifying them. Hence we are left with Sinhala and Tamil names for this purpose. However the Sinhala names, and probably the Tamil names as well, have been written in an unusual way, which makes identification difficult. For example, in entry No. 97 the Sinhala name of the plant has been written as *andene hieri colle*, which according to our way of pronunciation is *andana hiriya kola*. In a few instances, such as No. 79, the vernacular name could not be deciphered with certainty. In the case of one plant, namely No. 98, only the Tamil name has been cited. The abnormal way that Sinhala names have been written in the consignment document may be due to the Dutch nationals' way of pronouncing them, a peculiarity that most foreigners suffer from. Failure to identify a few of the plants has been due mainly to wrong spelling as a result of mispronunciation of the Sinhala names.

The Dutch text and the English translation were brought together in each entry for the convenience of the reader. We have made an effort to decipher various Dutch and Latin abbreviations which appear before the text. The English names of the plants, where available, are given in the notes. The few items which were found difficult to identify are mentioned in the notes.

Medicinal properties

Medicinal properties of the plants and other ingredients mentioned in the manuscript have been laid down according to the ayurveda way of thinking. This is not surprising as most of these plants were seen for the first time by the Dutch after arriving in Sri Lanka. As a result, the knowledge they had of these plants was based on ayurveda.

Medicinal properties mentioned in the manuscript are rather abstruse and do not meet the modern scientific way of thinking. Some examples could be cited. In entry No. 1, the plant concerned was “used in the same way as in Europe”, and in entry No. 2 “the natives here use it with the same results as in Europe”. The phrase “removes water” in entry No. 4 obviously refers to a diuretic effect. “Obstructive menstruation” is a term that is not used now. The plant mentioned in entry No. 8 “strengthens the stomach”, a phrase that is without a proper meaning. In entry No. 9 *Lycopodium* was used in “chest ailments”, but what these ailments were was not mentioned.

Most of the identified plants in the list are mentioned in the monographs by Roberts (1931), Attygalle (1917), Lewis (1934) and Jayaweera (1981-1982) who lay down their medicinal values as recognised by ayurveda. In these volumes the properties of these plants are clearly laid down, unlike in the manuscript. This manuscript, therefore, does not convey to the recipients of the shipment much valid information on the value of these plants. It is a matter for conjecture what the recipients would have done with these ingredients. One possible outcome would have been to test these drugs on certain categories of patients either in the Dutch East Indies or Holland, depending on the end station of the consignment.

The document

The document is dated 1st May, 1746. It would probably have been prepared by Jan Willem Nipper who was in the Company’s service in Galle. Hardly any information about him could be found

among the Dutch records in the National Archives, Colombo. The document has been read and attested by the first sworn clerk, Johannes Toussaint, while Marthze and G. de Vos have signed in the margin as collators.

This document has been cited in several learned contributions. Particular mention must be made to two articles written by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, Bishop Emeritus of Chilaw (Peiris 1952; 1973). The material he brought to light in these two papers has made our task easier.

Although the existence of this document was known to researchers, they could not effectively make use of it as it was in archaic Dutch language. We hope this translation would fill this lacuna.

Arrangement of entries

The arrangement of each entry is divided into three sections consisting of first the Dutch text, secondly the English translation and thirdly the notes. These short notes would give the latest scientific name of each identified plant and reference to the source. References to medicinal properties, if available, of the plant concerned will also be found in the notes, together with any other relevant material, if present.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ad.	=	Root (Latin - Adagio)
Alb.	=	White (Latin - Albums) Whiteness (Latin - Alabaster)
Attygalle	=	Attygalle (19 17)
B.	=	Leaves (Dutch- Bladen)
Burmann	=	Burmann (1737)
Curt	=	Bark (Latin- Cortex)
D	=	Dutch
De Finseka	=	de Fonseka and Vinasithamby (1971)
Dassanayake	=	Dassanayake et al (1980 – 2003)
E	=	English

Fol	=	Foliage (Dutch - Folio)
Fruit.	=	Fruit (Latin – Fructus)
Gunawardana	=	Gunawardana (1917)
Jayaweera	=	Jayaweera (1981-1982)
JB.	=	Young leaves (Dutch - Jonge Bladen)
L	=	Latin
Lign	=	Wood (Latin – Lignum)
N	=	Notes
P	=	Portuguese
Rad	=	Root (Latin - Radix)
Roberts	=	Roberts (1931)
Sem	=	Seeds (Latin – Semeninis)
S	=	Sinhala
T	=	Tamil

THE TEXT, ITS TRANSLATION AND NOTES

- (D) *Spesificatie van sodanige Medicinalia Cationic ales met het schip Diemermeer versonden in twee pakkisten beschreven Medicinalia Ceylonica voor Batavia benevens hare virtuten en qualiteiten, ter voldoening van de hood gevenereerde ordre, zo van Batavia als Ceylon.*
- (E) Specification of the medicines of Ceylon sent to Batavia in two containers described as ‘Medicinalia Ceyonica’, together with their virtues and qualities, in compliance with the highly esteemed order of Batavia as well as of Ceylon.

LATIN / SINGALEES / PORTUGEEES / MALLABAARS / NEDERDUITSCH

Latin / Sinhala / Portuguese / Tamil / Dutch

1. B. Absinthy vulgaris / alodacolle / aloze / _____
—/ alssem.
(D) *Werd zo in de mediceynen gebruykt, als diegeen zo men in Europa heft.*
(E) Is used in medicines in the same way as in Europe.
(N) Identity of this plant is not certain. Latin and Sinhala

names given in the manuscript do not agree with any of the known plants. Probable name is:- *Ruta graveolens*; *aruda* S; *Arvada* T; garden rue E (Dassanayake, vol. 5, p. 471; Jayaweera part 5, p 35). It is used in infantile diarrhoea.

2. Cochlearia/mackoeloewenne/nabaza/walare elle/lepel bladen.
 - (D) *Zijn van kragten en werkingen zo by den inlander, as ons, met die Europese gelyk.*
 - (E) The natives here use it with similar results and effects as we do in Europe.
 - (N) *Alternanthera sessilis*; *mukunu-wenna* S; *ponankani* T (Dassanayake, vol. 1, p. 49). The stem and leaves are used in medicine (Roberts, p 31). This plant is eaten as a leafy vegetable grown in marshy land. Probably a somewhat similar plant was used in Europe for medicinal purposes.

3. Fol: Senna / maracolle /—————/—————/
senebladen
 - (D) *Purgeren iets, dog zo sterk niet als die van andere landen, die by ons bekent en in 't gebruyk zijn.*
 - (E) Purges somewhat, but not as strong as those of other countries known and used by us.
 - (N) *Albizia lobbeck*; *mara* S; *vakei* T (Dassanayake Vol. 1, p. 502; Roberts, p 31). The word 'Sienna' is of Arab origin. Sane is a kind of cassia of which the dried leaves are used as a laxative.

4. Camel vel.. biedens Ceilonic / acmelle colle / acmele / pipeliacamen / ackmela
 - (D) *Werd gebruykt in obstructie mensum, is een ragting antiscorbutic: doet het water wel afsetten, verdant kragtig, werd ook veel grbruykt tegens het gravel.*
 - (E) Used for obstructive menstruation; is a strong anti-scorbutic; removes water; has a diluting effect; is also widely used in the treatment of urinary stones.
 - (N) *Spilanthus calva* or *S. acmella*; *maha-acmella* otr wal-

acmella S (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 221; Roberts p 356; Attygalle p 101. *Ceratocephalus ballotus*; *acmella* S (Burmann p 58).

See No. 124.

5. JB: Melissa / boolhiende /—————/—————
—/ citroen cruyd.
(D) *Komt inragt en weringe niet de vaderlandse even een.*
(E) It is not as strong and effective as those in the fatherland.
(N) *Cyanotis cristata*; *bolhinda* S (Dassanayake vol. 14 p. 123). *Ephemerum zeylanicum*; *bolhinda* S (Burmann p. 94).
6. JB: menthae / gone colle /—————/ manchiwi / kruysmunt
(D) *Valt hier in 't wilt, en is tt alle siektens, waar de 'menthae crisp' in Europa toe gebruykt werd, diensting.*
(E) Found growing wild here, and used for all diseases for which the wild mint has to be used in Europe.
(N) Menthae = mint. *Diospyros insignis*; *gona* S (Dassanayake vol 3. p. 43). *Mentha zeylanica*; *ghona* S (Burmann p 157 and 158).
7. Menthae camphorata / caperewalie / ortale: maiwaar / catpoerewallielle / campheragtige.
(D) *Werd voor een kostelyk alexipharmacum gehouden, didn't mede tegens alle gebreken en qualen als de menthae hierboven genoemt.*
(E) Used as costly 'alexipharmacum' (?); used also for all defects and ailments as in the case of the above mentioned "menthae".
(N) The meaning of the translation is not clear; "alesipkarmum" may mean an antidote, while "menthae" would mean mint. *Coleus amboinicus*; *kapparawelia* S (Dassanayake vol. 3, p. 138). de Fonseka (p. 38) mentions its Sinhala name as *kapuruwalliya* under the same scientific name. *Kapuru* = camphor, which is suggested in the Latin name in the

manuscript (“menthae” = mint, and “camphorate” = camphor). The Dutch name “campheragtige” = impregnated with camphor. Burmann (p. 158) gives its scientific name as *Mentha indica*, while the Sinhala name is *kaparawelli*

8. *Menthae aquatica* / mandacolle /—————/—————/ watermunt

(D) *Versterkt de maag is goed voor pyn in 't lyf, set het water en gravel af.*

(E) Strengthens the stomach, is good for pain in the body, removes water and gravel.

(N) *Mentha avensis*, no Sinhala name (Dassanaake vol. 3, p. 170); *Menrtha javanicum*; *odu-taalán* S (Trimán, 1895, vol. 3, p. 381, who says the plant is rather rare, but occurs in marshy places). The Dutch name, watermint suggests it is an aquatic plant. Sinhala name *manda* is mentioned by Roberts (p. 311), but is a different species.

9. *Lycopodium* / badalwanasse /—————/—————/ gordel cruyd (?).

(D) *Werd gebruykt onder de decocta pectoralia.*

(E) Used as a decoction in chest ailments.

(N) It is a moss, and therefore not mentioned in many books on botany.

Lycopodium cernuum; *badalwananssa* S; staghorn-moss E (Macmillan, 1952, p. 152). This moss is also mentioned by Burmann (p. 145) as *Lycopodium zeykanicuml*; *badalwanassa* S and Jayaweera (part 3, p 229). This lace-like plant (gordel = lace) is also used in pandals of an yesteryear.

10. *Scorfonera* / Zatawarie cole /—————/ satawary Elle / slangenkruyd.

(D) *De Kruyd werd gebruyet onder decictum, in alle quaadaardinge en veneyninge siektens in veel der hande verstoppenge der ingewanden.*

- (E) This plant has been used to make a decoction against all malignant and poisonous ailments, and mainly against constipation.
- (N) *Asparagus falcatis*; *h atawariya* S; *chattavari* T (Dassanayake vol. 14, p. 96; Roberts p. 50; Attygalle p. 180; Gunawardene p. 320); also called *satawariya*. *Asparagus* “Slangen Kruid” (its Dutch name) is snake wood or viper’s bugloss and also called bistort, which is a herb with cylindrical spike of flesh-colored flowers. See No. 34.
11. Fol: *Lacca* / *Keppatiacolle* / ————— / —————
—/ de bladen van den gomlak boom
- (D) *Werden gebruykt in balneapedes tegens styffigheeden en poripping der seneuven.*
- (E) Used in ‘Balneapedes’ (?) against stiffness and nervous tension.
- (N) The Dutch name means “leaves of gumlak tree”. Lac is a dark red resin used as a scarlet dye. The word “lac” is probably of Sanskrit origin, “laksha”. *Croton luciferus*; *keppetiya* S; *eppadi* T (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 87); *Ritinoidea aromatica*; *kaeppiteya* S (Burmah, 201). See No. 49
12. JB. *Vincetoxica* / *iremoeses colle* / ————— / *narvariella* / *swaluwen kruid*
- (D) *Word gebruyket in decoctums, tegen de coude coortsen en pyn in de leaden, doodet de wormen en beneemdt de pyn in de buyk, dryft de urin en menses.*
- (E) Used in decoctions against colds, fevers and pain in the body, kills worms and relieves pain in the stomach, relieves urine and the menses.
- (N). *Hemidesmus indicus*; *iramusu* S; (de Fonseka p. 33; Roberts p. 200; Attygalle p. 114; Gunawardena p. 287). Dassanayake (vol. 4, p. 185) gives the Sinhala version as *heen-iramusu*. See No. 44.

13. " *Marrubium alb:* / *Jacwanasse* / *mairbium* / *iremado pinarie* / *witte andoorn*
- (D) *Werd externe gebruykt tegens de uitwassen aan het fundament, als ambyen etcra: interne suyvert en versteekt het de maag, bevorderen de menses etcra.*
- (E) Used externally for cleansing basically in cases such as hemorrhoids etc.; internally purifies and strengthens the stomach, helps menses etc.
- (N) *Anisimeles indica* (Dassanayake, vol. 3, p. 176). *Anisomeles ovata*; *yak-wanassa* S (Robberts p. 43; Attygalle p. 140). *Yak-wanassa* is also named by Moon, 1824 (p. 33), Jayaweera (part 3, p. 83) and Senaratna, 2002 (p. 190).
14. *Sempervivum major* / *Comarika* / *ervababose* / *catala* / *grootte huyslook*
- (D) *Dies gebruy zo wel as het gewas is over al bekent.*
- (E) Its use as well as the herb is known everywhere.
- (N) *Aloe vera*; *komarika* S (Dassanayake vol. 14, p. 13; Attygalle p. 180; Gunawardena p. 40). Burman, as well as Moon (1824) does not mention scientific name or as *komarika*.
15. *Urtice* / *gas kahambila* / *ortiege/serugansori* / *brandnetel*
- (D) *Verdunnen het bloed driven de sweet urin en menses, zyn goed tegens het gravel, den wortel hiervan word onder de inlanders voor een secreet tegen gift gehouden als imand van een slang of ander veneying dier gebeten werd geven zy veel halve onse gepulverseert in een en ook tegens de verstoppinge van lever en mild gebruykt, zyn ook goed in gangarismata tegens de keel ontsteeking.*
- (E) Causes the blood to encourage sweating and pass urine and the menses, is good against gravel disorders. The root of this plant is used by the natives as a secret antidote to poison; when a person is bitten by a snake or other venomous creature, they give about half an ounce of powder which they make from the plant: also

- used mildly against obstruction in the liver: good also for gargling against inflammation of the throat.
- (N) *Girarddinia diversifolia*; *gaskahambilia* S (Dassanayake vol. 13, p. 234). *Fleurya interrupta*; *kahambiliya*, *wal kahambiliya* S (Roberts p. 176). *Urtica* in Latin = nettle. The root is used in medicine.
16. JB. Hyssopi silvest / tombo colle /—————/—————
/ wilde hysop
- (D) *Is goed in alle borstqualen, doet den sley m verdunnen, en expelleeren dryft den urine: en menses.*
- (E) Is good for all chest ailments; thins out and expels phlegm; activates the passage of urine and the menses.
- (N) *Blainvillea acmella*; *tumba* S (Dassanayake vol. 1, p/ 213). *Leucas zeylanica*; *thumba*, *geta-thumb*, S (Roberts p. 226). Roots and leaves are used in medicine.
17. Bryjonia / hondelawelle / uvas de matoe soekodie / moederipalamweer / de bladen van de wilde wyngaarts (leaves of the wild vine).
- (D) *Werd even zo gebruykt, en dezelfde werking toegeschreven, as de 'radices bryjonia Ceylonica'.*
- (E) It has the same uses and effects as the 'radices bryjonia Ceylonica', (which probably refers to No. 46).
- (N) *Adenia hondala*; *hondale* S (Dassanayake vol. 10, p. 319). *Bryonia zeylanicus*; *hondala* S (Burmam p. 49). It is a climber, hence *hondala welle* as the Sinhala name in the manuscript.
18. Basilicum silvest / talacole / manjelicam / toelesie elle / wilde balsem.
- (D) *Is boled zuyvrende, werd in borst qualen gebruykt, werd ook veel onder een afkooksel gedaan door den inlander om de verstopte maandst en den aan't voleyen te helpen en is verders van kragten en virtuten met de 'menthae hortensis' gelyk*
- (E) Purifies the blood, is used in chest ailments, very often also as a decoction by the natives, to help the menses to

flow: has also similar uses and effects (lit: virtues) as the “*menthae hortensis*”.

- (N) There are two plants with the Sinhala name as *tala*, namely *Ocimum sanctum* (*tala*, *maduru-tala*) and *Corypha umbraculifer* (Dassanayake, vol. 3, p. 116 and vol 14, p 46). Neither of these has medicinal properties mentioned in the manuscript. The former is a mosquito repellent (Uragoda, 2000, p 138).

19. “*Urinaria / Piteackcolle /—————/—————*
—/ *piskruyt*.”

- (D) *Is het geneesmiddel by de inlanders in gonorrhœa virulenten; men koot een decoctum daarvan dryft mede den sweet, en het water werk ook veel gebruyket in Ieteritiae, en by verstoppinge der lever.*
- (E) It is the remedy used by the natives in cases of virulent gonorrhœa; they brew a decoction which also brings out the sweat and water; it is also often used in cases of jaundice and in obstructions in the liver.
- (N) *Phyllanthus amarus* (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 226); *Urinaria indicum* (Burmans, p. 231, who used the same generic name as in the manuscript). Roberts (p. 274), Attygalle (p. 152) and Gunawardena (p. 360) refer to the same plant.

20. *Malva / anodacolle /—————/—————/ Coeit*
Elle / kasies bladen

- (D) *Is even van hetselfde gebruyk als de onse in Europe.*
- (E) This is used in the same way as we do in Europe.
- (N) *Abutilon indicum; anoda S* (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 229, Roberts p. 5, Attygalle p. 4, Burmann p. 1). Burmann’s classification appears to have been adopted even up to now. Dymock (1885, pp. 98 and 99) was of the opinion that *Malva* of Latin writers was equivalent to *Malva sylvestris* of Linnaeus. Probably *Malva* here is a mosnomer for *anoda*.

21. JB. Patietaria / pitesoedoe colle / brede de porkoe / toel kapasslle / muurkruid.
 (D) *Werd hier even deselfde kragt toegeschreven, en ook zo gebruykt als die by ons in usu is.*
 (E) It is here ascribed the same effects (uses) as we do.
 (N) *Boerhavia diffusa*; *pitasudupala* S (Dassanayake vol. 13, p. 170; Robeets p. 75; Attygalle p. 141; Gunawadena p. 121).
22. Lijsimachia / giritilla wel /—————/—————
 —/ wederik kruyd.
 (D) *Werd gebruyt in dysenteria, doodet en verdryft de wormen en werd ook gegeven tegens het bloedspoegen.*
 (E) Used for dysenteria, kills and expels worms, and is also given for haemoptysis (coughing of blood).
 (N) *Argyreia populifolia*; (Dassanayake vol. 1, p/ 299, but the Sinhala name *girithilla* is not found here, but given by de Fonseka p. 25; Roberts p. 48; Attygalle p. 119).
23. Adianthumiga / rielle colle / avenka pretoe /—————/
 swarte eyke varen.
 (D) *Word in borst qualen veel gebruyket, namentl: de radices hiervan de bladders gekneust en tot een pap gemaakt geneest alle verse wonden.*
 (E) Much used for chest ailments, namely, the roots and leaves of these, crushed and made up as a poultice cures all fresh wounds.
 (N) It is a fern belonging to the genus, *Aditum* (Triman, 1888, vol. 1, p. 112; Macmillan, 1952, p. 150, 153).
24. Fol: Stramony / attene colle / folje de ponum spingsem /
 ometti elle / dotten baden spingsem
 (D) *De bladen zo wel als de vrugten hebben een cataplasma gekookt, en tot pyn stillen gebruykt.*
 (E) The leaves as well as the fruit have the effect of causing dullness and drowsiness. The natives boil these leaves and make a poultice to kill pain.
 (N) *Datura metel*; *attana* S (Dassanatake, vol. 6, p. 404);

Datura fastiosa (Roberts p. 141; Attygalle p. '125). The dried leaves are smoked in the treatment of asthma. The plant contains stramonium, which has an atropine-like action, and could cause drowsiness. The Latin name given in the document, that is *Stramony*, is related to the stramonium that it contains.

See .No. 53.

25. Lign ferri / na colle / folje de pauw venoe / _____ /
Yserhout bladen
(D) *Werden gebruykt in decoctum in luevenerius.*
(E) Used as a decoction in cases of flatulence.
(N) *Mesua ferrea; na S* (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 107; Roberts p. 231). In English the tree is known as ironwood on account of iron-hardness of the wood. The Latin name in the document has this meaning, for *lign ferri* means iron wood.
26. Fol: Cinamoni vera / Karunde colle / folje de cannele/ karwa
elle / cannel bladen.
(D) *Werden van de inlanders interna gebruykt onder carcarminative decocta, verdryft de winden: externa in warme baden, woed baden tegens jigt pynen en koude in de leaden.*
(E) The natives use this internally as a carminative decoction which expels wind (gases), externally in warm baths and also in hot baths against gout and cold in limbs.
(N) *Cinnamomum zeylanicum; kurundu S; kuruwa T; cinnamon E* (Dassamayake vol/ 9, p. 1121; Attygalle p. 148). Cinnamon is grown almost exclusively in Sri Lanka, and cinnamon oil is extracted from the leaves. However, cinnamon oil of commerce is obtained not from its leaves, but from *Cassia* mainly in China (Uragoda, 1981).
See Nos. 27 and 50.
27. Cinamonie silvest / wal kurundu colle / folio de cannele de
matoe / katoe kurunde elle / wilde caneel blanden.

- (D) *Werd interne niet gobruykt, maar wel externe gelyk de fol: Cinnamoni vera.*
- (E) Not used internally, but externally as with 'Fol: cinamoni vera'.
- (N) *Cinnamomum multiflorum; kurundu* S (Dassanayake vol. 9, p. 115).
See Nos. 26 and 50.
28. Marmelle / billiecolle / folje de marmel /—————/ marmelsbladen
- (D) *Worden van de inanders gebruykt tegens de geele zugt; een decoctum daarvan gekookt, zy purgeeren ook de galagiige vogtigheeden en verwarmt de maag, zyn goed in hystericen en verstoppinge der lever en nieren.*
- (E) Boiled marmellos are used by the natives as a decoction against jaundice. It also purges bilious water and warms the stomach; is good for hysteria and obstruction in the liver and kidney
- (N) *Aegle marmellos; beli* S (Dassanayake vol. 5 p. 414). This item refers to the leaves of the tree. da Orta (1913) mentions the use of fruits in dysentery. Eating of fruits cause diarrhea when there is constipation, and constipation when there is diarrhoea (Uragoda, 2000, p. 231).
29. Fol: cucumeris assinim / caudoeckeriecolle / folje de pipienje dematoe/moesoe ella / ezels komkommen baden.
- (D) *Werd gebruyket tegens de steken in de zyde, en watersugt.*
- (E) Used for twitches in the side (of the body) and for dropsy.
- (N) *Melothria heterophylla; kaudu kekuru* S (Dassanayake vol. 11. p. 40; Jataweera part 2, p. 151); *Zehneria umbellata* S (Attyagalle p. 84); *Cucumis sativus; rata kaekiri* S (Moon, 1824, p. 66).
30. Palma Christi / Inderoecolle /—————/ ammeneken elle / wonderbooms bladen
- (D) *Dese bladen zyn emmollierende en maturerende, worden derhalven onder sulke fotissen (fetissen) en cataplasma gebruyket interna in decocta pectoraliae.*

- (E) These leaves have a soothing and maturing effect and are therefore used internally in decoctions against chest diseases.
- (N) *Ricinus communis*; *edaru* S; *ammanakkan* T (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 175; Roberts p. 313; Attygalle p. 146). The castor-oil plant or Palm Christi (Palm of Christ) has leaves which are of the shape of palm of the hand; hence the Latin name in the document.
See No. 54.
31. JB: *mercurialis* / *goddemaniel* / ————— / *koepemenie* / *bingelkruyd*.
- (D) *Werd gehouden dezelfde kragt te hebben als die by ons bekent is en door den inlander cok tegens zodanige qualen gebruykt.*
- (E) Is said to have a similar effect as the one known to us. It is used by the natives in similar ailments.
- (N) *Crinum zeylanicum*; *godamanel* S (Dassanayake vol. 14, p. 18; Attygalle p. 179).
32. Ad. *Jalappoe* / *Sendrika alle* / *naies de foele de quaterone* / *nanduvatan* / *purgeer wortel*
- (D) *Doet purgeeren dog zo ster niet als de onse, waaromme men in paats van een, zy pro dosis neemt.*
- (E) A purgative, but not as effective as ours and therefore in place of it, is used in doses.
- (N) *Mirabilis jalapa*; *sendrikka* S (Dassanayake vol. 13, p. 169; de Fonseka p. 83). Burmann (p. 124) referred to the plant as *Sendirikkan zeylanenabus*, which retains the Sinhala name.
33. *Ipepacuane* / *welonoegewel moel* / ————— / *manjoerepanjon* / *braakwortel*.
- (D) *Vomeert, men neemt prodocis zyen zo men will tegelyke een of twee sedes hebben, doet men sulke salia daarby, als by die, zo by ons bekent is, doende als dan dese Ceylonese even deselfde operatie.*
- (E) Induces vomiting, people take a dose as they wish or two seeds at a time; they add to it some sage, as is known

to them and to us; this Ceylon preparation has then the same result.* *moel* = *mul* or root.

(*) This portion of the text is not quite clear: the English translation is therefore a conjectural one.

- (N) *Gynmema sylvestre*; *mas bedde* S (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 100); *G. sylvestre*; *bin nuga, mas bedde* S; *ipecacuanha* E (Jayaweera part 1, p. 161). *Ipecacuanha* root is used as an emetic and purgative.
34. *Scorzonera* / *zatawarimoel* /—————/ *zatavary* / *slangenwortel*.
 (D) *Dese wortel werd gebruykt in al quaadardige en venyige siektens in veelderhande verstoppinge der ingewanden, zy werd seer geroemd engerecommandeert tegens alderhande vuylingen and rottingen.*
 (E) This weed is used for all malignant and poisonous diseases and all sorts of obstructions of the intestines; it is very much valued and recommended for all foul and putrefactive diseases.
 See . No. 10.
35. *Zedoaria/harankaha*/————— / *Castoeniemanjel* / *zeverwortel*
 (D) *Het gebruyk en de werkingen van dese wortels is overall bekent en gemeen, denkende dierhalven onnodig te zyn hier aentehalen.*
 (E) The uses and effects of these roots are common and well known, and therefore it is not necessary to mention them here.
 (N) *Curcuma zedoaria*; *harankaha* S (Dasanayake vol. 4, p. 501; Roberts p. 134; Atygalle p. 167).
36. Red: *saxander* / *saxanda moe* / *poermaroendoe* / *saxander*
 (D) *Werd gebruyket in allerley soorten van heete en koude coortssen, Pyn in 't lyf, dodet de wormen, helpt de verstoppte menses, en werd ook by de inlander voor een tegengift gehouden.*
 (E) Used in all kinds of hot and cold fevers, and for pains in

the body; kills worms, helps in stoppage of the menses, and also used by the natives as an antidote for poisons.

(N) *Aristolochia indica*; *sapsanda* S; *adagam* T (Dassanayake vol. 13, p 16; Roberts p 49; Attygalle p 142; Gunawardana, p 56).

37. “ Polipodium / Berandarie /—————/—————/ engelsoetwortel (polypady or walfern)

(D) *Werden gegruyt in decocta pectorialia*.

(E) Used in decoctions against chest ailments.

(N) *Polypodiumou ercifolium*; *bainduru* S (Macmillan, 1952, p. 152). *Polypody* is a genus of ferns growing on moist rocks and walls.

38. Galange major / mahacaloea / lanquas / peeraratte / groote maagwortel.

(D) *Het gebruyk van desen wortel is even zo als by onse geneesmeesters overa bekent is*.

(E) The use of this generally is well known, even as it is among our physicians.

(N) *Alpinia malacensis*; *galanga*, *kaluwala* S; *pera-rattai* T (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 518). *Mahacalea* = *mahakaluwa*. Tamil name is the same as in the document. In Burman, pp. 103 and 104, *Galanga major* is noted as having the Sinhala name *kudakaluwa*, while on p. 102 *G. minor* is shown with the Sinhala name as *mahakaluwa*. Since *major* is equivalent to *maha* or “large” and *kuda* = “small”, Burmann seems to have mistakenly mixed up the two Sinhala names.

See No: 39.

39. Galanga minor / koedakaloea / lampiam ? siette aratte / klyne maagwortel

(D) *Zoals van de “galanga major” gesezt is*.

(E) Same as is mentioned for the “galanga major” above.

(N) This probably refers to *Alpiniya niagra*; *kelaniya* S (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 516). *Koedakaloea* = *kudakaluwa*.

See. No. 38.

40. *Aristolochia Long*: / ekaveriemoel / rais de matere dei / ———— / lange hol-wortel.
- (D) *Is van even de kragt en ingebruyk als degeene die, zo by ons bekend is.*
- (E) The effects and uses of this root are simiar to what is known to us.
- (N) *Rauwolfia serpentina*; *ekawariya* S (Dassanatake vpl. 4, p. 49; Attygalle p. 112). A hypotensive drug as obtained from this plant.
41. *Liquiritie* / olinde moel / pauwdosie / adiemoenan / zoethout.
- (D) *Werd gebruykt in borst siektens en hier te lande in plaats van onse bekende radices liquiritie.*
- (E) Used for chest diseases, and here in this country in place of our well known liquorice roots.
- (N) *Abrus precatorius*; *olinda* S (Dassanayake vol. 1. p. 446; Roberts p. 3; Attygalle p. 60; Gunawardana p. 1). Known as Indian liquorice it is used in medicine as sweetmeat.
See. No. 112.
42. Rad: *sarsaparilla* / elebintamboeroe / ———— / wielademboekodie / vreemde stekende winde.
- (D) *Werd gebruykt als degeene so uijt America in Europa gebragt werd.*
- (E) Used in the same manner as those brought out from America to Europe.
- (N) *Ipomoea pes-caprae*; *mudu-bin-tamburu* S = a creeper on the earth by the sea (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 334); *Ipomoea reopens*; *bintamburu*, *elabintamburu* (Roberts p. 219).
43. *Turbith* / tristewaloe / ———— / tiwere weer / purgeerende heemst wortel (the marshmallow plant.)
- (D) *Is de inlanders hare beste purgeeren – middle, Sy gebruiken het gepulverseert, zonder dat zy eenige andere ppa: daarvan weeten en nemen por dosin zy:*
- (E) This is the best purging medium of the natives; they

use it in powdered form and they know of no other preparation made from it. They take it in doses.

- (N) *Operculina turpethum; trastawalu* S (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 356). The Sinhala name is “derived from Sanskrit or Pali, the meaning in Sinhalese is now lost“. It is known as a laxative, the specific name being taken probably from the Arabic “turbith“, which refers to roots containing drugs. Turbith is given as the Latin name in the document.

44. Vincetoxica / iriemoese moel /—————/ namnarieweer / swalluwen wortel.

(D) *Werd gebruykt tegens de wormen, pyn in de buyk, dryft den urin en menses.*

(E) Used for worms and stomach pain: actuates the urine and the menses.

(N) *Hemidesmus indicus; iramusu* S (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 185; Roberts p. 200; Attygalle p. 114).

See No: 12.

45. Zingiber silvest / wal ingoeroe / gingiber de matoe / kattoe insie / wilde gember.

(D) *Werd gebruykt d maag te verwarmen, en het versterken en helpt de spysen verteren externa geappliceert verdooft en beneemt af de pyn.*

(E) Used to warm and strengthen the stomach and helps the digestion; externally applied to anasthetise and relieve pain.

(N) *Zingiber zerumbet; wal imguru* S (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 495). *Zingiber cylindricum; wal-inguru; wild ginger* E (Attygalle p. 169).

46. Bryjonia / hondela alle / uwas de matoe soeraies / moederipalan / wilde wyngaart wortel.

(D) *Dryven het water an de vrugt by zo het kunnen baaren, doen sweeten en axeert niet soo, als oo in Europa officiaal is.*

- (E) Expels fluid and the foetus in cases of difficulty in childbirth; promotes sweating and relaxation, but not so effective as those normally used in Europe.
- (N) See. No. 17.
47. Red: piperis silvest / wal miries moel / rais de pimentoe de matoe /—————/ wilde peper wortel.
- (D) *Verwarmt de maag en versterkt de ingewanden, werd de koude coordsen gebruykt.*
- (E) Warms the stomach and strengthens the intestines: is used for cold fevers.
- (N) *Piper silvestre*; wal- gam-miris S (Dassanayake vol. 6, p. 280). *Piper cubeba*; reheniya walga-mmiris, ho-miris S; cal-molagu T; tailed pepper E (Roberts p. 280). The second Latin name in the document is found as the specific scientific name now.
See No. 85.
48. Amoris / sewenne moel / rais de amories /—————/ welriekende wortel
- (D) *De wortels hiervan werden gebruykt in decocta tegens de water zugt, doet het water en de menses afsetten.*
- (E) The roots of this plant are used to make decoctions against dropsy; they help to pass urine and the menses.
- (N) *Vetivaria zizanioides*; sevedera S; vettiver T (Dassanayake vol. 8, p. 448); *Andropogon muricatus*; .sevendara mul, sevenna, suvanda hota S ; vetti-ver T (Roberts p. 39; Gunawaradana p. 27).
49. et cort: Lign: Lacca / keppatiamoel en pottoe /—————
—————/—————/ de wortels en bladen van de gomlak boom.
- (D) *Zyn goed in diarrhoea en dysenteria met water gekookt tot een infusum.*
- (E) Good for diarrhoea or dysentery when boiled with water and given as an infusion.
- (N) See No. 11.

50. Cort: cinamnum sylvest / walkoeroendoe pottoe / Cannele de matoe / kattoekarwa / wilde caneel
 (D) *Versterkt de maag, en werd seer geroemd in moeder qualen, helpt de kraam vrouwen light gebaren, werd ook gerbruykt in de water zugt.*
 (E) Strengthens the stomach; very good in maternity ailments, helps expectant mothers to have easy delivery; is used also for dropsy.
 (N) See. Nos. 27, 28.
51. Paum: indic / ette pottoe / ————— / coemelenpatte / —————
 (D) *Werd gebruykt in een garagarisma tegens de inflammatie der mond en keel.*
 (E) Used as a gargle against inflammation of the mouth and throat.
 (N) *Annona reticulata; atte S; ramsitha T (Dassanayake vol. 5, p. 73).*
52. Lign; colubrinum / goddekadoeroe / alwrie d' cobrie / kadjoere / salangenhout surpentswood.
 (D) *Dodet de wormen werd van den inlander voor den alexipharmacum gehouden, ook gebruykt tegens alle koude coordsen.*
 (E) Kills worms; used by the natives as an 'alexipharmacom'.
 (N) *Strychnos nux- vomica; godakaduru S; kanchrai T (Dassanayake vol. 10, p. 268). Seeds contain strychnine, which is a poison.*
53. Fruct: stramony / attenegiddie / ponumspinosum / omoettikay / dotten
 (D) *Hebben een verdevende en slaapmakende kragt, warden ook externa gebruijkt van den inlander, onder maturerende cataplasmas, en tegens het schabium in olie d' palma gekookt.*
 (E) Has a drowsy and sleep-making effect; used also externally by the natives as a healing poultice; used

against scabies when boiled in palm oil.

(N) See No. 24.

54. Sem: palma Christi vel: cataoutiae major / inderoe ette / —
———/ amenkankotte / wonderbooms saad

(D) *Uijt dit zeed werd een oly expresse gemaakt, welke doet purgeeren en dryft de wateragtige en slymige vogten af waarom zy van den inlabder veel gebruykt word in een ana sarca en alle siektens die met swelling verzeld zijn uyt wending genwwst zy de uyt geslagen hoofden der kinderen.*

(E) An oil is expressed from this seed. It purges and expels watery and slimy moistures; therefore, the natives use this very much in anasarca (dropsy) and in all inflammatory diseases; applied externally, it cures the dull rashes in the heads of children.

(N) See No. 30.

55. “ Abelmoschi / kapoe kinisseette / ————/ ————
———/ muskuskruid saad

(D) *werd geknauwt voor de stikende adem en mede geperfumeert.*

(E) Is chewed to refine (perfume) foul breath.

(N) *Abelmoschus mushatus*; kapu kinissa S; katukkasturi T (Dassanayake vol. 11. p. 307). The generic name is similar to the Latin name in the document.

56. ...um cinquene (male) / keckoen ettie / kakknomal / ————
/ ————/

(D) *Is goed tegens alle koude en gift pynen, externa als een plaister op do lydende plaats gelegd, hiervan werd de oleum cinquenamale gedistilleert die mede in sodanige accidenten externe gebruykt werd, interne werd dese oli in klyne dosis gebruykt, het water af te setten.*

(E) Is good for all sorts of colds and poisonous pains; used externally as a plaster (poultice) on the affected parts. People distil *kekuna* oil from this, which is generally used externally for such accidents; this oil is taken in small doses internally to remove water.

(N) *Canarium zeylanicum*; *kekuna* S; *pakkilipal* T (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 307; Roberts p. 86; Attygalle p. 40).

57. Umbilici marin:/—————/—————/—————/? boontje.

(D) *Gebruyken wy hier geprepareert in plaats van ocul: 69. Absorberen vry wat beter, als een parthy uyt aarde gefabriceerd so ons uyt Europa toegesonden worden men gebruykt se ook in collyrie.*

(E) We use it here prepared in place of ,ocul: '69; it absorbs somewhat better as a potion manufactured from earth than that sent out by us from Europe; it is also used in cases of cholera.

(N) Only the Latin name is given here. In a Family of plants called Umbelliferae, which is similar in name to the Latin title in the document, the likely species is *Bupluerum mucronatum*; *wal-enduru* S (Dassanayake vol. 3, p. 490).

(D) *Dese ondervoigende species zyn niet anders als in haar eygan landsnamen bekend.*

(E) The following species are not known other than by their own country names.

58. Mangoelkarende colle

(D) *Werd door den inlander by defect van rad: China in decocta lignora gebruykt externa tegens schurft en ommeloop.*

(E) Used by the natives in place of 'Rad: China' (China root) in decoction 'Lignora (?)' externally in cases of scabies and poor blood circulation.

(N) *Pongamia pinnata*; *magul-karanda* S (Dassanayake vol 7, p. 226); *P. gabra* (Roberts p. 298; Attygalle p. 61; Gunawardana p. 352).

See. Nos. 74, 127.

59. Collan colle

(D) *Is verwarmende, wederstaat de pyn in de buyk die van winden ontstaat verdryft de winden, en versterkt de*

ingewanden, en is van even de kragt als de herbe 'melissa' in Europa.

- (E) Has a warming effect; stops pain in the stomach caused by wind (gases); expels the wind and strengthens the bowels; it has the similar effect as the herb melissa in Europe.
- (N) *Pogostemon heyneanus* (Dassanayake vol. 3, p. 171); *P. heyneanus*; *kollan S* (Roberts p. 205; Attygalle p. 139).

60. Tottile colle

- (D) *De bladen hiervan werden gebruykt externa, in cataplasman om te verdeelen.*
- (E) The leaves of these are used externally as a poultice.
- (N) *Oroxylum indicum*; *ghotila S* (Dassanayake vol. 2, p. 389; Roberts p. 261; Attygalle p. 121; Gunawardana p. 328;).

61. Bebbile

- (D) *Werd gebruykt in de cocta carminative en jaagt seen wel de winden uyt het lighaam.*
- (E) Used as a carminative decoction to expel wind (gases) from the body.
- (N) *Sida ccordata*; *bevila S*; *palampadu T* (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 349); *S. cordifolia*; *bewila S* (Roberts p. 338; Attygalle p. 24; Gunawardana p. 378).

62. Kattoe Karunde

- (D) *De bladen hiervan werden in cataplasmata gebruykt, emolicerd en maakt ryp, versagt de pyn, werd interna tegens lenden en nieren wel gebruykt, ook ome de winden te verdryven.*
- (E) The leaves of these are used as a poultice and have a softening and maturing effect; relieves pain; used internally for loin and kidney ailments, and also to expel wind (gases).
- (N) *Scolopia schreberi*; *katu kurundu S* (Dassanayake vol. 10, p. 212); *Barleria prionitis*; *katukurundu S*;

chemmulli T (Roberts p. 66; Attygalle p. 131; Gunawardana p. 156).

63. Moenemal colle
 (D) *Word tot mond water gebruykt tegens de schorbut: in 't tand vlees.*
 (E) Used as a mouthwash against scurvy in the gums.
 (N) *Minusops elengi; munamal* S (Dassanayake vol. 9, p. 359; Roberts p. 235; Attygalle p. 105; Gunawardana p. 314).
64. Hien angoene welle
 (D) *Werd gegeven aan de zuygende vrouwen omme de melk te vermeederen.*
 (E) Given to nursing mothers to increase (the flow of) milk.
 (N) *Wattakaka volubilis; anguna* S; *kodi-palai* T (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 108).
65. Hien bottoe
 (D) *Werd gebruykt tegenus de koude coordsen.*
 (E) Used in cases of cold fevers.
 (N) *Veronia zeylanica; heen-botiya* S (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 131).
66. Sappoe colle
 (D) *De wortels soo wel ala de blaaden werden gebruykt in gargarismata voor de inflammatie in de keel.*
 (E) The roots as well as the leaves are used as a gargle for inflammation of the throat.
 (N) *Michella chamaika; sapu* S; *champakum* T (Dasanayake vol. 6, p. 155; Attygalle p. 3).
67. Bandoera colle
 (D) *Dit werd gegeven by swaare baringen de geborte te bevorderen in decoctum.*
 (E) This is given as a decoction in cases of laboured confinements to ease delivery.
 (N) *Nepenthes distillatoria; bandura* S; pitcher plant E (Dassanayake vol. 6, p. 242; Uragoda, 2000, p/ 140).

68. Seroe Coriensie
 (D) *Verdunt den slym en bloed, bevordort de menses, dryft den sweet, urin, en werd in alle longen ziekzens gebruykt.*
 (E) Thins out phlegm and blood, improves the menses, expels (literally drives out) sweat and urine, and used in all lung diseases.
 (N) *Gymnema sylvestre*; *siru-kurinja* T (de Fonseka p. 84); in Dasanayake (vol. 4, p. 100) no Tamil name is given, but the Sinhala name is *masbedde*. The title of this entry is the Tamil name, as in Nos. 70 and 71.
69. Toro Colle
 (D) *Word gebruykt tot blood zuiverende en verdunnende decocta.*
 (E) Used as a blood purifier and a thinning decoction.
 (N) *Cassia tora*; *peti-tora* S; *vaddutakarai* T (Dassanayake vol. 7, p. 83. Roberts p. 96 gives the Sinhala name as *tora*).
70. Welie paritia
 (D) *Versterkt de maag, verdryft de coorts, vordeelt en verdryft de winder doet sweeten, en wateren, werd ook veal in waterzugtige siektens gebruykt, doet de klyn kinder zagtjes purgeren.*
 (E) Strengthens the stomach, drives away fever, separates and drives out wind (gases), promotes sweating and urine; used also in many ailments with dropsy, and as a mild purgative for small children.
 (N) *Pergularia daemia*; *langali, meda-hanju* S; *veli—paratti* (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 86). This is one of the few entries denoted by a Tamil name.
 See also Nos. 68, 71.
71. Sinewi Sigelin
 (D) *Tempereert en verdunt het bloed, werd door de iniandsche geneesmeesters in febres ardentis gebruykt enisverkoelende anverfrist het bloedo.*

- (E) Tempers and thins out the blood; used by the native physicians in cases of high fevers; cools and refreshes the blood.
- (N) *Vernonia cinerea*; *monara-kudimbiya* S (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 133); Tamil name, *sira-shengalniris* mentioned in Roberts p. 396 and de Fonseka p. 84. In this item, as in Nos. 68 and 70, the entry in the document is in Tamil.
72. Hien bowiette Colle
- (D) *Werd gobruykt in alle zenuw ziekten tegens drajingen in het hooft, soo mede in alle sorten van koude coordsen.*
- (E) Used in all nervous diseases, giddiness in the head and also in all sorts of cold fevers.
- (N) *Osbeckia octandra*; *heen-bowitiya* S (Dassanayake vol. 6, p. 163).
73. Caloewa pottoe
- (D) *Werd gebruykt in gargariSma~egens venerische en alle ulceraties in de keel.*
- (E) Used as a gargle in venereal and all sorts of ulcerations in the throat.
- (N) *Diospyros oocarpa*; *kalu-kudumberriya* S; *vellai-karunkkali* T (Dassanayake vol. 3, p. 12). de Fonseka, p 37, gives the Sinhala name as *kallu*.
74. Mangoel karande pottoe
- (D) *Is wind brekende en werd gegeven tegens de pyn in 't lyf in de coctum.*
- (E) Disperses wind (gases) and used as a decoction for pains in the body.
- (N) *Pongamia pinnata*; *magul-karanda* S (Dassanayake vol. 7. p. 225); *Pongomia glabra*; *karanda, magul karanda* S (Roberts p. 298; Attygalle p. 61).
75. Ada toda moel
- (D) *Dit werd mede tegens alderhande sorten van coordsen gebruykt en principaal remedie tegens de berri berri, infus: gegeven.*

- (E) This is also similarly used for all sorts of fevers and as a principal remedy against beri-beri, given as an infusion.
- (N) *Adhatoda vesica*; *agaladara* S; *adhatodai* T (Dassanayake vol. 12, p. 112); *A. vesica*; *adatoda* S (de Fonseka p. 1; Roberts p. 116; Attygalle p. 132, 191; Gunawardana p. 20). These later volumes go against the Sinhala name given by Dasanayake.
See No. 76.
76. Ada toda colle
- (D) *Werd gebruykt als de ada toda moel.*
- (E) Used similarly as 'ada toda moel'.
- (N) See No. 75.
77. Kattoe imboel colle
- (D) *Word met olie gekookt, en gesmeert op de schurfte en uytgeslagene koppen, soo meede contra scabiem.*
- (E) Boiled in oil and smeared in scabs and rashes on the head, and also against scabies.
- (N) *Bombax ceiba*; *katu-imbul* S; *parutti* T (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 64); *B. malabaricum*; *katu-imbul* S (Attygalle p. 25; Gunawardana p. 144).
See Nos. 139, 140.
78. Amam patje colle
- (D) *Werd gebruykt in teeringen on hoest, der klyne kinderen, met honing gekookt, laxeert zagtjes, en voert de slymen af.*
- (E) Used in pulmonary consumption and coughs in small children; boiled with honey, it is a mild laxative and removes the phlegm.
- (N) *Euphorbia hirta*; *budadakiriya* S; *palavi* T (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 198); *E. hirta*; *amumpatchai-arissi* T (de Fonseka p. 2). The name of the plant in this item is in Tamil, but *colle* (= leaves) is Sinhala.

79. Wal treve
- (D) *Werd gebruykt tegens het graveel dryft den sand en steen wel af, doet wel wateren en verdunt alle slyme in het lighaam.*
- (E) Used in gravel disorders, removes sand and stone, helps urination, and thins out the phlegm in the body.
- (N) Probably *Hewittiya sublobata*; *wal-trusta-walu* S (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 312; de Fonseka p. 99).
80. Daddek kiri colle
- (D) *Werd externe tot het heelen van alle versche wonden gebruykt gekneust en als een pap geappliceert.*
- (E) Used externally to heal all fresh wounds; the leaves are cut into pieces and applied on wounds as a poultice.
- (N) *Holoptolea integrifolia*; *goda-kirilla* S (Dassanayake vol. 13, p. 217); *H integrifolia*; *dada-kirilla* S (de Fonseka p. 16).
81. Eppile moel
- (D) *Werd gebruykt onder cataplasma om te doen verdeolen.*
- (E) Used as a cataplasma (poultice).
- (N) *Triumfetta rhomboidea*; *epala* S (Dassanayake vok. 7, p. 433).
82. Moedilla moel
- (D) *Werd gekneust en in 't water gekookt doet de ulceraties in forma lavamentum genesen.*
- (E) Crushed and boiled in water and used as a cleansing remedy for ulcers.
- (N) *Barringtonia asiatica*; *mudilla* S (de Fonseka p. 59). Dasanayake (vol. 3, p. 196) gives a description under its scientific name, but fails to trace the Sinhala name. See No. 83.
83. Moedilla giddie
- (D) *Hiervan (?zeh) ingonomen doet sterk vomeoren, externa met lomoen sop, tot een pap gekneust en geappliceort, brengt alle geswellen tot maturatie.*

- (E) A dose of this causes strong vomiting; ground into a pulp with lemon juice and applied externally it brings all swellings to maturity.
- (N) See No. 82.
84. Coemoeroe ette
- (D) *Werd gebruykt onder de cocta, om de winden uyt het lighaam to dryven, en in een herniaventosa in forma van een cataplasma, de binnensto pitton daarvan gebruykt.*
- (E) Used in decoctions to expel wind (gases) from the body; the innermost kernels are used in the form of a cataplasma (poultice) in cases of hernia.
- (N) *Caesalpinia bonduc; kumburu-wel S* (Dassanayake vol. 7, p. 48; Roberts p. 81; Attygalle p. 68, 191).
85. Wal mieriese colle
- (D) *Word gebruykt externa, tot stovingen en omslagen by verlamde leeden.*
- (E) Used externally for fomentation, and as bandages for lame limbs.
- (N) See No. 47.
86. Doem melle colle
- (D) *Word in een infusio gegeven, doet zagt purgeeren, dryft de slym, en waterige, en scherpe vogten af.*
- (E) Given in infusions, causes light purging, removes phlegm, sweating and rank odours of the body.
- (N) *Triohosanthus cucumerina; dummella S; pudal T* (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 12; Roberts p. 389; Attygalle p. 82).
See Nos. 87, 88.
87. Doem melle moel
- (D) *Word gebruykt in heete coordsen, om de hitte en bet gistende bloed to tomporooren, verdryft don sterkon dorst: word in forma infuse: gegeven.*
- (E) Used in high fevers in order to temper the heat and ferment blood; brings relief from strong thirst; given in

the form of an infusion.

(N) See Nos. 86, 88.

88. Doem melle colle

(D) *Doet de slym verdunnen, suyvert het bloed en open de verstoppinge der ingewanden.*

(E) Thins out the phlegm, purifies the blood, and removes obstructions in the bowels.

(N) See Nos. 86, 87.

89. Daloeck moel

(D) *Interna is het wind brekende, werd in forma de coct gegeven, externa tot een cataplasmata verdeelt het alle jigt agtige geswellen.*

(E) Internally given as a decoction, it is a windbreaker; externally it acts as a cataplasma (poultice) to cure all sorts of gouty swellings.

(N) *Euphorbia antiquorum*; *daluk* S (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 193; Roberts p. 163; Attyhalle p. 150).

90. Aambel elle

(D) *Word gebruykt onder de coctum, tegens alle borst qualen en ad: pleuritid.*

(E) Used as a decoction for all chest ailments and pleurisy.

(N) *Spondias dulcis*; *amba-ella* S (Dassanayaje vol. 4, p. 24).

91. Caral hebbe

(D) *Word gebruykt tot infusie tegens de diarrhoea en dysenteria.*

(E) Used as an infusion in diarrhoea and dysentery.

(N) *Achyranthes aspera*; *gan-karal-hebbe* S; *nayuriri* T (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 38); de Fonseka (p. 39) gives the Sinhala name as *karal-heba*); Roberts p. 11; Attygalle p. 191, 122, 123; Gunawardama p. 35 refer to its medicinal properties.

See No. 99.

92. Coemboeroo colle
 (D) *Werd gebruykt tot stevinge omslagen en baaden tegens de verlamde leede.*
 (E) Used for bandages and baths for palsied limbs.
 (N) See No. 84.
93. Niede coembe
 (D) *Werd gebruykt in forma pulv: en in decoctum voor de diarhooa en dysenteria.*
 (E) Used in powdered form and in decoctions for diarrhoea and dysentery.
 (N) *Mimosa pudica; nidi-kumba S; total-vadi T* (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 463; Roberts p. 233).
94. Oendoe pielie
 (D) *Word gebruykt, in de cocta om bloed te suyveren, slym te verdunnen, te vervrissen en verkoelen.*
 (E) Used in decoctions to purify the blood, to thin out phlegm; it refreshes and cools the body.
 (N) *Desmodium teflorum; heen-undu-piyali S* (Dassanayake vol. 10, p. 178).
95. Moene pottoe
 (D) *Werd tegens de tand pyn en ontsteking van tand vlees tot een mondspoeling gebruykt.*
 (E) Used as a mouthwash for toothache and swelling of the gums.
 (N) See No. 65.
96. Jak naran colle
 (D) *Is goed in oen infusie gogeven tegens de buyk pyn, die uyt winden onstaat, doet de winden verddolen.*
 (E) Given as an infusion against stomach ache caused by wind (gases). It disperses the wind (gases).
 (N) *Atalantia ceylanica; yaki-naran S* (de Foneseka p. 104); *A. zeylanica; yaki-marang S; pekurandu T* (Roberts p. 55; Attygalle p. 24). Dassanayake does not mention a vernacular name for this species.
 See No. 129.

97. Andenne hieri colle
 (D) *Word gebruykt onder de cocta in lua veneris.*
 (E) Used as a decoction for venereal diseases.
 (N) *Crotalaria retusa; andana-hiriya S; kilukiluppati T*
 (Dassanayake vol. 7, p. 192).
98. Palan pasie weer
 (D) *Om de sprouw te genesen, gokookt en gebruykt tot eon mond spooling.*
 (E) Boiled and used as a mouthwash, as a remedy for thrush.
 (N) *Suda cordata; bevila S; palam-pasi, palam-padu T*
 (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 349). This entry is in Tamil
 (weer T = root).
99. Rat karal hebbe
 (D) *Word geapplianceert op de ambeyen, en diergclyke geswellen aan 't fundament.*
 (E) Applied for hemorrhoids and similar swellings at the buttocks.
 (N) See No. 91, where *karal-hebbe* occurs. There is no reference to *rat-karal-hebbe* in any of the books consulted, but it may mean the same plant as *kaal hobbe*..
100. Pangoeroo colle
 (D) *Werd gebruykt in cataplasma om geswellen ryp te waken.*
 (E) Used as a cataplasm (poultice) to ripen swellings.
 (N) *Cymbopogon nardus; heen-pangiri S; citronella E.*
Pamgiri by itself is a commonly used Sinhala version.
101. Nillie colle
 (D) *Is slym verdunnende, water af dryvende, en werd gebruykt tot de cocta. tagens de geelezugt.*
 (E) It thins out the blood, disperses water, and is used as a decoction against jaundice.
 (N) *Phyllanthus emblica; nelli S* (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 219; Roberts p. 269; Attygalle p. 151, 172).
 See No. 102.

102. Nillie giddie
 (D) *Werd gebruykt in alle soorten van coordsen opent de verstoppinge en verhardinge der ibgowandon.*
 (E) Used for all sorts of fevers; removes constipation and hardening of the bowels.
 (N) See No. 101.
103. Poepoeloe colle.
 (D) *Is windbrekende en slym verdunnende, werd gekookt tot een decoctum.*
 (E) Is a windbreaker and thins out the phlegm, when boiled into a decoction.
 (N) *Psiadia ceylanica; pupula* S (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 159).
104. Boeloe giddie
 (D) *,t gekookt water daar van wordt gebruykt, tegens de onstekinge deroogenin collyria.*
 (E) The boiled water of this is used for inflammation of the eyes in collyria (? cholera).
 (N) See No, 28.
105. Wal Loenoe
 (D) *Word extern a gebruykt in cataplasma, om alle geswcllen spoedig tot maturatiote brengen.*
 (E) Used externally in a cataplasm (poultice) to bring all swellings speedily to maturity.
 (N) *Pancratium zeylanicum; wal-lumu* S (Dassanayake vol. 14, p. 21).
106. Moedocmahane
 (D) *Word gebruykt in forma pulv: en ook in de cocta in venerische en vuyle ziekens.*
 (E) Used in powdered form and also in decoctions for venereal and foul diseases.
 (N) *Sphaeranthus indicus; mudu-mahana* S (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 181; Roberts p. 355; Attygalle p. 100).

107. Wettegea colle

- (D) *Werd met oleum palma gekookt, en tegens de borri berri gebruykt.*
- (E) Boiled with palm oil and used against beri beri.
- (N) *Pandabus oderatissimus; watta-keyiya* S (Dasanayake vol. 3, p. 311).
See No. 121.

108. Foeroek colle

- (D) *Word gebruykt onder lavement, om de vuyle en stinkendedragende ulceraties te mundificeeren.*
- (E) Used as a lotion to cleanse dirty and foul-smelling ulcers.
- (N) *Assystasia gangetica; puruk* S; *peypachotti* T (Dasanayake vol. 12, p. 77).

109. Wal mara colle

- (D) *Dose bladertjes zyn goed in borst qualen, dryft de mensos, stild de diarhoea en dysenteria etca.*
- (E) The young leaves of these are good for chest ailments; promotes the menses, relieves diarrhoea, dysentery, etc.
- (N) *Glernnieaunijuga unijuga; wal-mora* S; *kuma* T (Dasanayake vol. 12, p. 385).

110. Ratnetoel

- (D) *Tekt blaaren, en werd in plaats van Cantharides gebruykt.*
- (E) Draws out blisters and is used in place of Cantharides.
- (N) *Plumbago indica; rat-netul* S (Dasanayake vol. 11, p. 385; Roberts p. 290; Attygalle p. 103, 191).

111. Koedoemiria pottoe

- (D) *Is stork verwarmende werd veel gebruykt waardoor swakheyd van de maag de spyse niet wel verteert werden, en werd van de swarte geneeskundige voor een extra goed carminatie gehouden.*
- (E) Warms (the body) strongly; used very often for bad digestion caused by native (black) physicians in patients with weak stomachs; acts as an extra good carminative.

- (N) *Desmos elegans*; *kudu-mirissa* S (Dassanayake vol. 5, p. 11).
112. Olinde colle
- (D) *Is bloed zuuyverende en slym verdunnende, werd in alle borst qual en gebruykt.*
- (E) Purifies the blood and thins out the phlegm; used in all chest ailments.
- (N) *Abrus precatorius*; *olinda* S; *kundu-mani* T (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 446).
113. Paloette Ette
- (D) *Werd in olie gekookt en gebruykt contra schabiem en impetigo.*
- (E) Boiled in oil and used against scabies and impetigo.
- (N) *Hernandia nymphaeifolia*; *paluta* S (Dassanayake vol. 6, p. 121).
114. Attica giddie
- (D) *Is sagt constringerende en het voornaamste middel by de Zingaleesche medicyn kundige in diarhoea en dysenteria.*
- (E) A mild constringent and is the principal remedy used by the Sinhalese medicine men for diarrhoea and dysentery.
- (N) *Ficus racemosa*; *attikka* S; *atti* T (Dassanayake vol. 3, p. 266); *F. glmerata*; *attikka* S (Roberts p. 172; Attygalle pp. 159, 160; Gunawardana p. 280).
115. Mie Ette
- (D) *Hier werd een olie uyt geperst, die werd interna gevruykt, omme de overtollige slyme af te varen.*
- (E) An oil is extracted (pressed out) from these, which is used internally to disperse superfluous phlegm.
- (N) *Madhuka longifolia*; *mi* S; *illupai* T (Dasanayake vol. 9, p. 392); *Bassia longifolia*; *mee* S (Roberts p. 68; Attygalle p. 105).
- See Nos. 116, 117.

116. **Mie Colle**
 (D) *Werd gebruykt in forma infusie tegens alle verkoutheyt.*
 (E) Used in infusions against all severe colds.
 See Nos, 115, 117.
117. **Mie Pottoe**
 (D) *Word in oly de palma gekookt en gebruykt tegens de uytgeslagen koppen en scabiem.*
 (E) Boiled in palm oil and used for rashes on the head and scabies.
 See Nos. 115, 116.
118. **Irremoedoe Ette**
 (D) *Gebruyken de Singalesen in de coct: carminativa.*
 (E) Used by the Sinhalese as a carminative decoction.
 (M) *Erythrina variegata; eramudu S; murukku T* (Dassanayake vol. 9, p, 392); *E. indica; eramudu S* (Roberts p. 159; Attygalle p. 114).
 See No. 142.
119. **Poeswelle**
 (D) *Word interna in de cocta gebruykt de slyme van de borst los te maken, externa tot ryp makende pappen.*
 (E) Used internally in decoctions to loosen phlegm in the chest, externally as maturing poultices.
 (N) *Entada pusaetha; pus-wel S* (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 464); *E. scandens; pus-wel S* (Attygalle p. 54).
120. **Wenie welle**
 (D) *Wordt, gebruykt, tegons alle coordsen, en van de Singaleesen voor een souverain coords m i d d e l gehouden het voert ook sagtjes alle sinkingen en scherpe humeuren af, zy gebruyken het ook by inflammaties der oogen, in forma decoct:*
 (E) Used against all sorts of fevers, and by the Sinhalese held to be an excellent remedy for fever; it also removes smelling and dirty humours; used also as a decoction for inflammation of the eyes.

- (N) *Coscinium fenestratum*; *weni-wel* S (Dassanayake vol. 9, p. 309). Root used to prevent tetanus (Uragoda, 2000).
121. Wettegea Moel
 (D) *Word gebruykt in de coct: togens alle koude coordsen.*
 (E) Used as a decoction for all sorts of cold fevers.
 (N) See No. 107.
122. Kierielle moel
 (D) *Is goed in de coct: tegens alle soorten van hoofd pyn, en is ook in de opstyginge dienstig.*
 (E) Is good as a decoction against all sorts of headaches and also for hysterical conditions.
 (N) *Julostylis angustifolia*; *kiriella* S (Dassanayake vol. 11, p. 319).
123. Kottamba moel
 (D) *Werd gebruykt, in alle heete ziekten en ontsteking van blood in forms infus: gegeven.*
 (E) Used in all heaty ailments and given as an infusion in cases of infections of the blood.
 (N) *Terminalia catappa*; *kottamba* S (Dassanayake vol. 9, p. 39).
124. Wal ackmella colle
 (D) *Heoft by naa de eygen kragten als de ackmella.*
 (E) This has similar effects as the 'ackmella' (q.v.)
 (N) *Spilanthes calva*; *maha-akmaella* S (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 221); *S. acmella*; *ackmella* S (de Fonseka p. 1).
125. Elewara moel
 (D) *Werd gebruykt in gargarism: doet de slym verdunnen, on gemakkelyk expueeren.*
 (E) Used as a gargle, thins out the phlegm and eases expectoration.
 (N) *Calotropis gigantea*; *elawara* S; *manakkovi* T (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 78; Roberts p. 84; Attygalle pp. 113, 191; Gunawardana p. 166).

126. Rase kinde moel
- (D) *Is goed in de cocta gegens de water zugt, opent de sweet gaten en doet wateren.*
- (E) Good as a decoction against dropsy; opens the pores (lit: sweat holes) and promotes perspiration.
- (N) *Tinospora cordifolia*; *rasakunda* S; *chintil* T (Dassanayake 9, p. 319; Roberts p, 375; Attygalle p. 5).
127. Mangoel karande moel
- (D) *Heeft een bysondere kragt, do zonuwe ziekten te genesen is daarom by de inlandse meesters een arcanum in Epilpsia en convulsiones.*
- (E) Has a special effect in curing nervous disorders, and is therefore used by native doctors as a secret remedy for epilepsy and convulsions.
- (N) See Nos. 58, 74.
128. Karpintje colle
- (D) *Werd tegens de verkoutheyt, en alle sinkingen gegeven tot een dococt; gekookt.*
- (E) Used as a decoction against colds and cases of rheumatism.
- (N) *Muraya koenigii*; *karapincha* S; *karivempu* T (Dassanayake vol/ 5, p. 418; Roberts p. 242; Attygalle p. 37; Gunawardana p. 161).
129. Jack naran pottoe
- (D) *Is gelyk de Jack naran colle windbrekende.*
- (E) Has a similar effect in dispelling wind (gases) as the 'Jack naran colle.
- (N) See No. 96.
130. Willepattre pottoe
- (D) *Word gebruykt in de cocta tegens de heete coordsen verfrist en tempereert de hitte.*
- (E) Used as a decoction against high fevers; refreshes and lowers the temperature.
- (N) *Gyrinops walla*; *walla-patta* S (de Fobseka p. 99).

Dassanayake (vol. 2, p. 510) does not give the Sinhala version.

131. Mella kolle
 (D) *Is goed for een slappe maag, verdryft de winden en bellot het overgeven of braaken.*
 (E) Is good for weak stomachs, dispels wind (gases) and prevents retching and vomiting.
 (N) *Olox zeylanica; mella S* (Dassanayake vol. 10, p. 298; Attygalle p. 53).
132. Polkoodoe palla
 (D) *Werd gebruykt in de cocta om bloed te suyveren, slym to verdunnen, opent alle vorstoppinge der lever en mild, en doet wateren.*
 (E) Used as a decoction to purify the blood and to thin out the phlegm; removes all obstructions in the liver and spleen and helps urination.
 (N) *Aerva lanaata; pol-kudu-pala, pol-pala S* (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 32; Roberts p. 24; Attygalle p. 123).
133. Moedoe moeroenga
 (D) *Tot eon gargarisma gekookt, werd het gerocommandeert in onsteeking der keel.*
 (E) Boiled and used for gargling; recommended for inflammation in the throat.
 (N) *Sophora tomentosa; moodoo moroonga S* (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 439).
134. Koedoe mirisa moel
 (D) *Is good in lammigheden, en alle zenuwe ziekten te gebruyken.*
 (E) Is good for palsy and all nervous diseases.
 (N) See No. 111.
135. Goe Rende lie
 (D) *Suyvert het bloed, doet wateren en sweeten; laxeert by klyne kinderen, en is ook besonder goed in opstyginge der vrouwen.*

- (E) Purifies the blood, promotes sweating and urination; is a laxative for small children and specially good for pregnant women.
- (N) *Gironniera cuspidata*; *gurenda* S (Dassanayake vpl. 13, p. 230; de Fonseka p. 27).
136. Maha dan colle
- (D) *De bladeren soo wel als de wortelen doet sagtijes purgeren en suyveren het lighaam van alle groffe slymen.*
- (E) The leaves as well as the roots are mild purgatives and purify the body from all coarse phlegm.
- (N) *Syzygium cumini*; *madan*; *mahadan* S; *naval* T (Dassanayake vol. 2. p. 443).
137. Embille colle
- (D) *Werd gebruykt in de cocten voor do water zugtigon, opont de sweet gaaten en doet wateren.*
- (E) Used as a decoction for dropsy; opens the sweat glands and helps urination.
- (N) *Antidesma alexiteria*; *embilla* S (de Fonseka p, 20). Dassanayake (vol. 11, p. 279) give the Sinhala name as *hinembilla*.
138. Andene hierie moel
- (D) *Word gebruykt in gargarisma tegens de (gestor) heyd der keel.*
- (E) Used as a gargle for inflammation of the throat.
- (N) See No. 97.
139. Cattoe imboel moel
- (D) *Is goed te gebruyken in de cocta om bloed te suyveren en slym te verdunnen.*
- (E) Is good to use in decoctions for purifying the blood and thinning out the phlegm.
- (N) See Nos. 77, 140
140. Cattoe imbool pottoe
- (D) *Doet die aygen effects als de kattoo imboel moel.*

- (E) Has the same effect as the ,kattoe imboel moel‘.
- (N) See Nos. 77, 139.

141. Kikirinde colle

- (D) *Werd gebruykt interna in de cocta voor do borst qualen, beneemt het hoeste, externa met oly d'palma gekookt geneest het de uytgeslage koppen.*
- (E) Used internally in decoctions for chest ailments and to stop coughing; boiled in palm oil, it is used externally to cure rashes on the head.
- (N) *Eclipta prostrata*; kikirinde S; karippan T (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 212. Its medicinal properties are found in Roberts p. 151 and Attygalle p. 101.

142. Eremoedoe Pottoe

- (D) *Word gebruykt om alle ontstekene geswellen te doen resolveren in forma cataplasma.*
- (E) Used as a cataplasm (poultice) to cure all inflammatory swellings.
- (N) See No. 118.

143. Hieresse palloo

- (D) *Is dienstig om alle winden te doen verdeelen en aftedryven, word in een afkooksel gegeven.*
- (E) It serves to remove all wind (gases) from the body, and is given as a decoction.
- (N) *Cissus quadrangularis*; hiress S; aragani T (Dassanayake vol. 9, p. 476). Its medicinal properties are found in Roberts p. 400 and Attygalle p. 46.

144. Wela Colle

- (D) *Word gebruykt in forma infusi. beneemt en verdryft de pyn in de leaden.*
- (E) Used in the form of an infusion. Stops and gives relief from pain in the limbs.
- (N) *Cleome gynandra*; wela S; tayirvalai T (Dassanayake vol. 10, p. 28).

145. Poeswelle pottoe

- (D) *Is goad in alle ontstokene geswellen om te doen verdeelen word in forma cataplasma geapplceert.*
- (E) Good for all inflammatory swellings and is applied as a caataplasma (poultice).
- (N) *Enatada pusaetha; pus-wel S* (Dassanayake vol. 1, p. 4464).

146. Hi en daddo kierie colle

- (D) *Werd gebruykt tot 't genesen van verscho wonden.*
- (E) Used for curing fresh wounds.
- (N) *Eyphorbia hirta; dada-kiriyaS* (de Finseka p. 16). See No. 78, where the Tamil name for the same plant is mentioned as *Amumpatchai arissi*, which is the subject in No. 78. There appears to be some confusion between these two items.

147. Wal mara pottoe

- (D) *Word gebruykt in baade of om ta wasschen. tegens alle soorten van swellingen des lighaame.*
- (E) Used tor bathing or as a bodywash in all sorts of swellings.
- (N) See No. 109.

148. Pangoeroe pottoe

- (D) *Werd in forma cataplasma op het voorhoofd geappiceert tegens het bloeden uyt de neus.*
- (E) Applied in the form of a cataplasm (poultice) on the forehead against bleeding from tho nose.
- (N) See No. 100.

149. Wal ranna mara colle

- (D) *Word gebruykt in deooota om het bloot to suyveren doet wateren set den slym on sand uyt de nieren en blaas at.*
- (E) Used as a decoction to purify the blood; helps urination, and removes phlegm and sand from the kidneys.
- (N) *Casia auriculata; rana-wara S; avarai T* (Dassanayake vol. 7, p.79 Roberts p. 92; Attygalle p. 58).

150. Toembe wel
- (D) *Is dienstig in de cocta om 't scrotum soo het met water opgevult is, alle verdikt vogten daar omtrent te doen resolveren, opent de sweet gaten en doet wateren.*
- (E) Serves as a decoction to remove water and thickened moisture from the scrotum; opens the sweat glands and helps urination.
- (N) See No. 16.
151. Wel bokoetoe wel
- (D) *Word in de oocta tegens alle koud coordsen gebruykt.*
- (E) Used as a decoction against all sorts of colds and fevers.
- (N) *Mundulea sericea; wal buruta* S (Dassanayake vol. 7, p. 158). de Fonseka (p. 97) gives the Sinhala name as *wal-burutu*, which agrees with the title of this item in the document.
152. Rattoe tore colle
- (D) *Is goed tegene de opstopping des urins ver slyming der blaas, en 't graveel werd in forma infusi gegeven.*
- (E) Good for obstructions to the urine, cleansing the bladder of phlegm and gravel; given as an infusion.
- (N) *Cajanus cajan; rata-tora* S; *thavarai* T (Dasanayake vol. 7, p. 348).
153. Diwi kadoeroe giddie
- (D) *Werd tot een pap gekneust en geappliceert tegens de beete der slang en andere venynige dieren etcera.*
- (E) Crushed into a pulp and applied on the wounds of bites of snakes and other venomous creatures, etc.
- (N) *Pajiantha dichotama; divi-kaduru* S (Dassanayake vol. 4, p. 39). Medicinal aspects are found in Roberts p. 364 and Attygalle p. 111.
See No. 154.
154. Diwi kadoeroe colle
- (D) *Werden gebruykt onder lavement, om alle veroudorde on quaadaardige fistuls en ulceraties te genesen.*

- (E) Used as a lotion to cure all old and malignant fistulas and ulcers.
- (N) See No. 153.
155. Goy wel
- (D) *Is goed in ontstekinge der nieren on blass, het beneemt allo scherpe en snyding uit urineren word in forma infusi gegeven.*
- (E) Good for inflammation of the kidneys and bladder; it removes all sharp and grating substances in the urine; is given as an infusion.
- (N) *Flaggerlaria indica; goyi-wel* S (Dassanayake vol. 7, p. 382).
156. Ginde Pambe
- (D) *Is bloed verdunnende sterk sweet dryvende, word in forma de coct; gegeven.*
- (E) It thins out the blood, causes strong sweating when given as a decoction.
- (N) *Clausena dentata; ganda-pana* S (Dassanayake vol. 5, p. 435).
157. Olloe colle
- (D) *Werd gebruykt tegens alle ontstekekinge en gistinge van bloet, doet 'tselfe vervrissen en vorkoelen, werd in de cocta gegeven.*
- (E) Used against all inflammations and fermentation of the blood as it refreshes and cools; given as a decoction.
- (N) *Nymphaea pubescens; olu* S (Dassanayake vol. 10, p. 290); *N. lotus; olu* S (Roberts p. 251; Attygalle p. 8).
158. Casie wel
- (D) *Werd gebruykt externa op ulceraties die door vuur of brand zyn g'causeert.*
- (E) Used externally on ulcers caused by fire or burns.
- (N) This item is probably *Tetracera sarmentoral korasawel* S (Dassanayake vol. 10, p. 117).

159. Wal panacolle

(D) *Werd gebruykt in de cocta tegens het graveol doot wateren set de slym en zand uyt de nieren en blass at.*

(E) Used as a decoction against gravel, eases urination, drives out the phlegm and sand from kidneys and bladder.

(N) *Cardiospermum inophyllum; panela wel S* (Dassanayake vol. 12. p. 347); de Fonseka (p. 102) gave the Sinhala version as *wel-panela*, which is the title proper of this item .

160. Dombe colle

(D) *Is dienstig om bloet te suyveren, en to verdunnen, word gebruykt tegons alle heete ziekens in de cocta.*

(E) Serves to purify and thin out the blood, and is used as a decoction in all heaty ailments.

(N) *Calophyllum inophyllum; domba S* (Dassaanayake vol. 1, p. 90; Roberts p. 83; Attygalle p. 21; Gunawardana p. 164).

See No. 162.

161. Dombe giddie

(D) *Hier uyt word een oly geperst, en extorna gebruykt om te smeeren in een pleuritis, en. meer andere borst qualen, doet versagten en boneemt de stekendo pyne.*

(E) An oil is pressed out from this, and used externally as a plaster for pleuritis and several other chest ailments; it softens and removes tingling pains.

(N) See No, 160.

162. Kattoe bokoetoe

(D) *Dit heeft een sagte constringerende kragt, werd seer geroemd in diarrhoea en dysenteria te gebruyken.*

(E) This has a mild constipating effect; very much used for diarrhoea and dysentery.

(N) *Argemone mexicana; katu gokatu S; Mexican poppy E* (Robert p. 47). Other books consulted do not give this Sinhala name.

163. Amoekha moel

- (D) *Is windbrekende, en swoet dryvende, word gebruykt in de coct: carminativ: en ook voor vanerische ziekten.*
- (E) Drives out wind (gases) and sweat; used as a carminative decoction, and also for venereal diseases.
- (N) *Withania somifera; amukkara S (Dassanayake vol. 6, p. 399; Roberts p. 401; Attygalle p. 127).*

MINERALIA (minerals)

164. Minera Otis

- (D) *Hie r uyt praepareeren de inlanders haare Martilia.*
- (E) The natives prepare their ,Martelia (?) from this.
- (N) This item most likely refers to *miniran*, which is the Sinhala term for plumbago or graphite, which is mined extensively in Sri Lanka, causing fibrosis of the lung in the workers (Ranasinha and Uragoda, 1972).

165. Ajenang Kette

- (D) *Dit mineral fyn geprepareert zynde ward ge bruykt in are oog qualen, en geapplieert gelyk de 'tutia ppta' etc; ook bysonder goed zyn, externa in versche en verouderde ulceraties.*
- (E) This mineral finely prepared is used for all eye ailments, and applied as 'tutia ppta' (?); also specially good for external application on fresh and old ulcers.
- (N) This item refers to *anganangketa*, which is the Sinhala term for galena or lead sulphide. Attygalle (pp. 188, 196) mentions that it is used chiefly in the treatment of eye diseases.

166. Aungara

- (D) *Fyn geprepareert, werd het interna voor een zeker middel, tegens het graveel gehouden, pro dosis zy; cok word sy externa voor gemelde plaage aan het kruys gebenden. Soomeede fyn gevrewen met water, en op de pynlykste plaatse gesmeert, volgens opgave der Singaleesche artzenykundige, moet dese steen deselve kragt hebbon als de Lap: nephritic.*

- (E) Finely prepared it is used internally as a sure remedy in doses against gravel. It is also used externally for the said ailment, bound round the body, also ground finely with water and applied (lit: smeared) on the painful areas: according to the Sinhala pharmacologists, this has the same effect on kidney stones (lap: nephritic).
- (N) This item most likely refers to *anguru*, which is the Sinhala word for charcoal, which contains carbon. In western medicine, activated carbon when given by mouth in cases of abdominal distension, absorbs the gases and relieves the symptoms. In Sri Lanka activated carbon is manufactured from coconut shells (Uragoda, 1989).

167. Gerie pas

- (D) *Werd van den inlander op een praepareer steen gevrewen met "Mel: Commun:" en "Succ Limon" forma. van een unguent: en externa gebruykt tegens den omloop, ook werd het gebruykt tot beenbreuke te genesen; interna werd het niet gebruykt.*
- (E) The natives grind this on a grinding stone with „mel. commun:” (common honey) and „succ: limon“ (lemon juice) in the form of an unguent (ointment), and used externally for circulation of the blood; also used to cure broken bones. It is never used internally.
- (N) *Geri pas* is a Sinhala word (*geri*=black ant; *pas*=soil), which refers to a collection of soil from a mound built by black ants (ant hill). This soil is found inside the mound and has a globular shape.

168. Pissasphaltum

- (D) *De Zingaleesen gebruiken dit by Catarrhen om daarmeede te roken gelyk wy de Succin: oliban: etcera.*
- (E) The Sinhalese use this for inhaling against catarrh as we use the ‘succin: oliban:’ (amber oil (?)) etc.
- (N) This item refers to gumlac (*dummala*), which is found underground as small pieces. These have an amber coloured crystalline substance in the centre with a

whitish covering. Twigs and branches of trees, which have fallen down a large number of years earlier, have undergone changes to become gumlac. In addition to its already mentioned medical use, it is powdered and burnt as an incense.

169. Crystall: Montan:

- (D) *Het gebruyk in de medicynen hiervan is bekent.*
- (E) Its medicinal use is well known.
- (N) It means mountain crystal. It is likely to be a quartz found in hilly areas. Its exact identity is not known.

ANIMALIE (Animals)

170. (D) *'t hiervan by den inlander in usia is, zyn de volgende, als, Corn: en Ungul: alcis: Corn: at Serum, Gervi, axung: de cobra Capell: Le paris: Lapides de felle bovis; della porco, bezoar, dent: Elephant.*
- (E) Which of these the natives use are as follows: the horns and the hooves (or nails) of the elk; serum and brain of the hog; cobra capello, crocodile; hare; bezoar stones of the wild ox and the pig; elephant teeth.
 - (N) It is difficult to believe now that all the animals mentioned in the above list had medicinal properties, but two or three centuries ago the situation may have been different. Bezoar stones, for example, were concretions found in the stomach of animals, chiefly the goat. During Portuguese time these were used in medicine (Uragoda 1987, pp. 48, 56). In the same way other animals mentioned may have had their uses, though one would think that the cobra and crocodile were far from being medically curative. Elephant teeth are still used by some people in the treatment of swelling of the cheeks in mumps. The elephant tooth is brushed on a stone with a rough surface and the resultant cream-like residue is applied on the cheeks.

CIMICALIA (chemicals?)

- (D) *den Syn by inlander niet bekent, nag het minste niet van de Chimi.*
- (E) The natives know nothing of these, and much less about chemistry(?).

OLEA DESTILLATA (DISTILLED OILS)

- (D) *Syn by haar oak niet gebruykelyk of bekent, destilleren ook gantsch geene olitaiten, maar gebruyken olea cocta gecomponeert van een part erwarmende species in kokus olie gekookt, en soo het nae haare opinie regt goed zal zyn, oegen zy een parthy aromata, muscus, en amber daar by, wanneer het bale gorande gettuleert werd, en van haar als ook een parthy, in desen medicynen ignorante voor een balsam: omnia incantamcna versleeten werd, men zoude agter bier species genoeg kunnen vinden, wuar fyne olitaiten koanen van gedistilleert werden, indien de appartus, soo daar toe benodigt, niet defecteerden.*
- (E) Are unknown to them and not used by them; they distill no oils at all but use oil decoctions composed by boiling plants in coconut oil, which according to their discretion they find to be good; they add to it some aromatic herb, musk and amber.....(*)
Sufficient species could however be found here from which fine oils could be distilled if the necessary apparatus for the same were not lacking.
- (*) This section of the Dutch text is not quite clear: the script is also rather difficult to read: the typescript of the Dutch text above is recorded according to what is easily decipherable.

OL: EXPRESSOE (Extracted oil)

- (D) *Zyn de ol:recine garnae tigliae, margozy de bekendste en gebruyklekste.*
- (E) Castor and margosa oils are the best known and most widely used oils.

COMPOSITIA (composts)

- (D) *Dispenseert een ider uyt het hier vooren gespecificeerde, of meer andere vegetabilia, na zyn goedvinden.*
- (E) Each one prepares (or makes) them from the above mentioned vegetables according to their discretion.
- (D) *GALE den Mey Anno 1746. (was getekent: Jn. Wm. Nieper. Accordeert: Joannes Toussaint. E. G. Clerq.*
In the margin
- (D) Voor 't collationem.
..... Martheze.
G. de Vos
- (E). Collated by:
(Sgd.)Martheze.
G. de Vos.

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Cheng Ho's Visits to Sri Lanka and the Galle Trilingual Inscription in the National Museum in Colombo*

by
Lorna Dewaraja

The study of history has always been Euro centric and it is universally accepted that modern civilization is the climax, the apex of Western cultural and scientific traditions. It was generally believed that Asia was a slumbering sluggish giant awakened from its hibernation by its encounter with the West. Now there is a major reorientation in historical thinking on the origins of modernity. Recent researchers have revealed that rapid economic growth, high levels of intellectual and cultural achievements have occurred in non-European societies. Half a century ago Joseph Needham drew attention to early Chinese achievements in science and technology. It will be seen that the scope of innovation in medieval China amounted to an economic social revolution comparable to that in Western Europe, a few centuries later.

Early Contacts between China and Sri Lanka

From earliest times because of its central position in the Indian Ocean Sri Lanka has attracted traders, seafarers and adventurers from both the East and West. Further the reputation of Sri Lanka as repository of orthodox Buddhism, the diversity of its products, the salubrious climate and the hospitality of the people have all contributed to its fame. While commercial pursuits seemed to have first brought the Chinese and Sri Lankans together, the interest in Buddhism created a strong bond between the two countries. It is only after the third century that we find authentic sources in Chinese literature of the itineraries of Buddhist pilgrims, military and civil officers who brought back information which is very useful in tracing the early relations between Sri Lanka and China. The spread

of Buddhism into Central Asia further extended and strengthened this relationship.¹

The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)

Under the Mings, China became a unified, strong multinational feudal empire. The third ruler of the Ming Dynasty known as Yung Lo /Yung Le / Zhu Di came to the throne in 1403 having eradicated the Mongol menace of 89 years. In 1409 Yung Lo marched south to Nanjing and seized the Dragon throne. He pronounced himself emperor and took the dynastic title of Yung Lo. From the 9th century onwards China had developed its own ocean going fleet but Yung Lo had a very ambitious plan of expanding the Chinese fleet to incredible proportions and achieving a maritime empire scanning the oceans. He commissioned 1681 new ships. Tens of thousands of people were set to work in the shipyards. The emperor's ships would sail round the oceans of the world, chart them intimidating foreign rulers to bring the entire world within China's spiritual and moral orbit.² Chinese diplomatic initiatives were quite different from those of the Europeans who followed a century later. The Chinese preferred to pursue their aims by trade influence and bribery rather than by open conflict or territorial aggression.

Cheng Ho or Zheng He (1371-1433: Interest in Sri Lanka)

Cheng Ho of Arab Mongol origin had served the emperor Yung Lo faithfully in the wars against his master's rivals. As a token of gratitude and in recognition of his bravery in battle the emperor made Cheng Ho, Director of Eunuch Affairs in the Imperial Court. He was a Muslim and both his father and grandfather had made the pilgrimage to Mecca. His knowledge of Arabic and Arab customs made him ideally suited to visit many countries in which Islam was the state religion. His commanding personality and clear ringing voice were added qualifications and he was made Imperial Envoy and Admiral of the Fleet. In 1405 Emperor Yung Lo commissioned Cheng Ho to prepare the first expedition into the Western Seas and make known to the world, the Majesty of the Ming Emperor with offers of friendship and trade and also to invite

the heads of state to visit the Ming Court on tribute missions. During the next 28 years, Fleet Admiral Cheng Ho led seven expeditions, visited 37 countries on the Indo China coast, the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, Red Sea and the East Coast of Africa. On 6 of these voyages he showed special interest in establishing commercial contacts with Sri Lanka and organized stopovers in Sri Lanka in at least six of his voyages.³

Cheng Ho's first Expedition to Sri Lanka 1405-1407

Sino-Sri Lanka relations in the 15th century have to be viewed against the background of these grand designs of the Ming dynasty. The visits of the Grand Eunuch Cheng Ho were not an accidental landing but a deliberate and integral aspect of the foreign policy of the Ming dynasty. Yung Lo on his accession to the throne charged the eunuch Cheng Ho to explore the southern regions and provided him with a fleet of 62 vessels. Cheng Ho during 30 years made seven expeditions and in his first expedition which lasted from 1405 to 1407, he landed in Sri Lanka, but had met with hostility from Vira Alakesvara.⁴ Two Chinese sources, the *Pien-i-tien* and the *His-yu-chi Fu-chi* give more or less similar accounts about the visits. The former says that Cheng Ho attempted to persuade Vira Alakesvara, the de jure ruler to give up his heretical practices and adhere to the teachings of the Buddha. The latter work says that Cheng Ho came to Sri Lanka to carry away the Tooth Relic of the Buddha which had gained the reputation of being the symbol of royalty. Both these reasons would have led to serious doubts in Vira Alakesvara's mind. That Vira Alakesvara was not a benefactor of Buddhism like all other Sinhala rulers is proved by Sinhala sources as well. He was deprived of his power and position by his younger brother Virabahu, and hence his policy was opposed to that of his brother who was a devout Buddhist. If in addition Cheng Ho had come to acquire the Tooth Relic of the Buddha, Vira Alakesvara's hostility is justifiable since by this time or even earlier it was accepted that the custodian of the Tooth Relic was the legitimate ruler of Sri Lanka. Any attempt to take it away would be considered by the ruler of Sri Lanka as an attempt to usurp his sovereignty. Besides, the Chinese fleet had 62 vessels carrying

28,000 men. Its very magnitude would have terrified Vira Alakesvara and the people, who feared an invasion and responded with hostility. According to the Chinese *Min Shih*, Cheng Ho got wind of Alakesvara's animosity and sailed away. The *Ming Shih*⁵ refers to the King of Sri Lanka as Yo-lieh-ku-nai-erh who can be identified as Alagakonnara or Alakesvara.

The Chinese fleet proceeded to Calicut and returned to China in October 1407 having touched at Malacca and Champa.

Cheng Ho's Second Expedition 1407 -1409

This was undertaken to felicitate the new ruler of Calicut. Though he was the official organizer of this voyage Cheng Ho did not participate in it. His associates proceeded to Calicut to represent the Ming emperor at the Coronation ceremony of the ruler of Calicut by passing Sri Lanka. They tarried in Calicut for about 4 months and before they left erected an inscription to commemorate the intercourse between Calicut and China which had been flourishing since the Tang dynasty (7th century). The Zamorins of Calicut had built up an extensive network extending from East Africa to South East Asia. The Chinese called it Ku-Ii and it was not only a great trading port well stocked with Indian cotton textiles but also a forward base for the Chinese. The Zamorins held the Chinese rulers in high esteem and from 1405-1419 sent a series of diplomatic missions to Nanking and Beijing.⁶

The Third Expedition 1409-1411 and the setting up of the Trilingual Inscription ⁷

Though this is referred to as the Third Voyage it was actually the Second under Cheng Ho's leadership. The Imperial order early in 1409 directed the eunuchs Cheng Ho, Wang Ching-hung and Hou Hsien to visit the seas of the West. This is the most important voyage as far as Sri Lanka is concerned. On his onward journey Cheng Ho touched at the harbour of Galle where he held a trade fair, displaying a variety of products from China including gold and silver, candlesticks, lacquer ware, silk embroideries, blue and white porcelain, textiles and Buddhist sutras and incense burners

for the use of the Buddhist population. In keeping with the tradition of setting up commemorative tablets, Cheng Ho installed the Trilingual Inscription in Galle as well, in order to highlight the majesty and benevolence of the Ming Emperor. This inscription bears the date 15 February 1409 (the date in which it was inscribed in China) and is now preserved in the National Museum in Colombo. It was discovered in 1911 by a Provincial Engineer at a culvert in the town of Galle. It is written on one slab in three languages Chinese, Persian and Tamil. The Chinese letters which are best preserved records the offerings made by the eunuchs Cheng Ho, Wang Chin Lien and others to the Buddhist Temple on the Mountain of Sri Lanka. The Persian is largely defaced but what is readable makes it clear that this too lists offerings to the Light of Islam. The Tamil Inscription follows the same pattern and the beneficiary is Tenavarai Nayanar whom the well-known Sri Lanka scholar S. Paranavitana, identifies as the deity at Devinuvara or Vishnu. The Tamil writing states that the great king of China having heard of the fame of Lord Tenavarai Nayanar in the kingdom of Ilanga (Sri Lanka) has sent his envoys with the following gifts and gives a catalogue of the offerings.

The translation of the Chinese version, as published in the *Spolia Zeylanica*, is given below: ⁸

His Majesty, the Emperor of the Great Ming dynasty has despatched the eunuchs Ching-Ho, Wang Ching-Lien, and others to set forth his utterances before Buddha, the World-Honoured One, as follows:

‘Deeply do we reverence you, Merciful and Honoured One, whose bright perfection is wide-embracing, and whose way of virtue passes all understanding, whose law enters into all human relations, and the years of whose great Kalpa (period) are like the sand of the river in number, you whose controlling influence ennobles and converts, whose kindness quickens, and whose strength discerns, whose mysterious efficacy is beyond compare!

‘Whereas Ceylon’s mountainous isle lies in the south of the ocean, and its Buddhist temples are sanctuaries of your

gospel, where your miraculous responsive power imbues and enlightens. Of late, we have dispatched missions to announce our mandate to foreign nations, and during their journey over the ocean they have been favoured with the blessing of your beneficent protection. They escaped disaster, or misfortune and journeyed in safety to and fro. In everlasting recognition of your supreme virtue, We, therefore, bestow offering in recompense, and do now reverently present Buddha, the Honoured One, oblations of gold and silver, gold embroidered jeweled banners of variegated silk, incense burners, and flower vases, silks of many colours in lining and exterior, lamps and candles with other gifts, in order to manifest the high honour of our worship. Do you, Lord Buddha, bestow on them, your regard'!

List of Alms bestowed at the Shrine of the Buddhist Temple in the Mountain of Ceylon as offerings

1,000 pieces of gold; 5,000 pieces of silver; fifty rolls of embroidered silk in many colours; fifty rolls taffeta in many colours; four pairs of jeweled banners, gold embroidered, and of variegated silk; two pairs of the same picked in red; one pair of the same in yellow; one pair in black; five antique brass incense burners; five pairs of antique brass flower vases picked in gold on lacquer with gold stands; five pairs of yellow brass candle-sticks picked in gold on lacquer, with gold stands; five yellow brass lamps picked in gold on lacquer with gold stands; five incense vessels in vermilion red, lacquered gold picked on lacquer, with gold stands; six pairs of golden lotus flowers; 2,500 catties of scented oil; ten pairs of wax candles; ten sticks of fragrant incense.

The date being the seventh year of Yung-Lo marked Chich'ou in the sixty years cycle, on the Chia Hsu day of the sixty days cycle in the second moon, being the first day of the month. A reverent oblation.

Without the help of the translation of the Chinese Inscription the deciphering of the Tamil and Persian Inscriptions would scarcely have been possible because the Persian portion is badly worn out and the Tamil portion presents certain linguistic difficulties.

The inscription is an index to the extent of religious tolerance that the Ming Emperors practised. It is said that the Chinese junks which set out for commercial purposes habitually carried Islamic, Hindu and Buddhist savants to provide advice and guidance. Here was a Buddhist Emperor, whose admiral, a Muslim Eunuch, offering valuable gifts to the Buddha, to Allah and the God at Devundara, very likely Vishnu and setting up an inscription to commemorate the event. Buddhism with its teachings of universal tolerance had been for centuries the religion of the Chinese people. This is apparent in the multi lingual, multi cultural nature of the inscription. It is recorded that Cheng Ho established a language school in Nanjing and trained interpreters who accompanied the fleets enabling the admirals to communicate with rulers from India to Africa in Arabic, Persian, Swahili, Hindi, Tamil and many other languages. The record was apparently inscribed in Nanjing.

The question that would naturally arise is why when Sinhala was the language of the majority of people in Sri Lanka, there was no Sinhala version of the Inscription. Examining the contents of the Chinese version (which is the same as the others) it is clear that the inscription was a thanksgiving by the Admirals and the sailor's who came in the ships to the founders of their respective religions. The Chinese Buddhist sailors give their thanks to the Buddha for bringing them safely on such a long and perilous voyage, in the Chinese language. The Tamil speaking Indian Hindu sailors give their thanks to Vishnu in the Tamil language. The Muslim sailors including Cheng Ho express their thanks to Allah in Persian. The Sinhala people not been seafaring merchants, were obviously not in the Chinese armada. Even if there were a few Sinhala speakers in Cheng Ho's ships they too would give thanks to the Buddha thus duplicating what is given in the Chinese version.

The return of the Third Yoyage and the kidnapping of the Sri Lankan Royal Family (1411)⁹

Having installed this unique epigraph in the Southern tip of Sri Lanka, Cheng Ho and his fleet proceeded to Quilon, Cochin and Calicut. It is on his return voyage in 1411 that the violent conflict

took place between the forces of Cheng Ho and the ruler of the Rayigama kingdom near Colombo, Alakesvara or Ya lieh k'u-nai erh. Cheng Ho, apparently had not forgotten, Alakesvara's hostile attitude to the Chinese fleet in 1405, and therefore the former was determined to teach a lesson to this local ruler who dared to defy the authority of the mighty Ming Emperor.

From the point of view of the Sri Lankan ruler, Cheng Ho's activities on the two previous occasions, his unsuccessful attempts to obtain the Tooth Relic, the sheer size of his fleet, the numbers of his retinue and also the installation of the Inscription would have naturally aroused the suspicion of the Sri Lankan ruler. He would have viewed it as an infringement of his sovereignty. Inscriptions in Sri Lanka are normally set up dated in the regnal years of the reigning monarch, by one of his highest officials. Here was a foreigner, a Chinese who dared to install the inscription on Sri Lankan soil and dating it in the regnal years of the Ming Emperor, (seventh year of Yung Lo). Further other actions of Cheng Ho could be viewed as been high handed. He offered gifts to local chiefs, perhaps to buy over their allegiance and is said to have personally handed over the gifts to representatives of Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims. All this could have been viewed by Alakesvara as an affront to his sovereignty specially because he had local rivals as well, and aroused his suspicions that Cheng Ho was attempting to pressurize Sri Lanka to accept the supremacy of the Ming Emperor. Unfortunately Alakesvara followed a clever battle strategy, little realizing the disastrous consequences that were to follow. According to the events recorded in the Ming Shih, Alakesvara inveigled Cheng Ho and his men into the interior. A force of 50,000 armed men (number may be an exaggeration) cut down trees to block the road between the royal city and the seaport. Another party was sent to plunder the ships. It is very likely that Alakesvara's rival claimants conveyed his designs to Cheng Ho. Having received the news Cheng Ho tried to return to the ships but found his progress barred. However, the astute admiral secretly managed to send messengers with orders to land soldiers to engage the enemy. With 3000 men Cheng Ho marched through a circuitous route, throughout the night,

attacked the capital and took possession of it. After a battle which raged for 6 days Alakesvara, his wife, children and the officers of his court were taken prisoners to the Imperial Court in Beijing. Although Yung Lo's ministers wished the death sentence to be passed on Alakesvara, the Ming Emperor forgave him and with great magnanimity not only released him and his family members, but also provided them with food and clothing. It is said that the Chinese emperor advised the captives from Sri Lanka to select a virtuous person from among their tribe to be appointed king. The captives unanimously declared that the most worthy man among them was Yeh-pa-nai-na and "accordingly he was sent out bearing the seals of office and proclaimed king under Chinese suzerainty. The deposed monarch was also sent back again. From this time onwards, the barbarian nations across the sea showed themselves more submissive to the majestic virtue of the Son of Heaven" says the Ming Shih.¹⁰

Cheng Ho was obviously attempting to persuade Sri Lanka to accept the supremacy of the Ming Emperor, and the methods he employed were as a rule diplomatic and friendly. The Ming foreign policy was quite different from that of the Europeans who followed them to the Indian Ocean a century later. They both came for trade purposes but the Chinese did it diplomatically, by influence and bribery, dispatching huge armadas carrying gifts and trade commodities. They sent massive treasure ships carrying a huge array of guns and a traveling army of soldiers, a potent reminder of the Imperial might of China. They would thus show friendly countries that China alone had the power to protect them from their enemies and from domestic upheavals. Joining this commonwealth of tribute trade states gave the neighbouring rulers the opportunity of visiting the oldest and finest cultural capital of the world. Great efforts were also made by the emperor to learn about the history, geography, manners and customs of the countries visited by his admirals. Compare this with the attitude of the Portuguese, the first European who ventured into the Indian Ocean whose trade policies were equated with plunder and instead of exploration resorted to extermination of existing cultures.

The Ming Emperor despite his normal diplomatic initiatives, did not hesitate to resort to force against defiant rulers as in the case of Sri Lanka in 1411. Alakesvara's attempts to capture Cheng Ho and plunder his ships was seen as an affront to the Ming Emperor. Under similar circumstances, elsewhere too the Chinese adopted firm and coercive measures to assert their authority. While on his fourth expedition (1413-1415), Cheng Ho received imperial orders to lead his forces against a usurper named Sekander who had snatched the throne at Semudara (north Sumatra) from Sultan - Zain Al-Abidin and to restore the rightful king.¹¹ Orders were executed to the letter and the usurper, his wife and child were taken as prisoners to Beijing as in the case of the Sri Lankan ruler; but whereas Alakesvara was treated well, the usurper Sekander was put to death. Cheng Ho had fought and defeated a powerful Chinese pirate who had robbed merchants and obstructed Cheng Ho's fleet at Sri Vijaya. On his 5th expedition too (1517-1519) he had to show his military strength at Mogadishu and La'sa in Arabia.¹² The Ming rulers had employed threats of force against Japan. So the hostile attitude in Sri Lanka was not strange except that the episode ended with great magnanimity and generosity on the part of the Ming Emperor.

It was mentioned earlier that the Ming Emperor ordered the Sri Lankan captives to select a worthy member of their tribe to be their ruler and the choice fell on Yeh-pa-nai-na according to the Chinese account. Accordingly he was sent back to Sri Lanka bearing the seals of office and proclaimed king under Chinese suzerainty. The deposed monarch, Alakesvara was also sent back. There is a dispute among Sri Lankan scholars regarding the identity of Yeh-pa-nai-na, the nominee of the Chinese emperor. The well known Sri Lankan scholar S. Paranavitana identifies him as Parakrama bahu VI of Kotte whereas other scholars are of the view that he was Parakrama Apana. G.P.V. Somaratne deriving his evidence from Portuguese and Sinhala sources has arrived at the conclusion that Parakrama Apana the new king was assassinated on the same night as he arrived in Sri Lanka in 1414 and Parakrama bahu VI who had been ruling in Rayigama for 3 years became king of Kotte.¹³ He

was the last great ruler of Sri Lanka who unified the country and ruled till 1467.

The fourth expedition 1413 -1415 ¹⁴

On this voyage too Cheng Ho's fleet touched in Sri Lanka. This was the first occasion that Cheng Ho's ships sailed further than Calicut while a branch expedition sailed to Bengal. The Muslim interpreters Ma Huan joined in this voyage for the first time. He proceeded to the Maldiv Islands, the island of Hormuz on the Persian Gulf and the Hadramant coast in Arabia. It is possible that Cheng Ho a staunch Muslim undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca on this voyage. As a result of this voyage, envoys from 10 countries returned with Cheng Ho to show their submissive respect to the Son of Heaven.

The fifth expedition 1417-1419

As a further indication of his good will the emperor commanded the Admiral to escort the envoys to their respective countries. One detachment left the main fleet and sailed to Bengal and the others continued up to Calicut touching at Sri Lanka and proceeded to Hormuz and Aden. For the first time his ships reached the East coast of Africa calling at Mogadishu, Brava and Malindi. It was on this voyage that Cheng Ho had to make a show of military force, at Mogadishu and La' Sa. He returned to China in 1419.

Sixth Expedition 1421-1422

This too touched at Sri Lanka along the customary route and sailed as far as the African coast, visiting Mogadishu, Brava in Somalia and possibly the island of Zanzibar. The rulers and chiefs of these places sent envoys with tribute and gifts to the emperor.

Seventh Voyage 1431-1433

Yung Lo died in 1424 and with his death all the excitement over maritime exploration stopped. The new emperor Hung hsi vigorously opposed Cheng Ho's expeditions. The administrative

officials opposed the growing power of the eunuchs and Cheng Ho and others were recalled. However, Hung hsi died in a few months and the next emperor Hsuan To tried to renew the policy of exploration. As a result a hundred ocean going vessels set sail and one flotilla went directly to Bengal and rejoined the other, which had touched at Beruwela (Pieh-lo-li) in Sri Lanka and then to Calicut. It sailed to the Arabian Peninsula and the African coast. Although Cheng Ho did not go to Mecca, the other writers such as Fei Hsin and Ma Huan reported visiting the Kaaba Mosque and the tomb of Mohammed in Mecca.

Very little is known about Cheng Ho after the seventh trip. It is said that he died in Calicut on his return journey, and with him the chapter on the history of Chinese navigation came to a close.¹⁵

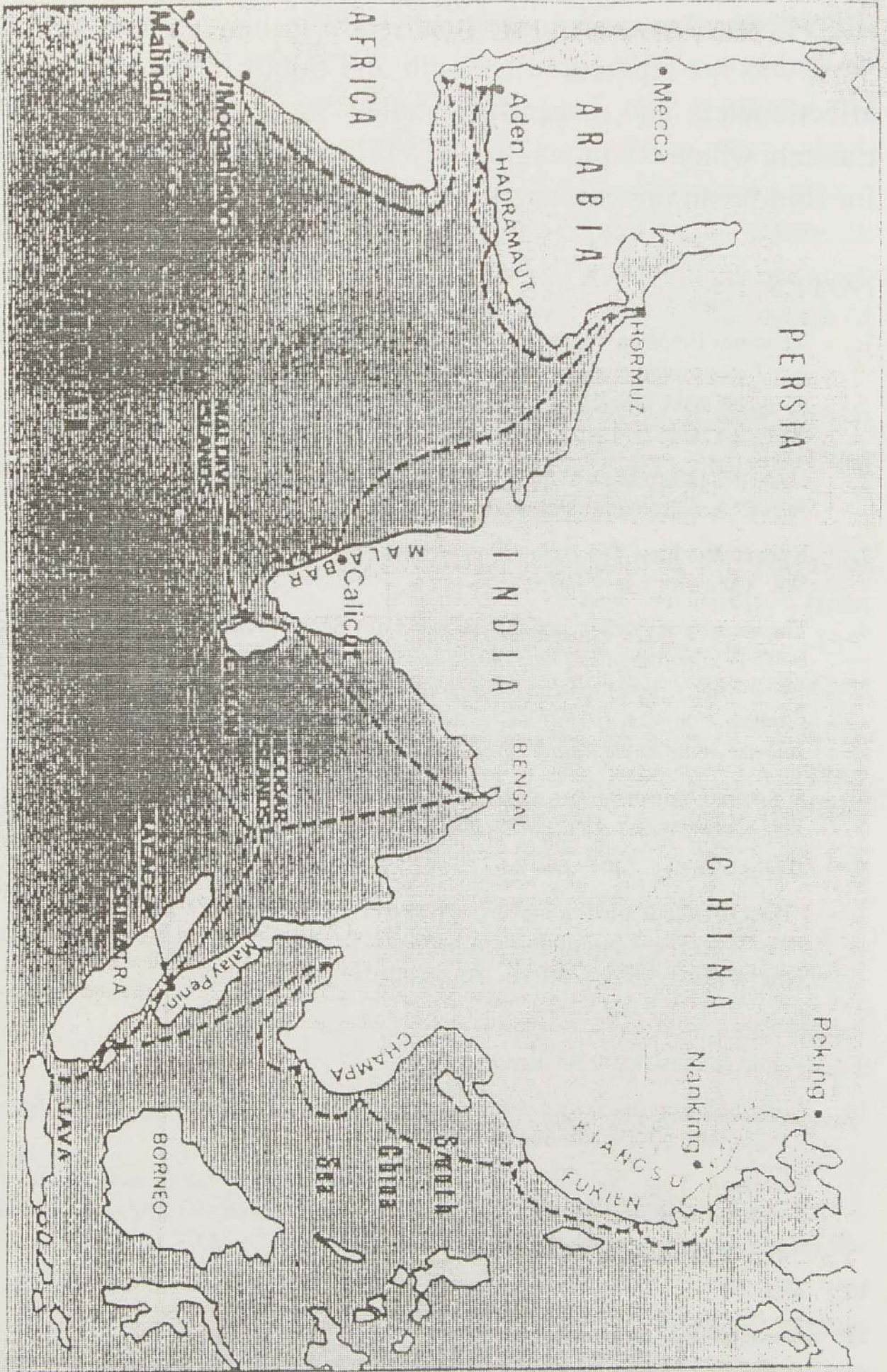
Since then Sri Lanka relations continued to the reign of Parakramabahu VI of Kotte. According to Ming shi envoys from Sri Lanka bearing tribute reached China in 1416, 1432, 1433, 1436, 1445 & 1459. Although the Chinese sources say that these missions were headed by the Sri Lankan king in person there is no evidence from Sri Lankan sources that the king was away from the country at any time. Perhaps a relative of the king or a high official may have represented the monarch. Although no further missions are mentioned trade between the two countries continued.

Cheng Ho was of Arab - Mongol origin and being a Muslim, speaking Arabic and used to Arabic customs he was ideally suited to visit the countries where Islam was the state religion. When Mongol territory was incorporated into the Ming Empire, in 1381 military officers captured several young boys from the area and took them to Nanking, where after castration they would usually serve in the Imperial Palace as guardians of the Emperor's harem. Later Cheng Ho played a key note in the battles that ended with the fall of Nanjing and the elevation of Yung Lo to the throne. He was rewarded for his bravery by being made the Director of Eunuch Affairs and Commander in Chief of the Navy. He had sworn to do the bidding and loyally serve the Ming Emperor. Although Cheng Ho was a Muslim and made at least one pilgrimage to Mecca, Buddhism attracted him and he took the Buddhist name Fu shon. Because of his religious

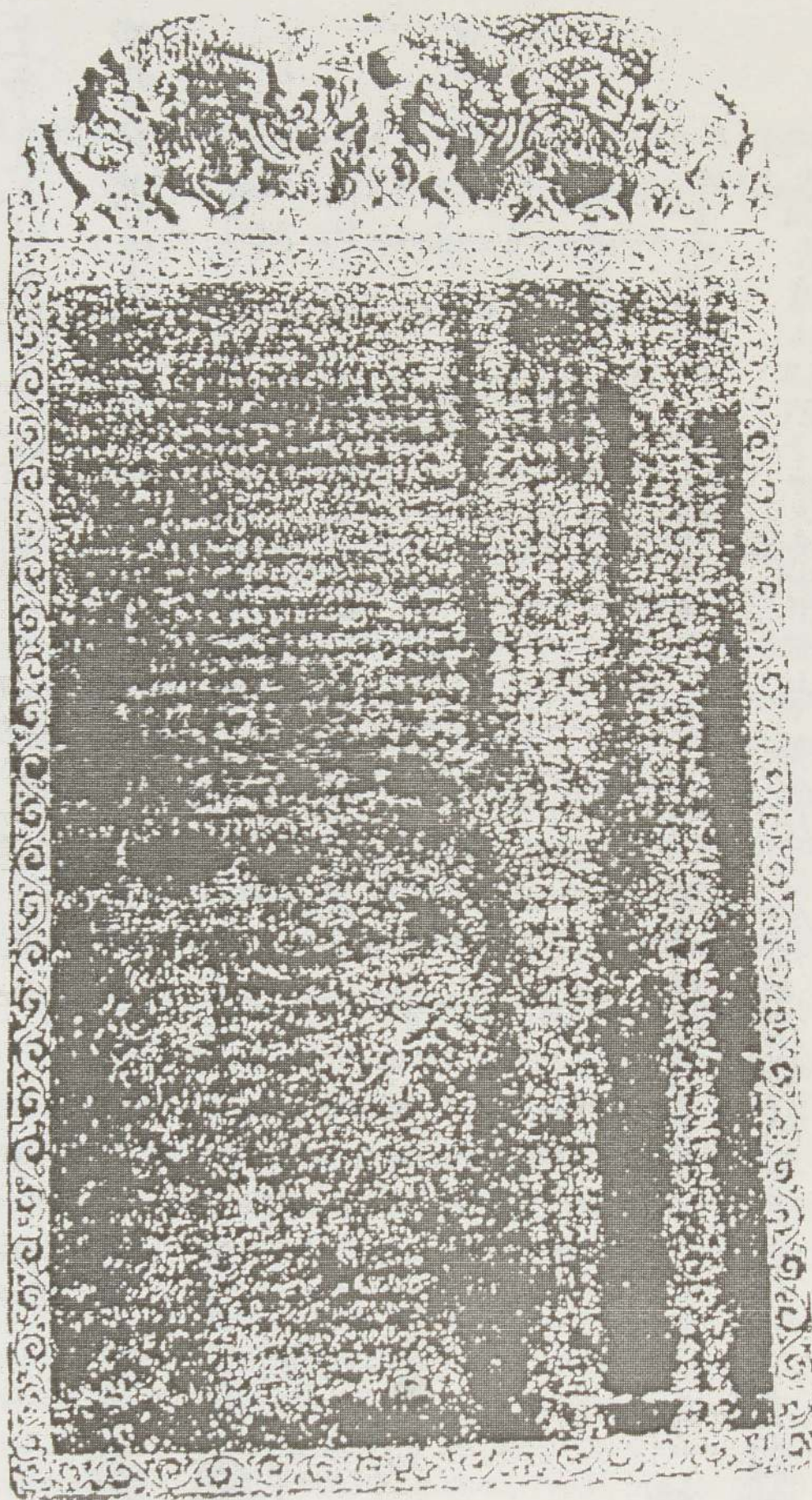
ecclecticism and for diplomatic reasons he invited Buddhist monks and Muslim Imams to accompany him in his overseas missions. Such was his reputation in South and South East Asia that he is affectionately and respectfully called San Pao - the Three Jewel Eunuch, which is a pious Buddhist title.¹⁶ Perhaps it was his respect for Buddhism that attracted him at least 6 times to Sri Lanka.

NOTES

1. Sir James Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon, An Account of the Island: Physical, Historical and Topographical*. Two Volumes, Sri Lanka, 1977. pp 514-529, Tennent, one of the most brilliant Colonial Secretaries that Sri Lanka had in British times has discussed in detail the Sino-Sri Lanka connection quoting original Chinese sources.
2. I owe this information about the Ming rulers to the book by Gavin Menzies. *1421 The Year China discovered the World: 2002-2003*.
3. Nora C. Buckley, The Extraordinary Voyages of Admiral CherpHo in *History Today* Vol. XXV, No. 7 July 1975.
4. The identity of Alakesvara and the visits of Cheng Ho have been discussed in detail by G P V Somaratne, *The Political History of the Kingdom of Kotte 1400 - 1521*. 1975. Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Univesity of London, Colombo 1975. Also by the same author, "Grand Eunuch Ho & Ceylon", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, New Series Vol. XV, pp.36-47.
5. *Ming Shih* translated by Lionel Giles, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon*, Vol. XXIV, No. 68, 1915-1916, pp 1-20-123.
6. Gavin Menzies, *1421, The Year China discovered the World*, 2002, 2003. p. 114.
7. "The Galle Trilingual Stone" by E.W. Perera, in *S polia Zeylanica* Vol. Viii pp. 122-131, "The Tamil Inscription on the Galle Trinlingual Slab," by S Paranavitana in *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol, III, No. 36 pp. 331-341..
8. *Ibid*
9. For details see G P V Somaratne, op.cit.
10. *Ming Shih* translated by Lionel Giles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon*, Vol. XXIV. No. 68 pp. 119 ff.
11. Ma Huan, Ying -Yai Sheng-Lou, *The overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores (1438* translated from the Chinese text edited by Fen g Ch'eng - Chin with introduction notes and appendices by J V.G. Mills, Bangkok, 1997, p. 13.)
12. *Ibid*
13. For details see, Somaratne, op.cit.
14. Regarding all these visits I am indebted to Mill's work.
15. Gavin Menzies, p. 75 p.
16. Nora C. Buckley, in *History Today*, Vol. XXV. No. 7 July 1975. p. 467.



Cheng Ho's Sea Routes



7

大明

皇帝遣太監鄭和王清濂等昭告于

佛世尊 曰仰維德尊圓明廣大道德玄妙法濟群倫魔劫河沙約歸化能行慧方妙應無方惟此佛世尊

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金壹千錢 銀伍千錢 各色綵絲伍拾尺 各色絹伍拾尺 織金綵絲寶幡肆對 納紅貳對 黃壹對 內陸對

古銅香爐伍個 金座金古銅花瓶伍對 金座金黃銅燭臺伍對 金座金黃銅燈蓋伍個 內陸對

蘇紅漆戲金香盤伍個 金蓮花陸對 香油貳斤伍佰觔 熾燭壹拾對 檀香壹拾對

Last Days of Politics in the Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka: A Feudal Tendency Aided by a Foreign Power?*

by
K. M. P. Kulasekera

The cession of the Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka to the British and the establishment of British power in those provinces in 1815 may be regarded as an example of colonial expansion aided by a group of nobles. Although the British were undoubtedly the much stronger power they faced the need to find collaborators in their determined bid to add the Kandyan Kingdom to their possessions in the Maritime Provinces of Sri Lanka. They found them in the nobility of the country, who in spite of differences among themselves considered it to be in their interests to align themselves with the British against the ruling monarch.

The main feature of Kandyan politics especially during the period, 1812-1815, was an intensification of political instability in the Kingdom leading to its cession to the British in 1815. This may be attributed to internal tension exacerbated by an external factor. This external factor was provided by the British who ruled the Maritime Provinces.¹ The internal tension was visible in the Kandyan political

¹ The British occupied in 1796 the Maritime Provinces of Sri Lanka which were under the control of the Dutch. For detailed analysis of the acquisition of Dutch possessions by the British and their rule in the Maritime Provinces from 1796 to 1815, see Colvin R. de Silva, *Ceylon under the British Occupation, 1795-1833*, Vol.I (Colombo, 1953), pp. 16-53, 201-291; V.L.B. Mendis, *The Advent of the British to Ceylon, 1762-1803* (Dehiwala, 1971); K.M. de Silva (ed.), *University of Ceylon: History of Ceylon*, Vol.III (Colombo, 1973), pp. 1-11, 34-47 and K.M. de Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka* (Madras, 1991), pp. 210-19, 254-64. The social and economic policies followed by the British during the English East India Company's administration from 1796 to 1802 and their impact are analysed in depth in U.C. Wickremeratne's, *The Conservative Nature of the British Rule of Sri Lanka with Particular Emphasis on the Period: 1796-1802*, (New Delhi, 1996).

scene as a power struggle between the nobles and the King which might be considered as indicating a feudal tendency in Kandyan politics.

The term 'feudal tendency' calls for some explanation. According to Marc Bloch, the fundamental features of feudalism were 'a subject peasantry; widespread use of the service tenement (i.e. the fief) instead of a salary which was out of the question; the supremacy of a class of specialized warriors; ties of obedience and protection which bind man to man and, within the warrior class, assume the distinctive form called vassalage; fragmentation of authority - leading inevitably to disorder; and, in the midst of all this, the survival of other forms of association, family and State....'² From among these features, particularly relevant in the present context is 'fragmentation of authority - leading inevitably to disorder' or, in other words, feudalism coinciding with 'a profound weakening of the State, particularly in its protective capacity'.³ Under feudalism, while in theory the king was the highest political authority and the crucial factor in the system of land tenure, in actual fact he was often less powerful than other nobles of the realm.

It is intended in this essay to examine whether the power struggle between the nobles and the king in the Kandyan Kingdom in its last days had led to an emergence of a situation which approximates to the above observations made by Marc Bloch and also to analyse the respective roles played by the nobles and the British in putting an end to the existence of that Kingdom as an independent state.

The nobles in the Kandyan Kingdom can be regarded as a homogeneous group. They belonged exclusively to the 'Radala' grade of the 'Goyigama' caste. According to the conventions and rules of caste they were strictly endogamous. This sense of belonging to the highest grade of the highest caste provided them social pre-eminence. This Radala nobility, apart from being socially superior,

² Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society* (London, 1971), p. 446.

³ *ibid.*, p.443

was also politically strong and economically privileged. According to a pithy and insightful remark made by a modern historian,

The Kandyan aristocracy was a land-owning oligarchy held together by innumerable ramifications of blood-ties and marriage relationships Their wide land possessions brought them political pre-eminence and gave them economic control in a national economy based entirely on agriculture; a social system based on caste gave them considerable influence; an imperfectly supervised, though centralized, administration presented them wide opportunities of corruption and the extensive control of the governmental machine which has been vested in them proved a source of unrestricted power.⁴

Their economic strength was mainly derived from land - the most common form of wealth in the Kingdom. In the Kandyan Kingdom most superior rights emanated from the King and ultimate rights over land lay with him. In other words, to a very large degree, there was no absolute right to land, independent of the King.⁵ Nevertheless, the *Radala* nobility was in a very predominant position with regard to land distribution and control in the Kingdom. They enjoyed *paraveni nindagam* as hereditary lands. Since successive Kings granted these lands, wide landed possessions were accumulated by the nobility. No one could dispossess them except the King. When the nobles were appointed to superior offices in the monarchical administration such as *adigars*⁶ or chief ministers and *disavas* or provincial governors, they were granted *saramaru nindagam* as maintenance lands. As long as they held those offices, they enjoyed these lands in addition to their hereditary lands.

⁴ Colvin R. de Silva, Vol. I, pp. 131-2

⁵ See K.M.P. Kulasekera, 'The Organizational Base of a Pre-modern Polity: An Examination of the Socio economic and Political Structure of the Kandyan Kingdom' in Ven. Tapovanaye Sutadhara et al. (eds.), *Kalana: G.S.B. Senanayake Upahara Granthaya* (G.S.B. Senanayake Felicitation Volume, Colombo, 1996), pp. 225-33.

⁶ 'Adigar' is an anglicism of the Sinhalese term, *adhikarama*.

Similarly, the nobles who were appointed to the important lay offices in the religious organization such as *diyavadana nilame* and *basnayaka nilames*, who being administrators of *maligagam* and *devalagam* respectively, enjoyed considerable amounts of such temple lands as long as they held those offices. Moreover, even in the *sangha* organization, the major land-owning temples, the two monasteries of the capital, Malvatta and Asgiriya, in particular, were headed by monks recruited from the *Radala* nobility. Thus the *Radala* nobility enjoyed a large proportion of lands in the Kingdom. Land provided not only economic security but also certain amount of political power. The nobles had much influence and considerable control over the tenants who lived in their *paraveni nindagam* and on other lands in which they enjoyed usufructuary rights. These tenants formed the retinue of the nobles and were in general very loyal to them. The political power and social prestige of the nobles were further supported by the fact that they 'monopolize[d] all the honours of church and state and possess[ed] all the hereditary rank in the country'.⁷ All the high offices attached to the King's palace, the high offices of the central government and provincial administration under the monarchy were exclusively held by them and the executive and judicial powers which were attached to these offices gave them additional political strength and social prestige. In addition, particularly those who held the offices of adigar or chief minister and *disava* or provincial governor enjoyed certain military powers as seen from the system of conscription which operated in times of national emergency such as war. In such a situation, under the orders of the King, the *disavas* enlisted a representative or two from each service holding in their respective *disavanis*⁸ (territorial divisions under *disavas* or provincial governors) and brought them to the field. The first adigar or chief

⁷ John Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon and of Its Inhabitants with Travels in that Island* (London, 1821; later published as *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. XVI, Dehiwala, 1969. Page references are from *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.), p.86.

⁸ Under the Kandyan monarchical administration, there were two types of territorial divisions, namely, *ratas* and *disavanis*. Those in close proximity to the capital were called *ratas* while those more distant from the capital were known as *disavanis*.

minister led the army on the battle field.⁹ Besides, the lay offices in the religious organization were monopolized by *Radala* nobles. All these factors combined to make the *Radala* nobility a powerful group in Kandyan politics under the monarchy. However, it is important to note here that even among *Radalas*, some families were stronger and more powerful.

In common with pre-modern monarchical governments, in Kandy too, there was a lack of fit between political, economic and social positions. The Kandyan nobility who belonged to the highest caste and enjoyed large possessions of land had a strong social and economic position. But they lacked political strength. They obtained from the King all appointments to the offices of the monarchical bureaucracy which gave them executive and judicial powers and political strength. Even with regard to the possession of land, they did not have rights independent of the King. On the other hand, the King had political strength and supreme rights over the economic resources over the Kingdom and was considered as occupying the highest position in society. He did not have any marriage or blood relationship with the nobility which enabled him to keep a distance from the highest social stratum and to exercise his political authority without any hindrance emanating from marriage obligations. Thus the King's relationship with the nobility was defined solely in terms of politics. However, he could not rule the country without their support. Moreover, being a member of the Nayakkar dynasty, the King who was a non-Sinhala and a Hindu by birth was an outsider to the Kandyan Kingdom.¹⁰

In addition, when we focus our attention on the first adigar - the key figure in the nobility around whom a group of nobles often rallied against the King - we may see that his position in the Kandyan monarchical system was somewhat paradoxical. The first adigar

⁹ The nature of the Kandyan military service is discussed with some detail in Kulasekera, 'Organizational Base of a Pre-modern Polity', pp. 234-5, 244.

¹⁰ cf K.N.O. Dharmadasa, 'The Sinhala Buddhist Identity and the Nayakkar Dynasty in the Politics of the Kandyan Kingdom, 1739-1815', in Michael Roberts (ed.), *Collective Identities Nationalism and Protest in Modern Sri Lanka* (Colombo, 1979), pp. 99-128.

who held additional offices under the monarchy as well, received all of them from the King. On the other hand, he himself was more or less a king-maker. For example, after the death of King Rajadhi Rajasimha in 1798, the first adigar, Pilima Talavve, ignoring all other claimants to the throne, was successful in the enthronement of Kannasami, a rather obscure Sri Lankan-born Nayakkar youth who did not have very strong claims to the throne, as Sri Vikrama Rajasimha.¹¹ As long as the King acted according to the wishes of the first adigar, there was no conflict between them, but when the King attempted to loosen his dependence on the adigar, the conflicts began. At times, one could notice another aspect of this power struggle as well. The first adigar attempted to become the King himself. The role played by the first adigar, Ahalepola in Kandyan politics in 1814 and 1815 provides a clear example of this.

It should, however, be noted here that all the nobles were not opposed to the King. In fact, rivalry and factionalism were rampant among the nobles. The reasons for these rivalries and disputes were partly personal, but it appears that they go deeper into the Kandyan socio-economic and political structure. All the offices in the monarchical administration were graded; each office was further privileged with immunities and numerous land rights granted to the office holder by the King. Moreover, a single noble could obtain several offices simultaneously if he won the special favour of the King. Such a possibility, in turn, increased the political and economic strength of the holder of those offices. For these reasons, the offices in the monarchical administration were much in demand and the *radala* nobles competed with one another for them. Besides, the King granted *nindagam* to nobles holding office and those loyal to him. Even the confiscated *nindagam* of disloyal and traitorous nobles were granted to those who were considered well-disposed towards him.¹² Thus there was a tendency towards the formation of factional groups among the nobles for or against the ruling monarch.

¹¹ Davy, p. 233.

¹² For example, in 1814, Sri Vikrama Rajasimha confiscated the lands of Ahalepola who was considered traitorous and gave them to Molligoda who was considered loyal. 'Molligoda Sannasa of 1814', H.C.P. Bell, 'Report on the Kegalla District of the Province of Sabaragamuva', *Ceylon Sessional Paper XIX of 1892* (Colombo, 1892), pp. 102-3.

The role played by the nobles in Kandyan politics was a vital factor which determined the fate of the Kingdom. The internal tension of the Kingdom undoubtedly contained an element of personal interests but it was more than a personal conflict between the nobles who rallied around the first adigar and the King.

The pertinent point is that this inherently normal conflict between the King and the nobles was in this specific instance aggravated and exacerbated and brought to a head by the external factor of the presence of the British in the Maritime Provinces.

The main interests of the British in the interior were centred around political, economic and strategic factors. For the British, the island of Sri Lanka was 'an outwork of the British Possessions in India'.¹³ In this context, the existence of an autonomous state in Sri Lanka which was free from their influence and control was seen as a threat to the interests of their empire in India. In pursuance of the traditional policy of seeking the support of one European power to remove others who had occupied the Maritime Provinces, the Kandyan Kingdom had been constantly aiming at obtaining the support of another European power. This constituted a danger to British political power not only in Sri Lanka but even in India. The economic interests of the British centred around their desire to obtain an exclusive monopoly of the cinnamon trade, the right to cut wood throughout the Kandyan territories, the abolition of frontier duties and the establishment of free trade between the Kandyan and Maritime Provinces.¹⁴ The British made several attempts to sign a treaty with Kandy¹⁵ which would facilitate trade, but the negotiations proved futile owing to conflicting interests of the parties. While the British were interested in establishing their commercial penetration in the Kandyan Kingdom, the Kandyans were interested in obtaining

¹³ Camden to Maitland, 21 February 1805, CO 55/62.

¹⁴ North to Secret Committee, 4 April 1800, CO 54/2.

¹⁵ It is relevant to note here that it was about this time that Wellesley under his system of subsidiary alliances pursued a policy of entering into protective alliances with Indian princes under British paramountcy. The influence of Wellesley's system of subsidiary alliances on Governor North's Kandyan policy is discussed in U.C. Wickremeratne, 'Lord North and the Kandyan Kingdom, 1798-1805', *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society Great Britain and Ireland*, 1973, pp. 31-42.

a port in the Maritime Provinces. They were never able to reach a compromise. Ultimately, Robert Brownrigg, the British Governor, ten months before the British invasion of Kandy concluded that any commercial treaty or more intimate connection could not be established with Kandy 'without a radical change in the Government of that Kingdom'.¹⁶ The strategic factor was the desire to open inland communications between Colombo and Trincomalee which was of vital importance as a naval base in the Indian Ocean.¹⁷ More, the communication with and control over their northern and eastern territories in Sri Lanka from Colombo made it necessary for the British to obtain some sort of control over the Kandyan Kingdom. Under these circumstances, the British were prepared to interfere in Kandyan politics.

The tension between the nobles and the King can be traced back as far as the reign of Rajasimha II (1635-1687). In all these instances, the King was successful in overcoming opposition. The tension was intensified and reached a climax, however, after Ahalepola became the first adigar in 1812. It was inherent in his succession to the office itself because he had had some involvement in the unsuccessful conspiracy against the King Sri Vikrama Rajasimha made by his predecessor, Pilima Talave. The King was compelled to appoint Ahalepola as the first adigar because of the influential position which he held in the country. He already held the office of second adigar. In addition, he belonged to a very powerful noble family, the members of which had monopolized the office of first adigar in most instances during the eighteenth century. In the course of time, all the forces and groups opposed to Sri Vikrama Rajasimha began to center around Ahalepola.

An important problem which should be examined at this juncture is the manner in which the King dealt with the nobles, in other words, how he maintained his authority in relation to the

16 Brownrigg to Bathurst, 10 February 1814, CO 54/51.

17 The strategic importance of Trincomalee is discussed in a historical perspective in H.C.L. Caldera, 'Trikunamala Varaye Jatyantara Vadagatkama' (International Importance of the Port of Trincomalee), M.A. thesis (University of Sri Jayewardenepura, 2004).

nobility. Certain traditions and conventions of the monarchical system had also imposed institutional checks in favour of the King in his dealing with the nobility. For example, as we have already noted, the King did not have any marriage or kinship ties with the nobility. It is true that this may have made him alien in relation to the nobles. But, on the other hand, it was one way of keeping his distance from the nobility. In such a situation, he could control the nobles without any kinship obligation to any of them. So Kings were on their part particularly careful not to establish kinship ties with the nobles while preventing any attempts by the nobles to establish marital relationships with the royal family. For example, when, in 1805, the first adigar Pilima Talavve's son married a daughter of Rajadhi Rajasimha by one of his junior wives, Sri Vikrama Rajasimha who feared a future threat to his throne was so angry that he banished the son from his court.¹⁸ Besides, there were certain other means which regulated the social distance between the King and the rest of the people, such as the elaborate ceremonial observed even by the adigars on approaching the King, their prostrations which conveyed an impression of abject servility, numerous exalted forms of address and titles applied to the King, different vocabulary used in conversation with him and with reference to objects associated with him, restrictions on seating arrangements and building houses, and various other points of court etiquette. All this made the King a charismatic figure. However, the important point which should be stressed here is that all these conventions served a political purpose, that is, they enabled the King to maintain his authority.

In addition to these checks inherent in Kandyan monarchical system which operated in favour of the King, Sri Vikrama Rajasimha began a policy of weakening the nobles when he found that some of them were not loyal to him. It is important to note here that although he showed his patronage to the loyal nobles by conferring numerous offices, land and presents, his policy was aimed at weakening and loosening the power and authority of the nobility as a whole. In fact, he had commenced this policy some time earlier,

18 North to Camden, 4 August 1805, CO 54/18.

before Ahalepola became the first adigar. The exposure of the conspiracies of certain nobles headed by Pilima Talavve, the predecessor of Ahalepola, and their connections with the British was no doubt the reason. One technique adopted was to multiply offices. At the time of the accession of Sri Vikrama Rajasimha to the throne there had been two offices of adigar, but he added a third.¹⁹ This multiplication of offices could be considered as a step taken by the King to divide the authority of the adigars and reduce their power and also to set one against the other and thereby minimize the chances of their plotting against him. The King also took certain other steps which had the effect of preventing a concentration of authority in the hands of *disavas* and to weaken their local influence. He resorted to a policy of reshuffling offices and of splitting up the *disavanis*. The *disavani* of the Seven Korales was divided between Ahalepola and Molligoda in 1808. Although the division was not as successful as the King expected, the *disavani* was subsequently divided between Pilima Talavve and Ratwatte.²⁰ The King pursued this line of action in 1814 with regard to the *disavanis* of Uva and Sabaragamuva.²¹ He is said to have been obliged in many instances to introduce new and inferior men into situations of high authority. 22 As in similar monarchical systems, the King made use of rivalries among the nobles. There were by then two groups of nobles under Ahalepola and Molligoda, the second adigar. Apart from their appointment as joint *disavas* over the same province, the King manipulated this rivalry to his advantage by employing the adherents of one adigar to investigate complaints against those of the other. He also revived hitherto inoperative duties such as the *marala* or death duty.²³ Another aspect of the King's policy was the attempt to relieve the people at least to a small degree from the oppression of the nobles. When the King came across any

19 Davy, p. 108

20 *Diary of Mr. John D'Oyly, 1805-1815*, with an introduction and notes by H.W. Codrington, (Colombo, 1917), p. vi.

21 H.W. Codrington, *Notes on Some of the Principal Chiefs and Headmen and Their Dresses* (Colombo, 1910), p.8.

22 Brownrigg to Bathurst, 15 March 1815, CO 54/55

23 Verse 20 of *Vadiga Hatana hevat Ahalepola Varnanava*, cited in Dharmadasa, p. 105.

oppressive acts done by the nobles, they were investigated and those who were found guilty were punished.²⁴ Moreover, the local councils known as *gamsabha* and *ratasabha* were encouraged to arbitrate in disputes instead of leaving that to the nobles.²⁵ Such policies may have had some success but they intensified the existing antagonism among the nobles against the King, which made the political instability more pronounced.

Several other factors increased the hostility between the nobles and the King. When he acted against the nobles, he gradually lost the support of most of them. As a result, he was inclined to trust his Nayakkar relatives and to rely more on their advice, although the latter did not hold officially recognized positions. The King's increasing reliance on the Nayakkars was not acceptable to the nobles as a group. Besides, the Nayakkars had engaged in trade and money lending. Many of the nobles were heavily indebted to Nayakkars of the royal family.²⁶ According to John Davy, a medical doctor who served the British army at the time of the Kandyan conquest, Molligoda, the second adigar, was indebted to Nayakkars to the amount of six thousand pagodas.²⁷ Pilima Talave, the *disava* of Vellassa, had mortgaged his lands to Kumarasvami, a Nayakkar relative of the King, who lived in Gampola.²⁸ This gave the nobles an added incentive to remove the Nayakkars in order to escape from their liabilities.

In view of their weakening as a class, the nobles arrived at a common front against the King, despite their mutual rivalries and animosities. The rallying point of the discontent was Ahalepola, and like his predecessor he turned towards the British for support. He carried on secret correspondence with John D'Oyly, who had

24 Manuscript notes of Simon Sawers, quoted in Henry Marshall, *Ceylon: A General Description of the Island and Its Inhabitants* (London, 1846; later published as *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. XV, Dehiwala, 1969. Page references are from *The Ceylon Historical Journal*), p. 29.

25 *Diary of Mr. John D'Oyly*, pp. x-xi 16 *ibid.*, p. xi

26 Davy, p. 239.

27. Davy, *Ibid*

28 A.C. Lawrie, *A Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon*, Vol. I, (Colombo, 1896), p.63.

been appointed Chief Translator to Government by Thomas Maitland, the second British Governor of the Maritime Provinces, and was placed in charge of correspondence with the Kandyan nobles, Buddhist monks and the court. At first, D'Oyly's efforts were directed at rescuing the British political prisoners who had been entrapped in 1803²⁹ and at concluding a permanent treaty which could ensure peace and enhance the British commercial interests.³⁰ These actions of D'Oyly coincided with Governor Maitland's policy of avoiding hostile relations with Kandy. Maitland was aware that the Kandyan Kingdom might join hands with some other power to expel the British from the Maritime Provinces but at the same time he also realized that the Kandyan forces were too weak to pose any serious threat to the British territories.³¹ Besides, after the failure of North's attempt,³² the Governors were under instructions to maintain friendly relations with the Kandyan Kingdom. So Maitland contended himself with preserving the status quo.

Robert Brownrigg succeeded Maitland in 1812. He had been given explicit instructions to avoid any acts which might disturb the friendly relations with Kandy, to concentrate on the preservation of the Maritime Provinces and not to attempt to acquire new territory,³³ but he secretly cherished the ambition of annexing the Kandyan Kingdom. The aims and objects of D'Oyly's diplomacy accordingly changed in perspective. Although at the beginning he had been much interested in a treaty, having now a firmer grasp of the political situation in the Kandyan Kingdom, he was now becoming more interested in instigating the nobles against the King

29 After the abortive invasion of Kandy by the British in 1803, Major Davie and some others were held prisoners by the King. However, the King later released them except Major Davie, who died a prisoner.

30 Rambukwelle Siddhartha Thero (ed. and trans.) *Letters of John D'Oyly* (Colombo, 1937)

31 Maitland to Camden, 19 October 1805, CO 54/18. It is relevant to point out here that it was about this time that the Anglo-French rivalry raging in India resulted in the final victory of the British.

32 The first British war against Kandy and its failure are discussed in detail in Colvin R. de Silva, Vol. I, pp. 85-128 and P.E. Pieris, *Tri Sinhala: The Last Phase, 1796-1815* (New Delhi, 1995) pp. 38-84.

33 Liverpool to Brownrigg, 31 March 1812, CO 55/62.

and intensifying political instability of the Kingdom in order to create an opportunity to intervene. He employed a large band of paid spies who went into the Kingdom in disguise as Buddhist monks, traders and in other capacities and provided information regarding the internal political situation. There was hardly any important occurrence in the Kingdom which did not soon come to his knowledge. Nobles and officials were won over by rich presents, imported goods, medicines and copious flattery. D'Oyly carried on a regular, secret correspondence with Ahalepola and with two *disavas*, Eknaligoda and Pusvalla.

Meanwhile, the conflict between the King and Ahalepola became gradually acute. As noticed earlier, the King's attitude was not favourable towards him from the very beginning. On various occasions, the King tried to disgrace him. Ahalepola too was not loyal to the King. He did not pay the arecanut revenue in Sabaragamuva to the treasury, unjustly took money from the Tamils³⁴ and protested against the levying of the *marala* duty.³⁵

While disobeying the King he strengthened his relations with the British. At the beginning of 1814, he wrote to D'Oyly: 'If you have a desire for our country, it is good that anything which is done be done without delaying.'³⁶ By implication, he asked the British to occupy Kandy. In the presence of the increasing pressure of Ahalepola, D'Oyly hinted at indirect assurances of aid if he would create a widespread rebellion against the King.³⁷ Ahalepola conspired to instigate such a rebellion in the *disavanis*. Many of the nobles and the people promised to join him, when he started a revolt and entered their provinces with his forces. Ahalepola began a revolt at Batugedara in Sabaragamuva and sent messengers to other *disavanis* to start revolts.³⁸ Although the *disavas* and people in some provinces expressed their willingness to rise in revolt in

34 Davy, p. 239.

35 *Diary of Mr. John D'Oyly*, p. vii.

36 Ahalepola to D'Oyly, n.d. January 1814, CO 54/51.

37 Minute of D'Oyly's conference with Eknaligoda, 5 March 1814, CO 54/51.

38 D'Oyly to Brownrigg, 1 May 1814, CO 54/52.

cooperation with Ahalepola, the revolt was ill-organized. His plan did not work and the expected British assistance was not rendered. The rebel leaders, headed by Ahalepola, repeatedly pressed for British assistance.³⁹ They were prepared to surrender to the British all the provinces which they could conquer on the condition that their ranks, offices and honours and Buddhism were assured of protection.⁴⁰ Five days later, they were so desperate that they offered an unconditional surrender of the Kandyan Provinces in order to obtain their assistance.⁴¹ The British offered very little assistance. They secretly supplied some ammunition to the rebels and allowed the Malay Muhandiram, a Sinhalese headman who was in charge of a troop of Malay soldiers, to go with his followers to the support of Ahalepola on the pretext that the Muhandiram was acting on his own.⁴² Although some nobles had rendered their unconditional support, the British were apparently still under the impression that the situation in Kandy was not favourable for them to intervene directly. Clearly, these events led to the total failure of the uprising. The rebel leaders crossed over to the British.⁴³

Rajasimha acted swiftly to undermine the revolt. His acts of suppression were followed by a more rigid policy against the nobles. Ahalepola was removed from all his offices and his wife and children were taken as hostages. The King appointed Ahalepola's rival Molligoda, who was considered loyal, as first adigar and *disava* of Sabaragamuva. Molligoda was able to crush the revolt. He imposed severe punishments on the rebels. At the very inception of the rebellion, five principal nobles and six Buddhist monks were arrested on suspicion of being traitorous. After quelling the rebellion, Molligoda brought a large number of rebels as prisoners of whom forty-seven were executed. A large number of suspected headmen of the Seven Korales where Pilima Talavve's influence and popularity were very strong and where there was a certain adherence

39 D'Oyly's letters to Brownrigg from 1 May 1814 to 24 May 1814, CO 54/52.

40 D'Oyly to Brownrigg, 11 May 1814, CO 54/52.

41 D'Oyly to Brownrigg, 17 May 1814, CO 54/52.

42 Brownrigg to D'Oyly, 14 May 1814, CO 54/52.

43 D'Oyly to Brownrigg, 24 May 1814 and 25 May 1814, CO 54/52.

to this rebellion, was summoned and about seventy of them were executed by flogging.⁴⁴ Pusvalla *disava* who was an adherent of Ahalepola and who had been corresponding and intriguing with the British and Ahalepola's brother-in-law were also executed. Ahalepola's four children were brutally murdered in the presence of the King in the *devasanhinda* or the sacred precincts between the Maha and Natha *devalas*. His wife and sister-in-law and the wife of Pusvalla *disava* were drowned. Thus, a series of executions were carried out by the King. Six years after the incidents, John Davy wrote thus:

“Executions were at this time almost unceasing; the numbers put to death cannot be calculated; no one was perfectly secure, not even a priest.... To corporal punishments, imprisonments &c. - those minor causes of distress - it is unnecessary to allude; in the gloomy picture they are as lights to shades.⁴⁵”

The King's autocratic policy greatly weakened the Kandyan nobles. Not only their ranks, powers, honours and influence but even their lives were now insecure. Consequently, he was abandoned by all the nobles except for a very few who pretended to a facade of loyalty.

The King was abandoned by the Buddhist monks, too, who were very influential in Kandyan society. Since the leaders of the *sangha* organization were closely related to the nobles they sympathized with them. At first, the common people were not much affected by the conflicts between the nobles and the King. The King's policy against the nobles was in fact at times favourable to the people. As we have seen, the people benefited to the extent to which the King's policy was successful in breaking down or at least decreasing the powers and influence of the nobles. He also took some economic measures beneficial to the people, such as fixing low prices for certain consumer articles like coconut, paddy, rice, salt and cloth.⁴⁶ But other measures were oppressive. When he

44 Davy, p.240.

45 *ibid.*, p. 241.

46 *Diary of Mr. John D'Oyly*, entry of 16 June 1812, p. 115.

divided the Seven Korales between two nobles, people had now to pay duties and perform services to two persons. His policy of conferring superior offices on men of lower status, contrary to custom may have antagonized not only the nobles but also the common people who were particular about the rights, duties and gradations of the social system. Besides, the people were compelled to perform *rajakariya* in an unprecedented manner in public works ordered by the King. In many instances, people in outlying districts were impressed to perform their services and duties in Kandy, which was contrary to custom.⁴⁷ Those who did not obey were severely punished. On the other hand, the influence of the nobles over the people was so strong and intense that there was hardly any chance for the success of a policy against the nobles directed towards winning over the people. Thus the actions of the King led to a certain amount of discontent even among the people. This discontent was later intensified by the steps which he took against Buddhism and the series of atrocities which he committed particularly towards the end of his reign. Unlike his Nayakkar predecessors who had followed a favourable policy towards Buddhism and the *sangha*,⁴⁸ Sri Vikrama Rajasimha, particularly during the last two years of his reign followed a policy which earned him the hostility among the Buddhists. He imprisoned some Buddhist monks and confiscated their properties.⁴⁹ In certain instances, he executed them. He took the unprecedented step of appropriating to his household two villages belonging from ancient times to the *dalada maligava* or the Temple of the Tooth.⁵⁰ He was supposed to have desecrated the sacred precincts of the Maha and Natha *devalas* by executing Ahalepola's children, there. This situation led to the final alienation

47 *Diary of Mr. John D'Oyly*, entry of 23 December 1811, p. 72.

48 For a discussion of the religious policy of the Nayakkar rulers and the mutual relationship between the king and the *sangha*, see L.S. Dewaraja, 'Religion and the State in the Kandyan Kingdom: the 17th and 18th Centuries' in K.M. de Silva (ed.), *University of Peradeniya: History of Sri Lanka, Vol. II* (Peradeniya, 1995), pp. 453-66.

49 D'Oyly to Brownrigg, 17 May 1814, CO 54/52.

50 *ibid.*

of the King from almost all the nobles and monks. Thus, as Ahalepola pointed out, at the end of his reign, the King was like 'a Fish encompassed by a Net.'⁵¹

Thus a very favourable situation had emerged in the Kandyan Kingdom for the British to attempt a conquest. At this stage the roles played by Brownrigg and D'Oyly are of special interest. D'Oyly's policy of setting the nobles against the King had been successful to a very large extent. Most of the powerful nobles were in his diplomatic net. Nobles such as Ahalepola, Eknaligoda and Dolosvalla had come over to the British and most of the others assured them of their support.

Among the powerful nobles only Molligoda was left out, although D'Oyly had tried to win him over. Immediately after the annexation of the Kandyan Kingdom, Brownrigg summarized D'Oyly's role in the diplomatic and political campaign against Kandy:

The Political Correspondence with the Kandyan Government has been conducted by him [D'Oyly] through all its intricacies in a manner highly creditable to his talents a[nd] to his ability a[nd] most zealous exertions I attribute the success which has attended our operations here a[nd] which have terminated in all the Kandyan Provinces being placed under His Majesty's Crown Government.⁵²

Despite instructions not to intervene in Kandyan politics and to maintain the status quo Brownrigg was waiting for an opportunity to annex the Kingdom to the Maritime Provinces. This opportunity was provided by Kandy. Some traders of the Maritime Provinces who went to the Kandyan Kingdom to trade were suspected of being spies and plundered and an ear and a hand of each were amputated. This incident was more than sufficient for Brownrigg to discard the policy of forbearance which had been followed by Maitland and

51 'Queries put to Adigar and his answers', enclosed with Brownrigg to Bathurst, 16 August 1814, CO 54/52.

52 Brownrigg to Sheffield, 10 March 1815, P.E. Pieris (ed.) *Letters to Ceylon, 1814-1824* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 23.

which the Home Government had insisted on.⁵³ His instructions further were that he should avoid punitive action until the British dominions were invaded. There is however clear evidence that Brownrigg was preparing for an invasion even prior to this incident. In these preparations, Ahalepola's guidance had been of tremendous benefit. He provided details of the military and financial strength and internal political condition of the Kingdom. He warned the British not to repeat their previous tactics in any future invasion, and he also advised them how they should conduct the military expedition. It was to be a converging attack: he provided information about different military routes and advised about the strength of each military party which should march along those routes. The places where the King could escape in case of danger and where the royal treasure was deposited or could be hidden were revealed. How provisions should be obtained for the armies was also explained.⁵⁴ The Governor had already made arrangements to mobilize the existing local European and native troops and had applied for reinforcements from India.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, an incident which took place in the Sabaragamuva border of the British territory was tactfully made use of by Brownrigg as a pretext for invasion. The King's troops who chased after a band of rebels of the Three Korales who escaped into the Maritime Provinces, crossed the border in following them. They accidentally set fire to a cottage and soon returned to their own territory. The Governor treated this as a violation of British territory and as a sufficient cause for declaring war against Kandy.⁵⁶

53 Brownrigg to Bathurst, 30 October 1814, CO 54/53.

54 'Queries put to Adigar and his answers', enclosed with Brownrigg to Bathurst, 16 August 1814, CO 54/52.

55 Brownrigg to Abercromby (Fort St. George), 8 May 1814, 21 May 1814 and 5 June 1814, CO 54/52; Brownrigg to Moira (Fort William), 11 May 1814 and 21 May 1814, CO 54/52.

56 Marhall, pp. 109-11.

The invasion and the success of the British put an end to the Kandyan monarchy. The breakdown of the Kandyan political system is demonstrated by the fact that the entire British expedition did not last more than forty days. The decision of Molligoda, the only important noble who had still not come over directly to the British, to surrender shows that the political significance of the Kandyan nobility as an anti-British force was almost non-existent. There was no notable military engagement. The abandoned King who had fled from the city in the face of the advancing British attack was captured on 18 February 1815. The cession of the Kandyan Kingdom was accomplished by the Convention⁵⁷ which was signed between the British and the Kandyan nobles on 2 March 1815.⁵⁸

In conclusion, the long standing political tension between the Kandyan King and the nobles developed into a power struggle between Sri Vikrama Rajasimha and a faction of nobles led by Ahalepola towards the end of the Kingdom. An interesting issue which emerges is whether the ongoing conflict between the King and the nobles reflected a weakening of the King's powers as against those of the nobles, indicative of a feudal tendency in Kandy akin to that in the West. It seems to appear from the foregoing discussion that the collapse of the kingly power was mainly, if not solely, due to the intruding presence of the British and their military strength against the King, rather than due to any inherent strengthening of the power of the nobles. Far from succumbing before the nobles, Sri Vikrama Rajasimha, to the last, not only stood up successfully if ferociously against the chiefs but fell fighting against the combined strength of the British aided by the conspiratorial and desperate

57 Ceylon Government Gazette, 6 March 1815; G.C. Mendis (ed.), *The Colehrooke-Cameron Papers*, Vol. II (London, 1956), pp. 227-30. A Sinhalese copy of the Kandyan Convention is printed in T.B.H. Abeyasinghe, L.S. Dewaraja and G.P.V. Somaratne, *Udarata Rajadhaniya, 1470-1818* (Colombo, 1977), pp. 160-3. An English translation of the Sinhalese text is printed in P.E. Pieris, *Sinhale and the Patriots, 1815-1818* (Colombo, 1950), pp. 591-3.

58 On 2 March 1815, the Convention was read to the adigars, disavas and the Kandyan nobles who had assembled in the magul maduva or the Hall of Audience. It was actually signed on 10 March 1815. *Diary of Mr. John D'Oyly*, entries of 2 March 1815 and 10 March 1815, pp. 223 and 231.

support of the nobles. Hence the existence of any incipient tendency towards feudalism in the last days of Kandy is at best a highly debatable question. However, the fall of the Kingdom took place at the climax of a situation accompanying the power struggle between the King and the nobles in which the British played the crucial military and diplomatic role. The British not only made use of the intensified political instability of the Kingdom, but also succeeded in making the nobility, as a whole, a group of collaborators to their bid to add the Kandyan Kingdom to their territories.

The Peopling of the Maldive Islands: further evidence

by
Vini Vitharana

In my contribution to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, NS., Vol. XLV, 151-77, I have indicated that the greater possibility of the initial peopling of the Maldive Islands was by Westward migrations from Sri Lanka. There are, however, suggestions to the effect that early movements of people southwards from the Western Deccan region occurred under a variety of circumstances that led to the 'discovery' and the original peopling of these Islands (Vitharana, 1997, 132-). This latter route is linked to the SW. Monsoonal Current that flows hugging the Western Coast of the Deccan Peninsula and turns East-wards past the southernmost points of India and Sri Lanka, and possesses no proximity to the Maldivian Archipelago which, at its nearest, is 250 miles away to the South and South West – an approximate two day sailing distance at that time. There was also no particular need to steer a vessel purposefully so far South, as these Islands were not economically productive as to attract sea-going craft of the times, except under some very exceptional circumstances.

Any reference to legendary sea-farers (as in the Buddhist *Jâtaka* stories) to storms, ship-wrecks and drifting people coming ashore (*loc.cit.*) can not, therefore, be linked with that part of ocean around the Maldives. These may be related very conveniently to the region where is located the smaller Laksadvip (Laccadive) group, off the coast of Kerala (S.W. Deccan), and to the ancient sailing route Southwards which is linked with the SW Monsoonal Current that flows in the same direction from the NW Deccan region Southwards from April to September.

The Maldives, on the alternative, lies directly athwart the NE Monsoonal Current which flows West-wards washing the Southern coast of Sri Lanka during the October-March period, and anything drifting in the region during these months has the likelihood of making its way towards the Maldivian region with hardly anything to interrupt its onward progress.

I even appended a map (which I have taken the liberty to reproduce here) encompassing the whole of the Western Deccan coast, Sri Lanka, the Maldivian and Laccadive Archipelagos, the course of the ocean currents, etc. to my article referred to.

As a dweller of the coastal resort of Mt. Lavinia (eight miles south of Colombo) for over four decades certain experiences that I have gained of a few matters connected with the sea appear to possess a direct relevance to my point of view as regards the peopling of the Maldivian Islands. They stand complementary to my remembrance of how the Maldivian sailing vessels of half-a-century ago calling at the Southern ports of Galle and Dodanduva during the mid-year months with the SW Monsoon left for home after October, i.e., with the change of the wind and of the ocean current too (of which I was not particularly interested then).

Since the slow advent of the mechanized fibre-glass boats during the recent times, fishermen from the ports ranging from Negombo (West) to Tangalla (South) – a convex arc of shore-line of 150 miles in length, commenced to reach distant fishing grounds both southwards and westwards staying a few nights over, with their store of ice keeping their catch frozen. At rare instances their engines failed, far out of sight of land.

Now, if and when their engines failed during these particular months, these fishermen have told me, their vessels would begin to drift 'towards the setting sun'.

Living only a quarter mile away (as a crow flies) from my own home in Mt Lavinia, Rajasuriya Rupin - life saver, coast-guard, trader, fisherman, specialist in sea shells (with a small scale domestic museum of their world varieties) all rolled into one, set off to sea in

the late evening of the 23rd November 1960. He was in charge of the 'Velona boat' that belonged to Mr. Ruskin Fernando, proprietor of the garment-manufacturing 'Velona Industries' of (the neighbouring) Moratuwa. Rupin's crew included Geoffrey van Culenburg, Wijedasa, Senaratne and Balasuriya Candradasa. They sailed SW.wards at around mid-night, from the Kinross Club Beach, Wellawatta, and as they were laying their nets far out at sea, their engine ceased to function, and all their efforts to revive it failed. The long-awaited morning saw them drifting away from the direction from which the sun was rising.

They suffered all the physical and mental agonies that normally attend those in distress at sea for six very very long days, and were picked up by a passenger ship, the 'Beach Craft', that was on a S. Westerly course from Colombo to Durban at 4.00 p.m. on the following day (30th). It immediately sent a signal to Colombo: 'Have saved crew of boat Velona', and delivered them to the RAF Base in Gan Island (the southern-most atoll of the Maldives) a short time later. All attention was paid for their recovery in the liner and at the hospital at Gan, for three days, and they returned to the Colombo Airport (Ratmalana) in an RAF aircraft on the 3rd December.

The Sinhala language Sunday Weekly – the *Irida Lankadipa* of the 4th December 1960 reported the news of these men with an account of their ordeal at sea and two photographs taken on their return. In the one reproduced here, Rupin appears in the centre.

Also reproduced here is a portion of that article with the heading and the sub-heading that are translatable as 'Big Mid-ocean Struggle with Death: How a ship sailing in another direction turned out to be saviour!'.

In addition to Rupin, I have met another fisherman, Harison, who lives in his neighbourhood. Twenty one years later, on a day in December 1981 his boat sailing off from Mt. Lavinia was damaged by being struck side-wise by a ship running a parallel course in the opposite direction on an extremely dark and cloudy night. The hull was damaged and the engine ceased to function. The boat was kept

afloat by the crew bailing out the water that seeped in in the morning. Subsequently they plugged the holes in the best way they could, and maintained a continuous effort to bring the engine back to life, not despairing for a few days. Nevertheless, they kept on drifting towards the 'setting sun' without seeing anything else above the level of the water. They were surprised, however, when once the engine sprang to life and, almost in disbelief they turned about and sailed 'towards the *rising* sun' slowly for many hours with no wish to accelerate – lest the engine would break down again, and subsequently, turned angularly during one morning to have the rising sun on the right, i.e., north-wards. They knew that they would cross the shipping lanes or sight some land some-where. They were lucky to see familiar land- marks of Sri Lanka itself and were finally back home.

In both these instances, there is no reason to doubt that the disabled crafts were being dragged away westwards by the NE Monsoonal Current of the season, and it is more than likely that the crews would have reached one of the several atolls of the Maldivian group of 400 miles in length disposed North to South, if their life was spared for a further length of time.

These two anecdotes based on the life-experience of two persons yet living are just two of the several on the kindred theme that I have heard during the course of my domicile in Mt. Lavinia for the last four decades and the association with those that have been engaged in traditional pursuits connected with the sea. Quite a few are the stories related about such 'drifters' who managed to return, and even about those who were not seen again, pertaining to the long era of native out-rigger canoes (the *oru*). To them, the insignificant heroes of which are now dead, I listened with curiosity, interest and sympathy as relevant to each, hardly observing in them any sort of significance as the re-occurrence of a phenomena that would have been the experiences of many local fishermen down the centuries. Once, at a far-off time, a long-drawn series of such occurrences may have lead to the unexpected discovery and subsequent human settlement of an insular region located a few hundred miles off the shores of our island, and spreading over an area ranging from the West to the SW.-the Maldives Island.

It may be reiterated in sum, that the SW. Monsoonal Current flows well over 150 miles to the North of the nearest atolls and is unrelated geographically to the Maldives, whereas the NE Monsoonal Current strikes that Archipelago directly.

Further, a few naval officers whom I have been fortunate enough to meet have asserted their familiarity with the latter Current which they have made use of on their voyages to the Maldives.

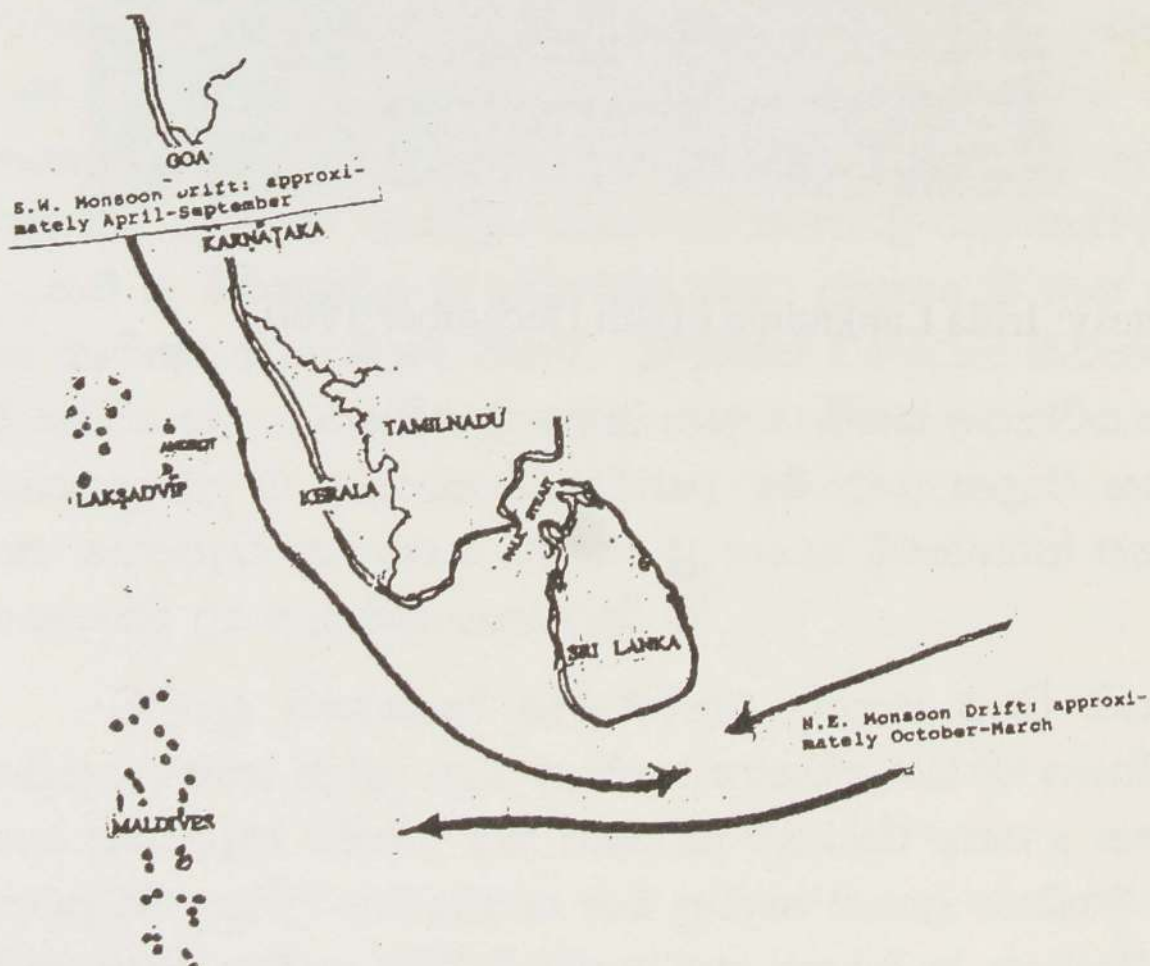
May I also take the liberty of amending 'SSW' to 'SSE' of line 25, page 176 of my article referred to above.

Vini Vitharana

Reverences

- Irida Lankadipa 4th Dec. 1960
- RAS Journal NS., Vol. XIV
- Sri Lanka Maldivian cultural affinities - V. Vitharana, Polgasovita, 1997.

Map reproduced from my article referred to above



කවිතළු සම්ප්‍රදාය*

මහාචාර්ය ගාමිණී දැල බණ්ඩාර

කැලණිය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය

ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයන් අතරින් සාම්ප්‍රදායික සිංහල නාට්‍ය පිළිබඳ පුරෝගාමී අධ්‍යයනයක් කොට ශාස්ත්‍රීය නිබන්ධනයක් මුලින්ම බිහි කරන ලද්දේ මහාචාර්ය එදිරිවීර සරච්චන්ද්‍ර විසිනි. වර්ෂ 1952 දී The Sinhalese Folk Play නම් වූ එම කෘතිය පසුව 1966 දී The Folk Drama of Ceylon නමින් නවීකරණය කොට ඉදිරිපත් කෙරිණි. මේ කෘතියෙහි දී කවිතළුව හැඳින්වෙන්නේ නාඩගම නමිනි. සරච්චන්ද්‍ර මෙහි දී නාඩගම ගැමිනාට්‍යයක් ලෙස හඳුන්වා ඇත. මේ හැඳින්වීම සාවද්‍ය ය. කවිතළුව හෙවත් නාඩගම ජනනාට්‍යයක් නො වේ.

ජනනාට්‍ය වූ කලී පරම්පරානුගත ව ගැමියන් අතර නිරායාසයෙන් පුරුදු පුහුණුව පවත්වා ගෙන යනු ලබන රංග ක්‍රමයකි. ගුරු ආශ්‍රයෙන් තොර ව ජන රංග කලාවක් පවත්වා ගෙන යා හැකි ය. කවිතළුව එසේ පවත්වාගෙන යා හැකි රංග කලාවක් නොවේ. ශාස්ත්‍රීය වශයෙන් සකස් වූ රංගාකෘතියක් මත පදනම් ව නිර්මාණය වූ කවිතළුව එයට අනන්‍ය වූ රංග ක්‍රමයක් හා සංගීතයකට හිමිකම් කියයි. නිදර්ශන වශයෙන් කවිතළුවේ ඒ ඒ භූමිකා සඳහා නිශ්චිත වූ ගමන් තාල භාවිතය පෙන්නවිය හැකි ය. ශාස්ත්‍රනුකූල ව අධ්‍යයනය නොකර මේ රංග කලාව භාවිතයට ගත නොහැකි ය. එසේ වන්නා වූ නාට්‍ය විශේෂයක් ජනනාට්‍ය ගණයෙහි ලා සැලකිය නොහැකි ය.

පිලිප්පු සිඤ්ඤෝ හැරෙන්නට දහනව වැනි සියවසෙහි කවිතළු රචනා කරනු ලැබ ඇත්තේ නාගරික මධ්‍යම පාන්තිකයන් හෝ ප්‍රභූවරුන් විසිනි. එය නාගරික ජනතාව අතර ද ජනප්‍රිය ව පැවතුණි. සුනිල් ආරියරත්න තම පුරාණ සිංහල නාඩගම් පිටපත් එකතුවෙහි දක්වන පරිදි විද්වතුන් සහ ප්‍රභූවරුන් නාඩගම් රචනා

කළා පමණක් නො ව සමාජයේ උසස් යැයි සම්මත එම ප්‍රභූන් නාඩගම් පොත් විකිණීමෙහි ද යෙදී ඇත. ඔවුන් අතර ඉංජිනේරුවන්, මුදලිවරු, මොහොට්ටිවරු, සිංහල, පාලි, සංස්කෘත භාෂාත්‍රය ද, කාව්‍ය, නක්ෂත්‍ර ද දත් පඩිවරු, වෛද්‍යවරු, ගාර්දියවසම් ආරච්චිවරු, නොතාරිස්වරු සහ කොට්ඨාස රාළනාමිවරු ද වූහ.¹

මෙයින් පැහැදිලි වන්නේ 19 වන සියවස අවසාන භාගයේ කවිතළුව පවත්වාගෙන යාමට උත්සාහ ගනු ලැබ ඇත්තේ එවකට සමාජයේ ප්‍රමුඛ පෙළෙහි ලා සැලකුම් ලැබූ ප්‍රභූවරුන් විසින් බවය. මේ කරුණු සලකා බැලීමේදී සිංහල කවිතළුව හෙවත් නාඩගම කවර ලෙසකින් හෝ ගැමිනාටක සම්ප්‍රදායයක් ලෙස සැලකිය හැකි නො වේ.

නාඩගම සහ කවිතළුව

දෙමළ බසෙහි නාටකම් යන පදය පැරණි සිංහලයා භාවිතා කළේ නාඩගම ලෙසිනි. මෙය සිංහල ජන සම්ප්‍රදායේ පොදුවේ නාට්‍ය හැඳින්වීමට යොදාගත් වදනකි. පාරිභාෂික පදයනට අමතරව ජනවහරෙහි වෙනත් යෙදුම් භාවිතා වීම සාමාන්‍යයෙන් සිදුවන්නකි. සොකරි නාටකය හැඳින්වීම සඳහා ද නාඩගම යන්න භාවිත ව ඇත:

ඉන්ද්‍ර දිගට මල්යහනක් සරසවි දෙව්ඳුට ඔබ්බි න්ඩ
ඉන්ද්‍ර දිගේ මල්යහනට නාථ දෙවියො වැඩමව න්ඩ
එමල්යහනෙ වැඩසිටගෙන අපහට කරුණා කර න්ඩ
නාථ දෙවියො අවසර දෙන් සොකරි නාඩගම නට න්ඩ²

මේ පද්‍යය උපුටාගත්තේ, සතර කෝරළය ප්‍රදේශයේ භාවිත වන සොකරි නාටක පිටපතක වන දේවරාධනාවෙනි. ඉෂ්ට දේවතා නමස්කාරයේ දී භාවිත වන පද්‍ය 8 ක සොකරි නාඩගම යනුවෙන් සඳහන් වේ. මේ හැරෙන්නට සත් කෝරළයේ භාවිත වන සොකරි

1 පුරාණ සිංහල නාඩගම් (පු.සි.නා.) පිටපත් සංස්: ආර්යරත්න, සුනිල් (1966), කොළඹ. (ද්.භා.). 18, 19 පිටු.
2 සතර කෝරළයේ, දේවාලේගම, වලගම, එන්. කේ. පුංචිරාල මහතා සතු අත්පිටපත.

පිටපත්හි ද දේවතාරාධනයෙහි මුල් පද්‍ය 12ක සොකරි නාඩගම නටන්තට අවසර පතයි.³ මෙයට අමතර ව ආසන්න ඉතිහාසයේ ආරම්භක සිංහල වේදිකා නාට්‍ය හැඳින්වීම සඳහා ද යොදා ගන්නා ලද්දේ නාඩගම යන පදය යි. සමකාලීන පුවත්පත් තත් යුගයේ නාට්‍ය හැඳින්වූයේ නාඩගම නමිනි.

පැරණි සිංහල කවිතළු පිටපත් පෙළ පරීක්ෂා කිරීමේ දී පැහැදිලි ව පෙනෙන විශේෂතාවක් වන්නේ කිසිදු කවිතළුවක තත් කෘතිය හඳුන්වා දීම සඳහා නාඩගම යන පදය නාට්‍ය පෙළෙහි කවර අවස්ථාවක හෝ භාවිත කර නොමැති බව යි. ඔවුන් විසින් එය හඳුන්වනු ලැබ ඇත්තේ නාටකය, කවීරග, නාත‍්‍ය, ගීරග, විරිඳුරග, නතරැස්ත සහ කවිතළු හෝ කාව්‍යනළු ආදී වශයෙනි:

මා කිවිඳු කරන කවිතළු බසින් දුටුදෝස
සැම සුරණේ මුදනු
- හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර නාටකය⁴

සවන් කළ මෙ නව ඇහැලපල නාටකය පද
කළ විරිඳුරග වනමි සබේ
- ඇහැලපොල නාටකය⁵

පෙර පබඳ කළ සුලඹාවති පුවත නතරැස්ත කවියෙ නා
දර නිබඳ දීර්ග කවීරග වදන වනමි අම තෙපුලෙ නා
- සුලඹාවති නාටකය⁶

නාටකයට සැරසු කිවීරාගයෙන් සිංහවල්ලි
නතරැස්ත වනමි සබේ බැතියෙනා
- සිංහබා හෙවත් සිංහවල්ලි නාටකය⁷

3 සත් කෝරළයේ උහුමිය, තම්මිට ඊ. එම්. අප්පුහාමි මහතා සතු අත්පිටපත.
4 හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර නාටකය (සිතියම් සහිත), සංස්. ද සිල්වා, ඩබ්. ජී. එම්. ජේ., (1901), කොළඹ, 1 පිටුව.
5 පු.සි.නා., (ප්‍ර.භා.), 25 පිටුව.
6 පු.සි.නා., (ප්‍ර.භා.), 273 පිටුව.
7 පු.සි.නා., (ද්.භා.), 27 පිටුව.

පුවත දේවාගමය නිසි වූ යළි දම්බයෙන් කවි
 කල නාටකය ස්තුර න්
 නැවත තුග ජම්ම වූ සිංහලට කිවියරා
 කලෙමි නතුරස්ත දරාග න්
- ස්ථාක්කි නාඩගම⁸

පදට දිනතර කුමරු නාටකය ගොතා පබඳය
 කරමි අසනු සත අමාමුව සේ පෙමා
 නෙතින දර්ශනය කර එවෙනි තතු ගීරගක්
 කරන්නට කිවිඳුහට ප්‍රීති වුන සේ මනා
 රැගෙන නාත්‍ය තාලයට ගීති කළ විරිදුරග වනමි
 සබේ ජම්ම සිංහල අපගෙ ස්වකීය බසයෙනා
 දිනතර නාත්‍ය රඟපෑ අපටා සහ කිවියරහට දෙවි මුනි පිහිටා
- දිනතර නාඩගම⁹

තිබුන වර එය නරඹා කිවිඳු මගෙ සුළු නැතින්
 නාත්‍ය ගීයට නගා රඟක් කලෙ මන මෙණා
 මෙවෙනි නාත්‍ය දර්සනට සතුටින් මෙහි පැමිණි
 සියල්ලටමත් වේවා මන්ගලමි
- සොකරි නාඩගම¹⁰

රැඟු අපට මේ එර්දිතුරග නාටක ගෙණා සහ මැඟු.
 අයට මුත් රැකදෙනු මැන කරුණාවෙනා
- එර්දිතුරග නාඩගම¹¹

මෙහි දොසා ඇති නුමුත් ඉවත හැර මා
 රකිනු මැන දෙවිඳු න්
 සිත ලෙසා පබඳ කලෙ කැලොරිනා නාටකය
 දුබල වූ මවිසි න්

8 පු.සි.නා., (ද්.භා.), 113 පිටුව.
 9 පු.සි.නා., (තා.භා.), 116 සහ 190 පිටු.
 10 පු.සි.නා., (තා.භා.), 191 සහ 221 පිටු.
 11 පු.සි.නා., (තා.භා.), 304 පිටුව.

නෘත්‍ය කල රඟනළු ද මෙහි රැස්වූ සැම දන න්,
 ඔබ නිත්‍ය රකිනු අප සුරිඳුනි මෙන් බෙලෙන් න්
 - කැලෝරිනා නාඩගම¹²

පතර කර රඟ තාලයෙන් කිවි විසර්ජන කෙලෙන්
 සින්නමුත්තු නාටකය නොවී උරණ දෙනු සවන්
 නෙර්ත රඟ කාව්‍යනළු අරිගෙනු දොස් සියළු
 දුහුර්ත දුර්නිමිත්ත දොස් දුරින් දුර රකු
 ශාස්ත්‍රාමුනි අනුභවයෙන් -මංගලම්-
 - සින්නමුත්තු නාඩගම¹³

චිත්ත ප්‍රිය දෙනු සවන් රොලිනා නාටකය
 දිවුනු වැඩි වර්දනට සතුටිනා
 - රොලිනා නාඩගම¹⁴

කරන ලෙස පුවත ඉයුජින් නෘත්‍ය යදිම් සමු
 ලැබෙන ලෙස බැතියෙනා
 - ඉයුජින් නාඩගම¹⁵

ඉහත නිදසුන් මගින් අපට පැහැදිලි වන්නේ තත් නිර්මාණ කරන ලද එක ම නාට්‍ය රචකයෙක් හෝ නාඩගම යන්න තම කෘතිය හැඳින්වීම සඳහා නාට්‍ය පෙළෙහි කිසිදු තැනෙක යොදා ගෙන නොමැති බවත් ඒවා නාටකය, කිවිරඟ, නෘත්‍ය, ගීරඟ, විරිදුරඟ, නතරැස්ස, කවිනළු, කිවිනළු, කවිනළු හෝ කාව්‍යනළු යන නම් වලින් හඳුන්වන ලද බවත් ය. පසුකාලීන ව කවිනළු මුද්‍රණයේ දී නාඩගම යන පදය තත් කෘති හැඳින්වීම සඳහා යොදා ගෙන ඇත.

කවිනළුව සහ ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපුර සමය

කවිනළුව කෝට්ටේ ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපුර රාජධානි සමයේ ජනප්‍රිය ව පැවති බවට තොරතුරු සමකාලීන සාහිත්‍යයෙහි ඇතුළත් ව

12 පු.සි.නා., (ව.භා.), 26 සහ 104 පිටු
 13 පු.සි.නා., (ව.භා.), 108 සහ 170 පිටු
 14 පු.සි.නා., (ව.භා.), 171 පිටුව
 15 ඉයුජින් නාඩගම, (1997). 1 පිටුව

ඇත. බුදුගුණ අලංකාරයෙහි කවිතළු රංගනය හා ප්‍රසූංඡනය පිළිබඳ ව සඳහනක් දැකිය හැකිය:

දුසිරි මඟ නැව	ති
සිල්වත් දනන් සේ නි	ති
කවිතළු රසිනිවි	ති
නටන නටවන අයෙක් නම් නැ	ති ¹⁶

තත් කවිතළු නම් වූ නාට්‍ය විශේෂය රඟපෑම හෝ රඟදැක්වීම සඳහා අනුග්‍රාහකයන් හෝ නිෂ්පාදකයන් වූ වග මෙයින් කියැවෙයි.

ගිරා සන්දේශයේ ඇතුළත් අම්බලමේ ඇති වූ කතාබහේ දී එකල ලක්දිව කවිතළු වූ බවත්, රාමසීතා කථා රංගාකාරයෙන් ඉදිරිපත් වූ බවටත් තොරතුරු පැවසෙයි.

අයෙක් මිසදිටුග	ත්
නොයෙක් කවිතළු රස ද	ත්
පෙර තම තමනුග	ත්
රාම සීතා කතා තෙපල	ත් ¹⁷

එපමණක් නො ව ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපුර කෝට්ටේ රාජ්‍ය භාරය දරූ ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු රජතුමා කවිතළු නැරඹූ බව ද ගිරාසන්දේශය පවසයි:

විරිදුන් හැර දු	රම
වැද රද නීති අස	රම
දූන අවිසිප් ස	රම
සියල් කවිතළු ඇසි නොහැ	රම ¹⁸

සයවැනි පරාක්‍රමබාහු රජතුමා තමන් නාට්‍ය කලාව පිළිබඳ මනා දැනුමකින් යුක්ත ව සිටි බව එතුමා රචිත රුවන්මල නම් වූ නිසිණ්ටු ග්‍රන්ථයේ සඳහන් කර ඇත:

16 බුදුගුණ අලංකාරය, සංස්කරණය - මුනිදාස, කුමාරතුංග, (1930), කොළඹ, 98 පදයය

17 ගිරා සන්දේශය, සංස්කරණය - පියරතන හිමි, මකුළුදූවේ, (1964), කොළඹ, 114 පදයය

18 එහි ම, 153 පදයය

ගැඹුරු නොයෙක් තකු - වියරණ සයුරු තෙර පත්
අත්තෙවලද නළු කවි - සියල්ල ලක්දිව මුළුයේ

වියනෙ පැරකුම්බා - සිරිසඟබෝ නර පවර
සියබස් නම් රුවන් මල් - පැහැයුම් වන් කෙළේ මේ¹⁹

සඳකිඳුරු හා මනමේ නාටක ලියැවී ඇත්තේ දඹදෙණිය නැතහොත් කුරුණෑගල රාජධානි සමය තරම් වූ ඇත අවධියක ය.²⁰ සඳකිඳුරු නාටකයෙහි තත් නාට්‍ය සම්ප්‍රදාය හඳුන්වා ඇත්තේ කිවිරඟ නමිනි. කිවිරඟ කිවිනළු යන්නට පර්යාය පදයකි. බලන්න:

- එ බව මෙහි පළ කො ට
- දුටු දන සිත් සතුවු කො ට
- කිවිරඟ දෙන ලෙස ට
- කිඳුරු දෙදෙනෙක් වඩිති සබය ට

පිලිප්පු සිඤ්ඤෝ විසින් රචනා කළා යැයි සැලකෙන සිංහවල්ලි නාටකය ඔහුගේ ම කෘතියක් නො වන බවට එහි ප්‍රාරම්භ ගායනය දෙස් දෙයි. බෞද්ධ රචකයෙකු විසින් අතීතයේදී රචනා කරන ලද පිටපතක් පසුව මොහු විසින් සංස්කරණය කරන ලද බව තත් ප්‍රාරම්භ ගායනය පරීක්ෂා කිරීමෙන් පැහැදිලි වේ. එහි අවසාන පද්‍යය මෙසේ ය:

තිමිරියට පැහැදීමය දීපමෙන් එළුවදනමුත තෙරුන්ව
 සිහිපරීක්ෂා ගෙන නැ නා

පෙමැති තුට පෙර පැවති පුවත දූන සවන්
 දී මහත් වූ මන් ප්‍රිය වඩව නා

එළුපදට ප්‍රතමකිත් විදාගම තොටගමද
 කවීස්වර පබඳ වූ වදනෙ නා

නාටකයට සැරසු කවිරාගයෙන් සිංහවල්ලි
 නතරැස්ස වනම් සබේ බැතියෙ නා²¹

19 රුවන්මල් නිගණ්ටුව, (2004) සංස්. අබේසිරිවර්ධන, ආනන්ද, නුගේගොඩ, 747, 749 සහ 750 ගී.

20 සිංහල නාටකය හා සඳකිඳුරුව, වික්‍රමසිංහ මාර්ටින්, (1970), කොළඹ, 16 පිටුව.

21 පු. සි. නා., (ද්.නා.), 27 පිටුව.

මෙහි දී විදාගම, තොටගමු සහ කවීස්වර හිමිවරුන් හා කවිතළුව අතර සබඳතාවක් වූ බව කියැවෙයි. මෙයින් පැහැදිලි වන වැදගත් කරුණක් නම් සිංහවල්ලි නාටකය හෝ එයට සම්බන්ධ වූ ප්‍රබන්ධයක් පූර්වෝක්ත තොටගමුවේ, විදාගම සහ කවීස්වර හිමිවරුන් විසින් ප්‍රබන්ධිත බව ය. නොඑසේ නම් ඒ ස්වාමීන්වහන්සේලා විසින් නාට්‍ය සඳහා පූර්වාදර්ශය සපයන ලද බව ය.

සන්දේශ සාහිත්‍යාගත සාධක අනුව එකල ප්‍රසිද්ධියට සහ උසස් භාවයට පත් ව තිබූ දිවයිනේ ප්‍රධානතම විද්‍යාස්ථාන වූ තොටගමු විජයබා පිරිවෙනෙහි සහ කැරගල පත්මාවතී පිරිවෙනෙහි අධිපතිත්වය ඉසුලූ පරිවේනාධිපතීන් වහන්සේලා තත් සම්ප්‍රදාය පිළිබඳ මනා දැනුමකින් යුක්ත ව වැඩ විසූ බව කියැවේ. තොටගමුවේ සිරි රහල් හිමියෝ ඒ බව තමන් වහන්සේ ම පැවසූහ:

ක ද වුරු කුල උපන් රැඳී තොටගමු පිය	ස
සෙ ද දත් සියල් කවිතළු මගද සකු බ	ස
කඳ කුමරිඳු වරලත් පසළොස් වය	ස
ව ද හල රහල් වැඩිතැන් කළැවි සඳෙ	ස ²²

ආරණ්‍යවාසී සම්ප්‍රදායයේ විද්‍යාස්ථානයක් වූ කැරගල පද්මාවතී පිරිවෙනෙහි අධිපතිත්වය ඉසිලූ වනරතන මාහිමියෝ රසයෙන් යුත් කවිතළු මනා ව පරීක්ෂා කර බලා ප්‍රලාපයක් ලෙසින් බැහැර කළහ:

කලා සැට සතර කී ඉසිවරන් ගු	රු
නොලා දොසක් සඳලකරින් කර සොඳු	රු
ග ලා රසෙහි පැවසූ කවිතළු ගැඹු	රු
බ ලා පලාපයකැයි නොකළේ ය ග	රු ²³

එසේ වුව ද කැරගල පද්මාවතී පරිවේනස්ථානයෙහි අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබූ විද්‍යාර්ථීහු කවිතළුව අධ්‍යයනය කළහ යි හංස සංදේශයෙහි සඳහන් වේ. මෙයින් පැහැදිලි වන කාරණය වන්නේ ආගමික වශයෙන් තත් පරිවේනාධිපති ස්වාමීන් වහන්සේ නාට්‍ය

22 පරෙවි සන්දේශය, සංස්. කුමාරතුංග, මුනිදාස, (1959). කොළඹ, 208 පද්‍යය
 23 හංස සන්දේශය, සංස්. වික්‍රමසිංහ, කේ. ඩී. පී., (1966), කොළඹ, 208 පද්‍යය.

ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළ ද සාමාජික අවශ්‍යතාවක් ලෙසින් තම අධ්‍යයන ආයතනයෙහි නාට්‍ය කලාව ඉගෙනීමට අවශ්‍ය අවසරය ලබා දී ඇති බවයි:

අ සේ ස දෙසැ පරසිඳු පොරණ කිවිය	ර
වි සේ සයෙන් පැවසූ නොයෙක මනහ	ර
දො සේ දුරලමිනි සඳ වියරණ ලක	ර
ඇ සේ කියනු විසිතුරු කවිනළු සත	ර ²⁴

ගිරාසන්දේශයෙහි විජයබා පිරිවෙන් වැනුමෙහි සඳහන් පරිදි කවිනළුව එකල තත් විද්‍යාස්ථානයෙහි ඉගැන්වූ බව පැහැදිලි වේ:

සිරි ම ත් සොඳුරු එවෙහෙර තැන තැන ලක	ළ
ඉඳ සි ත් ලෙසට පෙර කිවියර සිරි රුකු	ළ
දූනග ත් සඳලකර වියරණ වියත් මු	ළ
පව ස ත් සකු මගද හෙළ දෙමළ කවින	ළ ²⁵

මෙලෙසින් ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපුර කෝට්ටේ රාජ්‍ය සමයේ වැඩ විසූ ව්‍යක්ත භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේලාගේ අවධානයට යොමු වූ කවිනළුව උන්වහන්සේලාගේ ප්‍රධානත්වයෙන් වූ විද්‍යාස්ථානයන්හි අධ්‍යයනය කළ බව පැහැදිලි වේ.

මෙහිදී අප අමතක නොකළ යුතු තවත් කරුණක් වන්නේ ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපුර සමයේ භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේලා රංගකලාව ආශ්‍රිත නිර්මාණකරණයෙහි දැක්වූ උනන්දුව යි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිංහල ජනතාව අතර ප්‍රචලිත ව ඇති පන්තිනි ඇදහීම ආශ්‍රිත ව පවත්නා සුභකවිනළු ගණයට අයත් දෙවොල්මඩු, ගම්මඩු ආදී ශාන්තිකර්මවල දී භාවිත වන පන්තිස් කෝල්මුර කාව්‍ය රචනය හා නොටගමු සහ වීදාගම පරපුරෙහි ඇති සබඳතා මෙයට මනා නිදර්ශනයෝ වෙති.²⁶

මහානේත්‍ර ප්‍රසාදමූල වීදාගම මෛත්‍රෙය මාහිමියෝ ද තමන්වහන්සේ කවිනළු පිළිබඳ මනා පටුත්වයක් ලබා ඇතැයි පවසති. පද්‍ය බන්ධනය සඳහා උපදෙස් සැපයෙන කෘතියක් වූ

24 නංස සන්දේශය, (1966), 182 පද්‍යය
 25 ගිරා සන්දේශය, 227 පද්‍යය
 26 පන්තිස් කෝල්මුර කවි, (1974), සංස්. සධාජීව හිමි, පරවාහැර සහ හේවාචසම්, ප.බ.ජ., කොළඹ, 17, පිටුව.

විදාගම හිමියන් විසින් රචිත කවිලකුණුමිණිමල් නම් වූ ග්‍රන්ථයේ දැක්වෙන්නේ උන්වහන්සේ කවිතළු ඡන්දස් වියරණ අලංකාර දන් නොයෙක් වියතුන් අභිබවනය කළ බවයි:

පසන් ලක්දිවි සඳ - මුව මඬල මෙන් හොබනා
පලම් අරම් සිරි පිරි - විදාගම වෙහෙර රැඳි
නොයෙක් කවිතළු සඳ - වියරණ ලකර වියතුන්
මුදුන සැදු මෙන් මහනෙන් - පාමුල මහ තෙරිඳු සඳ²⁷

මේ කෘතියෙහි වැඩිදුරටත් කාව්‍ය නාටක නිර්මාණය මගින් කවියාටත් අන් අයටත් ආසිරි ලැබෙන බව සඳහන් කිරීමෙන් පෙනී යන්නේ ඇතමෙක් පවසන පරිදි කවිතළු සාහිත්‍ය පතපොතට පමණක් සීමා වූ පදයක් නොවන බවයි. එසේ ම කවිතළු නිර්මාණයේ දී සම්ප්‍රදාය නොඉක්මවිය යුතු බව ද මෙහි අවධාරණය කෙරේ:

උදෙසා සහා ඇ - කවිතළු පබඳ බඳිමින්
කියුනාහට ද තමහට - ආසිරි වැඩ වඩනේ
ආගම ලොකල් දෙස් - විරිඳු වැකකි ඇ පද දොස්
හැර පොරණ කිවියර කී - කවිතළු හසර නොම සිඳැ²⁸

මෙසේ කෝට්ටේ ශ්‍රී ජයවර්ධනපුර සමයේ අධ්‍යයන ආයතනයන්හි කවිතළු ඉගැන්වීම සිදු වූ අතර එහි ප්‍රතිඵලය වූයේ නාට්‍ය කලාව පිළිබඳ දැනුම වර්ධනය වීම යි. ඉහත අප දුටු පරිදි මහ තෙරවරුන්, රජවරුන් මෙන් ම එකල විසූ ප්‍රභූවරුන් ද කවිතළු පිළිබඳ මනා දැනීමෙන් යුක්ත වූ බව එළි සිලෝ සතකයෙන් පැහැදිලි වේ. මේ කෘතිය රචනා කිරීම සඳහා කතුවරයාට ආරාධනා කළ පනිකි මැති කවිතළු පිළිබඳ මනා දැනීමක් තිබූ අයෙකි:

ර ත් ස ත් ප ත් එක යුත් සුගත් පද මුදුන්
දුන් මල් කඩක් මෙන් නිතින්
යු ත් මෙ ත් ස ත් ගුණයෙන් සතන් රැකි
නැණින් දන් සිප් සියල් කවිතළුන්

27 කවිලකුණු මිණිමල්, 84, 86 ගී

28 කවිලකුණු මිණිමල්

ස ත් කී ත් යු ත් මෙ පනිකිකි
 නම් මැතිතුමෙක් ආරාධනාවෙන් මහත්
 සෙත් අ ත් ප ත් වනු වස් සියක් එළු
 සිලෝ කීමෙන් තිලෝනා වදිමි²⁹

ව්‍යවහාර වර්ෂ 1378 දී පමණ ගම්පොළ රාජ්‍ය සමයෙහි ලියැවිණැයි සැලකෙන මයුර සන්දේශයෙහි ගාල්ල පිළිබඳ කෙරෙන වර්ණනයේ දී බාල අවදියෙහි පටන් කවිනළු පුහුණු වූ කතුන් සිටි බව ද සඳහන් කර ඇත.

බා ලේලේ පුරුදු කවිනළු සිය	ලේලේ
ඊ ලේලේ වදන් දෙන ලඳුනුදු	ලේලේ
නැලේලේ කොතැනකත් ලොව මුළු	ලේලේ ³⁰
ගාල්ලේ සිරිද දකු නොම පැකි	ලේලේ

කවිනළුවේ ස්ථාවර භූමිකාවක් වන කෝමාලි හෙවත් බහුබුක්තියා පිළිබඳ ව සද්ධර්මරත්නාවලිය³¹ සහ සද්ධර්මාලංකාරය³² වැනි චිරන්තන සාහිත්‍ය කෘතීන්හි දක්නට ලැබීමෙන් පැහැදිලි වන්නේ දඹදෙණිය සහ ගම්පල රාජ්‍ය සමයන්හි පවා ඒ භූමිකාව පිළිබඳ ව ලේඛකයින් මෙන් ම ශ්‍රාවකයින් හා පාඨකයින් ද දැන සිටි බව යි. සද්ධර්මරත්නාවලියෙහි සහ සද්ධර්මාලංකාරයෙහි ඉදිරිපත් කෙරෙන තත් උපමා මේ කෘති දෙකට පාදක වූ මුල් පාලි කෘතීන් වූ ධම්මපදට්ඨකථාවෙහි හෝ රසවාහිනියෙහි දක්නට නොලැබේ. ඒවා හුදෙක් සිංහල කෘති නිර්මාණය කළ ගත්කතුවරයින් වහන්සේලා තම අත්දැකීම් ආශ්‍රයෙන් ඇතුළු කළ උපමා ය.

29 එම් සිලෝ සතකය, (1956), සංස්. අභයවික්‍රම, පී.එෆ්.පඩිකාර මුහන්දිරම්, 101 පද්‍යය

30 මයුර සන්දේශය, සංස්. ධර්මවර්ධන, ඩබ්ලිව්.ඒ.ඇෆ්., (1960), කොළඹ, 81 පද්‍යය.

31 සද්ධර්මරත්නාවලිය, සංස්. ඥානවිමල හිමි, කිරිඇල්ලේ, (1961), කොළඹ, 813 පිටුව.

32 සද්ධර්මරත්නාවලිය, සංස්. සද්ධාතිස්ස හිමි, බෙන්තර, (1934), කොළඹ, 312 පිටුව.

සාවද්‍ය අර්ථ නිරූපණ

ගතවර්ෂ ගණනාවක් මුළුල්ලේ ලාංකිකයන් අතර ප්‍රචලිත ව පැවති මේ නාට්‍ය සම්ප්‍රදායයේ ප්‍රභවය පිළිබඳ ව ඉදිරිපත් වී ඇති බොහෝ මතවාද පිළිබඳ ගැටලු පැනනැගී ඇත. එයට හේතු ව තත් මතවාද ඉදිරිපත් වී ඇත්තේ මානව විද්‍යාත්මක හෝ සමාජ විද්‍යාත්මක අධ්‍යයනයන්ගෙන් තොර ව වීම ය. ඇතැම් මානව විද්‍යාඥයින් විසින් කරන ලද පර්යේෂණ මගින් මේ රංගකලාව ලංකාවේ බටහිර වෙරළබඩ තීරයේ වාසය කරන ජනතාවකගේ උරුමයක් ලෙසින් හඳුන්වා දී ඇත ද³³ ඒ පිළිබඳ මේ පර්යේෂණ කේෂත්‍රයෙහි නියුක්ත වූවන්ගේ අවධානය කෙලෙසකින් හෝ යොමු වී නැත. නූතන බොහෝ ලේඛකයින් විසින් කවිතළු සලකනු ලබන්නේ ගැමි නාටක විශේෂයක් ලෙසිනි. එසේ නම් එබඳු ජනශ්‍රැතියක් පිළිබඳ ව කෙරෙන අධ්‍යයනයක දී ඒ කලාව පිළිබඳ ව බැඳුණු සමාජ, ඓතිහාසික හා සංස්කෘතික පසුබිම පිළිබඳ ගැඹුරින් සලකා බැලිය යුතු වේ. එසේ වුව ද ඒ පිළිබඳ ව පර්යේෂණ කළ බොහෝ දෙනා පූර්වෝක්ත සමාජ පරිසරය පිළිබඳ නිසි අවධානයක් යොමු නොකළහු වෙත්. මේ කරුණ කවිතළුවෙහි ප්‍රභවය අරභයා විවිධ සදෙස් මත පහළ වීමට හේතු වී ඇත.

තත්ත්වය එසේ වුව ද කවිතළුව කතෝලික මිෂනාරි ව්‍යාපාරයේ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙස හැඳින්වීම සඳහා ඇතැම් විට සාවද්‍ය අර්ථකථන ඉදිරිපත් වී ඇත. මෙහි දී සරච්චන්ද්‍ර ඇතැම් කවිතළු භූමිකා පිළිබඳ දක්වා ඇති තොරතුරු ශාස්ත්‍රීය නො වේ. නිදසුන් ලෙසින් බහුබ්‍රහ්ම භූමිකාව ඉදිරිපත් කළ හැකි ය. සරච්චන්ද්‍ර බහුබ්‍රහ්මයා ගැන ඉදිරිපත් කරන මතය ශාස්ත්‍රීය නො වන්නේ නාට්‍ය කෘති භාවිතයෙන් තොර ව නිගමනයකට පැමිණ ඇති බැවිනි. ඔහු සඳහන් කරන පරිදි අතීතයෙහි පටන් සිංහල නාඩගමෙහි බහුබ්‍රහ්මයා පැළඳ ආවේ යුරෝපීය නළු සම්ප්‍රදායෙහි කවචයාගේ වේශය අනුව සකස් කර ගන්නා ලද වේශයකි. එබැවින් පැරණි නාඩගම්වල බහුබ්‍රහ්මයා වර්ණනා කොට ඇත්තේ තත්වානුකූල ව නො ව මුල් ද්‍රවිඩ නාටකයෙහි එන සාම්ප්‍රදායික වර්ණනාව අනුව යමින් යයි ඔහු නිගමනය කරන්නේ සාධක කිසිවක් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමෙන් තොරවය.³⁴

33 කියවන්න, Raghavan MD, (1961), The Karava of Ceylon, Society and Culture, Colombo

34 සරච්චන්ද්‍ර, ඵදිරිවීර, (1968), සිංහල ගැමි නාටකය. 150 පිටුව.

එහෙත් කවනළුවෙහි බහුබ්‍රතයා නිරූපණය කර ඇත්තේ දේශීය අන්‍යන්‍යතාවකින් යුතු ව ය. බොහෝ සිංහල කවිනළුවල නිරූපිත බහුබ්‍රතයාගේ හිසකේ හැඩපළ ගෙහි ඇත; නරිදත් සේ දත් ඇත්තේ ය; විශාල වූ උදරයකින් යුතු මොහු වලසකු වැනි ය; ස්ත්‍රී ලෝලයෙකි; මහල්ලෙකි; රාගයෙන් යුක්ත වූවෙකි; කෑමට ලොල් වූවෙකි; සුරාවෙහි ද ගිජු වූවෙකි; එසේ ම බොහෝ කවිනළු බහුබ්‍රතයා ජූජක බමුණාට සමාන කොට හඳුන්වා ඇත:

බීත කරයි දුටුවන් සැම සියලා, ගීත නදින්
 කින්කිණි නද සොල්ලා
 ඇත මෑත දුවමින් පැන ලොල්ලා,
 ජුතක වැනි බහුබ්‍රත මහල්ලා

- කැලෝරිනා නාඩගම³⁵

විත්තර නන්දනාකාරෙන් -
 හැඩ ඉස්සර පස්සට මුණු දෙකාරෙන් -
 විස්තර මදුර සිතාමින් - නිසි -
 මෝස්තර ගීතික බමුණු ශ්‍රීභාරෙන්

- රොලිනා නාඩගම³⁶

මුකය බලන් කිරිවවුලා - ලෙස -
 ගොරහැඩි ජුතකයා මෙන් නොවලා -
 ඒමුත් විහිළුගති පාලා - සබ - යේ
 නැටුමට සමතෙක්ය මහල්ලා

- මියුලන් සහ මිලිනා නාඩගම³⁷

සිරස ලමින් තොප්පියකුත්, ජර;
 පුරුස මහළු බමුනෙකුගෙ විලාසත්,
 දෙඇස ඔරවා යකු සේමත්, ගොර
 රකුසු ජුත බහුබ්‍රතයා නික්මෙත්

- දිනකර නාඩගම³⁸

35 පු.සි.නා., (ච.භා.), 26 පිටුව.

36 පු.සි.නා., (ච.භා.), 172 පිටුව.

37 පු.සි.නා., (ච.භා.), 236 පිටුව.

38 පු.සි.නා., (ච.භා.), 117 පිටුව.

දැනය කරතල මෙන් වක පානා;
 සිටන් අගනුන්ඩ යොමානා
 බුකපිසස් දුරිතන්ව අඹානා,
 ජුතක බහුබුත තාල සම්පූර්ණා

- සිංහබා හෙවත් සිංහවල්ලි නාඩගම³⁹

අූත පනිසි සාමුව මෙන් -
 වට දැත දමයි පරඩල් වැනි සුලඟිත් -
 බීත කරයි මදතෙකු මෙන් -
 කැත ජුතක බමුණෙව් ගත ගොරහැඩිවත්

- බැලසන්න නාඩගම⁴⁰

දැනය කරතල මෙන් වක පානා;
 අූත සිටන් අගනුන්ඩ යොමානා;
 බුකපිසස් දුරිතන්ව අඹානා, ජුතක බහුබුත තාල සම්පූර්ණා

-අහැලෙපොල නාඩගම හෙවත් සිංහලේ නාඩගම⁴¹

ඉහත දැක්වෙන උද්ධෘත අනුව අපට ඵලභීය හැකි නිගමනයක් වන්නේ බහුබුතයා හඳුන්වා දීම සඳහා ඉන්දියානු හෝ ද්‍රවිඩ නාට්‍ය ලක්ෂණ අනුකරණය කිරීමක් සිදු ව නැති බව යි. එහි නිරූපණය වන්නේ දේශීය වශයෙන් ජනප්‍රිය වූ චරිතයක ලක්ෂණ භාවිතා කිරීමකි. පුරාණ කාලයේ ජූජක චරිතය ඇතුළත් වෙස්සන්තර නාටකයක් වූ බවට සුබෝධාලංකාරය තොරතුරු සපයයි.⁴²

සරච්චන්ද්‍ර දක්වන පරිදි කවිතළුවේ ස්ථාවර භූමිකාවක් වන දේශනාවාදීන් හෙවත් අනාගත වක්තෘන් ද්‍රවිඩ තෙරුක්කුත්තු හෙවත් කර්ණනාඩගම්වල ඇතුළත් වූ පාත්‍රයකු වූ පුලසන්දොර් නම් භූමිකාව ඇසුරින් පරිණාමය වූවකි. තත් භූමිකාව කතෝලික ආගමෙහි රාත්‍රී හෝජන පූජාවෙහි ඇතුළත් ගොස්පෙලර් අනුකරණයක් බවත් ඒ අනුව සිංහල කවිතළුවෙහි දේශනාවාදී භූමිකා නිර්මාණය කතෝලික සම්භවයකින් ඇතිවූවක් යැයි ද ඔහු සඳහන් කරයි.⁴³

39 පු.සි.නා., (ද්.භා.), 28 පිටුව.
 40 පු.සි.නා., (ද්.භා.), 176 පිටුව.
 41 පු.සි.නා., (ප්.භා.), 26 පිටුව.
 42 සුබෝධාලංකාරය, 353 පිටුව.
 43 සරච්චන්ද්‍ර, (1966), 158 පිටුව.

මේ අර්ථකථනය කතෝලික ආගමෙහි බලපෑමෙන් කවිතළු ප්‍රභවය වූ බව සනාථ කිරීම සඳහා සාක්ෂ්‍ය එක්රැස් කිරීමට දැරූ ප්‍රයත්නයක් ලෙසින් සැලකිය හැක්කේ ය. යථාර්ථය එය නොවේ. සිංහල කතෝලික කවිතළු රචකයන් පවා තම නිර්මාණයන්හි දේශනාවාදී භූමිකාව හඳුන්වාදී ඇත්තේ බෞද්ධ හෝ හින්දු ආගමික පසුබිමක් ඇති පුද්ගල වර්ත ලෙසිනි. නිසි අවධානයකින් යුතු ව මේ භූමිකාව පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමෙන් මෙහි යථා තත්ත්වය පැහැදිලි වේ. කතෝලිකයෙකු වූ පිලිප්පු සිඤ්ඤෝගේ නිර්මාණයක් වශයෙන් සැලකෙන සිංහබා හෙවත් සිංහසිවලි නාටකයෙහි දේශනාවාදීන් හඳුන්වා ඇත්තේ බෞද්ධ සංකල්ප මත පිහිටමිනි:

අතීත අනාගත වර්තමාන කාල සිට
 පැවති බුද්ධ සමයමයෙ නා
 විතත කෙරු බන දහම් තිසරණය වරින් වර
 පතන මතු උපතෙ නා
 උදිත වූ පන්ච මුනිවරුන් කාලක්‍රම ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂවම
 දෙසන බන දේස නා
 පුවත පෙර යෙදුනු බව පක්ෂයෙන් දෙසනට
 වක්ත්‍රැවරු සබේ නික්මු නා⁴⁴

පිලිප්පු සිඤ්ඤෝ ඇහැලේපොල නාටකයෙහි දේශනාවාදී භූමිකාව ද බෞද්ධාගමික සංකල්ප පදනම් කොට ගෙන නිර්මාණය කර ඇත. ඒ නාටකයෙහි දේසනාවාදී නික්මෙන පොතේ විරිදුව මෙසේය:

අතීත වූ කාලයේ අමරමුරු වක්තෘවරු
 නියෝගකර ලිචු ලෙසි න්
 අපත නොව සේසකුත් වරන් ලත්
 සම්ප්‍රඥන කරුණය න්
 පැවත තිසරණය සුසීල සම්මා
 සම්බුද්ධ ඤාණයෙ න්
 විතත කෙරුමට පවත් දිවස්වර
 වක්තෘන් නික්වෙමි න්⁴⁵

44 පු.සි.නා., (ද්.භා.), 29 පිටුව.
 45 පු.සි.නා., (ප්‍ර.භා.), 25 පිටුව.

වෙස්සන්තර ජාතකයේ සින්දු පොතෙහි සඳහන් වන අනාගත වක්තෘ නම් තවුසා ගිහිගෙය හැර ගොස් බ්‍රහ්මාත්ම භාවයක් ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා සිල් රකින අයෙකි. ඔහු අහසින් යා හැකි සෘද්ධි බලයෙන් ද යුක්ත ය. සුලඹාවතී නාටකයෙහි දේශනාවාදීන් හැඳින්වීමෙහි දී දකුණතෙහි දහම් බණ සතක පොත් රැගෙන යාතිකා කරමින් පැමිණි බව කියැවේ. සින්තමුත්තු නාටකයෙහි දේශනාවාදීන් ලෝක සත්ත්වයන්ගේ අනාගතය කීමට හැකි වූ එළු, සකු, මගධ, ව්‍යාකරණ, ග්‍රහ නීති, නක්ශාස්ත්‍ර තරු රාශි ගණිත ක්‍රම ගැන දැනගත් ශාස්ත්‍රධාරීන් සේ හැඳින්වෙයි. රොලිනා නාටකයෙහි දේශනාවාදීන් වනුයේ මහ වනගතෙහි රුක් සෙවනවල සහ ගල්ගෙවල ජීවත් වූ වනපල හා පලාමුල් ගින්නෙන් නොපිස අනුභව කරන තවුසන් ලෙසින් ය. හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර නාටකයෙහි දේශනාවාදීන් තර්ක, ව්‍යාකරණ, එළු, පාලි, සංස්කෘත සහ සිව්සැට ශිල්පයෙහි නිපුණ වූ අය වෙති. රන්, රදී, මැණික් පැළඳි මොවුහු බ්‍රහ්ම පුතූන් ලෙසින් ද අනංගයා මෙන් රුවින් ද යුක්ත වූවාහු ය.

පූර්වෝක්ත දේශනාවාදීන් පිළිබඳ වූ විස්තරයන් ගෙන් පැහැදිලි ව නිරූපණය වන්නේ දේශීය අනන්‍යතාවක් වන අතර ඒ භූමිකා ක්‍රිස්තියානි ගොස්පෙලර් ආභාසයෙන් ඇති වූ ඒවා ලෙසින් සැලකීමට සුදුසු වූ කිසිදු සාධකයක් එයින් මතු නො වන බව ය. එබැවින් මේ භූමිකාව ක්‍රිස්තියානි ආභාසයෙන් ඇති වූවක් නො වන අතර එය භාරතීය හෝ ශ්‍රී ලාංකීය අනන්‍යතාවකින් යුක්ත ව දේශීය කවිතළු සම්ප්‍රදායට අනන්‍ය ව නිර්මාණය කර ගන්නා ලද භූමිකාවක් ලෙසින් සැලකීම වඩාත් ශාස්ත්‍ර යුක්ති වන්නේ ය.

කවිතළුවෙහි ප්‍රභවය

කවිතළුවෙහි ප්‍රභවය පිළිබඳ ව විවිධ මත පවතී. ජනප්‍රවාදයෙහි සඳහන් වන අන්දමට සීතාවක රාජසිංහ රජතුමන් දවස නාරසිංහ නම් වූ කර්ණාටක සංගීතවේදියා කවිතළු නිර්මාණය කර ඇත.⁴⁶ නරේන්ද්‍රසිංහ රජතුමාගේ රාජ්‍ය සභාවෙහි වූ අලගනායිදු නම් වූ සංගීතඥයා දක්ෂිණ භාරතයේ එවකට ජනප්‍රිය ව පැවති හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර නාටකය සිංහල රාජ සභාවෙහි රඟ දැක්වූ බව පවසයි.

46 පු.සි.නා., ප්‍රථම භාගය, (1996), කොළඹ, 14 පිටුව.

තත් ලේඛකයා විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද කරුණු අතර හරිස්චන්ද්‍ර නාටකය මුල් ම සිංහල කවි නළුව බවත්, නරේන්ද්‍රසිංහ රජු දවස රඟ දැක් වූ දෙමළ නාටකය හෙළ බසට නගා හැරුණ්කොත් විසූ ජේදුරු සිංඤ්ජා නම් කම්මල්කරුවෙකු විසින් රඟ දැක් වූ බවත්, ඇතමෙකුගේ මතය අනුව මොහු පිලිප්පු සිංඤ්ජාගේ පියා බවත් සඳහන් වෙයි. ⁴⁷

සිංහල කවිනළුව සම්ප්‍රදයේ ආරම්භය පිළිබඳ ව වර්තමානයේ පිළිගැනීමට පත් ව ඇති තවත් මතයක් වන්නේ විදේශයන්හි සිට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පැමිණි කතෝලික මිෂනාරිවරුන්ගේ ධර්ම ප්‍රචාරයෙහි ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙසින් ලංකාවේ මුහුදුබඩ පෙදෙස්හි කවිනළුව සම්ප්‍රදය ව්‍යාප්ත වූ බව යි. මේ මතය පහළ වූයේ එයට පෙර කවිනළුවෙහි ආදි කර්තෘ ලෙසින් සැලකූ පිලිප්පු සිංඤ්ජා නම් වූ කලාකරුවා විසින් කවිනළුව ඇරඹූ බවට වූ විශ්වාසය යටපත් කරමිනි.

එඩ්මන්ඩ් පීරිස් අගරදගුරු තුමාගේ පිළි ගැනීම වන්නේ හලාවත විසූ මිහිඳුකුලසූරිය ගේබ්‍රියල් ප්‍රනාන්දු නමැති කතෝලික හක්තිමතෙකු ප්‍රථම කවිනළුව රචකයා බව යි. මොහු කවිනළුව රචනා කර ඇත්තේ 18 වන සියවසේ අගභාගයට ආසන්න යේ දී ය.⁴⁸ Studies, Historical and Cultural නම් වූ කෘතිය මගින් එඩ්මන්ඩ් පීරිස් රදගුරුතුමා ඉදිරිපත් කර ඇත්තේ ලංකාවේ පැවති කතෝලික ආගමික දෙමළ නාට්‍යකූත්තු ආභාසයෙන් සිංහල කවිනළුව ප්‍රචලිත වූ බවයි. ඔහු දන්නා පැරණි ම සිංහල නාඩගම වූ කලී රජතුන්කට්ටුව බවත් එය අනුකරණය කර ඇත්තේ දෙමළ මුවිරාසකල් නම් වූ නාඩගම බවත්, මුවිරාසකල් නාඩගම රචනා කරනු ලැබුවේ මාත්තොට පාසිකුලමේ උපන් ලොරෙන්සෝ පුලවාර් නමැත්තා විසින් බවත් ය.⁴⁹ ඒ අනුව පැහැදිලි වන්නේ පීරිස් රදගුරුතුමා තමන් දුටු පැරණි ම කවිනළුව කෘතිය ආශ්‍රයෙන් පූර්වෝක්ත මතය එළි දක්වා ඇති බව ය. මෙහි දී අපට මතු වන මූලික ම ගැටලුව

47 සන්නස්ගල පුඤ්චිබණ්ඩාර, (1964), සිංහල සාහිත්‍ය වංශය, කොළඹ, 610 පිටුව.
 48 Peiris Edmund, (1978), Studies Historical and Cultural, Colombo, p 240.
 49 Peiris, (1978), pp. 239-240.

වන්නේ පිරිස් රඳගුරුකුමා දුටු පැරණි ම කවිතළුව මුල් ම කවිතළු කෘතිය ලෙසින් හඳුන්වන්නේ කුමන පදනමක් මත පිහිටා ද යන්න යි. තමන් දුටු පැරණි ම කවිතළු අත්පිටපත මුල් ම කවිතළුව ලෙස සැලකීම කිසිසේත් විද්‍යානුකූල වූ නිගමනයක් නො වන අතර එය හුදෙක් එතුමන් විසින් නිසි අවධානයකින් තොර ව ස්වයං තීරණයක් මත පිහිටා පහළ කළ අදහසක් බව පෙනේ.

සරත්චන්ද්‍ර කවිතළුවේ ආරම්භය පිළිබඳ ව පාඨකයාගේ විශ්වාසය වර්ධනය වන අන්දමේ උපකල්පනයක් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට උත්සාහ දැරී ය. ඔහු සඳහන් කරන්නේ ද සිංහල නාඩගම ආදර්ශ කොට ගෙන ඇත්තේ යාපනයෙහි ඇතැම් ප්‍රදේශවල කතෝලික ජනතාව විසින් මුල් ද්‍රවිඩ තෙරුක්කුත්තු ඇසුරු කොට ගෙන සකස් කර ගන්නා ලද නාටක විශේෂයක් බව ය.⁵⁰

දක්ෂිණ භාරතයේ තෙරුක්කුත්තු නමින් හැඳින්වූයේ හින්දු ආගමික වෘත්තාන්තයන් මුල් කර ගත් නාටක සම්ප්‍රදායට ය. නාට්‍යකුත්තු නමින් හැඳින්වූයේ හින්දු ආගමික නො වූ කථා ප්‍රවාහිති ඇතුළත් නාට්‍ය සම්ප්‍රදායට ය. භාරතයේ මෙන් ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ද ආගමික කථා පුවත් රඟ දැක්වීමට කැමැත්තක් දැක් වූ අතර ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දී වඩාත් නිදහස් ආකාරයෙන් අනෙකුත් කථා පුවත් රඟ දැක්වීමට ද සිංහල නාට්‍ය ශිල්පීන් උද්යෝගයක් දක්වන ලද බව පෙනේ. 19 වන සියවසෙහි ලියැවුණු කවිතළු වැඩි වශයෙන් නාට්‍යකුත්තු සම්ප්‍රදායේ නිර්මාණ බව පැහැදිලි ව දැකගත හැකි ය. ද්‍රවිඩ නාටකයෙක් වූ කණ්ඩිරාජ නාටකම් හා සිංහල නාටකයක් වූ ඇහැලේපොළ නාටකය එක ම කථා ප්‍රවාහිතියක් ආශ්‍රයෙන් බිහි වූ එවැනි නාටකයකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දී කතෝලික කවිතළු කතුවරුන් තම කෘති සඳහා බෞද්ධ කථා ප්‍රවාහිති ද ඇතුළත් කර ඇති නිසා දැකිය හැක්කේ ආගමික අවශ්‍යතාවකට වඩා සෞන්දර්යාත්මක ඇගයීමකින් යුතු ව මේ නිර්මාණ බිහි කර ඇති බව යි.

සමකාලීන ව මේ යුගයේ උතුරුකරයේ වූයේ කතෝලික නාඩගම් පමණක් නො වේ. සරත්චන්ද්‍ර පවසන පරිදි ම කන්ඩිරාජ

50 සරත්චන්ද්‍ර, (1968), 156,158 සහ 160 පිටු.

නාටකය ද,⁵¹ ඒ හැරෙන්නට හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර,⁵² රාමායන⁵³ හා අලෙලියරසානි නාටකය⁵⁴ වැනි හින්දු ආගමික පසුබිමෙහි වූ වෙනත් ද්‍රවිඩ නාටක ද තිබූ බවට සාක්ෂ්‍ය දැකිය හැකි ය. මේ කෘතීන්ගෙන් සිංහල කවිනළු වර්ධනයට සේවයක් වූයේ ද යන්න සලකා බැලිය යුතු ව තබමිණි. කන්ඩිරාජ නාටකම් ආශ්‍රයෙන් පිලිප්පු සිඤ්ඤෝ තම ඇහැලේපොල නාටකය නිර්මාණය කරන්නට ඇති බව සරත්චන්ද්‍ර ම පිළිගන්නා බැවින්⁵⁵ කතෝලික නො වූ නාටක ද සිංහල කවිනළුවට බලපෑ බව එයින් ම පැහැදිලි ය. (කන්ඩිරාජ නාටකම් පිලිප්පු සිඤ්ඤෝගේ ඇහැලේපොල හෙවත් සිංහලේ නාටකයේ අනුකරණයක් වූවා වන්ට ද හැකි ය.) එබැවින් ද්‍රවිඩ කතෝලික නාටක පමණක් ම සිංහල කවිනළුවට බලපෑම් ඇති කළේ ය යන්න සදෙස් නිගමනයකි.

පූර්වෝක්ත ලේඛකයින් දෙදෙනා ගෙන් අනතුරු ව සිංහල කවිනළුව පිළිපද අවධානය යොමු කළ ලේඛකයින් අතර එම්. එච්. ගුණතිලක විසින් ලියන ලද Nadagama, The First Sri Lanka Theatre සහ සිංහල නාටකම් හා දම්ල කුත්තු නම් වූ කෘතිවලින් පූර්වෝක්ත ලේඛකයින් පළ කළ අදහස්හි එල්බ ගනිමින් සිංහල කවිනළුවේ ආරම්භය 16, 17, 18 සියවස්හි ලංකාවට පැමිණි කතෝලික මිෂනාරීන්ගේ ආගම් ව්‍යාප්ත කිරීමේ ක්‍රියා කලාපයේ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙසින් හුවා දක්වා ඇත.⁵⁶ කවිනළුව මිෂනාරීන්ගේ ධර්ම ප්‍රචාරයේ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙසින් හැදින්වීම සඳහා ඇතැම් විටෙක ගුණතිලක විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරනු ලබන කරුණු සත්‍යයෙන් තොර ය:

51 සරත්චන්ද්‍ර, (1968), 157 පිටුව.
 52 Cumming, CF Gorden, (1893) Two Happy Years in Ceylon, London, p.261.
 53 Hugh Nevill, (1887), The Taprobanian, A Dravidian Journal of Oriental Studies, Bombay, p.150
 54 Peiris, P.E. (1911), Notes On Some Sinhalese Families, Part iii, Colombo, p. 121.
 55 සරත්චන්ද්‍ර, (1968), 143 පිටුව.
 56 Goonatilleka, MH, (1984), Nadagama, The First Sri Lankan Theatre, Delhi, p.26.

සිංහල නාඩගමෙහි හා ද්‍රවිඩ නාඩගමෙහි අභිප්‍රාය බෞද්ධාගමික අදහස් හෝ හින්දු අදහස් හෝ ප්‍රචාරය කිරීම නො ව ක්‍රිස්තු ධර්මය ප්‍රචාරය කිරීමයි. .අන්‍ය සිවාගමවල් අරවන්නෙමි දේව අනුහසින් . යි හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර නාඩගමෙහි සඳහන් වන්නේ එබැවිනි.⁵⁷

මේ ප්‍රකාශය සම්පූර්ණයෙන් ම සත්‍යයෙන් තොර ය. හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර නාටකය හින්දු ආගමික කථා පුවතක් අන්තර්ගත නාට්‍යයකි. ගුණතිලකගේ ප්‍රකාශය අනුව කවිතළුවේ අභිප්‍රාය කතෝලික ධර්මය ප්‍රචාරය පිණිස බව දැක්වීම සඳහා උපුටා දක්වන්නේ ද සාවද්‍ය වූ තොරතුරු ය. එමගින් කවිතළුව හුදෙක් කතෝලික ආගමික අවශ්‍යතා සඳහා නිපදවා ගත්තක් සේ හඳුන්වා දීමට තැත් කරයි. එසේ ද වුව හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර නාටකය රචනා කළ කතුවරයාගේ එවැනි අදහසක් තිබූ බවක් නොපෙනෙනවා පමණක් නොව ඔහු බෞද්ධ කවිතළු රචකයෙකු වූ බව ද හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර නාටකයේ පහත සඳහන් ප්‍රාරම්භ ගීතයෙහි පැහැදිලි වේ:

ශ්‍රී පවර ගුණගණාලංකාර ත්‍රේලෝක‍්‍ය රාජේස්වර
සවනමුනි සරණ මම නිතර මුදුනත රැගෙන න
වී අදර පෙම්බැතින් ඒ පසැස්තුමන් දෙසුත්‍රිපිටක
සද්දහම් පෙමැති සිත්හි රැගෙන න
එසකල මොක් ඇදුරු සමිඳු පුත් සඟ සරණ ගෙන
සකල සිත් බැතින් පැළඳ ගත බරන මෙ න
මා කිවිඳු කරන කිවිතළු බසින් දුටු දෝස සැම සුරන්
මුදනු මෙතුන් සරණේ බෙලෙන න⁵⁸

මේ හැරෙන්නට බෞද්ධ කථා ප්‍රවෘත්ති මුල් කරගත් කවිතළු ලිය වී ඇති අතර කුස, විදුර හා වෙස්සන්තර නාටක ඉන් ප්‍රධාන වේ. එයින් කුස නාටකය ලියා ඇත්තේ ජෝන් මර්තීනස් පවුලස් සමරසිංහ ශ්‍රීවර්ධන නම් වූ කතෝලික බැතිමතකු විසිනි. පූර්වෝක්ත

57 සාහිත්‍යය, (වර්ෂයක් සඳහන් නොවේ.) නාට්‍ය සාහිත්‍ය විශේෂ කලාපය, ගුණතිලක, එම්. එච්., දේශීය රංග සම්ප්‍රදායෙහි දිස්වෙන කෝලම් හා නාඩගම්, කොළඹ, 17 පිටුව.

58 හරිශ්චන්ද්‍ර නාටකය, (1901), 1 පිටුව

කරුණු සලකා බැලීමේ දී පැහැදිලි වන සත්‍යය වන්නේ ගුණතිලක තමන්ගේ උපකල්පනය තහවුරු කිරීම සඳහා විකෘති අර්ථ කථනයකට භාජනය කර ඇති බවයි.

ගොන්සල්වේස් රචිත දේවනීති විසර්ජනය නම් කෘතිය කාලීන සමාජය පිළිබඳ වැදගත් තොරතුරු සපයන මූලාශ්‍රයක් ලෙසින් හැඳින්විය හැකිය. දේවනීති විසර්ජනය 1730 වර්ෂයේ දී පමණ ලියවුණකි. මේ කෘතිය ලියවී ඇත්තේ කතෝලික භක්තිකයන්ගේ ගිහි ජීවිතය සාක්ෂාත් කරගැනීම සඳහා වූ අවවාද අනුශාසනා ලබා දීම සඳහාය. ඒ කෘතියෙහි ගිහියන් විසින් නොකටයුතු අසද්ධර්මයන් ලෙසින් දක්වා ඇති සුරාපානය, ස්ත්‍රී ධූර්තය, සුදුව, හොරකම, මං පැහැරීම වැනි දුශ්චරිත අතරට නාටක බැලීමද එක්කොට ඇත. දෙවියන්ට යාවිඤා කිරීම නොසලකා හැරීමත් නාටක බැලීමත් පිළිබඳ ඔහු තම අසතුව මෙසේ පළ කළේ ය:

“සුදු කෙළියටත්, නාටක බැලීමටත් රැ තිස්පැය නිදීමරා සිටියහු නම් දෙවියන් සිහි කිරීමට පැයක් දෙපැයක් ඇස් ඇර සිටින්නට බැරි යයි කීවේ කින් ද?”⁵⁹

මෙයින් ප්‍රකට වන්නේ ගොන්සල්වේස් දේවනීති විසර්ජනය රචනා කරන අවධියෙහි ලංකාවේ රැ එළි වෙනතුරු නාටක රංගනය වූ බව නොවේ ද?

කවිනළුව පිළිබඳ කතෝලික පල්ලිය දැක්වූ විරෝධය පැහැදිලි වන අවස්ථා රාශියක් ඥානාර්ථ ප්‍රදීපය පුවත්පතෙන් පැහැදිලි වේ. තත් ප්‍රවෘත්ති පත්‍රය එක් අවස්ථාවක පයියාගල රඟ දැක්වූ කවිනළුවකට සහභාගී වූ ශිල්පීන්ට පල්ලියේ පූජකවරයා දඬුවම් පැමිණ වූ බවත් සඳහන් වේ.⁶⁰

කවිනළුව වූ කලී ගීත නාටක හෙවත් ඔපෙරා ගණයට ඇතුළත් කළ හැකි නාට්‍ය විශේෂයකි. යුරෝපයේ ගීත නාටක ඉතා ජනප්‍රිය අංගයකි. යුරෝපීයන්ගේ ආභාෂයක් කවිනළුවෙහි වූයේ නම් ආකෘතික ලක්ෂණ අතරට බටහිර නාට්‍ය හෝ සංගීත සම්ප්‍රදයන්ගේ

59 ගොන්සාල්වේස් පාඨාවලිය., (1950), 03 පිටුව.

60 ඥානාර්ථ ප්‍රදීපය, 1869 අප්‍රියෙල් 16.

බලපෑමක් ඇති වීම අනිවාර්ය වේ. නිදසුනක් ලෙසින් පෘතුගීසීන්ගෙන් ලද උරුමයක් වශයෙන් සිංහල සමාජයේ නාගරික මෙන්ම වර්තමානයේ ග්‍රාමීය ප්‍රදේශවල පවා ජනප්‍රිය සංගීතයක් ව පවත්නා බයිලා නොහොත් කපිරිඤ්ඤ, නැටුමක් හෝ තනුවක් හෝ පැරණි කවිතළු අතර තිබිය යුතු ය. කවිතළුවෙහි එවැන්නක් දැකිය නොහැකි අතර එහි දක්ෂිණ භාරතීය රාගධාරී කර්ණාටක සංගීත ක්‍රමය භාවිතය, එය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම පෙරදිග අනන්‍යතාවකින් වර්ධනය වූ එමෙන් ම යුරෝපීය සබඳතාවක් නොවූ දේශීය නාට්‍ය ක්‍රමයක් බවට දෙස් දෙයි.

කවිතළුව හා කරාව සම්බන්ධතාව

බටහිර හා නිරිතදිග වෙරළබඩ තීරයේ ජනගහනයෙන් සැලකිය යුතු ප්‍රමාණයක් අයත් වන්නේ කරාව කුලයට ය. මේ කුලය පිළිබඳ පර්යේෂණ පැවැත්වූ මානව විද්‍යාඥ එම්.ඩී. රාසවන්ගේ අදහස වනුයේ කවිතළුව කරාව කුලයේ උරුමයක් බව ය. ඔහුගේ පර්යේෂණයන්ට අනුව කවිතළු සම්ප්‍රදාය කරාව කුලයට පමණක් සීමා වූ නාට්‍ය විශේෂයකි.⁶¹ 17 වන සියවස පමණ වන තුරු විශේෂයෙන් යුරෝපීයයන් වෙළඳ ආධිපත්‍යය තමන් යටතට ගන්නා තුරු ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ විදේශීය වෙළඳාමෙහි යෙදී සිටියේ දක්ෂිණ භාරතීය සංක්‍රමණිකයන් වූ කරාව ජනවාර්ගිකයන් ය. නිදසුනක් ලෙසින් කෝට්ටේ රාජධානියේ රජකම් කළ සය වැනි පරක්‍රමබාහු රජතුමා තම රාජ්‍යය ආක්‍රමණය කළ මුක්කරුන් පළවා හැරීම සඳහා යුද්ධාධාර දුන් දක්ෂිණ භාරතීයයන්ට තීරුබදු ගෙවීමෙන් තොරව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වරායයන්හි වෙළඳාමෙහි නියුක්ත වීම සඳහා ලබා දුන් අවසරය දැක්විය හැකි ය.⁶²

කරාව ජන කොට්ඨාශයේ සංක්‍රමණ පිළිබඳ ඓතිහාසික වැදගත්කමින් යුතු කෘතියක් වූ මුක්කර හටන නම් වූ පුස්තකාල කෘතියෙන් කරාව වංශිකයන්ගේ සංක්‍රමණික අවස්ථාවක් නිරූපනය වේ. ඔවුන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පැමිණ ඇත්තේ ආධාරක

61 කියවන්න, Raghavan MD.(1961)
 62 මුක්කරහටන, (පුස්තකාල පොත), බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය කෞතුකාගාර පුස්තකාලය. or 6606 (53).

හමුදාවක් වශයෙනි. කෝට්ටේ රජ කළ හය වැනි පරාක්‍රමබාහු රජතුමාගේ ආරාධනයක් අනුව පැමිණි මේ පිරිස ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දකුණු වෙරළබඩ තීරයේ පදිංචි ව ඇත. කරාව වංශිකයන්ගේ ආගමන පිළිබඳ ව පමණක් නොව කවිනළු සම්ප්‍රදය පිළිබඳ ව පර්යේෂණ විෂයෙහි ලා මේ කෘතිය මහත් ආලෝකයක් විහිදුවන බව සඳහන් කළ යුතු ය.

නාට්‍ය ශිල්පීන්ගේ ආගමන

අතීතයේ විවිධ අවස්ථාවන්හි දී කවිනළු ශිල්පීන් දක්ෂිණ භාරතයේ සිට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පැමිණි බවට සෘජු ලේඛනගත සාක්ෂ්‍ය ද ඉදිරිපත් කළ හැකි ය. කවිනළුව දක්ෂිණ භාරතයෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට සපැමිණි බවට සෘජු සාධක රාශියක් පැරණි පුස්තකාල ලියවිලි අතරින් දකගත හැකි වේ. මේ අතරින් කීපයක් දැනට හියු නෙවිල් පුස්තකාල එකතුවට අයත් ව බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය කෞතුකාගාර පුස්තකාලයේ තැන්පත් ව ඇත. එයින් වන්නිපුවත නම් වූ කෘතිය ප්‍රධාන ස්ථානයක් උසුලයි. මේ කෘතියෙන් කියවෙන්නේ මදුරාසි රාජ්‍යයට හිමිකම් කියන ලද කුමාරවරුන් පස්දෙනෙකු දේශපාලන රැකවරණය පතා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පැමිණීම පිළිබඳ සිද්ධියකි. මෙසේ පැමිණි අය සමග ඔවුන්ගේ පරිවාරක පිරිස් ද කැඳවා ගෙන ආහ. එසේ පැමිණි පරිවාරක ජනයා අතර නොයෙකුත් අන්දමේ වෘත්තීන්ට අයත් ශිල්පීන් සිටි බව සඳහන් වේ. ඔවුන් අතර නාඩගම් (කවිනළු) ශිල්පියෙකු ද ඇතුළත් වූ බව සඳහන් වී තිබීම තත් නාට්‍ය සම්ප්‍රදයයේ විකාශනය පිළිබඳ ව පහළ වී ඇති දුර්මත පහසුවෙන් දුරුකිරීමට සුදුසු සෘජු සාක්ෂ්‍යයක් සපයනු ඇත. වන්නිපුවතෙහි කියැවෙන රාජ කුමරුවන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පැමිණ ඇත්තේ 13 වන සියවසේදී ය.⁶³ පළමු වැනි බුවනෙකබාහු රජතුමාගේ (1272)-1284) කාලයේ සිදු වූ මේ ආගමනය සමග පළමු කවිනළු ශිල්පීන් මෙහි පැමිණියේ යැයි පිළිගත්ත ද කවිනළු ඉතිහාසය වර්ෂ 700 කට ආසන්න කාලයක් දුරාතීතයට පිය නගන බව පැහැදිලි ය. පූර්වෝක්ත කවිනළු ශිල්පීන්ගේ පැමිණීම පිළිබඳ වූ සාධකයට

63 වන්නිපුවත, (පුස්තකාල පොතකි), බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය කෞතුකාගාර පුස්තකාලය, or 6606 (140).

සමාන තවත් සාධකයක් වන්නිකඩයිම් පොත නම් වූ පුස්තකොළ පොතෙන් ද දැකගත හැකි ය.⁶⁴

පූර්වෝක්ත වන්නිකඩයිම් පොතෙන් ද කියැවෙන්නේ බුවනෙකබාහු රජු දවස දක්ෂිණ භාරතයෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පැමිණි පිරිසක් පිළිබඳ වය. මල්ල රාජ වංශයට අයත් ප්‍රභූන් වූ මොවුන් ලක්දිවට පැමිණෙන්නේ තමන්ට පැමිණි රාජ්‍ය භයකින් මිදීම උදෙසා බව කියැවේ. වන්නිපුවතෙහි ද කියැවෙන්නේ එවැනි ම සිද්ධියක් වන අතර එක ම කරුණක් අරභයා මේ කෘති දෙක ම නිපැයුණා විය හැකි ය. නොඑසේ නම් එක ම ප්‍රවෘත්තියක් මුල්කොට ගත් කෘතියක් ඇසුරින් පසුකාලීන ලේඛකයින් හෝ ජනප්‍රවාදයේ වූවක් ග්‍රන්ථගත කළා හෝ විය හැකි ය. කෙසේවතුදු මේ කෘති දෙකෙහි ම කියැවෙන විශේෂිත කරුණ වන්නේ එසේ පැමිණි දෙපිරිස ම අතරේ කවිතළු හෙවත් නාඩගම් ශිල්පීන් ඇතුළත් වූ වග යි.

භාරතීය සබඳතා

සිංහල කවිතළු සම්ප්‍රදාය ප්‍රභවය වූයේ සෘජුව ම දක්ෂිණ භාරතීය බලපෑම් මගින් යැයි තහවුරු කිරීම සඳහා වැදගත් වන තවත් සාධකයක් නම් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දකුණු හා නිරිතදිග වෙරළබඩ තීරයන්, දක්ෂිණ භාරතයන් අතර පැවති ද්‍රවිඩ සබඳතා ය. දක්ෂිණ ලංකාවන් දක්ෂිණ භාරතයන් අතර වූ සම්බන්ධතා ආර්ථික, සාමාජික, හා සංස්කෘතික හේතූන් මත වඩාත් ප්‍රබල වන්නට ඇතැයි සිතිය හැකි ය. විශේෂයෙන් ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවන්, භාරතයන් අතර වෙළඳාම ගෙනයාමේදී දක්ෂිණ භාරතීයයන් අතින් ඉටු වූ කාර්ය භාරය විශාල විය. එසේ ම සිංහල නරපතීන්ගේ යුද්ධ අවශ්‍යතා උදෙසා දක්ෂිණ භාරතීයයන්ගෙන් ලැබුණු ආධාර උපකාර ද දක්ෂිණ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ද්‍රවිඩ බලපෑම් වර්ධනයට හේතුවක් විය. මේ සබඳතා සංස්කෘතික වශයෙන් බලපෑම් ඇති කළේ ය. නිදසුනක් ලෙසින් සිංහල රාජ්‍ය නිලධාරීන් විසින් දක්ෂිණ භාරතයේ බෞද්ධ ආගමික සිද්ධස්ථාන ගොඩනැගීමට පවා උත්සුක වී ඇති ආකාරයත් ඒ ආශ්‍රයෙන් දක්ෂිණ ලංකාවේත් දක්ෂිණ භාරතයේත් සමීප සබඳතා වර්ධනය වූ

64 වන්නිකඩයිම් පොත - ලේඛකයා භාරයේ ඇති පුස්තකොළපතකි.

ආකාරයත් දැකිය හැකි ය. එම සම්බන්ධතා කවිනළුව වැනි රංග කලාවක ප්‍රභවය උදෙසා සාරවත් පසුබිමක් වූ බව කිව මනා ය.

නිකාය සංග්‍රහය දක්වන පරිදි සිව්වැනි බුවනෙකබාහු රජතුමාගේ අමාත්‍යවරයෙකු වූ සේනාධිලංකාර සෙනරත් නම් වූ ප්‍රභූවරයා මෙසේ දෙරට අතර සංස්කෘතික සබඳතා පැවැත් වූ පුද්ගලයකු සේ හැඳින්විය හැකි ය.⁶⁵ මුක්කර හටන සහ කෞරවවංශ කථාවට අනුව කෞරව වංශිකයන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවට පැමිණි ප්‍රදේශයන්ගෙන් ප්‍රධාන වන්නේ කාඤ්චිපුරය යි.⁶⁶ කාඤ්චිපුරයත් දෙවිනුවරත් අතර සබඳතා වර්ධනය වී තිබූ ආකාරය පූර්වෝක්ත ප්‍රභූවරයාගේ විහාර කර්මාන්තයන්ගෙන් සනාථ වේ. දෙරට අතර තිබූ සංස්කෘතික සබඳතා සමයවාදී ගැටුමකට වඩා සමයාන්තර සබඳතා වර්ධනය කරන්නක් විය. එබැවින් හින්දු ආගමික පුද පූජා හා බැඳුණු කවිනළුව වැනි රංග සම්ප්‍රදායයක් කිසිදු අවහිරයකින් තොර ව සිංහල ජනතාව අතර ප්‍රචලිත වන්නට ඇතුළුවට සැකයක් නැත.

දක්ෂිණ භාරතීය තෙරුක්කුත්තු හෙවත් වීථිනාටක සම්ප්‍රදාය හින්දු ආගමික පුද සිරිත් හා ඒකාබද්ධ ව පැවැති ආගමික නාට්‍ය කලාවක් විය. බොහෝ අවස්ථාවන්හි දී ආගමික පුද පූජා, උත්සව හා ඒකාබද්ධ ව වීථිනාටක (තෙරුක්කුත්තු) රඟ දැක් වූ බවට සාධක ඇත.⁶⁷ මහාභාරත, රාමායණ හා පුරාණ ආදී හින්දු ආගමික සාහිත්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථ ආශ්‍රයෙන් නිර්මාණය වූ මේ නාට්‍ය හුදෙක් දේවාලයන්හි පුද පූජා ආශ්‍රයෙන් ම පැවතීම එහි ආගමික පසුබිම පිළිබඳ හැඟීමක් ඇති කර ගැනීමට ප්‍රමාණවත් වේ.

පූර්වෝක්ත කරුණු විග්‍රහ කර බැලීමේ දී පැහැදිලි වන්නේ සිංහල කවිනළු සම්ප්‍රදාය ආරම්භ වූයේ බොහෝ ලේඛකයින් අදහන පරිදි යාපනයෙහි වූ කතෝලික නාට්‍යකුත්තුවේ හෝ කතෝලික මිෂනාරි ව්‍යාපාරයේ බලපෑමෙන් නොව ශත වර්ෂාධික කාලයක්

65 නිකාය සංග්‍රහය, (1960), සංස්කරණය, සමරනායක, ඩී.පී.ආර්., කොළඹ, 90 පිටුව.
66 ධර්මබන්දු, (1962), කොළඹ, 94 පිටුව.
67 Kumari Durga, SA, (1979), The Opera in South India, Delhi, p.47.

තිස්සේ දක්ෂිණ භාරතය හා ශ්‍රී ලංකාව අතර පැවැති සුභද සබඳතාවන්හි අවියෝජනීය ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙසින් බව ය. පූර්වනිශ්චිත නිගමන අනුව දේශීය සංස්කෘතිය පිළිබඳ වූ අවතක්සේරුවක් අපරදිග බලපෑම් කෙරෙහි වූ අන්ධ භක්තියත් නිසා පූර්වයෙන් කියන ලද සාවද්‍ය මත ප්‍රචලිත විය. එබැවින් තත් මිථ්‍යා මතවාද කෙරෙහි දේශීය අනන්‍යතාව හඳුනාගත් විද්වතුන්ගේ අවධානය තව දුරටත් යොමු කළ යුතු වන්නේ ය.

Litigiousness in Sri Lankans: An examination of judicial change and its consequence during the late Dutch and early British administration in the Maritime Provinces of Sri Lanka*

by
M.U. de Silva

Major Thomas Skinner (1819-1867) a pioneer road builder in Sri Lanka who testified before the Committee of House of Commons, which looked in to the Riots of 1848 in July 1849 remarked, "Probably in no people of the world does there exist so great a love of litigation as in the Sinhalese... Perjury is made so complete a business that cases are regularly rehearsed in all their various scenes by the professional perjurers as a dramatic piece at a theatre".¹ Thomas Skinner had served in many parts of the island while serving in Sri Lanka and was well acquainted with the social customs, traditions and behaviour of the Sri Lankans. Two decades later the Inspector General of Police reported in his annual administration report for 1869² that about 168,426 or 1/3 of the entire adult population was charged before the Magistrates and Justice of Peace in Sri Lanka of whom 112,310 were discharged without facing a trial. While submitting the Village Tribunal Ordinance of 1871 for Royal Consent, T. Irving, the acting Governor of Sri Lanka informed the Secretary of State for Colonies W. Kimberly that Sri Lankans show much fondness for litigation which dragged nearly the whole population to courts.³

This was a catastrophic change in the behavioural pattern of the Sri Lankans that it is stated that a few centuries before the advent of the first Western colonial power to Sri Lanka a beautiful lady could walk alone from Magama in down South to Mahatitta in the North West of Sri Lanka near Mannar on the main highway carrying a precious jewel without anyone daring to ask her what was in her

hand.⁴ Within a short spell of three centuries of the occupation of Sri Lanka by Western colonial powers the administration of Justice had taken a dramatic turn and the majority of Sri Lankans was seeking protection for the slightest offence from the judiciary and branded as a litigious nation.

The way a community settles its disputes is a part of its social structure and value system.⁵ During the period under review many features of the social system in maritime Sri Lanka came under stress and changed as a result. Similarly, the value systems inherent to the foreign masters were imposed on the natives. The interference with the institution of family in promoting Christianity and the changes brought about in the land tenure and title to property led to a great deal of confusion and uncertainties which had to be sorted out in the new court system which the alien powers have superimposed. The court system they introduced was new and the judicial procedures they followed were alien. In the evolving social order the attitudes of the natives towards the judiciary too changed.⁶

The laws and legal institutions that existed at the time of the arrival of the Western powers in the early sixteenth century had evolved over the years from the recollection of laws and institutions familiar to the early settlers who had migrated from India. They were adjusted to suit the local needs and circumstances and subsequently to the benign influence of Buddhism, local usages, traditions, beliefs and customs. According to the Chronicles the laws, were sacred and the judge had to observe certain rituals before adjudicating a dispute.⁷ Without fear or favour, affection or ill will the Judge had to hold a fair trial with patience and attention to ascertain the truth and impose a sentence within the prescribed customary sentencing policy. The laws were flexible and elastic and in adjudication had to interpret humanely and imaginatively according to the circumstance of the case. It followed the dispute resolution techniques such as mediation, conciliation, arbitration, adjudication or combination of such techniques.⁸

The king was the fountainhead of Justice and wielded absolute authority over the life and death of his subjects according to the

Western writers. This absolute power was however circumscribed to a great extent in practice by the public will, which demanded the king to follow the principles of justice and equality (*dhamma*) and customs and precedent (*vyavahara* or *sirith*) as established by the policy followed by his predecessors. These concepts were well implanted in his mind by his preceptors in early education and later by the counsel of the royal court and the pronouncements made at his consecration ceremony.⁹

The king delegated his judicial powers to his officials corresponding to their executive duties. *Rajasabha* or the King's Court advised the king on important judicial matters. The king alone could impose the death sentence. *Gamsabhava* was the village court and the most popular judicial institution in the judicial hierarchy. In between *Rajasabha* and *Gamsabha* was the *Ratasabha* of a *Korale* or *Pattu*. The delegates of the *Ratasabha* were from the principal citizens and the officials such as *Mohottirala* (scribes) *Liyanarala* (clerks) *Badderala* (tax collector) and *Undirala* (collector of royal revenue).¹⁰

Before the commencement of a trial both parties had to attend to rituals in a sacred place. At the trial the complainant had to state his case before the court to which the accused had to give his own reasons. Then the witnesses of both parties were examined before the panel of judges who were the natural leaders. The proceedings were oral and no records were kept of the proceedings. The decision was by majority, and in case of a doubt the matter was decided by oath. The decision of the court was given to the successful party in a *sittu*.

Judicial precedent was not a criterion of validity in the judicial system of Sri Lankans, but the regularity in the way in which matter was decided was the feature of the system. The mechanism dealing with cases of conflict and breach was not sanction, but on compliance, on reconciliation and settlement rather than vengeance. The law was not mechanically applied. The law itself provided attention to time, place and circumstances.

The right to appeal was sacred. Aggrieved party could appeal to the king through a higher official or by expressing his innocence in a sacred institution. Such an appeal was examined by the king through a panel of judges of the *Rajasabha*. The adjudicators paid the highest attention to arrive at the correct decision. A decision challenged in a public appeal tended to lower the esteem and the good name of the officer. The tenets of the religions made the people to be truthful and obedient to law and order. In this context litigation was something unknown to the Sri Lankans.

The whole scenario changed with the advent of Western powers and their proselytization campaign, which commenced along with exploitation of resources of the island. However, the Portuguese, the first Western power to rule the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka did not introduce any novel features to judicial administration except corruption, fraud, malpractices which they were infested with. They continued the existing system. Portuguese appointed an *Ouvidor* or a crown judge to assist the captain general in the preliminary investigation of charges in important trials. Thus beginning with the village headman at the lowest level to the captain general at the highest level, the existing judicial system continued with slight changes to suite their needs.

The Dutch who succeeded the Portuguese as the rulers in the littoral was instructed by their superiors to follow the law of their Fatherland and of Batavian Statutes.¹² But the local circumstances forced them to continue the existing system as well. A Pavilioen, the Commander of Jaffna reported in 1665 that the administration of justice in Sri Lanka was carried out according to the laws in force in the Fatherland and the Statutes of Batavia for the Dutch and the Europeans in Sri Lanka, while the customs of the country if they were clear and reasonable on the natives and Asian inhabitants, were considered. In case of a doubt they were required to apply the laws of the Fatherland and the statutes of Batavia.¹³

In the Southwest lowland where most of the lands remained depopulated, on the orders of Rajasinghe II, Rijkloff Van Goens the senior who was the Special Commissioner who reorganized the

Dutch administration gave instructions to his officials that they need not follow the old laws, customs or practice of the Sinhalese, but could be guided by such regulations as may be made in the interest of the company and for the welfare of the island.¹⁴ In the re-settlement process the new settlers were conferred with favours and concessions of unprecedented pattern. In many cases the services liable to be made to the state were diverted to other purposes.¹⁵

This makeshift arrangement disturbed the social order and disputes arose in an unprecedented manner. People brought their problems to the *Disava* who was a newly appointed Dutch person. He had no knowledge to adjudicate the intricate problems raised by the people. To overcome the difficulty a new court called *Landraad* was set up in Colombo in 1661. *Disava* was made the chairman. He was assisted by Dutch officials and superior headman of the area.¹⁶ The other members of this institution were the Lieutenant *Disava*, the Captain of Pasdun Korle, *Mudaliyar* of Colombo, Adigar of Matara, Chief officer of Negombo and the *Mudaliyar* of Negombo.

The Dutch established their formal courts, of record over and above the existing officialdom. The most important among those formal institutions was the *Raad Van Justitie* or the High Court. *Raad Van Justities* were established at Colombo, Galle and Jaffna. A High Court of Colombo functioned as the most important judicial institution in Sri Lanka. The High Courts from the very beginning started to function as both original and appellate jurisdiction. Appeals were made from the High Court of Colombo to High Court of Batavia.

Next in rank to *Raad Van Justitie* was the *Landraad*. *Landraads* were established at the principal towns. But their existence depended on the *Disava* who was to utilize the services of the institute. None of the *Landraads* had a continuous existence. Occasionally the Governors took steps to re-establish them. However, when systematic *Tombo* compilation commenced in 1740s additional functions were entrusted to them such as assisting the *Tombo* registration work, calling up of people in villages to present such information necessary to prepare the register of lands and

families. Later they were given the responsibility with regard to transfer and registration of lands.

Landraads were extended to principal towns with the aim of providing easy and inexpensive access to justice for the native population. But however, the expected results did not come. In Jaffna it was found in 1704 that cases dragged on for over two years. At Galle it was found that the procedure adopted in the court was utterly tedious, expensive and many cases remained unsettled for more than four years.¹⁷ Court members were mostly decrepit and sickly people who had little time to examine the many different and involved issues. *Landraad* did not have a full time secretary and the person who performed the function was often called away for other duties. According to Galle commander Sluysken *Landraad* needed knowledgeable personnel.¹⁸ *Landraad* was the only formal court of record, which adjudicated traditional law of the countrymen under the Dutch administration. Problems emanated with the *tombo* compilation and the enforcement of laws pertaining to land clearance forced the people to seek redress from the *Landraad*. The delays in adjudication of such complaints compelled the people to attend court more frequently.

The next formal court of the Dutch was the *Civile Raad* also known as *Stads Raad* or town courts. It had a purely a civil jurisdiction. Such courts were established in the major towns such as Colombo, Galle and Jaffna. A court consisted of seven members of the Company. The jurisdiction of the court was mainly on matrimonial matters. The court administered matters pertaining to the observation of ordinances passed by the Dutch government on matrimonial affairs.¹⁹

From the very inception of the Dutch rule *Placcaats* were issued and ordinances were passed by the government in formalizing marriage and related subjects. Ordinances concerning legalization of marriages, concubine, separation, adultery empowered the *Civile Raad* to adjudicate disputes relevant to such matters. Solomnising the marriages in towns where *Civile Raad* functioned was conducted by the Commissioners of the Court. The absolute importance of

being a Christian was made the exclusive legitimacy of any benevolence from the Company or in the judiciary. A child had to be baptized to retain property rights and rights of inheritance, which in turn forced the parents to marry as Christians. The Dutch law emphasized that non-Christian evidence was not admissible against Christians before law.

The Dutch were good record keepers and they demanded documentary proof in settling disputes. Of the judicial institutions that functioned under the Dutch rule only three types of courts kept their records; namely the *Raad Van Justitie*, *Landraad* and the *Civile Raad*.²⁰ Thus people were compelled to go to these courts for adjudication although they were administering the laws of Batavia and Holland.

For the convenience of the suitors Dutch introduced an element of their judicial administration, *Procurer* or the pleader who appeared on behalf of the client. Procurer appointed by the *Raad Van Justitie*, and sworn in annually before the president of *Raan Van Justitie* had to keep a guarantee of 100 rix dollars. Though it was expensive people had to seek the assistance of *Proœurer* to establish their claims.²¹

As these formal courts decisions were upheld by the judiciary and the government the clients were compelled to seek their assistance in courts. The Procedure in conducting a case too was alien and the oath administered in courts was novel and had no religious sanction. People followed the safest way to seek the assistance of the *Procurer*. The judicial formalities took months and years to finish a case, yet the suitor had to cling on to the process as he needed a verdict acceptable before law.

During the corresponding period the existing socio-economic system of the maritime provinces was subjected to stress and change due to the conduct of the western powers that ruled over them. In the sphere of land tenure and caste services there had been a drastic change. Private ownership of land allotments were getting rooted and the land was becoming a marketable commodity. With the commencement of *tombo* compilation people lost their communal

right to the forest and pasture lands. Natural expansion of villages stopped. Fragmentation of cultivated land has commenced giving way to endless brawls and clashes.

Lowest judicial authority under the Dutch administration was the village headman. The headman performed the day-to-day chores of administration that consisted mostly of enforcing the traditional labour obligation of the people under *rajakariya* for the accomplishment of Dutch Company's objectives in the island. With the changing times and circumstances the headman class enhanced their landed property and wielded considerable influence over the masses. During the frequent troubles they were instrumental in leading the people against the Dutch in the ongoing struggle of the Kandyan Kings with the Dutch. Often the ringleaders were banished but the Dutch had the necessity to maintain another set of headmen for the maintenance of day-to-day activities. As a political expediency where ever possible they curtailed the power of the headman.

When the spirit of litigation enhanced under changed law and judicial institutions the Dutch authorities found the need of making use of the headman system. By an order issued in 1706, the judicial position of the headman was recognized by the government. This was further elaborated in 1744 and the inhabitants were ordered to go with their complaints in the first instance to the headman. Headmen were instructed to hear and settle such disputes in the first instance. Towards the end of the Dutch rule specific instructions were issued on the judicial position of the headmen. In January 1787 instructions were given to the *Disava* of Colombo that the natives should go to the village level headman. The village headman was instructed to examine the complaints thoroughly by summoning all parties involved in the dispute and pronounce his judgment. If the parties were not satisfied they could go to the *Mudaliyar* of the *Pattus* or *Korale* with the written decision of the headman. The *Mudaliyar* was instructed to hold a fresh inquiry by summoning all the relevant parties and pronounce his judgment. If the parties were not satisfied they could go to the Dutch official of the district.²²

The judicial institution of the headman provided the natives with easy accessible, simple, inexpensive tribunal and the decision without delay. The disputad parties could not bring false charges or supporting witness, as the headman was aware of the incident. Such settlements were often instrumental in strengthening the community feelings of the countrymen. On the other hand the headmen made it a point to strengthen their hold over the community as the alien powers went all out to reduce their power in the past. Only in few cases people appealed to the higher authorities against their decision.

The court system of the Dutch was new and not a natural growth from within the system. The Dutch often referred to the native laws and customs in their judicial discussion but no purposeful step was taken to collect and codify them. However, a few Governors as Simon and Falck took an interest in the matter. Because of their interest *Thesavalamai* or the Tamil laws were codified by C. Isaaksz, the *Disava* of Jaffna and the *Mukkuwa* laws of Batticaloa and Puttalam were collected by the chieftains. In both cases they were not comprehensive collections of customary laws.

In adjudication whenever a judge found any discrepancy resorted to Batavian statutes or Roman Dutch Law. Roman Dutch Law was useful as the private ownership in landed property was becoming popular. Though people accepted the verdict of the formal courts as they had the official recognition on proprietary right, the people paid scant respect to them.

Thus during the Dutch administration new judicial institutions, laws and norms were introduced while on the other hand the indigenous and traditional laws and institutions were submerged and weakened. In the course of time one important consequence of the situation was the birth of two legal cultures, a strong alien oriented one and a weak indigenous system. An unending litigious spirit that bedeviled the society had emerged.²³ Often the more powerful ones abused the judicial process at the expense of the poor and weak. The birth of inherently litigious native was the consequence of the episode.

British captured the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka in 1796. In the make shift arrangement they discontinued the judicial powers of the headmen. Though the terms of capitulation of 15 February 1796 referred to the settlement of pending cases within a year, the non-availability of funds for the judicial officers and the refusal of the Dutch judicial officials to take oath of allegiance frustrated the attempt. The judicial administration came to a complete standstill. This confusion lasted till the end of 1801. In all instructions the local officials got from England it was pointed out that they should act in conformity to laws and institutions that subsisted under the ancient government of the United Provinces, subject to such changes suggested from England.²⁴ In the meantime British administrators made too much of experiments on the administration of justice, land tenure and caste services in which the people had to seek refuge in the judiciary. Frederick North, the first British civil Governor observed that within a short spell of time "abrupt and about total revolution" on property laws and civil policy had been brought and he looked upon these changes as premature and sudden and imprudent and violent.²⁵

The breakdown of the judicial system and the general administration of the maritime provinces would have further accelerated the litigiousness of the natives who were so fond of their hereditary holdings. Colebrooke pointed out in his report on administration on 24th December 1831, that the minute subdivision of land has been instrumental in encouraging the people to seek the assistance of the court system in their disputes. According to the commissioner the fields, grades and plantations which were formed or held in joint ownership, the value of an individual share was often limited to such fractional portions of a few pence, in land nine-tenths of a seer of rice, five twelfth of a coconut tree, and two third of a jack tree.²⁶ The attachment of the natives to these possessions was so great that they often became the subject of protracted law suits.

In the early years of the British administration the colonial office clearly instructed the Governor in Sri Lanka to follow as nearly as circumstances permit to preserve inviolate to natives, their

local habits, ancient tenures, distinctions and religious observances and to exercise the judicial administration and the maintenances of police in conformity to the laws and institutions which subsisted under the Dutch government. At the same time it was pinpointed that justice be administered speedily and properly, that all disorders, delays and other undue practices be effectively prevented and the judges perform their duties without delay or partiality.²⁷ The discontinuance of the judicial powers of the headmen and the changes brought about in the judicial system and the attempt to established the judicial administration according to British procedure nullified the spirit of the instructions.

Minor courts styled the Fiscals Court composed of three members with Fiscal as president were established at different places in the maritime provinces empowered to try minor civil disputes and minor criminal charges. At the outset it proved a success and the powers of the court increased but the enforcement of the punishment was subjected to the approval of the Governor. Perhaps having in mind the Magistracy of England, the Fiscal acting singly was given the powers of Magistrates and Watching over the Police of the area. With the establishment of the Crown Colony government in 1802 a new Charter of Justice was enforced with the establishment of a Supreme Court and also it was instructed to try minor offences before Justice of Peace and Magistrates. But however, Thomas Maitland, the new Governor abolished the post of Magistrates.

In the mean time the establishment of a separate civil service for Sri Lanka and the conferment of higher positions of state was made on the civil servants. For example the judicial positions of sitting Magistrates and Provincial Court judgeships were bestowed on civil servants. This led to the disappearance of *Landraad* courts. The provincial judges were made Justices of the Peace throughout the island and given jurisdiction over petty civil matters as well.

At each of these courts a Dutch secretary, clerks and native interpreters assisted the civil service judge. In keeping with the instructions of the Charter of Justice the rules and procedure were drafted to conduct the function of the court in accordance with the

rules and procedures of Great Britain. Pleadings were by affidavit and the litigants were required to pay certain fees.²⁸ Roman Dutch Law was given preference while customary laws of the countrymen too were given judicial recognition. Traditional Tamil laws compiled by Isaaksz and the Muslim laws compiled under the Dutch were declared part of the law and the judges were instructed to take judicial note of the customary laws in the Provincial Courts and Courts of Sitting Magistrates. When it came to the decision making process it was soon found that the codified laws were not complete and did not always make the judges way clear, they were silent in some areas, ambiguous in other and obsolete in yet other areas.²⁹

Court proceedings were recorded and became a precedent for other judges. Gradually those decisions became part of the law. The proceedings were conducted in English. The evidence given in native languages were interpreted to the judge in English. For the great majority of the suitors the access to judiciary was through mediators. The link that developed in due course was the interpreter and the petition drawer, the former being legitimated while the latter informal or para-legal.

Although there was confusion at the beginning of the British rule, the British were able to build their own judicial apparatus in a short time. The rules of conduct were framed by the judges of the Supreme Court in accordance with the procedures of the British courts. Roman Dutch Law was given preference and the judges were instructed to take judicial note of the customary laws of the natives in the Provincial Courts and the Courts of Sitting Magistrates. The presiding judges of these courts were British civil servants who did not have a legal training or the knowledge of the customary laws of the countrymen. Majority of the cases that came for adjudication arose due to breach of customs and traditions. Neither the Governor nor the Supreme Court Judges took up their challenge and gave instructions to the judges to overcome this impasse. The judges had to depend on the interpreters who were not quite competent to express an opinion. It is evident from the replies given by the majority of judges of the Courts of Sitting Magistrates and

Provincial Courts to the questionnaire of the Royal Commissioner of 1829-31, that the judges had followed the path of least resistance by not availing of such provision unless it was brought to their notice in pleading the evidence by the party that desired to take advantage of the situation.³⁰ In dealing with such disputes some judges depended on the strength of the evidence produced by the parties before the court.³¹ The other judges often found technical points to dismiss such cases. The lawyers associated in courts were mostly Burghers who were equally ignorant of the customary laws. When a matter of breach of tradition was taken in court for adjudication, villagers thronged to the court to hear the decision. Thereafter they also acted according to the decision given by the court. The contravention of customary laws through ignorance of the judge in this manner had a disruptive effect on the whole society often giving way to violence in further increase of litigation. The mistaken judgments due to non-compliance of customary laws and traditions further enhanced the litigiousness among the countrymen.

The enforcement of the Charter of Justice of 18th February 1833 on 1st October 1833 formulated on the recommendations of Charles Hay Cameron, after an exhaustive investigation in Sri Lanka, completed the establishment of British modal judicial system in Sri Lanka. Uniformity in judicial administration was achieved with the establishment of the Supreme Court at the apex of the system with District Courts at the base. The District Courts were empowered to hear and determine all civil and criminal cases arising within the judicial district. The Charter empowered the judges of the Supreme Court to frame, constitute and establish rules and orders of courts necessary to give effect to their functions. Accordingly the judges who were British qualified lawyers formulated a code of rules and orders in keeping with the judicial system and tradition at home.³²

Accordingly to initiate an ordinary civil or criminal case the complainant had to submit a libel in writing by himself or by his lawyer to the Secretary of Court in the prescribed form stating briefly the complaint and the course of action and the remedy he seeks in the suit with the relevant supporting documents and the names of

the witnesses supporting his course. Thereafter the Secretary had to issue summons to the defendant to appear before the court on a given date. The *Fiscal* of the court issued the summons. The defendant was expected to reply the court in the prescribed form his innocence, if there was any. If the defendant admitted the charge and was ready to pay the damage in a civil case, the judge in open court could give the verdict. Otherwise, the complainant had to submit another prescribed form and inform the court whether the court should proceed with the case. If the court was of opinion that the case be proceeded the judge was to fix a date for trial. The trial itself took several days. For all the correspondence the complainant and the accused had to pay stamp fees. Pleading was by *viva voce*, and the parties were subjected to cross-examination by the lawyers of both parties. At the end of the hearing the judge pronounced the verdict. The whole process took several months or years.

In two months of the receipt of the Charter, and within an allocated sum of expenditure, new arrangements were made under the guidance of Chief Justice Charles Marshall, who was not in sympathy with the recommendations. Some of the salient features such as the appointment of persons trained in law to judicial positions were set aside due to the reduction of highly paid civil service posts so that the separation of judiciary from executive was not practicable. Likewise the appointment of *Assessors* to assist the judge in customary matters were not enforced in full. The new judicial system had no root in Sri Lanka. The superimposition of law courts alien in origin over the peasant society who did not know about formal law courts and procedures of formal laws paved the way for a lawyer-ridden society and an expensive and extortionate process of justice.

With the breakdown of the existing order under the influence of market economy, even the slight violation of obligation was challenged at the District Court. The substitution of the Roman Dutch Law in place of traditional law in European model courts administered by judges who did not have a legal training associated with advocates and proctors of low quality had a deteriorating effect. The abolition of *rajakariya* system in 1832 without a suitable substitution to monitor the traditional obligatory services vital for

the agrarian society, gave rise to violation of customary traditions. Frequent disputes that arose over fencing of fields and gardens, cleaning of waterways, adjustment of boundaries and cattle trespass had to be settled before the District Judge. The absence of clear title deeds, the unavoidable necessity of depending upon oral evidence as to the descent, inheritance and the need for the investigation of a great number of witnesses, tenancy of common or individual pedigree carried back to more than a century, further the implication of planters or improvers share were issues that the District Judge had to deal in pronouncing a judgment. The attachment of the natives to hereditary possessions was often the subject of protracted lawsuits. By 1850 it was reported that one third of the land cases instituted in the District Courts of three major cities were less than the value of £ 5. In some parts of the island where there were no District Courts or ready access to courts, endless disputes arose on matters of property never come before any court at all, and remained forever a source of vexatious mutual hatred.³³

The series of legislation brought in to the judicial administration by the British according to the Inspector General of Police was, the suppression of crimes to a considerable extent as murder and robbery and other grievous crimes. The evil they brought in was the oppression through legal process and encouragement to litigious spirit by fostering lying, forgery and fraud and the infliction of penalties upon innocent persons.³⁴ This probably enhanced the spirit of litigation conceived due to the enforcement of law and order by the alien rule.

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The Children of Wimaladharmasuriya 1*

by
Gaston Perera

Wimaladharmasuriya - has gone down in history as a charismatic leader, an outstanding military strategist and the architect of Kandyan resistance and independence. It is strange, therefore, that so much doubt and controversy should surround his offspring and that our sources should say so little about them and that little, so conflicting. It is ironic that not one of the sons of so illustrious a father could succeed him and that the fates of everyone of his children should ultimately be so tragic.

This paper examines these issues. How many children did he sire, who were they and how was it that not one of them followed him on to the throne? A consideration of these issues would also throw not an inconsiderable light on other side issues as well. "A dense veil covers the Kandyan kingdom at this period" is how Paul E. Pieris¹ describes the little known events of Kandy at this time. An inquiry into the fates of Wimaladharmasuriya's children would give some insight into those shadowy times and provide us with glimpses into the life and mores in the Kandyan society of the day.

Nothing illustrates the paucity of information we have of Wimaladharmasuriya's children so much as the total silence in all our historical sources – the written Portuguese histories as well as the Sinhala chronicles – about his child born out of a marriage in Kotte. Not one source even mentions the fact that he contracted a marriage at all in Kotte, other than the Rajavaliya. But even the

¹ Paul E Pieris: "Ceylon-the Portuguese Era" (hereafter PEP), Tisara Prakasakayo Edition, Vol.II, page 11

Rajavaliya, while it mentions the marriage is completely silent about any issue from that marriage.

According to the Rajavaliya version² Konappu Bandara, as he then was, had fled Kandy with a companion, Salappu Bandara to escape the invading Rajasinha I and sought refuge with the Portuguese in Colombo. There the Portuguese as well as the Kotte king must have seen great promise in him. Or it must have been a reward for his outstanding military services during the Great Siege of Colombo by Rajasinha in 1581, where, as de Couto suggests³, he gained rapid promotion to become Mudaliyar in command of a lascorin regiment. Whatever the motive, according to the Rajavaliya a polyandrous marriage with Tammita Rala's daughter was arranged, as the custom sometimes was then, both for him and his companion, Salappu Bandara. This Tammita Rala, as we know, was no ordinary plebeian citizen. He was firstly an important palace official, the Portuguese referred to him as 'camareira mor' or Grand Chamberlain. In that capacity he was guardian of Dharmapala, the future King of Kotte, and was responsible for his upbringing. But more than his office it was his blood and ancestry that is important. Tammita Rala's real name was Sembahap Perumal and, what really matters is that he was none other than Vidiye Bandara's own brother. That made him, therefore the uncle of the reigning King of Kotte, Dharmapala.⁴ What the Rajavaliya story thus conveys is that this first marriage Konappu Bandara contracted was to the cousin of the reigning Kotte king, the bluest-blooded royalty. It is interesting to speculate on the policy motives of Kotte and the Portuguese in promoting such an alliance but it certainly indicates the high regard that this refugee from Kandy was held in.

But, as mentioned earlier, the Rajavaliya, while it mentions the union, is completely silent about any issue from it. For this

² Rajavaliya tr by B. Gunasekera, AES edition 1996 (hereafter Rv), page 90

³ de Couto: "The Decades", translated as "History of Ceylon" by D.W Ferguson in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch Vol. 20 No. 60 (hereafter de C), pages 294, 321, 350

⁴ PEP I, 86

information we have to turn to an archival source. This source is cited by Pieris⁵. That this archival source should refer to a son of Wimaladharmasuriya from Kotte is, therefore an independent confirmation of the Rajavaliya account of his marriage to the Tammita princess. According to this archival source there had been a male issue from the union. The Tammita princess, having had two consorts, one should not perhaps pry too closely into the child's paternity. Be that as it may the Portuguese apparently had the boy sent to Goa for, according to the archival source, he is mentioned as being educated at the College of King's at Goa. Wimaladharmasuriya however seemed to have had no doubts that the prince was his own son because this same archival source says he made overtures to Goa, when he was King of Kandy, to have the boy restored to him but that these overtures were rejected. This is all that is known then of Wimaladharmasuriya's first born. After this brief and fleeting appearance on the stage of history he exits and is not seen or heard of thereafter.

The Rajavaliya⁶ however has a later reference to its version of the Kotte marriage that confuses the picture again. According to this later reference it was the Portuguese who tried to infiltrate Wimaladharmasuriya's wife (who, strangely, is now referred to as Udamitta Rala's daughter) back into the highlands but that she was refused entry. Perhaps, what the Rajavaliya is stating here could well be a garbled version of the story in the archival source.

Wimaladharmasuriya is best known as the consort of Dona Catherina, Kusumasana Devi to the Kandyans, whom he forcibly married to legitimise his claim to the Kandyan throne. It is the offspring of this union that is the subject of so much controversy. One of the main issues is the number of sons he had from Dona Catherina.

⁵ *ibid* 395

⁶ Rv 100

Every single non-Sinhala historical source - Queyroz⁷, Trinite⁸, Ribeiro⁹ and Baldaeus¹⁰ - very positively asserts that he had only one son. Even Spilbergen who personally met Wimaladharmasuriya in 1602 and has described that meeting in his Journal mentions only one son was present on that occasion.¹¹ All the Sinhala sources on the other hand – the Chulavamsa¹², the Rajavaliya¹³, even the other contemporary source, Robert Knox¹⁴ - all distinctly mention more than one son.

Out of this welter of confusion agreement emerges one matter at least. There is no conflict between these sources that Wimaladharmasuriya had one son at least. All the sources are on common ground on that. This would be the eldest according to the Sinhala sources, who was named Rajasooriya.¹⁵ Although like Wimaladharmasuriya's first-born son his appearance in history is fleeting, he is still a figure of great significance not only because of who he was, but because of his ultimate fate and its implications. He was Wimaladharmasuriya's designated successor and therefore heir to the throne. Queyroz describes Wimaladharmasuriya on his death-bed appointing his brother/cousin, Senerat, as his Regent and laying on him the injunction to ensure Rajasooriya succeeds him.¹⁶ This is confirmed in the

⁷ F. Queyroz "The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon" tr. by Fr. SG Perera (hereafter Q) page 609

⁸ P. Trinite "Conquista Spiritual do Oriente" - Chh 1-56 of Bk 3 translated as "chapters on the Introduction of Christianity to Ceylon" by Pieris and Meersman (hereafter Tr.), page 124.

⁹ J. Ribeiro "Historic Tragedy of the Island of Ceilao" tr. by P.E. Peiris - AES edition, 1999 (hereafter R), page 20

¹⁰ P. Baldaeus "A description of the Great and most Famous Island of Ceylon" - AES edition 1996 (hereafter B), page 681

¹¹ "Journal of Spilbergen" tr. by KD Paranavitana 1997 (hereafter Sp) pages 30, 32, 38

¹² Cv

¹³ Rv 98

¹⁴ R. Knox "An Historical Relation of Ceylon" - Tisara Prakasakayo edition (hereafter Kn) page 149

¹⁵ Rv - the only source that names him - 98

¹⁶ Q 604 - "till my son Astana Bandara shall be of age"

Rajavaliya too.¹⁷ But when Senerat did take over not only the Regency but also his dead brother's widow, all the sources are unanimous that Rajasooriya met with an untimely and violent end.

When a crime is committed, especially so grave a crime as homicide, the questions an investigator would normally ask are what was the *modus operandi*, who was the suspect and what was the motive. Or in other words how, by whom, and why. As regards this murder the answers to such inquiries are not hard to find in our sources.

As to how Rajasooriya died the sources give conflicting versions. Queyroz gives no details¹⁸ apart from the blunt accusation that he was murdered. According to Baldaeus he was poisoned.¹⁹ In the Rajavaliya it is drowning.²⁰

But by whom? Here again Queyroz²¹ does not mince his words. He openly charges Senerat – the uncle and now the step-father in addition to being the Regent! So does Baldaeus.²² So does the Jornada.²³ The Jornada is especially valuable as a source. It is an account written by an anonymous Portuguese soldier who fought at Randeniwela, was taken prisoner, met Senerat personally and had a high regard for him. What the Jornada asserts is –

“— he killed his own nephew, her son, by the first husband.”
And later

“— he made amends for the murder by giving her three sons.”²⁴

¹⁷ Rv 100 – “After committing his four sons to his [Senerat's, that is] care Wimaladharmasuriya died.”

¹⁸ Q 610 – merely saying he was “murdered”.

¹⁹ B 688.

²⁰ Rv 100 – “caused to be drowned by his attendants”

²¹ Q 609,610

²² B 688

²³ “Jornada do Reino de Huua por Constantino de Saa Noronha Offerecida a Senhora Dona Luisa da Silva Medonca no anno MDCXXXV”, translated by Fr. S.G.Perera as “Expedition to Uva” – hereafter J

²⁴ J 34

The Rajavaliya gives no names but reading between its lines one cannot doubt not only by whom Rajasooriya was murdered but also why. It first mentions the birth of Rajasinha II, Senerat's own son by Dona Catherina. In the very next sentence it mentions the forcible drowning of Rajasooriya. The son is born, the heir to the throne is disposed of. The innuendo of cause and effect hits you in the face. The conclusion in the Rajavaliya therefore seems irresistible that it is the uncle/stepfather who is the unseen hand behind the drowning, getting rid of his nephew/stepson, the legitimate heir to the throne to clear the way for his own offspring.

But in this are we reading too much meaning into the Rajavaliya version and is that version by itself too flimsy as evidence to pass a verdict of guilty? A careful analysis of all the accounts in all the sources, however, would go to show that this is not an entirely fanciful conclusion. Such a careful analysis would reveal three distinct, independent and separate lines of circumstantial evidence that would lead to the same conclusion.

The first such line of circumstantial evidence is Senerat's subsequent actions, his undisguised attempts throughout his entire reign to ensure the legitimate heirs were excluded from succession and his own son succeeded him on the throne. The sources show that throughout his rule Senerat actively promoted the cause of his own son and that he did it quite openly. He consistently made every attempt to keep out the next legitimate heir, Kumarasinghe so that his own son could take over. The Portuguese sources openly and repeatedly make this charge.²⁵ The Sinhala sources are not so direct but certainly suggest it.²⁶ The machinations Senerat resorted to in this regard are discussed more fully later.

²⁵ Q 781, for instance – “Him of Candea, [Rajasinha II, that is] because he was the youngest the Father ever put in the way of government, as he saw greater capacity in him.”

²⁶ Cv 234

The second line of circumstantial evidence is the re-action of Dona Catherina. Both Queyroz²⁷ and Baldaeus²⁸ describe her grief as wild and uncontrolled, but that is natural. Still it seems as if she had broken with Senerat after this for now she is described as not being at the palace in Kandy with Senerat but in her own palace at Welimantota.²⁹ It is also known she tried to join the Portuguese. Pieris³⁰ quotes an archival source to indicate she made overtures to Azevedo. Abeysinghe³¹ says she made an unsuccessful attempt to run away to the Portuguese. Finally she even openly accused Senerat. For Baldaeus says in his account of her death that she ultimately died of grief and on her death bed accused Senerat directly.³²

The third line of circumstantial evidence is the reaction of the populace. Apparently when the news spread to the people that the son of their hero had mysteriously died there was unrest among them. The accounts in both Queyroz³³ and Baldaeus³⁴ suggest that the fear of insurrection was very real because the people were enraged at what had happened and Senerat was forced to take special measures.

The cumulative effect of all this weight of circumstantial evidence is convincing. Together with what is directly asserted in the sources it can lead to one conclusion only. Wimaladharmasuriya's eldest son, Rajasooriya, was murdered by Senerat to ensure the future succession of his own son.

Apart from this murdered heir Wimaladharmasuriya also had a female progeny.

²⁷ Q 610

²⁸ B 688 et seq.

²⁹ B 692

³⁰ PEP 1,415. But it is said here that this was before Rajasooriya's death.

³¹ TBH Abeysinghe "The Portuguese in Ceylon-1594 to 1612" (hereafter TA), page 52.

³² B op. cit – "You are the cause of my death."

³³ Q 606

³⁴ B 688

Here too our sources are contradictory and confusing. The Chulavamsa maintains a stoic, as it were, silence on the issue. But then the Revd. Tibbotuvave Sumangala, the priest credited with the authorship of this part of the Chronicle³⁵ was not likely to be concerned with such frivolities as girl children. All the other non-Sinhala sources³⁶ speak of one daughter only. Even Spilbergen³⁷ in that description referred to earlier of his meeting with Wimaladharmasuriya mentions the presence of only one daughter. The Rajavaliya, too, refers to one daughter only.

Of all the sources it is only Baldaeus who mentions that Wimaladharmasuriya had two daughters. His version, in fact, has a further and a scandalous twist. According to this Senerat attempted to marry one niece. The reason Baldaeus gives is that he had “debauched her before” but he was dissuaded.³⁸

Fortunately for Senerat’s reputation there is an archival source³⁹ that gives a different version which in effect exonerates him from the charge of rape. That source confirms Baldaeus in some respects and provides additional information too. It confirms the fact that there were two daughters of Wimaladharmasuriya. Further although it does not give their names it gives their titles. The eldest was addressed as Suriya Maha Adahasin and the younger as Anthasin. Its version of the connection between Senarat and his niece is completely different – less scandalous, perhaps, but still startling enough. For according to this archival source we have Senerat not debauching but marrying, not one niece but both.

The only other source, either Sinhala or Portuguese, that makes any reference to this marriage is the Jornada. But the picture it paints is depressing. It is not only one of grim force and compulsion but one of consuming despair as well. So hateful was this forced

³⁵ B.C.Law: “On the Chronicles of Ceylon”, page 17

³⁶ Q 798, Kn. 171, the Jornada,

³⁷ Spilbergen 32

³⁸ B 688

³⁹ Q 788, footnote

marriage to the Suriya Maha Adahasin that she attempted to run away. —

“— she had been resolved to leave the Court of her husband not only because he had been the husband of her mother Dona Catherina but also because he took her by force —.”⁴⁰

There is also an element of thwarted love and tragic romance in the Jornada version where Senerat is not only the villain but appears in his well-known murderous role as well. For he —

“— had killed for the purpose of that marriage a certain Prince, a relative of hers to whom she had been espoused for four years.”⁴¹

What the Jornada says cannot be dismissed lightly because its anonymous author had personally met the Queen and even makes reference to her physical appearance —

“She has a squint on account of which the left eye is always closed.”⁴²

These are convincing corroborative details and the story is related by one who was close to the events that occurred. He may well, therefore, be relating the story current at that time.

Two modern historians also refer to this marriage, Fr. S.G.Perera⁴³ and Fr W.L.A. don Peter⁴⁴ but unfortunately neither of them cite their sources.

Whatever the truth of these stories, the likelihood of such a union is entirely possible. There are two considerations that make it entirely plausible and credible for Senerat to have taken both his nieces as consorts and both these considerations emphasise one thing - the part that royal blood played in determining events in Kandy at that time.

⁴⁰ J 54

⁴¹ *ibid*

⁴² J54

⁴³ Fr. S.G.Perera: “Historical Sketches”, page 130

⁴⁴ “Franciscans and Sri Lanka” ed. Fr. WLA don Peter, p157

The first consideration that makes Senerat's union with both his nieces quite plausible is that royal marriage customs of the times would not have stood in the way. In fact marriages even within prohibited degrees of consanguinity were accepted in royal circles. Incest itself was not unknown, if Knox's story about Rajasinha II and his daughter⁴⁵ is correct. The need to maintain the purity of royal blood has been claimed as the justification for this kind of union.⁴⁶ In other words this is yet another acknowledgement of the significance of royal blood. In fact Knox himself suggests in the above passage that that was the motive of Rajasinghe in his incestuous union with his daughter.

Secondly, and quite apart from the prevailing royal mores, there were other and more compelling pragmatic considerations that made it imperative for Senerat to take this course of action. That, too, is connected with the question of royal blood. Dona Catherina's death was a loss to Senerat in far more senses than one. For it removed his one legitimate claim to rule. To compound it, the consequences of her death were insurrection and dissension in which rival claimants, who also wished to legitimise their own claims by alliance with these two eligible royal brides, made his position doubly insecure. The only way for him to regain both his lost legitimacy and deprive any prospective rival of the same was for him to ally himself with royal blood again. This was the importance of marrying not one, but both his nieces. They had an incalculable political value for him. For not only would he re-establish his claim to rule, he would deprive any rival claimant of it. It was not, therefore, as Baldaeus says, that this former priest nursed a secret, romantic crush for his nieces or lusted after them. Unlike Wimaladharmasuriya his morals have never been questioned. Besides he was now getting on in years. The truth is that the harsh compulsions of political survival left no alternative to the hard-headed Senerat but to marry, not one, but both his nieces.

⁴⁵ Kn 157

⁴⁶ Kn. himself, *op. cit.*, mentions the need "to beget a royal issue."

But, still looking at Senerat's actions through humane eyes and perhaps the spectacles of modern values, it must have been hard on the nieces. They were still in their teens, not more than 17 and 18 at the most, perhaps. Early matrimony was common at that time and their own mother was married at 12. But here they are called into wedlock with an old man, their own uncle and step-father too. Their real tragedy, however, lies much deeper. That tragedy lies in the fact that at this tender age they had to go to the same bed where their own dead mother had lain and, worst of all, to sleep with the very man who not only caused her death but was suspected of murdering their own brother as well.

The fate of Wimaladharmasuriya's daughters provide many glimpses into the life and mores of Kandyan society of that time. It shows the frightening importance of royal blood, the utterly absolute power of the ruler, the attitude to marriage, the nature of children's rights at the time and even the place of women in royal circles.

So much then for Wimaladharmasuriya's eldest son and his two daughters. But there were also two other royal princes in the scene at that time, Kumarasinghe and Wijepala. These two played a significant role in the turbulent history of those times. But the greatest controversy about Wimaladharmasuriya's progeny centres round these two. Were they his sons? Or were they Senerat's? In other words did Senerat have three sons from Dona Catherina – Kumarasinghe, Wijepala and Rajasinha – or only one, Rajasinha?

The historical sources are divided on this question. It will be recalled that all the Portuguese sources mentioned only one son. Going by those sources, therefore, the inference is that Kumarasinghe and Wijepala were Senerat's sons. In fact Portuguese sources not only regularly attribute their paternity to Senerat, they also consistently stress it. Even modern historians differ. For Abeysinghe, for instance, they are

Wimaladharmasuriya's sons.⁴⁷ Gunewardena was of the same view once but was doubtful later⁴⁸. But Pieris and C.R.de Silva refer to them as Senerats.⁴⁹

Strangely enough one of the very sons, Wijepala himself, has claimed Senerat as his father. That should on the face of it settle the question once and for all. There is extant in the Goan archives a letter that Wijepala himself has written to the Viceroy on 1st May 1643, which Pieris has reproduced in translation.⁵⁰ In this Wijepala asserts he was "crowned in the presence of my father". Since Wimaladharmasuriya died in 1604 when Wijepala was in his infancy, by 'father' he can only mean Senerat. On the face of it for the son himself to assert who his father was might seem to settle the matter finally. In fact it is not so at all. On the one hand one could explain the reference to 'father' as metaphorical, since, having been brought up by Senerat, he was the only 'father' he knew. But far more importantly, there is not one source that even remotely refers to such a significant and decisive event occurring at this time as the crowning of a ruler. In fact for Senerat to preside, as it were, over the crowning of Wijepala as King of Kandy would run counter to what every source asserts as the calculated policy and the central motive of Senerat throughout his reign which was to enthrone his own son, Rajasinha, to the exclusion of Kumarasinghe and Wijepala. Besides all the sources highlight Senerat's preference for Rajasinha. The truth of the matter is that the main purpose of Wijepala in this letter was to seek Portuguese intervention against Rajasinha. It is nothing, therefore, but the concoction of a disappointed claimant to the Kandyan throne angling for Portuguese help.

The Sinhala sources, on the other hand, and even Knox, have consistently attributed the paternity of Kumarasinghe and Wijepala to Wimaladharmasuriya. As discussed earlier the Chulavamsa, the

⁴⁷ TA 52 – WMD's "young sons".

⁴⁸ K.W. Gunewardena: "Foundation of Dutch Power", Doctoral Thesis, printed in Netherlands, 1958 (hereafter KWG), page 11, footnote 18

⁴⁹ C.R.de Silva: "The Portuguese in Ceylon-1617-1638" (hereafter CRdeS), page 148

⁵⁰ Pieris: "Selected Writings – Prince Wijepala", page 29

Rajavaliya and Knox have stated Wimaladharmasuriya had more than one son, while the first two have specifically mentioned them by name.

On the balance, therefore, one could give more credence to these indigenous sources as being, at least, closer home. But apart from this positive evidence there are also two other considerations that lead to the conclusion that Kumarasinghe and Wijepala were Wimaladharmasuriya's sons and not Senerat's.

The first consideration is that there was every possibility and likelihood that Wimaladharmasuriya fathered them. For one thing he was married to Dona Catherina for 10 years and, therefore, would have had the time and opportunity to father more than just a son and two daughters. He was in the prime of life and his virility was never in doubt. In fact Queyroz' repeated denigratory references to his sexual proclivities⁵¹ as 'licentious' and 'depraved' may well be the typical Portuguese distortion of a well known tendency. Nor was he in any way estranged from Dona Catherina. Even as late in his marriage as 1602 he showed deep attachment to her judging by the Seebald de Weert incident.⁵² All of this goes to show that Wimaladharmasuriya had the time, the opportunity and the sexuality to have had more children than one son and two daughters.

The second consideration is the conduct of Senerat as ruler. Throughout his rule he had displayed an over-riding obsession to exclude Kumarasinghe and Wijepala from succeeding to the throne. These were his brother's legitimate heirs after Rajasooriya's death, whose succession he had vowed to ensure to his dying brother. What he consistently did throughout his rule was to ensure the succession of his own son, Rajasinha. It began with the murder of Rajasooriya hard on the heels of the birth of his own son. Then throughout his reign he displayed the same undisguised motive of promoting his own son. The Portuguese sources⁵³ mention

⁵¹ Q 606, for instance

⁵² B 680

⁵³ vide note 8, p3. Also Q 787, R 22, even Kn 149

innumerable such instances. That Senerat was so motivated is also the view of some modern historians, like C.R. de Silva.⁵⁴ He had Kumarasinghe and Wijepala married off to two Jaffna princesses, the nieces of Changali, which, if his Jaffna invasion had succeeded, would have got both of them conveniently out of the way. Next, when everything else had failed he resorted to that dubious device of a lottery, ostensibly to divide the kingdom between the three Princes, but ensuring that Rajasinha got Kandy, which made him the de facto ruler of the highlands and the other two who got Uva and Matale subordinate to him.⁵⁵ In fact for both the Chulavamsa and Knox, both expressing the contemporary opinion, the lottery was a sham. They both saw it for what it really was as nothing but a devious way of ensuring that the real power went to Rajasinha. The Chulavamsa says “Rajasinha ... dispossessed his older brothers and made them vassals.”⁵⁶ Knox is even blunter. He describes it as having been fixed.⁵⁷ The final, crowning act in this conspiracy, which commenced with the murder of Rajasooriya culminates in yet another murder, that of Kumarasinghe, the next legitimate heir. The Chulavamsa relates that internal dissension followed the division of the country by the lottery and the consequent ‘dispossession’ of the other two Princes and then tersely says “Kumarasinghe had been put to death by poison”⁵⁸. Among the Portuguese sources *Trinidade*⁵⁹ too confirms this story of poisoning. He attributes it to Rajasinha and the need to quell the unrest that must have followed upon the lottery. Obviously, therefore, one has to conclude that the bumping off of Kumarasinghe was the final solution to the succession question.

⁵⁴ CRdeS 142. Rajasinha signing the 1634 Peace Treaty with the Portuguese as King of Kandy was for Senerat “the culmination of a **long effort** to have his dynasty securely established on the Kandyan throne.” (Emphasis added)

⁵⁵ Cv I- 232, 233

⁵⁶ *ibid* 234

⁵⁷ Kn 150

⁵⁸ Cv 234

⁵⁹ Tr 127 – “— the youngest son of the King who .as we have seen, was proclaimed King of Candea poisoned his elder brother in order to possess his throne more securely.”

The actions of Senerat himself and the authority of our own sources, are, therefore, the strongest proof of the paternity of Kumarasinghe and Wijepala. The fact that Senerat calculatedly and persistently conspired to exclude them from succeeding to the throne so that Rajasinha, his own son, could do so and the fact that he even resorted to murder to achieve that end is convincing evidence that is difficult to disregard. For these can never be the natural actions of a man towards his own flesh and blood – not even if, as the Chulavamsa says⁶⁰, his view was that Rajasinha showed greater promise. There can be little doubt therefore that these two Princes, Kumarasinghe and Wijepala, were the sons of Wimaladharmasuriya.

There was a time when Professor K. W. Gunewardena's considered view was the same. In 1958 in his doctoral thesis he has said –

“Whether Rajasinha was Senerat's youngest son or only son is still an unsolved problem. But I incline to believe that the other Princes were both sons of Wimaladharmasuriya.”⁶¹

However by 1978 he has begun to have doubts. In the appendix to an article on “Kingship in 17th century Sri Lanka”⁶² he is not so certain. –

“It might be best to conclude that they were not certainly but most probably all sons of Senerat and none of Wimaladharmasuriya.”

And again –

“Though the weight of evidence points very strongly towards the princes being all sons of Senerat, we cannot be absolutely certain.”

The parentage of Kumarasinghe and Wijepala continue to be a matter of uncertainty.

⁶⁰ *ibid*, 233

⁶¹ KWG 11 (footnote 18)

⁶² Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities, Vol. III, pages 1-32

An inquiry into the parentage of these two Princes reveals many other matters as well and therefore has an interest quite independent of their paternity. It slightly lifts the dark veil that shrouds the history of Kandy at this time. This was a period of unparalleled turbulence in the highlands, when it was subject to a bitter onslaught from outside by the Portuguese. A discussion of the paternity of these two Princes reveals that this external struggle was accompanied by a long-drawn internal power struggle as well, a power struggle for the Kandyan throne. The part that Wimaladharmasuriya's sons played in that power struggle is seen at once as both heroic and tragic. It is heroic in that, despite all the conspiracy against them, their part in the external power struggle never faltered. They were always in the forefront of the campaigns against the Portuguese. The crushing defeats inflicted on them at Randeniwela and Gannoruwa were made possible because of the fighting qualities and military prowess of Kumarasinghe and Wijepala. Their part in the internal power struggle is also tragic. For in that struggle Wimaladharmasuriya's sons lost.

Note :-Name Wimaladharmasuriya used throughout this paper connotes Wimaladharmasuriya 1. There is a Wimaladharmasuriya 11 too.

The Historical Background that Influenced the Personality of Rajasinghe 11 (1635-1687)*

by
Padma Edirisinghe

Devarajasinghe who is historically famous as Rajasinghe 11 (name, Rajasinghe will be used hereafter) was the youngest offspring of a peculiar combination of an ex—Buddhist monk fathered by a village headman named Henerathhamy, and a Christian queen who had been brought up by the Portuguese .He was ruler of Kande Uda Rata from 1635 to 1687. Born between the years 1609 and 1612 (exact year of birth, subject to varied theories) he lived up to an age range between 75 and 80 years and died peacefully on the royal couch ,a rather bewildering fact in the context of the turbulent and very eventful life he led for about seven to eight decades braving not only a series of triangular and fierce wars among the Sinhalese, Portuguese and the Dutch but rebellions of his own people .Further were adjunct attempts to assassinate the despotic monarch and place his son on the throne, to which conspiracy however the son was never an accomplice.

Archival documents give his genealogical details as follows,

“He was born in the year 1609 ,the son of king Senerat or Henerat Adahasin by Dona Catharina ,widow of king Vimala Dharma Suriya 1. But his paternal grandfather is stated to have been a mere mayoral or rustic headman named Henerat or Senerathamy ,hailing from a village called Aluthgama in the Asgiriya division of the kingdom of Matale. The researches from which these facts are drawn were carried out in 1675 by a Genealogical Committee consisting of the most senior chieftains and Mudaliyars of the Island”*¹

How the king styled himself

He styled himself in this strain, in the year 1636, only one year after he ascended the throne of Kandy, laying claim to the littoral ruled by the Portuguese and the Jaffna peninsula too with its own rulers. (It was clear that the king regarded the Portuguese as blatant trespassers on the island and that he alone was sole emperor of the island).

RAJA SINGA, EMPEROR OF CEYLON, KING OF CANDY, COTA, CEYTAVACA, DAMBADAN, ANORAYAPORE, JAFNAPATAM, PRINCE OF UVA, MATURE, DINA VACA, THE FOUR CORLES, GRAND DUKE OF THE 7 CORLES, MATALE, COUNT OF COTIYAR, TRINQUEMALE, BATECALO, VELSE, VINATANE, DUMBRA, PANCIAPATO, VETA, PUTELAON, VALLARE, GALE, BELLIGAON, MARQUIS OF DURANURA, RATIENURA, TRIPANE, ACCIAPATO, LORD OF THE HAVENS OF ALICAN, COLUMBO, NEGOMBO, CHILAU, MADAMPE, CALPENTYN, ARIPUTURE, MANAAR AND OF THE FISHERIES OF GEMS AND PEARLS, LORD OF THE GOLDEN SUN

Raja Singa, Imperador (Emperor)

(Culled from letters written by Rajasinghe to the Dutch Governor of Paliacatta, Dutch, headquarters on Coromandal coast, with a request that the letter be sent to the Dutch Viceroy at Jacatra .Ref. Baldeus)

[Letter dated 9 th September 1636 and signed Raja Singa ,Imperador]*² .

In this title Rajasinghe, then between 24 and 26 years, boldly lays claim to the Portuguese owned littoral, to the Jaffna kingdom ruled by its own kings and arrogates to himself the kingdom of Matale ruled by his elder brother, Vijaypala and Bintanne, ruled by the other elder brother, Kumarasinghe.

Physical appearance and apparel

Various accounts have been given by foreign writers and these common features can be derived from these, “Was of medium stature, thick—set of body, vigorous and brisk of physique, large eyes, sharp and piercing.” .Knox calls him black—complexioned

but critics contend that out of prejudice Knox has painted him blacker than what he really was and that Knox never got that close to him to observe him for reasons of his own safety. This is Robert Knox's account of him.

“He is not tall but very well –set ,not of the clearest colour of their complexion, but somewhat of the blackest, great rolling eyes, turning them and looking every way , always moving them, a brisk bold look, a swelling belly, very lively in his actions and behaviour, somewhat bald A large comely beard, bears his years well, being between 70 and 80 years of age, an old man ,yet appears not to be like one , neither in countenance nor action”^{*3a}

Apparel (Knox's description)

“On his head he wears a cap with four corners like Jesuits, three teers high, a feather standing upright before, a long band hanging down his back after the Portuguez fashion, his doublet after so strange a shape Wears long breeches to his ankles, shoes and stockings, doth not always keep to one fashion but changes as his fancy leads him, his sword hangs by his sidewhich no Chingualay may dare wear..holds in his hands a small cane set with stones and with a head of gold”^{*3b}

Eating habits—abstemious in food

“He is temperate both in his diet and his lust.. Whatsoever is brought for him to eat or drink is covered with a white cloath, and whoever brings it, hath a Muffler tyed about his mouth lest he should breathe upon the king's food.. the person who also waits has a muffler about his mouth.”

LUST: He hath not had the company of his queen this 20 years to wit, since when he went from Candy. ...he allows not in his court whoredom or adultery “^{*3c}

(There is however a charge of incest against him covertly mentioned by Knox.)



“Whatever is brought for him to eat or drink is covered with a white cloath, and whoever brings it, hath a Muffler tyed about his mouth lest he should breathe upon the king’s food... the person who also waits has a muffler about his mouths”.
 (‘Illustration taken from the German Edition of Knox’s ‘Historical Relations of Ceylon’)

Main events in his life

Birth between the years 1609—1612

1612—Death of prince Maha Asthana (son of king Vimala Dharma I), that does away with the direct heir to the throne of Kandy. Devarajasinghe (name of Rajasinghe 11 in his childhood) gets closer to the throne.

1613—Death of his mother, queen Dona Catherina

1628— King Senerat draws lots to select heirs for the divisions of his kingdom, Uva, Matale and Kandy making sure that the last falls to the youngest, son, Devarajasinghe, his favourite child..

1628 —1635 :- co—regent with his father

1630 —Battle at Randeniwala—Rajasinghe plays centre stage .
Battle won. Constantine De Saa, P. Captain General beheaded.

1632 / 5- Death of king Senerat and Rajasinghe ascends throne

1634 .Kumarasinghe killed in an ambush surmised to have been perpetrated by Rajasinghe . Annexes Uva or Bintenna terrain.

1638 . Gannoruwa battle —again Rajasinghe, helped by his brother emerges victor.

Same year : Treaty with Westerwold to oust Portuguese

1641 —Vijayapala ,king of Matale flees to the Portuguese harassed by Rajasinghe 11 who annexes Matale.

1654 –Matale rebellion headed by Prince Vijayapala’s son. Latter killed .

1659 & 60 . Imprisons English crew of “The Persia Merchant” and “The Anne”, the latter leading to the publicizing of his tyrannical rule globally by Robert Knox, author of Historical Relations of Ceylon .

1664-Nillambe rebellion. Quells it and punishes ringleaders severely. Hides son. Changes residence to Digly Nuwara (Hanguranketa).

Intervening years — Becomes main partner in siege of Colombo monitored by Dutch

1656 –Portuguese expelled from the island

1672—Detains French envoys

1658— 1687—Bitter wrangling begins with Dutch over non –
surrender of captured forts

1687-His demise.

A brief sketch of his life and times

He was born within the years 1609—1612 at the palace of Mahiyangana (Bintenne) where the royal family had withdrawn during an impending Portuguese invasion (invasion – Sept . 1611). The preponderance of poets from Uva in his Kavikara Maduwa (Assembly of poets whose main purpose was to eulogise the deeds of the Emperor) perhaps can be adduced to the incident of his birth place.

Mother —the famous queen Dona Catherina, widow of Vimala Dharma Surya 1, who both owned strange life sagas. Father – King Senerat , cousin of Vimala Dharma Surya 1, an ex—Buddhist monk, whom the former nominated as monarch till his own son came of age. But this son's murder or death and the circumstances that led to the death of Kumarasinghe (another brother) and the unpopularity of the other brother ,Vijayapala and the father's favouritism (as seen from the drawing of lots for the division of the kingdom among the 3 sons and machinating the process in favour of Devarajasinghe) made Rajasinghe 11 heir to Kandy.

Rajasinghe's career can be roughly phased as follows.

- * Phase of helping his father that culminated with the battle of Randeniwela. Acted as co—regent of his father.
- * The early phase of his reign — preoccupied by soliciting Dutch aid to orchestrate Portuguese expulsion. Here he was pursuing the policy begun by king Vimala Dharma and carried out by his father.
- * Middle phase –actively engaged in fighting the Portuguese with Dutch .Displays much diplomatic prowess by holding the balance of power between the Portuguese and the Dutch.

- * Last phase — Stopping of Nuwara perahara begun by Vimala Dharma Surya I for no apparent reason leads to Nillambe rebellion. Increasing unpopularity. Many of his subjects go over to the lowlands. . During this time he began the practice of capturing foreigners who entered the island and imprisoning them within the impregnable highlands. This was an unprecedented practice by rulers of the island. But he showered special favours on the La Nerolles and Gascons of France that made them stay on and ‘augment’ the Sinhala race. The global publicity given to him by his most famous captive, Robert Knox who managed to escape after 19 years is too well known history to be recounted.

1656 —58 – siege of Colombo and capture of other forts by Dutch helped by king. Bitter wrangling with the Dutch over their treachery of flouting the conditions on which they were to act after the expulsion. (The Dutch did not hand over the conquered forts saying that expenses of war were in default) .

His marriage – An act of diplomacy by Senerat was to annex the Jaffna peninsula to Kandy by marriage ties. Hence he arranged marriage links for his sons with princesses of Jaffna who had by this time departed to Tanjore due to constant conflicts in the North(here Paulusz writes of the blind king’s daughters of Jafna who went to South India due to conflict in the North while CV records of Rajasinghe’s marriage with the daughter of a king of Madura *⁴).

According to Knox the queen of Rajasinghe was hardly seen (more or less neglected).

“His right and lawful queen who was a Malabar brought from the coast is still living but hath not been with him , as is known, this 20 years remaining in the city of Candea where he left her”

A footnote on pg 111(2 nd edition of Knox’s book) states a curious fact ie.that the daughters of the king of Carnatic escorted by Sinhala ambassadors arrived in Galle harbour by sampan from

the Coromandal coast on their way by sea to Batticaloa to marry Rajasinghe.

In the very last years of the king's life (according to "Tudugala family"), he was very sick having developed gout and a pain in the legs that made his feet hurt when they touched the ground. Hence he had to be carried always in an invalid's chair.

"Gradually his memory and understanding began to fail. Food lost its savour for him and he was content to eat only one meal a day. Half crazed by pain he drugged himself with opium and his mind was often dazed and confused, so that in the course of a single day he might give three sets of contradictory orders" * 5

Personality traits of king

(An obvious fact here is that these traits are not historically authenticated, yet discerned from historical facts and contemporary sources and hence could suffer from the sin of conjecture. The "bias factor" of remarks by those who suffered at his hands too has to be considered. While some of these characteristics could be reckoned as innate, the majority, the writer takes the liberty to conclude, were moulded by the mosaic of strange and turbulent historical factors that the king was enmeshed in from his youthful days).

- Endowed with "Good fortune"
- Extremely ambitious and power-hungry
- Treacherous to his brothers (or step brothers).
- Cunning, clever, tactful, resourceful and "not wanting in wisdom" (Dr. K. W. Gunewardena in "The foundation of Dutch power in Ceylon" quotes Codrington, who describes the king as "Master in craft and double-dealing". An ambition to emulate and even surpass the achievements of his illustrious namesake (Sitawaka Rajasinghe) too is adduced to Rajasinghe II by Dr. K. W. Gunewardena. A letter sent to Adraen van der Archief is mentioned here. * 6
- Unpredictable
- Fearless and cruel in many instances.

- Egoistic and vain —glorious
- Owned self –indulgent and exotic tastes (collecting rare animals etc) ,a trait alien to Sinhala rulers. Like a child he had (sometimes at critical times) entertained himself by feeding fish and getting scarecrows made to appear like Europeans and feeding them to elephants (Captive Beard’s statement). His maintaining a zoo of strange animals eventually extended to maintaining a human zoo,by capturing and imprisoning members of different races overlooking all international protocol. A Bengali prince in captivity had died here and many White captives had undergone a similar fate.
- Anxious and suspicious and suffering from a feeling of insecurity(awake most of the night with trumpets and drums making a din to repel attackers, all food brought examined and later, king, very abstemious in food habits eating only fruits, to which no poison could be inserted)
- Was not sympathetic towards his own religion (perhaps in keeping with acting away from set norms) .
- Educated by Fransiscan friars, had more leanings towards X’tianity though he did not profess it.
- Did not enjoy family life(seemed to have showered all his attention on gorgeous animals). Never took the queen to Nillambe nor to Diyathileka Nuwara ,his favourite and secure residences letting her be by herself in Kandy with her son. Apparently seemed not to have cared for their security.
- Frustrated in his later life for the folly of having exchanged one foreigner for another.
- Brilliant in diplomacy (in the early stage).Held balance of power between the two White races playing masterful strokes, that ensured the sovereignty of the highlands.

* Fond of reading . Read Portuguese and Latin works . .Knew Tamil in both spoken and written form. Had corresponded in Tamil with his brothers. .

A juxtaposition of factors aligned to the historical background with above traits will be attempted with certain reservations as that

certain characteristics as his cruelty could be innate . His cruelty is testified by almost all British captives who made statements to the Dutch on the brink of their departure. These include Wiliam Hubbard who was here upto Rajasinghe 11's reign, Beard the gunner and Balk and ofcourse Knox*⁷

The contemporary Dutch governor, Rycloff Van Goens refers to him as "the terrible monster".

"It is also known to all the world how tyrannically he has violated the law of nations (refers to his captives as those more miserable than those undergoing Turkish slavery. Among these is the Prince of Bengale who reduced to beggary perished miserably with all his people Your Excellency can understand that we can expect no good from this horrible monster ... as he has grown old and feeble this barbarian will (not) leave us in peace).*⁸

Balk refers to the large number of high dignitaries the king had put to death —two disawas of 7 & 4 Corales, 3 Adigars, Edanda rala, Udunuwara raterala, Hegama rala, Disawa of Vellassa, Disawa of Matale, Atakande rala, Tudugala rala and numberless other disavas, Ralas & other mohottiyars and appuhamies , so many of them that he cannot recall. Penalties go on to the last male issue . These are the punishments meted to offenders and those he felt were a threat to him. "Many have the nose, ears and hands chopped off and their severed limbs hung around their necks .Some are impaled or soaked in oil and set on fire." "These in addition to trampling by elephants, setting men on spikes. One can argue that these forms of punishment were not those invented by Rajasinghe but followed the Dethis Vada or the 32 punishments carried out from ancient days but one has to take in to consideration comments made by British captives who lived in the Kandyan areas right up to the reign of his son, Vimaladharmasuriya 11 informing that there was a sharp drop in manslaughter for misdeeds after Rajasinghe 11's demise (Same source*⁷). Vimaladharmasuriya 11 is often described as a ruler with a mild mannered personality, perhaps a reaction to that of his Father.

* Negative traits as the veering towards unpredictable and eccentric and contrary acts, not in keeping with his royal status, could be explained by the Freudian psychology of disturbed and unhappy childhoods having an effect on one's personality. Despite the vagaries of his birth year, one can safely assume that Devarajasinghe's mother died during his very early childhood. Was he of an age to remember, the memory of his mother would be that of an insane woman always crying and fretting and starving herself to death over the death of her eldest child and pleading for his resurrection in an alien language for the brain fever she had developed had eroded from her memory the Sinhala she had picked up after her return to her native land. . If he had an affection for a sibling it was for that of a step sister of his, Udamala Adahasin, who helped him later during the Nillambe rebellion. Perhaps it was she who played the mother's role to the prince. (Udamala's funeral had been held with much ceremony by the king and so much fuss made that the Dutch on hearing of the commotion had assumed that the king himself had died).

Some contrary acts of the king — Stopping of the Dalada perahara, imprisoning foreigners for no apparent reason, subjecting people to death or cruel punishments on flimsy grounds (Knox refers to killing a Dutchman who taught him Dutch and was found guilty for teaching him a lot of gibberish. Knox took care never to approach the Royal courts, perhaps anticipating a fatal drama of this nature, perhaps with regard to learning English), taking to bed on excuses of illness at very critical times. He had a convenient list of ailments for his defense. In the last stages of his life he had actually suffered from gout and a pain in his legs that made him to be carried always by way of conveyances, these diseases irritating him and adding to the ordering of executions sometimes for no apparent reason.

His feeling of insecurity, anxiety and suspicious nature making him change his residences often much inconveniencing his subjects (For example Digly Nuwara, to which he retreated later was not in a central position and was geographically inaccessible, could be adduced to following facts.)

Actually six direct heirs (including his two step sisters) had been overlooked or eclipsed in Senerat's choice of him. As he grew older rumours of Senerat's role in the death of Maha Asthana would have reached him making him share his father's guilt. Soon he came to regard all his siblings (step or otherwise except Udamala Adahasin) as his rivals or those jealous of his luck. Kumarasinghe's sudden death (after which he attached Uva) too is attributed to him and he made matters so nasty for Vijayapala, king of Matale that the latter began courting the Portuguese and ended up at Goa and died there. There is much evidence that both these princes though marginalized by their father for his sake, had genuinely helped him, in his early endeavours.

Some of his acts too could be explained by his suspicious nature .

He had a big slice to chew ie.a massive assignment ahead of him, that of ridding the island of the much hated foreigner (the Portuguese) and he had to be careful of himself and preserve himself. So he not only changed residences at his whim and fancy but even his sleeping places making innocent men as Vanigasekera sleep on his bed (according to legend)and undergo the fate that was to befall him.

His own son, he kept hidden till up to well past 30 years, not giving him any experience in statecraft for the simple reason that he could supplant him with the aid of rebels. The Nillambe rebellion leaders had such a plan, but even after the rebellion was quelled he kept the son hidden to avert a repetition and it was only after his death the prince suddenly appeared as out of a conjuror's hat. It was the last act of a rather eccentric conjuror. The British captives who went on, till the new king's reign testify that it was the courtiers and not the inexperienced prince who ruled the country and sometimes went on with the cruel acts of the former king as not letting the captives free.

His early childhood throws up some more intriguing facts that had a direct bearing on his personality. According to Spilbergen's diary as early as 1602—03 the Kandyan Court was Europeanised to a marked degree. Quote

“There were many Spanish chairs and a table on which all was arranged in the Christian manner and enlivened with much music and other ceremonial shows ... The General was brought into the chamber of the queen where she sat with her children. , the prince and the princess who were all dressed in the Christian manner” *¹⁰ (Word ‘Christian’ here could connote ‘European’)

This was due to the influence of the king and queen who had been living with the Portuguese for a number of years. After Vimala Dharmasuriya’s initial bout of nationalism, the more comfortable facets of European civilization were allowed to infiltrate into the Court of pKandy and the queen ,yet a Christian, played a dominant role in the process. The tutors of the royal offsprings were all Fransiscan friars add to which the queen pleaded with Spilbergen to leave behind the two musicians, Rampel and Martsberger, he brought with him to stay on in the Court to entertain the children. Martsberger ended up as Secretary to the prince and princesses. It was to such a court changed over the intervening years that Devarajasinghe was brought from Mahiyangana after his entry to the world. .The head of the household had changed from Vimala Dharma Surya to king Senerat ,an ex-monk but he seems to have done little to change the environment of the Court. There is no record that any Buddhist prelate was called upon to counsel the royal family. The padres were however all over. The Welimannatota Palace where Queen Dona Catherina lived later and died is still referred to as Parangi Maligawa by those in Kegalle.

It would not be far –fetched to attribute quite a number of personality traits of the king to this environment. His non –sympathy with Buddhism and its rituals finally suspending the Dalada perahara was one such. Though he did not profess to be a X’tian (with his intelligence he would have sensed that such an act would estrange him from the people)he fraternized with the X’tian clergy more than with the Buddhist clergy.

The exotic tastes he developed too could be ascribed to the Court environment. Our hereditary kings were always benevolent in their attitude to their subjects and indulged in activities that were generally beneficial to them. Hence religion and agriculture were

their main concerns. Very few or none at all dissipated themselves in activities that satiated their own fancy likes. But here we have a king who for the first time begins a fetish for gorgeous and unusual animals and begins collecting them..No crafty Dutch mission arrived in the interior without a sample of these ——eg. Persian horses, hunting dogs, Persian sheep, Viziapore wild goats were some of the animals taken by Westerwold. (Baldeus. Pg209).

Devarajasinghe had absorbed much of what the padres had to offer him by way of education.He picked up Portuguese fast. J.H.Paulusz writes that he would have even picked up Latin and gone on to read Machiavelli's books on statecraft that would have certainly sharpened his innate cruelty. "Nothing emboldens sin so much as mercy" was one of Rajasinghe's guidelines of statecraft , perhaps borrowed from "The Prince"by Machiavelli, Ribeiro refers to the king's study of Latin in his young days.*¹¹ Even if he had not mastered Latin to the extent of reading Machiavelli's works, Portuguese translations may have been available. Knox refers to the king taking over all books(about 40) belonging to 'the old priest when he died.This priest was the last Catholic priest to live and die in the kandyen area during Rajasinghe's time,by name Fr.Bergoncius .. Governor Maetsyker too had gifted him a number of books, some in Latin in 1652, aware of his fetish for reading according to J.H.O.Paulusz. .

In defence of Rajasinghe 11

Though not directly related to the topic, it is only fair to mention a few facts in mitigation of the above characteristics of Rajasinghe II. Further personality reckoned here is "a complex blend of a constantly evolving and changing pattern of one's unique behaviour , emerged as a result of one's interaction with his environment, directed towards some specific ends in view." (S.K. Mangal in "General psychology").The apparently extreme dictatorial and tyrannical nature of the king's personality could have sprung from the pressures he was subject to.It was a turbulent time of triangular warfare among three factions ie.the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Sinhalese in addition to which rebels were

mushrooming here and there taking up myriad causes. A lighter side of the king's personality surfaces via certain local legends (as his midnight wanderings where poetic exchanges are indulged in with strange women), but as the political issues intensified and physical ailments as gout began to take toll of the king's health, the unpleasant aspects of his personality seemed domineer to till his end.

Conclusion

Despite many unpleasant traits in the king's personality Rajasinghe 11 falls into the category of Lanka's more powerful and respected kings due to the resistance he showed to extremely trying circumstances of the times and esat on Lanka's throne for 52 years despite a constant triangular warfare and many internal rebellions maintaining the status of highlands as the citadel of Lanka's sovereignty.

(Note;- One motive for selecting this topic was to enter into unexplored ground and initiate a psychological study of our more famous monarchs.)

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A Study on Trincomalee in the 16th and 17th centuries with special reference to relations with Arakan as revealed by Portuguese Sources*

D.G.B.de Silva

Arakan Connection

The Portuguese chronicler, Fernao de Queyroz has presented amazingly interesting and valuable information on which our knowledge of history of relations between Arakan and Sri Lanka in the 16th and 17th centuries could be supplemented. Dr.Lodewijk Wagenaar, who published a paper in the JRAS Sri Lanka, N.S., Vol.XLVIII, Sp.No.2000, entitled “Looking for Monks from Arakan –A chapter in the Kandyan –Dutch relations in the 18th century,” has obviously missed to take note of these references. Sir D.B.Jayatilleke who commented on the text of *Curnika* which relate to some aspects of relations between the two lands was not exposed to Queyroz’s work. The same could not be said of Dr. P.E.Fernando’s comments which were published in 1959.¹

Dr.Wagenaar’s objective was to trace the relations in the 17th century conducted through the mediation of Dutch authorities; but in the process, reference is made to the pre-17th century situation which commenced after the foundation of Mrauk –U in 1433, as the last capital of Arakan (*Rakkhanga desa*), when its religious intercourse with Sri Lanka continued, and even grew more important as ever before. The scholar observes that the ‘golden age’ of Arakanese Theravada Buddhism was unthinkable without the import of many copies of the *Tripitaka* or scripture from Sri Lanka; and that close to the *Mahamuni* the famous image of Buddha, libraries had been built to keep those holy texts, to be venerated by the Sangha. Long before the gift to Siam of a replica of the Tooth of the Buddha,

Arakan had got one (from Sri Lanka) in the reign of Min Bin (1531-71), placed in a relic shrine in the Andaw stupa. This demonstrates how much the two countries esteemed each other.

Tracing the relationship between the two lands the scholar observes that in the 16th and 17th centuries there had been religious contacts with the kingdom of Arakan which were still in Sri Lankan memory in the 17th century; and therefore, it was understandable that the Nayakkar Kings had Arakan in mind as a country where they could trust the true and orthodox character of Buddhism to exist; and that when the Nayakkars asked the Dutch East-India company for help to procure monks from Arakan to restore the Order of Sangha in Sri Lanka, they were not aware of the political turmoil in that region. The attempt to obtain higher ordination from Arakan at that time was abortive.

Upasampada was restored again in July 1753 during the reign of King Kirthi Sri Rajasimha by Upali *Mahathera* who was sent from Siam by King Boromokot (1732-58). The link with Siamese Buddhist Order which had been established in the 14th century by a *Sangharaja* from Sri Lanka who visited Sukhotya and renewed again in 1425 under the patronage of King Parakramabahu VI of Kotte was re-established by this event in 1753.

However, Dr, Wagenaar says that the events of 1425 had not left much trace in Sri Lanka. Nevertheless; the thread can be traced through the reference in *Mahavamsa* which refers to Vimaladharmasurya I (1592-1604) successfully sending envoys to Arakan to invite *bhikkus* to come to the island to celebrate the much needed *Upasampada* and bringing over Ven. Nandicakka and other monks. Vimaladharmasuriya II also sent a successful mission to Arakan in 1693 and invited Ven. Santana to come over. The Clombo Museum *Curnika Pota* and the British Museum *Rakkhangasana Curnikava* and *Mahavamsa* give ample information about the three missions made to Arakan for this purpose².

An explanation for the connection of Trincomalee with Arakan, to which, the 17th century Portuguese chronicler Queyroz refers to for the first time, is not forthcoming from other sources.

Queyroz mentions that the state (of Trincomalee) and maritime areas including the surroundings of the temple (*pagodes*) were subject to *Mahateruunanse* of Arakan and the temples were administered by the *Ganezes* of the “Sect of Budum” who were subject to him; who also received the produce of lands at ‘Tambalagama and Gantale’, while a *Vanea* shared the administration of the interior. The chief of the *Ganezes* who was *Terunnanse*, a man of around 40 years, was converted by Francis Xavier during his visit to Trincomalee. The events described by Queyroz fall between the historical space between 1533, around when Francis Xavier could have visited Trincomalee and 1623/4 when Constantine de Sa built the fortalice there using the stone work of demolished temples.³

Significance of the Port of Trincomalee

The port of Trincomalee, referred to as ‘Gokanna’ or ‘Gona Thiththa’⁴ in the chronicles, occupied a very strategic and central position in the maritime activity in the Bay of Bengal.. It was the southernmost point from which ships sailing to South East Asia and further departed and returned after the voyages. The coast line north of Trincomalee harbour was dotted with small landing places. The 7th/8th century Tiriyaya Sanskrit inscription which was evidently indited by a group of merchant-mariners from Northern Indian ports speak of amity which prevailed among mariners and between them and the populace. The same inscription refers to the earlier visit of two merchant-mariners by the name Trapussaka and Vallika which the tradition associates with Buddha’s first two lay disciples who carried on trade between the east Indian ports lands beyond in the sea.⁵ Queyroz who gives a long description of the port, the bay and the sea environs says, these ports (Trincomalee, Cottiyar and Batticaloa) “commanded the whole Gulf of Bengal”.⁶

Sri Lanka had maintained close relations with the lands across the Bay of Bengal. Trincomalee’s place in the maritime links across the Bay of Bengal can be assumed on the basis of its strategic and spatial significance. There is substantial evidence in the chronicler traditions of Sri Lanka and those of other lands across the Bay from

very early times pointing to close cultural relations among them. The lands of Arakan (Rakkhangadesa), Pagan (Pegu), Ramanna (Aramana), Siam (Ayodhya), Kambuja (Campouchia) and Yavadvipa (Java) just to mention a few, had looked to Sri Lanka for Buddhist texts, relics, learned monks and architects. In the later centuries, it was Sri Lanka's turn to look to these countries for sources of inspiration when Buddhism declined here.

On the Indian side, there are also records going back to the 5th century B.C., besides the tradition about the Sinhalese, connecting Kalinga with Trincomalee, (Bhaddacacchana).⁷ It can also be surmised that that the Kalinga prince who sought refuge in the island who later entered the Buddhist Order landed at Gokanna⁸.

Gokanna and Tirukonamalai

In early historical records of the island present day Trincomalee has been referred to as Gokanna or by its variants from the 3rd century B.C.⁹ There were at least seven such references by that name up to the time of the 13th century inscription of Parakramabahu I. That points to a stable Sanskrit -Pali and Sinhalese tradition relating to the place for over a millennium commencing from pre-Christian times.

The term 'Tiru-kona-malai' appears for the first time in the 10th / 11th century Nilaveli (Tamil) inscription.¹⁰ The first reference to Konesvaram temple also belong to the Chola period of history (11th and 12th centuries).¹¹ Apart from the Nilaveli inscription, another reference is found in Manankeni inscription of the Cola Ilankesvara-deva.¹² The dates of these two inscriptions which refer to Tirukona-malai tally with the date which can be assigned to Kulakudayan, the legendary prince of the Tamil tradition from Chola-mandalam who appointed Vanniyas to take care of it. It also fits into the second part of the fable where reference is made to Gajabahu II who made endowments to the temple. This king who ruled from Gantalava was known also for his patronage to Hinduism.

The next textual reference to Trincomalee is found in the Portuguese sources which we have discussed above. The name is represented in several forms, each writer preferring his own rendering. Some of the names used are: *Triquilmale* (p.68), *Triquilimale* (p.236), *Triquinmale*, (p.734) and *Tricoilmale* (Queyroz). In other correspondence quoted by Fr. V.Perniola,S.J., there is a single variation, namely, *Tricanamale*. (doc.144). Valentyn refers to the place as ‘Trecoenmale.’ The *Matale Mahadisawe Kadaimpota*, a work of the Kandyan period, mentions Trincomalee as ‘Tiri –mangala’ and ‘Tirikunamale.’¹⁴

The name Gokarna could have been derived from the name of the port Gokarna in western coast of India which place was sacred to Siva.¹⁵ The attempt to associate the *Vayu Purana* reference to Gokarna as a place in the East (of Sr Lanka) on the basis of Apte’s translation of the *Purana* has been contested on the ground that the translation is defective.¹⁶

Trincomalee as a Place of Worship

Trincomalee has a long tradition of being associated as an important place of worship. Being a major port, it could be expected that it was in the chain of landing and departing places for Buddhist monks and pilgrims who frequently traveled between India and Sri Lanka when Buddhism was the most active of missionary religions, and other Buddhist countries of South East Asia and beyond later.

The earliest credible evidence of the religious places of worship in the Trincomalee area is the Mahavamsa reference to the construction of a shrine at the end of Seru tank enshrining one of the teeth of the Buddha.(3rd century B.C.). The place has been identified as the dagoba in ruins at present day Thoppur (Somapura) built in memory of Soma-devi.¹⁷ However, an earlier tradition refers to the dagoba at Tiriyaaya, which is north of Trincomalee, built in the time of the Buddha himself and a Sanskrit inscription indited in the 7th /8th century by a group of North Indian foreign merchants at Tiriyaaya refers to the maritime activity as well

as to the earlier tradition of Buddha's lay disciples building the dagoba along with Avalokitesvara worship there.¹⁸

As for the shrines by the sea at Trincomalee itself, there are conflicting claims but the most credible evidence in the Mahavamsa states that King Mahasena **built a Buddhist temple by the sea at Gonagamaka (Gokanna) in the 3rd century A.D.** Based on the reference to his destroying '*devalayas*,' the tendency had been to treat the destroyed temples as Saiva temples. That is going by the exegesis furnished by the 11th century A.D. commentary to Mahavamsa which gives the additional information that Mahasena destroyed places of worship of other faiths (*kudhittika*) including *Sivalingas*. What these '*devalayas*' were is not clear. There is no mention in the main text of destroying places of Hindu (Siva) worship where he erected Gonagamaka vihara by the sea. Mahasena being an adherent of Mahayana, destroyed even the premier place of worship of Theravada monks at Mahavihara on the advice of his preceptor, the Chola Bhikku Sanghamitta..

A point to be considered here is wheter Saivism in the form of *linga* worship had developed to that extent in the island in the 3rd century A.D. The Mahavamsa commentary (*Tika*) was written around the 11th century at a time when *linga* worship had penetrated to the island under imperial Cholas. The Saiva temples built at that time with *linga* as the central object of worship can be seen even today at Polonnaruva. The Mahavamsa commentary exhibits anti-Saivaite feelings which could have understandably, resulted from preferential treatment Saivism received under the Chola rule of the island at the time.¹⁹

There were cult practices in the island before Buddhism was introduced and some of the Buddhist shrines were built on the spots where these cult practices obtained. The building of Mirisavetiya at the abode of Yakkha Marichi is a case in point. The tradition has obliterated the idea of the Yakkha cult and introduced a rather strange etymology to explain the name of the dagoba. Gokanna area was associated with the Yakkha cult during the time of Pandukabhaya (5th C.B.C). Cult practices continued there even

later during the 6th century (Mahanaga) and the 7th century (Manavamma). These practices continued even during Portuguese times as we shall see and even to the British times.²⁰ Probably, Mahasena eradicated these early cult worship around this place.

The Buddhist temples he built could have been Mahayana temples centering round Bodhisattva worship. The place, as a port could have been an inviting spot for mariners who frequently used the port during their travel between South-East Asian lands and the Indian subcontinent including Sri Lanka, for the worship of the popular Bodhisattva of the seafarers, who was Avalokitesvara. The images of this Bodhisattva were erected at other port cities like Weligama and Mantota.²¹ Queyroz's reference to the excitement caused among marines when they saw the shrine from afar in the sea also points to the continued belief of the association of the place with seafarers.²²

The origins of the Hindu shrine at Trincomalee (now referred to as Konesaram) are obscure²³ though fables accord it an imaginary ancient history. Indrapala observes that in the 7th century A.D., the temples at Tiruketisvaram and Konesvaram formed subjects of hymns by some of the Saiva revivalists in South India, but it is not till the 9th century that we get Tamil inscriptions set up by Tamil trading communities. The reference in the Tamil inscription at Nilaveli (10th or 11th centuries) dedicated to Macchesvara (Vishnu) is not clear as to where that temple was. Indrapala and Gunasinham disagree on that point.

The date which can be assigned to Kulakkudayan, the legendary prince from Chola-mandalam, who, according to the fable, *Kalivettu*, visited Trincomalee having heard of the temple and appointed Vanniyas to provide services to it has been placed by Dr.S.Paranavitana in the 12th century. That interpretation also fits into the reference in the fable of Gajabahu (II) making endowments to the temple. All that can be said about these legendary claims is that the fame of the temples and the wealth had been quite high that there seems to have been periodic contentions about their control since the Chola occupation of the island in the 12th century. The

Hindu tradition of King Gajabahu coming to destroy Koneswaram temple and to build a Buddhist temple in its place being miraculously cured of his blindness when he reached Gantalava and of having become a Hindu as a result of the miracle is clearly a reminder of the account of Mahasena in the Pali chronicle of destroying the 'devalayas' and invented to counter that historical tradition. Gajabahu II (11c.A.D.) who was a contemporary of Parakramabahu I and ruled over the *Pacina Desa* which incorporated the Trincomalee region was a benefactor of Hinduism..

The tradition of a Buddhist temple by the sea on the hill of Trincomalee which commenced with King Mahasena (3rd century A.D.) is a stable one. The place was well endowed by rulers from the time of Mahasena (3rd c.A.D), Aggabodhi II (7th C.A.D), builder of Gantalava²⁵ Aggabodhi V (8th C.A.D.)²⁶, and the kings of Kotte and Kandy continued the practice until the temples were destroyed by the Portuguese, as we shall see. Even in the early British phase in 1803, ordination ceremonies were carried on here.²⁷

The present Hindu tradition appears to have grown later after the Sinhalese left the place when the temples were destroyed and a fortalice was constructed in 1623/4 by Constantine de Sa. How early British investigators noted that the Malabar (South Indian) people they met at Gantalava had no knowledge of the place about such an ancient and important reservoir or its destroyed channels, illustrate the situation. They were not unjustified in concluding that they were late arrivals in the place²⁸. South Indian masons were brought for building fortifications in Sri Lanka. Matale Maha Disawe Kadaimpota refers to Tamil labourers being employed in *Uliyam* service to construct the fortress of Trincomalee.²⁹ As these works were over they settled down in the districts they worked as Rycloff Van Goens' Memoir states in respect of the construction of the Fort at Galle. Administration reports of Government Agents of Trincomalee also show how masons from Jaffnapatam visited the villages in Kaddukulam Pattu pretending to be 'tank-menders' and how they fleeced unsuspecting Sinhalese villagers.³⁰ Similarly, bands of Sepoys brought by the Dutch from Cochin were allowed

to settle down in Panama Pattu as husbandmen after their disbanding illustrate the point.³¹

The Evidence

Temples of Trincomalee according to Queyroz

In Book 1, pp 66.67, Queyroz gives a description of the pagodas at Trincomalee. He says::

“It remains to give a description of Triquilemale, which means the “Mountain of the three *Pagodas*”... Over that large harbour there juts out from the land into the sea a rock on which the Kings of Ceylon erected three *Pagodas*, two at the extremities of the hill overhanging the sea, and one in the middle and the highest point, which was the principal one and one of the most venerated in India, being worshiped by idolatrous navigators who decry it from the sea, and much frequented by a concourse of pagans from the whole [of India], so fanatical in their false devotion, that from the last *Pagode*, which stands on the rock over the sea, they throw themselves down in sacrifice to their Idols reaching the bottom in pieces being persuaded that by that leap into Hell they are lifted up to the Paradise.

“Constantino de Sa Noronha dismantled these *Pagodas* making use of their stones to build a fortalice to close that harbour to the Chingala, and as there was not much room for guns, it had only a very small garrison. The event of the destruction of this *Pagode* was found engraved on a stone, and being attested by the Ouvidor of Ceylon after it was translated by those most learned in the ancient characters of the Chingalas, it was sent to His Majesty and ran as follows”

(Manua Raja, Emperor of this Lancave,[Ceylon] erected this *Pagode* to the god *Vidia-malmanda*,³² in the era(according to the computation it comes to 1300 years before the coming of the Christ). There will come a nation called Francos who will demolish it and there will be no King in this Island to rebuild it anew)

This stone was placed on the gate of the fortalice, and there is no doubt that the Translator, by Francos, meant the Portuguese, for as the French in ages gone by were so well known in Syria, and from thence their name resounded all over Asia, that even now all Europeans are there called Franguiz, as if all were French; and it is enough to be a white man, and not to wear a turban and *cabaya*, to be given this name. I cannot explain who foretold this truth so many years ahead to an Idolatrous King, for though the dedication of a *Pagode* spells idolatry, to foretell so many years before a thing which depends on so many future acts of free will is Prophecy, of which we cannot know the author because of the obscurity of the traditions of India. But though Constatino de Sa de Noronha destroyed those *Pagodas* their worship did not last beyond the times of General D.Nuno Alvarez Pereyra, when the last *Ganezes* and *Jedacas* who continued it were beheaded. The city of Triquilemale stood almost on an isthmus of that peninsula. In the districts facing it from the Paneua³³ to Apuleame is also found cinnamon”.

The lands of Temples of Trincomalee

Farmers leave Tambalagama and Gantale for the woods of Kottiyar after the temples were destroyed

“These lands of Triquilemale had a Prince who came by his end in the reign of D.Joao King of Candea owing to a remarkable and amatory event; and they are so abundant in rice, that in two fields alone which are three leagues from the fortalice called Tamablagma and Gantale they sowed in those days in each of them 10,000 *amunas of nele* which correspond to 4000 *moyos*, and that twice a year. They are dedicated to the service of the *Pagode* and after the Portuguese garrisoned that port, there lived in each of them 15 to 20 farmers, for the rest left for Cotiar.” [The account which follows gives details of species of special wood (wild aloes, ebony etc.and fauna)].³⁴

“These are the lands, Dissavas, Vidanas, and Principalities of the Kingdom of Candea, from which also, as from the low lands are obtained sapan, wax, and elephants. (Bk.1,p.69)

The same information is repeated in Bk.2, p.236. See under 'Pagodes of Trincomalee': another Description"

Pagodas at Trincomalee: Another description
Francis Xavier's visit to Trincomalee
Mahaterunnanse of Arakan- The possessor of Trincomalee
Conversion of Terunnanse who was the Administrator

In Bk.2, pp.236-237, Queyroz says:

'At this time St. Francis Xavier was going about the Coast of the Fishery, and as the Father Friar Vila de Conde came to know his spirit during the voyage, they say, he wrote to him from Ceylon about the condition of heathendom, of which the Saint could not but have learnt from the Ambassadors with whom he came, and from the many things that were known in India and Europe about this nation. And because the *Pagode* of Triquillmale was at this time the Rome of the gentiles of the Orient, and more frequented by pilgrims than that of Ramanacoir [Munnessara] near the shoals of Chilao and that of Xilavarao, eight leagues from Nagapatao, and that of Canjavarao [Conjeevaram], two days journey from S. Thome, and Tripiti, and Tremel in Bisnaga and Jagarnati in Orixia, and Vixante in Bengal, which are the most frequented in these days by the Gentiles; and there were many *Ganezes* of the Sect of *Budum*, which is the one most followed in Ceylon, who as Administrators of *Materanse* of Aracao, to whom those of Ceylon were subordinate, received the produce of some fields, in which, as we have already said, they sowed 3000 *amunams of nele*, in two crops, each of which made 4000 *moyos* of rice, besides other vegetables crops; into this pagan Rome came St. Xavier, and immediately managed to approach the *Terunnanse*, and though the devil interposed some obstacles, he soon had an interview with this Minister, a man of 40 years of age, a penitent of good parts and capable of good doctrine. And out of regard for the reputation which accompanied the Saint and for his natural good grace enhanced by the supernatural, he inquired from him, after the first greetings, the cause which brought him to that country. The Saint having informed him of the motives which

brought him to the East and led him to Ceylon, at once began to preach the Gospel illuminating with its light the darkness of paganism. He won the mind of *Turunnanse* to such an extent to the truths which he propounded with the redoubted ardour that accompanied him, that this man, half won over, called him aside and begged and declared to him that he wished to hear him more particularly and to discuss some doubts with him, but as it was late, he would speak to him at ease on the morrow. The Saint spent the night in prayer recommending to our Lord the conversion of these unbelievers. In the morning they both assembled in a retired spot, and the gentile declared to him the principles and means of his religion; but as he was uncertain of the end, he begged him to enlighten him entirely. The Saint dispelled these mists with such brevity and clearness, that as he was predestined, he at once perceived the truth of all that was said, and the falsity of what he had hitherto professed. Having come to the knowledge of the one true God and of Jesus Christ his Son and other mysteries of Our Holy Faith, and that the means for obtaining salvation were good works performed for a better end than he had hitherto in view, and that the instruments for acquiring the treasures of grace were the Sacraments of which Baptism first opened the gate of Heaven, by agreement between them the Saint administered it to him three days later. This conversion was the beginning that led many other *Ganezes* to receive the Faith secretly because of the persecutions they feared. The Saint dispelled those fears, and supplied them with Divine arms which God had reserved for such circumstances, and leaving them well instructed, and recommending to them the conversion of the others, he returned to the Fishery.

Mahaterunnanse of Arakan: Reconfirmation of his authority over Trincomalee

The reference in Bk.2,p.256-257 again confirms that *Mahaterunnanse* of Arakan had an interest in Trincomalee and of Francis Xavier's visit to Trincomalee:

A Yogi was carried to Arakan to be arraigned before *Mahaterunnanse*. He "was baptized on the way in Trincomalee by

Francisco Antunes whom Francis Xavier had ordained". In front of the *Mahaterunnanse* he said when "he was in Denawaka he was not yet a Christian. Now that he was one, he said by considering his opinion an error the *Mahathera* was giving credit to 'ignorant things.' He was martyred on 5th Dec. 1543.

Queyroz reconfirms that the "State of Trincomalee belonged to the *Ganezes* and the surrounding of the *Pagodas*, partly to a Vanea or Duke who, received the Holy Faith, and [on that account], was stoned [to death] by the people on the instigation of the *Ganezes*. See also Bk.2, p.245.

[This confirms that Trincomalee where the temples stood belonged to the *Ganezes* who were under the *Terunnanse* and subject to *Mahaterunnanse* of Arakan. They owned the paddy and other lands at Tampalagama and Gantale (note the spelling) which belonged to the temples. (See Bk. 2, pp.236-237).

The 'Vanea' was not only killed by the people; the incident shows the influence of the *Ganezes* over them. A second 'Vanea' was dispossessed by the King of Kandy and he fled to Goa where he received baptism in 1552. Queyroz tries to make out that the 'Vanea' may have "left the rights over the territory to the King of Portugal." [Bk.4,pp736-7].

This is ignoring the practice that the King had the right to dispossess 'Vanea' as and take over their possessions. See John Doyle on dispossession of Kumara Vanniya by Rajadhi Rajasinha and his imprisonment in Kandy.³⁵

The 'Vanea' who opposed Constantine de Sa in Trincomalee referred to by Queyroz cannot be the same 'Vanea' who was dispossessed as the one who fled to Goa. Queyroz himself has doubts on it as he says it could be another who had "recovered that State". Here again his assertion is incorrect. A Vanea could not recover territory without the King's sanction.³⁶ The 'Vanea' who opposed Constantine de Sa could be the father of Sendara Segara who later helped the Dutch by changing allegiance from the King to the Dutch. For this consideration, Sendara Segara's son

was allowed to keep the fief when after Leut.Col. Nagel dispossessed all Vanniyas.³⁷

Trincomalee, a place where Mortal remains of Kings of the Island were deposited

The following section in Bk. 2,p.296 shows that Bhuvanekabahu's mortal remains were interred in Trincomalee where the sepulchres of ancient kings of the island were:

.....“sadness reigned everywhere, and everything was in confusion because they thought the empire had ended with Bhuvanekabahu, and because the King was beloved of all, for he was affable, he was esteemed by those who knew how to value this quality, and few feared his rigour. He was liberal to excess, more a friend of peace than of war, for he was by nature gentle. Of his own interest he was neglect, but not so of public affairs to which he gave quick dispatch. He was of good stature, eyes somewhat small, in colour fair, more inclined to white than black, gay in conversation, acute and piquant in speech, but truthful in his dealings. From Calane he was taken to Cota, and thence to Triquillmale, where he had prepared his resting place, all making reverence to him in their fashion, for they say he died a great pagan. “

In Bk.4, pp. 734-737, Queyroz confirms this when he says that when the fortalice was constructed at Trincomalee, Senarat observing that “they turned [the place] into defence of Christians that which was previously the abominable abode of his Idols and the honoured sepulchre of the Kings of Cota (Kotte) and of the others of Ceylon, or the urn of their ashes” . “We have already said that the State belonged to *Ganzes* and the surroundings of the Pagodes, and partly to a Vanea or Duke who, he received our Holy Faith, was stoned by his people on the instigation of *Ganezes*.”

Bhuvanekabahu's Pilgrimage and alleged Human Sacrifice

In Bk2, p. 271 the following passage shows King Bhuvanekabahu VII of Kotte going to Trincomalee on pilgrimage:

Antoino Monis Baretto delivered the message to king Bhuvanekabahu who was on "his way to Triquilamale on a pilgrimage to that famous Pagode, and though the hurry of the journey might have suggested a different reply, he asked him in answer to wait till, to please the people, he had sacrificed to *Buddum* 300 Chingalaz, taken captive in the war of Seytawaka, to see whether by these deaths he could please the wrath wherewith the gods chastised him in Candea. Baretto who was dissatisfied with this answer, considering that one who sacrificed souls so cruelly to the Demon had no intention of saving his own; and after letting fall certain words, he made up his mind to return to Goa without speaking to him."

Construction of the fortalice

In Book 1, pp.66-67 where he gives the account of the construction of the fortalice at Trincomalee by Captain General Constatine de Sa. In Bk.4,p.735, Queyroz says that the reason for building the fortification there was "to carry out the capture of Kandy" and "take away from the Candea the commerce and the export which he could effect through that place when he was at war with the Portuguese ..." When the fort built with stone and mortar was brought to a defensible state, the king realizing that he was being surrounded in all directions, sought to break out in a fresh war.

[Note that some early Maps of the island, like Lislle's Map, 1700, mark the whole area of Trincomalee up to Jaffnapatam under 'Bedas' (Veddas). The British Assistant Government Agent of Mullativu/ Vavunikulam and later of Trincomalee, Hugh Nevill (1888-1889) found Veddas inhabiting the area up to the Jaffna peninsula].³⁸

In Bk. 4, pp.734-736, Queyroz gives an account of the construction of the fortalice by Captain General Noronha de Sa:

"..... He brought an Order of the Count Admiral to carry out the conquest of Candea and to erect a fortalice in the *baia dos Arcos*

in Triquinemale “(note different spelling). Both the one and the other were beset with great difficulties, because for the former there were lacking the necessary forces, and the latter could not but be much opposed by the Candiot. He set out at once on the enterprise, which many persons of sound judgment did not approve of at the time, and after some difficulties he erected the *praca* of stone and mortar, and when it was already in a defensible state, he returned to Colombo”.

The king of Candea seeing that we took his ports and that we were surrounding him on all sides, was seeking an occasion to break out in fresh war. ...

When the Winter was over, the General returned to Triquineamale with the greater part of the arrayal and with the Disavas of Four and Seven Korales, and hearing that there was some uproar on the frontiers of the Four, he dispatched thither Francisco de Britto, the Disawa thereof, and everything was quiet.

The General completed the fortalice which was intended to prevent the Hollanders from taking possession of that site, for though it was small and there never was anything but a small garrison, because it was so far out of reach, and thought it was a respectable *praca* which commanded the whole of the Gulf of Bengal and the sea of the South as far as Malacca, it had one great inconvenience, [namely,] that it was “at that time there were no other neighbours save the Bedas (Veddas) who are such barbarous and unruly men that they do not even let themselves be seen.”

Next Queyroz refers to the King’s relations with Denmark and afterwards with Hollanders and speaks of the disadvantages of spreading out resources “in *pracas* of little strength;” “nor of populating it with other people” because of the proximity of the natives it was neither convenient for life nor for trade.”

Here he confirms that “the purpose of erecting this [fort] was “carry out the capture of Kandy;” and “to take away from the Candea the commerce and export could effect through that place when he was at war with the Portuguese ...”³⁹

In 1624, the General erected the fortalice on the site of the celebrated *Pagode*, which he razed for the purpose, and on that high headland which the land juts out to the sea, because on the Isthmus of that peninsula stood the City, a *Pagode* on the slope of the hill, notable for its large concourse and superstition rather than for its fabric and wealth, though they were great also. Here he erected the *praca*, in form triangular, which commanded the entrance to that most capacious harbour and was three leagues from Vintena (Bintenna = Mahiyangana) where the king of Candea carried in some little commerce of clothing and opium, and things of that kind and whence the products of kingdom were sent out. A maritime power they are not known to have had, not is it ever known that the Chingalaz ever put to sea any squadron of war.....⁴⁰.

Next, Queyroz goes on to say that the king resented "the loss of the lands which he had taken over without any legitimate title"⁴¹, but also because they also profaned a place of the greatest superstition and reverence to those infidels and to himself, for by profession he was formerly a *Ganezes*, (Ganinnanse = a Buddhist monk who had not received formal ordination) and they turned into defence of Christians [who were at] that [Trincomalee] which was previously the abominable abode of his Idols and the honoured sepulchre of the Kings of Cota and of the others of Ceylon, or the urn of their ashes. We have already said that the State belonged to *Ganezes* and the surroundings of the *Pagodas*, and partly to a Vanea or Duke who, he received our Holy Faith, was stoned by his people on the instigation of *Ganezes*. Another [Vanea] reinforced the King of Jaffnapatao, whom D. Constantino de Braganza conquered that kingdom of another Joao Rodriguez de Sa Menezes says that he was disposed of his territory, which must mean that the Candiot seized the State of the Vanea. He fled to Goa, the usual refuge in those days of Princes banished from Ceylon, and being baptized in the year 1552, it is presumed, he died there without being reinstated and without heirs, and that he had left his rights to the Crown of Portugal. But as it appears that a Vanea of Trincomalee opposed D. Constino, he may be the same, or another who had recovered the State. And I do not find it in the memoirs of the conversions of the

Princes of that Island, which the Fathers of St. Francis preserved, any other converted Vanea”⁴². [This settles the question as to who held authority over the ancient Trincomalee district. That authority was shared by the Mahathera of Arakan on whose behalf a Terunnanse and the Ganezes administered the temples and the lands at Tambalagama and Gantale [note the spelling] which belonged to the temples. [Bk.2, p.245] A ‘Vanea’ held the land in the interior but the “maritime lands were subject to the *Terunnanse*. (Queyroz repeats this in Bk.2, p.245). That the ‘Vanea’ was much under the obligation to the people is seen from the fact that he was killed when he became a Christian.⁴³ Another ‘Vanea’ who had helped the ruler of Jaffnapatam was dispossessed of his territory by the King of Kandy⁴⁴.

Description of Trincomalee Harbour

Then follows a long description of Trincomalee as a harbour (finest in the world) [Bk.1,p.68 }

Confirmation Trincomalee was one of Royal harbours; and of inhabitants of Trincomalee District

.....“These (Trincomalee and Cottiyar)with that of Baticalou on the opposite coast, are the three Royal harbours of the Island, of which the Portuguese availed themselves little, because they lie in the midst of the most savage people of Ceylon, and because only a few of them [i.e. Portuguese] lived on that coast and for a very short time,; besides all that district is not so healthy, which was not the case with Baticalou and other ports in which we lived. These [ports] command the whole Gulf of Bengal, and in spite of these advantages the French too withdrew their squadron from the *Bahia dos Acros* wherein they had fortified themselves and we do not yet know fully the reasons why they did so; and recently they were driven away by the Hollanders.”⁴⁵.

King of Kandy, the lord of ports of Batticaloa, Panama and Kottiyar and other minor ports.

(Trincomalee excluded from King's harbours after Portuguese took possession of it)

In Book 4, pp. 737, Queyroz, speaking of the marriage in Tanjore, of Senarat's two sons to the Princesses, the daughters of the blind king of Jaffnapatam, says that "as Candia was lord of ports of Cutiar,[Kottiyar], Panua,[Panama]⁴⁶ and Batecalou, and of others of lesser importance, they escaped all his diligence".

This was, obviously, the situation after 1624 when the Portuguese built the fortalice at Trincomalee. However, it is clear from correspondence that earlier, Trincomalee was very much under the jurisdiction of the king of Kandy. The letter from Miguel Ferdinendz to Governer Castro and other correspondence clearly establishes this.^{46a}

Fernandez says: "I was coming to join him (Andre de Sousa who had landed at Jala and was coming overland) And I went through the Shallows, calculating on waiting for him, seventeen days later a foist arrived with one man in charge of it. This was the foist of Andre de Sousa.....I have no other news of him because the prince of the port of Triqunamale, who was subject to the king of Camde, on hearing that the king of Camde had become a Christian, blocked the road to Camde, being incited to this by other princes and being helped by them. He blocked the road in such a way that, though I sent four messengers to the king, not one came back, nor did any Portuguese arrive. This went on for fifty days during which we received no supplies though we were ready to pay for them.

.....they began to harass us. Hence we disembarked, and there we found more than five hundred men with swords and daggersThe struggle was such that a friar who was going with me, had to come to the rescue and it fell to his share to kill three persons.I set sail and made my way to Neguapatam."

He proposed to go to Kandy to help the king and says less than one hundred men were enough to go to Camde by way of the port of Trincomalee in spite of the opposition of the prince of the region.

Trincomalee area inhabited by Veddas

The whole of Trincomalee area from Bintenna in the south to the Jaffna peninsula was inhabited by Veddas in the 16th and 17th centuries and thereafter. Some of the early maps of the island like Lislle's map, 1700, mark the whole area of Trincomalee up to Jaffnapatam under 'Bedas' (Veddas).

Francois Valentyn, after discussing Jaffnapatam moves from Fort Calierauow south-eastwards. He says:

"Then follows the lands of the Bedas (or Weddas) that extend along the shore back to the south and west about 30 miles in circumference; in the west up to the district of Horeli and in the south to Trincomalee

(though correctly Trycoen-Male) consisting only of very thick jungle." ⁴⁷.

"They are the oldest inhabitants in the island. They are found in numbers in the Districts of Vintana, Horeli, and in the Districts of the Bedas situated north of Trincomalee. They remain generally in the thickest jungle. They speak Cingalese; they have houses; villages and chiefs (though they do not recognize any as King) and live generally under a tree, or under some lopped off branches near a stream or brook...." . . .

Hugh Nevil, the British Assistant Government Agent of Mullaitivu, Vavunikulam and Trincomalee, (1880-1889), found Veddas inhabiting the area of Trincomalle district up to the Jaffna peninsula.⁴⁸ Queyroz repeatedly says that "at that time there were no other neighbours save the Bedas(Veddas) who are such barborous and unruly men that they do not let themselves be seen."

Other Sources

N.A.Pereira's letter to Viceroy Joao de Castro, Kandy, 13 October 1545⁴⁹.

It speaks of a "bandit of that region (Trincomalee)" having detained the Captain's messenger for two days and when they reached Miguell Fereira they had told him that if they wished to go to Kandy they could go; but if they expected the captain would come there, they swore in the name of the King and of the queen and of their son that neither the captain nor the king, if he came, would go as far as that place". This shows the authority that of the 'bandit.' He was probably, the local chieftain.

[The king of Kandy asks for a factory to be established at Trincomalee and to appoint a factor.[Perniola, V., Ibid, Doc 38, pp.86-87 and Doc.85] again shows that the place was subject to him].

Letter of Jorge Velho to Viceroy de Castro, Colombo, 13 Nov.1545⁵⁰.

The king of Kandy invites him as ambassador. Velho requests the Viceroy to come to Trincomalee harbour passing through the Shallows [of Jaffna].

Letter of Miguel Fernandes' letter to Viceroy de Castro, Negapatam, 10 June 1546⁵¹.

Letter of Joao De Vila de Conde's letter to Viceroy de Castro, Goa, 16 March 1547⁵².

Speaks of a letter from King of Kandy reminding him to build a factory at the port of Trincomalee and appoint Nuna Alvares (Pereira as factor].

Letter of B.Gago to the Jesuits in Portugal, Cochin, 10Jan.1552⁵³.

Letter of Anrriques S.J. to Ignatius Loyola, S.J.⁵⁴.

Speaks of 'the prince of (Trincomalee), a boy of 8 years who had become a Christian and lived in Cochin. He had come with a chief of Trincomalee and his people had become a Christian to obtain Portuguese support for his claims to the fiefdom. On their return, people opposed them and the party had to return to the Fishery Coast. The caste spoken of here could be a group of 'Vanniyas' as distinct from 'Rate Atto.' The prince spoken here could be the same prince that Queyroz spoke of as having fled to Goa whom the King of Kandy dispossessed.

Analysis of Evidence

Credibility of Sources

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Queyroz's account which is one of the first detailed accounts which has come down to us from foreign sources. His account of the possession and administration of the temples seems to be based on the testimony of Francis Xavier, records of which may have been available to him from records left behind by Francis Xavier who visited the place around 1543 and Franciscans who visited the place later^{54a}. His account does not support the popular Hindu tradition surrounding the temples including any confirmation of the name *Koneswaram* by which Hindus identify the place,⁵⁵ but, unlike it provides a gleaning of the real state of affairs of the place during the 16th and 17th centuries. There is no reason for his sources to have ignored the Hindu tradition on Konesaram temple in preference to what he presented.

The evidence could be examined under two headings: firstly, those relating to possession and administration of the three temples and the lands which belonged to them at Tambalagama and Gantale; and secondly, the nature of worship which was carried out there.

As regards the possession, Queyroz is quite clear when he emphasizes that the temples were administered by the "*Ganezes* of the Sect of Budum" whom he says were more numerous in the

country. He repeats this in another place adding emphasis⁵⁶. He even makes the distinction about the areas of jurisdiction of the *Mahateruunanse* and the *Vanea* when he says that the former held the state including the temples (*pagodes*) while the *Vanea* shared the area surrounding the temples. Elsewhere, he puts it less ambiguously when he says the *Vanea* was the lord of the interior of the Country, for as we said, the Maritime lands were subject to the *Terunnanse* (Bk,2, p.245-6).

The circumstances described earlier concerning close relations which existed between Sri Lanka and Arakan during the height of prosperity of Kotte which reached a peak around 1433 when Mrauk-U became the capital of Arakan and continued during the rule of Vimaladharmasuriya I of Kandy, are also in favour of Trincomalee having been under the strong influence of Arakan Buddhists and adds credibility to Queyroz's observations. Parallels are found at Buddha Gaya when the kings of Myanmar played a key role as benefactors of that premier Buddhist centre⁵⁷. A few remaining archaeological finds of the trunk of a stone Buddha statue and a better preserved "*Buddha Pada*" stone lying nearby would go to confirm Queyroz's version⁵⁸.

The authority of the *Terunnanse* over the *Vanea* which Queyroz describes (in Bk.2,p.245-6) is also confirmed by the reference to one of the *Vaneas* who was converted to Christianity being stoned to death by the populace on the instigation of the *Terunnanse*⁵⁹. The king of Kandy to whom the *Vanea* was subject had the authority to dispossess the latter, as he did.(Bk. 4,pp.736-7).

Nature of Evidence

Concerning the nature of worship, where he speaks of the popularity of the temples, Queyroz accords to them, at least the principal shrine which he identifies as having received the veneration of mariners, priority over other famous Hindu temples in the subcontinent. This should not lead one to class the temples at Trincomalee as exclusively Hindu temples. The emphasis on the

popularity of the main shrine with mariners is understandable in the context of its location on the highest eminence by the important harbour on the east of the island, which as Queyroz observes commanded the whole of the Bay of Bengal along with Cottiyar and Batticaloa⁶⁰. The evidence points to the existence of more than a single type of ritual. He refers to the existence of three temples of which the one on the highest eminence was the principal one and the one that attracted the attention of mariners most. The one nearest to the sea was given to a sacrificial ritual. It was probably here that the human sacrifices referred to by Queyroz on the authority of Antonio Monis Baretto was carried out⁶¹. The third temple does not figure clearly in the description.

There could not have been a problem for Hindu mariners and other believers to equally participate in rituals at the main shrine at Trincomalee dedicated to the popular deity of mariners from India and South-East Asia at the time who was none other than Avalokitesvara⁶². As there had been three shrines each of which may have had a special significance and emphasized a different type of ritual. An object of worship of seafarers could have attracted equal attention from mariners of different nations and faiths as the shrine at Devinuvara attracted in the 15th century which is demonstrated by the trilingual inscription found at Galle shows. The shrines at Kataragama, Adams Peak, Madhu and St. Anthony's Church at Kocchikade are other examples of multiple participation in worship. At the shrine, *Upulvan* occupied the centre of attraction but there were minor temples within the complex for the worship of other gods like, *Kataragama*, *Ganesha* and *Isvara*. So is the case at the popular Kataragama shrine.

Considering that the period from around the 12th century onwards was a time when a number of powerful and resourceful kingdoms had sprung up in the rest of South East Asia, stretching from Arakan, Pegu, Aramana, Sukhothaya, Sailendra empire, Sri Vijaya, Champa, Majpahat and others, and the centre of gravity had passed into that region, and many of these were Buddhist kingdoms practicing Mahayana form of Buddhism, it could be

expected that links with Sri Lanka, especially the North East where Mahayana influence prevailed⁶³. and South India and Bengal, were maintained by the dynasties which ruled over these lands. The construction in 1005 A.D. of a Buddhist Vihara at Nagapatam in Corromandal coast in South India named Chula manivarma vihara by a king from Sri Vijaya and Kadaram (Keddah in Malay peninsula) to which the Chola king Rajaraja dedicated a village for its maintenance, was a good example of this intercourse. Even earlier, Balaraja, another Sailendra king, maintained close links with South India. Later, when Cholas became hostile to these kingdoms over issues of trade, Trincomalee which was then under them could have played a role in the Chola expedition sent there.

Trade and religious links continued with these kingdoms during the Polonnaruva rule. and we see the links continuing during the Dambadeniya rule and later Kotte and Kandyan rule. .

The important point that Queyroz's evidence makes is that in the 16th and 17th centuries when the Portuguese made contact with Trincomalee and finally destroyed the temples, they were under Buddhist administration. The tradition did not end there. Even in 1803 after the British occupied the place there is evidence that as much as some old rituals were being performed from time to time the place was also used as a place for ordination (as a '*Sima*') used in Buddhist ordination ritual⁶⁴.

A question that arises is why Queyroz compared the Pagodes at Trincomalee with noted pagodas in India which were all Hindu temples. On this basis could one come to the conclusion that Trincomalee too was given to Hindu worship? There is no room for such a conclusion. At this time Buddhism had declined in India and there were no Buddhist temples of any renown remaining. Queyroz was even more familiar with Hindu forms of worship than Buddhist worship.

Could it be that while the forms of worship practised in Trincomalee were Hindu in nature, the administration of the temples and the temple lands at Tambalagama and Gantale were in the hands

of Buddhist monks who were subordinate to the chief monk in Arakan? Or, else, were the forms of worship so mixed up at this time that a distinction could not be made between Hindu practices like Kali worship and Tantric cults. The monks from Arakan being strict followers of Hinayana Buddhism, it was unlikely that they would have presided over non-Buddhist forms of cult worships. We have argued that the main pagoda was given to the worship of Avalokitesvara based on evidence in Queyroz's work and the popularity of the Avalokitesvara worship in the surrounding area and the South East Asia. The worship of this Bodhisatva at this time was quite popular in Theravada centres of Sukhotya and Myanmar.

Cult Worship

Tantrism which originated in India, first in the Yogacharya school of Buddhism and in Nalanda where Vajrabodhi who introduced it to China played a big role (he spent five months in Sri Vijaya on the way to China), took deep root in South East Asian kingdoms as well as in the North-Eastern parts of Sri Lanka close to Trincomalee. The Buddhist *Bairava* worship cult as seen from such statues as Heruka from Niaro Bahal II in Padang Lawas, of King Adityavarman in the shape of a Buddhist *bairava* and of others point to the extent to which Buddhism underwent changes in these parts under Tantric influence⁶⁵.

The relevance of this discussion is to inquire if a cult of worship of deceased rulers of the island concentrated on Trincomalee as Queyroz refers to as sepulchres of dead rulers.⁶⁶ along with human sacrifice (as offered to goddess *Kali* or *Durga*) could have been practiced in the shrines on the rock of Trincomalee in addition to *Avalokitesvara* worship at the main shrine as was practised in Java..

Sacrifices

According to Queyroz there were two types of sacrifices at Trincomalee. One was where devotees "throw themselves in sacrifice to their idols reaching the bottom in pieces being persuaded that by that leap into Hell they are lifted up to the Paradise."

(BK.1.pp.66-67). The other he refers to on the authority of Antonio Monis Baretto, who was sent by Francis Xavier to help Bhuvanekabahu in his war against Sitawaka and Kandy and to convert him, is the alleged sacrifice of 300 men captured in the war against Sitawaka to the "idol of Budum". Baretto's assertion is that the king himself went for the sacrifice. However, except for quoting Baretto, Queyroz does not comment on this episode. On the contrary, elsewhere he speaks of the- king being loath to bloodshed.. The alleged 'sacrifice' by King Bhuvanekabahu of 300 men who were taken prisoners' could not have taken place stealthily. It should have been a public affair and the king's presence in Trincomalee at this time which territory was subject to Kandyan rule is also questionable from the point of view of logistics. It is more likely that the allegation of human sacrifice against Bhuvanekabahu was maliciously concocted after Baretto's failure to convert the king. This was the time that other allegations were being heaped on the king like the murder of his son Jugo Bandara over the latter's readiness to become a Christian.

Now, in trying to identify the shrines, going by Queyroz's evidence and following Mahayana and Tantric practices, the temples which the mariners held in veneration and the shrine where the people jumped sacrificing themselves (and probably where the human sacrifice alleged by Baretto took place), have to be differentiated. An *Avalokitesvara* shrine dedicated to this Bodhisattva who is known for his human compassion could not have been associated with a human sacrifice⁶⁷. The one where sacrifices took place has to be one associated with the worship of *Kali* which is part of the Hindu tradition and for whom human sacrifices were offered; or a shrine where a mixed Tantric form of cult worship was practised. Even under the latter, human sacrifices had become a feature. Queyroz's reference to *Jadecas* (Yakdessas) who were present at the Trincomalee shrines alongside the *Ganezes* could suggest that the cult practice was one of Tantric character.

Depopulation of Trincomalee and the District

Historians have attributed the destruction of the ancient Rajarata civilization to frequent invasions from the 13th century onwards. They repeated foreign invasions, and more particularly, the 'devastation' caused by Magha of Kalinga which is entrenched in the Sinhala-Buddhist psyche and re-repeated by Buddhist monks, as the main cause for the shift to the South-West. This seems to be a far exaggerated view which seems to hide a number of factors which took place during the colonial period commencing from Portuguese, Dutch and British forays into the ancient Rajarata which was referred to as Vanni⁶⁸.

Breaching of reservoirs had been used as a war strategy, but this appears to have been practiced not in general but as a strategy when resistance was high. Though some of the reservoirs may have been breached by Magha's soldiers (there is no such reference though other atrocities are attributed to Kerala soldiers who accompanied him), there does not seem to be much foundation in the belief that Magha had destroyed the economic foundation of the country. He had fortifications established in a wide area in Rajarata including Trincomalee. His long rule of nearly 40 years could not have been sustained in a barren and devastated territory. The antagonism of the Buddhist monks seems to be over the destruction of sacred Buddhist texts and creating confusion in the social order, and more particularly, over the former. A starving population could not have been kept under military rule for a long period without any uprisings. It seems that this Kalinga ruler, whom the chronicler says, had been an anointed king included in the regular dynastic line, was probably, a Mahayanist by religion like Mahasena earlier and this fact may have contributed to the general antagonism to his rule.

As the early Portuguese, Dutch and British records reveal, Rajarata had not been completely abandoned. The British noted the presence of a line of Sinhalese villagers in the thickly wooded Kaddukulam pattu itself, though reduced to a few households in each village. These were, obviously, villages on the ancient route

from Tiriyaya, Kucchchiveli, to Anuradhapura. One notable feature about these villagers was that even under their impoverished conditions, disease ridden and emaciated bodies, they still cared for their village tanks every season. Though the Vanni was densely forested by the time of the arrival of colonial powers, a land route in animal infested jungles between Verativu on the North Western coast and Trincomalee on the Eastern coast ran through Vavuni-kulam and was much used for movement of armed forces and even to run a *tappal* service by the Dutch and the British. The Portuguese missionaries and fishermen from the Western coast also used this route.⁶⁹

.A few British administrators have rightly put their finger on the real causes of the decline of the ancient Rajarata though their views have not received correct focus in view of the general tendency, to speak of the abandonment and a shift to the South West; or the greater interest in commerce as one of the reasons. A study of port cities in the south and west and the East of the island should indicate that trade and commerce had been an ancient feature of the economy of the country which has not been brought into the historical stream despite several studies on ports in the island.

The evidence of Queyroz shows that Tambalagama and Gantalava which were part of the Sinhales division of Hurulle were agriculturally productive in the 16th and 17th centuries and were yielding substantial crops. Their abandonment resulted after the temples were finally destroyed by Constantine de Sa and the *Ganinnanses* who administered the fields were converted and later those who remained were killed and a fortalice was built on the site where the temples stood. The farmers left for deep jungles of Kottiyarama except for 15 or 20 of them. (Queyroz).The Dutch were able to increase the yields of crops in the Kottiyarama area after they took over the administration from the local chiefs, as this area consisted of farmers who left Tambalagama and Gantalava in Portuguese times. The Dutch even examined the prospects of renovating the Gantalava tank and its channels to further improve agriculture. The final abandonment of the area took place under the British rule when the area was neglected due to frequent raids..

Conclusion

Portuguese sources have added to our knowledge about historical events in the island. Pof.C.R de Silva stressed at the Conference on Commemoration of 500 years of Portuguese connection with Sri Lanka held in Paris in December 2005 sponsored by the Guibelkien Foundation of Portugal, the importance of using new material which has become available to us for interpretation of history. In this context, he himself would, no doubt, think twice today of identifying the temple at Trincomalee as Konesaram following the popular Hindu tradition without a closer examination of the Portuguese material which was then available. That was understandable in his pioneering work which was his PhD thesis. Commenting on the '*Tirukonacalpuranam*,' obviously, a work of no great antiquity, Dr.S.Pathmanathan stated at the same Conference that Portuguese as testified by Fernao Queyroz, destroyed this temple (Koneswaram).

In the light of the evidence I have quoted in this paper from Queyroz's work itself that what was stated by Dr.Pathmanathan cannot be considered a correct interpretation of the evidence furnished by Queyroz but a distortion. The Portuguese chronicler is quite specific that what was destroyed by the Portuguese were (three) '*pagodes*' which were under the administration of *Ganezes* of the 'Sect of Budum' (Buddha) who were subject to *Mahaterunnanse* of Arakan, which observation he repeats. A question could be raised if the *Mahaterunnanse* (chief prelate) of Arakan and his administrators, the *Terunnanse* and the '*Ganezes* of the sect of Budum' could have been presiding over a complex of temples given to heterogeneous forms of worship. That is not an easy question to answer with the evidence we have.

End Notes:

1. University Review, XVII (1959, pp.41-46; JRAS ,CB,Vol..XXV,No.93. 1940,pp.16.
2. Mahavamsa,(Geiger Tr) 94:15-16 for Vimaladharmasurya I's mission to Arakan; 98: 88-91 for Sri Vijaya Rajasinghe's missions to Pegu, Arakan, and Siam; and 99:25 for Bhikus from Arakan.
3. A more definitive date exists, namely, 5th December 1543, when a former Yogi, an adherent of *Mahaterunnanse* of Arakan was martyred over his becoming a Christian. Fernao de Queyroz: The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon, Tr.by S.G.Perera, Bk.2,pp.256-7.
4. 'Gokarna has been identified in Monier Williams' 'A Sanskrit English Dictionary ' 1872,pp.104-116 and in V.R.Ramachandra Dikshitar's 'Purana' Index, Vol.I., Madras, 1951, as a place in west South India dedicated to Siva. This evidence contests the claim made based on Vayu Purana (Apte's translation which is considered to be defective) made for a place representing the same name in East India from which the name Gokarna is said to have been applied to Trincomalee. According to K.N.O.Dharmadasa, the name Tiru-kona-malai is the one which provides the link with Pali and Sanskrit use Gokanna /Gokarna.
5. Epigraphica Zeylanica, Vol.IV, 18,151-160.Other traditions link the two disciples with Kalinga. which was the eastern terminal of the caravan route from the west. Others associate them with Myanmar.
6. Queyroz: Ibid, Bk.!,p.68; & Bk 1.4,pp. 734-737.
7. MV.VIII:24.; Mv.Tika, Sinh.tr. p.203.
8. Ibid, [a reference to prince and princess from Kalinga]
9. K.N.O Dharmadasa lists seven references in the Mahavamsa tradition by these varying names. See C.J.H., Vol.2, No.2, 1976, pp.194-116: 'Place names of ethnic interest;
- 10 Gunasngam, C. C.J.H, Vol.I,No.I, 1975, p. 67; 'A Tamil Slab Inscription at Nilaveli'.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
14. Valentyn, Francois, Description of Ceylon. Tr.by S.Arasaratnam, London, 1978, pp.134 & 172; *Matale Disawe Kadaimpota*, Abeywardene, H.A.P: Kadimpot Vimarsanaya, p.230 7233.
15. Monier Williams: A Sanscrit –English Dictionary, 1872, p.276. and V.R.Ramachandra Dikshitar, Purana Index, Vol.I. Madras, 1951, p.554.
16. Dharmadsa, K.N.O.: C.J.H., Vol.2, No.2, 1976, pp.104-116.
17. Wimal Wijeratne, M.W., 'Dalada Siritha,' 1992,National Museum, Colombo.
18. Epigraphica Zeylanica, Vol.IV, 18,151-160.
19. Mv.. 37: 40-41, & Mv.Tika, Ibid, pp554-555.

20. Alexander Alexander, 'Life of Alexander written by himself, edited by J.Howell, 1830, Alexander was a gunner with the British garrison in Trincomalee in 1803. He records a ritual practice held from time to time on the rock and also an ordination ceremony of a young man. The place was evidently used as a 'Sima' for ordination of Buddhist monks even in his time.
21. John Clifford Holt: Buddha in Crown,.....
22. Queyroz, Ibid, Bk,1,p.66.
23. Gunasngam, C, Ibid.
25. Brohier, R.L. 'Ancient Irrigation Works of Ceylon, quotes Hugh Nevil on this point.
26. Aggabodhi V (718-724 A.D.), the builder of *Padhanagara* at Gokanna Vihara, The remains of this Padhanagara were discovered during archaeological excavations.
27. see f.n.20.
28. Brohier, R.L. 'Ancient Irrigation Works of Ceylon', Part 1, Appendix I, p.31
29. See f.n.14.
30. de Silva, D.GB. JRAS, SL, Vol.XLI,Sp.Number,1995-96 published 1998,.....
31. Ibid.
32. [Was '*Malmanda*' a title used for God of Love?].
33. See f.n [46/31] below. [panama]
34. Queyroz, Ibid, Bk.I, p.68
35. de Silva, D.GB. JRAS, SL, Ibid, & John D'Oyly: Kandyan Constitution, Reprint (Tisara)
36. de Silva, D.GB: Ibid,p.170
37. de Silva,D.G.B., ibid, p.182; & For Memoirs of Dutch Governor Van Imhoff see the documents in S.L.N.A.
38. de Silva, D.GB: Ibid,p.170.
39. Queyroz, Bk.1, pp.68 & Bk.4, p. 735.
40. Ibid, Bk.4.p.736.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid, p737
43. Ibid
44. Ibid
45. Ibid, Bk 1,p.68.
46. Panama in South West of the island formed a principality in Portuguese times. The area has had a tradition of independence from the central kingdom from ancient times. In Portuguese times, it was under a Wannicchichi who was related to the sub-ruler of

Batticaloa who were subject to the king of Kandy. Dr.S.Pathmanathan has added a foot note on Panama to his paper presented at the Conference on the Commemoration of 500 years of Portuguese Connection with Sri Lanka, held in Paris in December 2005 under the title 'The Portuguese in the North East of Sri Lanka (A.D.1543-16158).

Surprisingly, the text of the presentation makes no mention of Panama. The Tamil speaking population of Panama was the result of settlement of a band of Sepoys from Cochin after their disbandment by Burnand who was the Dutch official in Batticaloa. He encouraged the writing of the Batticaloa chronicle in the 18th century. Even today the Malayali presence south of Batticaloa is a phenomenon which is taken note of in social contacts. The charm of Malayali women is much feared!. Dr.Pathmanathan's interpolation on Panama is suspicious and has no historical foundation. The present day Tamil population there is due to more recent settlements.

- 46a. Perniola, V.,Ibid, Doc.72, p177 and the section on "other sources"
47. Valentyn, Francois, Description of Ceylon. Tr.by S.Arasaratnam, London, 1978, pp.134 & 172.
48. de Silva, D.G.B., Ibid.
49. Perniola, V., History of the Catholic Church in Sri Lanka, Vol.I, Doc38.
50. Ibid. Doc.43.
51. Ibid, Doc. 72.
52. Ibid. Doc. 85.
53. Ibid, Doc. 110.
54. Ibid, Doc.129.
- 54a. In Bk.4, p737, Queyroz refers to the memoirs of the conversion of the island's princes which the Fathers of St.Francis preserved, which he had perused. In another place, he refers to Fr.Negro's records.
55. In contrast, to the temples at TrincomaleeQueyroz mentions the temples in India by their popular names. It is surprising how he does mention the name of the temples in Trincomalee which he says was the Rome of the Gentiles of the Orient.
56. Queyroz, Ibid, Bk. 2, pp.236-7; 156-7; & Bk.4,p.736.
57. Ven.Dhammika, S. 'Naval of the Earth- History and significance of Buddha Gaya,' Singapore, 1996.
58. These are found in sites
59. Queyroz, Bk.4,p,736.
60. Queyroz, Ibid. See also, f.n. 6 above.
61. Queyroz, Ibid, Bk.2,pp.228 /229..
62. On Avalokitesvara worship see J.C.Holt. 'Buddha in Crown' & Dishkul, M.C. Subandadis, UNESCO.1980.

63. Mahayana worship in Tiriya is recorded in an 8th century inscription there. Heritage of Bronze Sculpture, Dept. of National Museum, 1995.
64. See Alexeander Alexander: f.n.20.above.
65. Suleiman, Satyawati, The History of Art of Sri Vijaya, in book under same title ed. By The cult practice of worshipping deceased rulers in the form of *Bairava* was current in South Asia. See, for example, the sculpture of Adityavarman as a Buddhist *Bairava* from Sungai Langsat, now in Museum Pusar, Jakarta. (Ht,4.41 metres). The *Bairava* is standing on a folding-leg corpse, placed on top of pedestal decorated with eight human skulls, holding a knife in the upraised right hand placed against the breast, and a skull cup in the left under the knife. In his coiffure in the shape of a globe bulb or pumpkin) sits the image of Akshobhaya (Mahayanist) Buddha. Skulls and crescents form the decorative motif of the short loin cloth, while a *kala* head adorns the waist band. The short dress baring legs and exposing some nudity, apparently in accordance with its demonical character, is associated with such figures in Eastern Java. Interestingly, the Trincomalee area, in contrast to Jaffna peninsula, is dotted with several *Bairava* temples even **today**.
66. Queyroz, Ibid.,Bk.4, p.736.
67. For the description of this Bodhisattva's compassion see Sacred Boks of the East, Amitayur-Dyana –Sutra, 'Edited by Max Muller, Vol.XLIX..
68. de Silva, D.G.B. VolXLI, Sp.Number, 1995-96.
69. Ibid.

Professor M. R. Aravamudan

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TRIBUTES

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Professor M.B. Ariyapala

Prof. Ariyapala (1916.06.01-2006.12.08), a long-standing life member of the RASSL passed away on 08th December, 2006, at the age of ninety years and six months. During his long association with the Society he has served in various capacities, such as member of the council, Vice-President and member and Chairperson of numerous RAS committees. On more than one occasion he served as a very effective Hon. President. Till his death he was the Chairperson of the RAS Sub-committee on the translation of the Pali attakatha in to Sinhala, where his wide-ranging knowledge of the Buddha Dhamma and Oriental Languages was very much in demand.

Prof. Ariyapala's bold intervention in pushing through much needed changes to the RASSL constitution will be long remembered by his contemporaries. Another very significant contribution of his was the compilation of an index for the RASSL Journals upto 1989. Prof. Ariyapala's most noteworthy contributions to the RASSL and the society at large are well documented in the RASSL journals XXXI, 1986,87, 163-166, and in XLIV, 2001, 38-49, both of which are excellent tributes to his valuable services.

In 1987 his outstanding contribution to the society was recognised by the award of the Sir S.C. Obeysekera Gold Medal.

Prof. Ariyapala spent most of his adult life in the academia, starting as an undergraduate in the University College, Colombo, followed by his role as a member of the academic staff in the University of Ceylon (successor to the college), from where he moved to Peradeniya in 1952. In 1967 he made his final move as Reader, to the new University of Colombo, where he was promoted as Professor of Sinhala. Post of Dean of Humanities and Campus President, followed in quick succession.

In 1980 he retired from the University while holding the post of Dean, Arts.

My own association with Prof. Ariyapala goes back to 1952 when I had the privilege of following his lectures as a fresher. Few years later I became his colleague, but in a different discipline. In the University his hospitality, to both students and colleagues was well known.

For many years both of us were closely associated with the work of the All-Ceylon Buddhist Congress, of which he served as Hon. President during consecutive years, following on the footsteps of Prof. Gunapala Malalasekera, his revered guru.

Dr. W.M.K. Wijetunga
 Council Member, RASSL
 20.02.2007

Dr.S.G.Samarasinghe

Dr.S.G.Samarasinghe passed away on 25 th February,2006 leaving a wide void in the intellectual and cultural landscape of Sri Lanka. He graced many a position of high responsibility and academic stature.

The RAS itself, he served in many capacities, becoming a vice –president between 1995 and 1997 ,then holding the posts of treasurer and joint secretary .Finally he ended up as the president during the years 2002—2004.

In 2003 he won the Society's medal for the year 2003.

His abiding interest was in oriental languages and culture ,especially the field of folk lore. Another feat of his was the launching of the samskruti magazine , a quarterly Sinhala journal enriched by contributions from eminent scholars as Prof.S.Paranavithana and Prof.Ediriweea Sarachchandra. We owe a debt to Dr.Samarasinghe for this magazine since it regenerated many facets of our hidden culture. He was awarded research grants from foreign universities for further work in this field.

While collecting academic qualifications as Masters degrees he was recalled to national service. A son of Sabaragamuwa province, he was appointed Govt. Agent of of Ratnapura and showed the same capability in administration. Later he won his doctorate too from the university of Colombo.

Indeed he was an exceptional human for he dedicated the same zeal exhibited in academic work to administrative matters , ameliorating the conditions of many poor and underprivileged people.

Even in the literary field he excelled winning the Sahitya Mandalaya award for the translation of Leo Tolstoy's novel, Keruitzer sonata.

He retired from the SLAS as the state secretary to the minister of telecommunications in 1990. Later he was appointed as chairman of the national film corporation in addition to serving as director of the ARTI.

At the time of receiving the society's gold medal he served as the chairman of the Attakatha committee too. Actually it was during his term of office as President of the RASSL that he followed up the translation of the 48 Pali Attakathas. This work of translating Pali attakathas into sinhala was indeed a massive project. The learned contributions of Dr. Samarasinghe to journals and magazines including the RAS journal, here and abroad are so many.

Here is what Dr. Samarasinghe wrote in the Newsletter of March 2002.

“We consider that it is of utmost importance to look forward to achieving the objectives of our illustrious predecessors. Strands of history never become irrelevant. They have left us mines of wealth and it is left to us to apply them, with value added, passing them to future generations

Indeed in the context of the voluminous work rendered by Dr. S.G. Samarasinghe his loss is almost irreparable. He not only inspire us but left us with a sense of commitment to the enrichment of our culture in varied ways in keeping with our talents.

A.P.S. Galapatha

Dr. Nissanka Parakrama Wijeratne

Dr. Nissanka Parakrama Wijeratne (1924-2007) , was born on 14th June 1924 at Kegalle. He was the Son of Sir Edwin Aloysius Perera Wijeratne Minister of Home Affairs of the D.S. Senanayake Cabinet of 1948.

Educated at Royal College Colombo and after entering University of Ceylon in 1942, he graduated with first class honours in History. Entered Ceylon civil service in 1948, served as Govt. Agent, Jaffna and Anuradhapura, (1958-1962). While serving as the G.A. Anuradhapura he was instrumental in establishing the Anuradhapura preservation board, where he spearheaded the restoration of the Sacred City of Anuradhapura.

Dr. Wijeratne was subsequently appointed as Secretary Information and Broadcasting in 1965, which he held until 1970. In 1970 he was appointed to the post of secretary Ministry of Cultural Affairs, in which capacity he was instrumental in getting up the State National symbol in 1972, with the ushering of the new constitution for Sri Lanka.

After serving the Public Service, Dr. Wijeratne retired from the said service and subsequently entered politics in 1977 by winning the Dedigama seat in that year under the UNP ticket.

He was appointed the Minister of Education and Justice in 1977, and was in charge of the Sri Lanka UNESCO commission. Dr. Wijeratne was also the permanent representative for UNESCO and later, Ambassador of Sri Lanka in Paris. He was the Chairman of Law and Society Trust from 1977, until his demise. His ambassadorial appointment was extended to Russia in 1999. Dr. Wijeratne was the 17th Diyawadana Nilame or the lay custodian of the Sacred Tooth Relic from 1975-1985, where he undertook many programmes and development works in relation to the Dalada Maligawa.

He married Nita Petiyagoda and was blessed with five children.

Dr. K.D.G. Wimalaratne

Dr. Nandana Karunanayake

Dr. Nandana Karunanayake, BSC (New York), M.A. (Phillippines), PHD (Missouri, USA) was born on 20th July 1946 and passed away recently after a comparatively short life span of 61 years. Yet during this period he carved for himself a significant niche in the academic arena of the island.

Before going on to assess his many academic achievements it is fitting to mention that he was a gentleman to the very core. Never did he utilize the heights he reached to subject to abuse and insult his colleagues and acquaintances, but instead always had a word of encouragement.

If ever he felt that criticism was wanting he did it constructively and in a civilized way that transpired the high quality of his upbringing.

Among the varied positions he held I would mention here the two last posts only, Director, Research (SLBC) and Consultant (Media Ministry). The introductory pages of his well-known book, "The grandeur of communication" gives the long list of publications, 17 books (Sinhala medium) and 12 books (English medium). Most of these books have as their focus, his chosen field of communication, with an emphasis on TV and radio broadcasting. Bilingual writers are a much needed necessity in our country and in this context too the country has lost a writer with this ability of writing in two languages while using a lucid style that does not distance the reader from the writer.

I remember the day I first met him at a book launch. He told me that he read my annual contributions to Lakehouse Vesak Annual with interest and advised me to go on writing. That was typical Dr. Nandana Karunanayaka. I never expected to use my pen to write a post-death eulogy on him for he was younger to me. The ways of the world are so strange and unexpected.

The sub-title of his “Grandeur of communication” is “Interpersonal communication” and the chapter on “Dialogues and conversations” begins with this quotation ascribed to Anthony Robins.

“The way we communicate with others and with ourselves ultimately determines the quality of our lives”.

That was perhaps the determinant factor of Dr. Nandana Karunanayaka’s own life and career that was not just a receptacle for accommodating academic plaudits. His magnanimous personality rose far above the academic in him, earning him genuine respect especially from those who associated him.

Padma Edirisinghe

Mr. Lyn de Alwis

Mr. Lyn de Alwis, former Director of Zoological Gardens, Dehiwala who rendered valuable service in wild life conservation of Sri Lanka too passed away recently. He held many consultancies in his chosen field and was responsible for many publications.

Mr. T.B. Weerakoon

Mr. T.B. Weerakoon whose demise we mourn, was a past Hony. Librarian of the RAS. He had transferred his monthly receipt of "Indian perspectives" to the Royal Asiatic Society. A prolific writer he is credited with many publications.

Editor regrets the paucity of material in appreciations of these two members, a problem that brings to focus the need of a data bank that could serve as a repository of information on RAS members. Members themselves can submit information on themselves as date and place of birth, schools and universities attended, a brief resume of their professional careers, academic achievements, major publications etc. A permanent unit of RAS can run this project and keep the data bank updated.

Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka
Minutes of the 158th Annual General Meeting (160th year)

01. Date: 26th March, 2005

Time: 2.00 p.m.

Venue: Gamini Dissanayaka Auditorium,
Mahaweli Centre, Colombo 07

02. Present: Mr. Frederick Medis, Dr. K. Arunasiri, Mr. C. Wellappili, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Mr. S. H. M. Jameel, Dr. R. L. Jayakody, Prof. Mrs. E. R. Wikramanayake, Mr. H. O. Todd, Dr. Nimal Sarathchandra, Mr. M. K. D. Wijeratne, Mrs. Ishvari Corea, Dr. E. D. T. Kularatne, Mr. V. R. K. de Silva, Mr. H. V. Situge, Mr. R. Wijedasa, Prof. Mrs. Rohini Paranavitana, Mr. K. P. Yasapala, Dr. K. D. G. Wimalarante, Mr. G. W. Jayantha Aravinda, Dr. Ananda Tissa Kumara, Mr. H. S. Coperahewa, Mrs. P. B. Edirisinghe, Ms. W. M. Suseema Perera, Mr. D. P. W. Karunatileke, Prof. M. U. de Silva, Mr. L. M. Samarasinghe, Mr. H. W. Dissanayake, Mr. V. R. Nanayakkara, Mr. H. F. Rupersinghe, Mr. D. L. U. P. S. Siriwardene, Dr. Susantha Goonetilake, Mrs. K. S. Pieris, Mr. W. A. D. I Wisumperuma, Mr. B. K. Nimalasuriya, Mr. C. S. Fernando, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, Mr. U. Pathirana, Mr. Leel Gunasekera, Dr. Mrs. Hema Goonetilake, Mr. I. K. Weerawardene, Dr. Mrs. Malini Dias, Dr. Lakshman Marasinghe, Mr. C. G. Perera, Prof. Mrs. D. M. Wickremasinghe, Mr. M. G. Samaraweera, Mr. Sunimal Fernando, Prof. Vini Vitharana, Mr. A. P. S. Galapata, Dr. D. U. R. Goonewardene, Mr. G. D. Abhayarathna, Mr. T. G. Perera, Mr. H. W. M. Cooray, Mr. Nihal de Silva, Mr. M. H. V. Cooray, Mr. N. R. M. Daluwatta, Mr. S. P. K. Ekaratne, Mr. B. L. Perera, Mr. Olcott Gunasekera, Mr. W. A. Jayawardena, Mr. S. K.

Weeraratne, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana, Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake,
Mr. W. G. Weerawardene.

03. Calling of the Meeting to Order

The meeting was called to order by the President, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana with 63 members present.

04. Notice of the Annual General Meeting

The President called on the Hony, Joint Secretary, Mr. Methsiri Cooray to read the notice convening the A. G. M.

05. Condolence for those perished with recent Tsunami Disaster

On the proposal made by the Hony. President, the members present observed two minutes silence in honour of those perished and affected by the Tsunami Disaster which occurred three months ago, on the 26th December, 2004.

06. Condolence for the members who died in the course of the year.

The members observed two minutes silence in honour of the following members of the Society, whose death occurred in the course of the year.

Mr. W. J. B. Ellepola

Mr. K. Ganesh

Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekera

Dr. N. P. Perera

Mr. Premachandra Wijesinghe

Mr. Kapila Pathirana Wimaladharma

Mr. A. A. Witanachchi

Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya

Mr. M. S. A. Gunatilaka

07. Excuses

The President announced that the following members have expressed their inability to attend the A. G. M.

Rev. Robert Luckhart

Mr. Ananda Pilimalavuva

Mr. Ananda Cittambalam

Rev. Oswald Gomis
 Mr. H. D. J. Gunawardena
 Mr. D. S. D. P. R. Senanayake

08. Welcome Address

President, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana welcomed the members. He placed before the house the progress made during the year. (During the year) The Council had held 11 Meetings and one Half Yearly General Meeting. Among the Statutory Committees the Finance and Administration recorded a considerable increase in membership (26). The Annual Grant remained at Rs. 700,000/- and that money has been received. Contributions were made to the EPF Scheme and action has been taken to award the RAS Medal for 2003. A new website for the RASSL has been prepared and ready to be screened before the membership. The lending of the library books continued. A large number of books have been received as donations and some national and international Journals received on exchange. The digitalization of the library index is being continued and a scanner for that purpose has been purchased. The Publications Committee has taken steps to bring out two issues of the Journal including Special Issue on the Panadura Vadaya (Vol. XLIX (49) 2004) and the Ordinary Issue vol. L (50) 2004. A Special Issue on 200th Anniversary of Amarapura Nikaya is being prepared and will be released at a ceremony in June 2005. The monthly Lecture Series for 2005/6 has been finalized and the printed copies of the programme are to be circulated today. The Newsletter Vol. 4 No.1 has been issued. Atthakatha Translations Committee brought out *Samanthapasadika* Pt. 1 and a proposal for accelerated project has been prepared to complete all the translations within five years, funds to that effect is awaited from the Buddhasanana Ministry. Action has been taken to make a special study on the Portuguese Encounter and information collected is summarized and will be published in a separate web site. An international conference is being planned for December followed by a publication. The case filed at the DC Colombo by Mr. Asiff Hussein against the Society is being

adequately defended. He thanked the Members of the Council, Members of the Society, staff and the Sridevi Printers for their cooperation.

09. Citation

The President declared that the Council has decided to award the Society's Medal for 2003 to Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe and invited Mr. Hemanta Situge to present the Citation which he attended to. At the end of the citation, Dr. K. D. Paronavitana awarded the R. A. S. Medal to Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe. Dr. Samarasinghe thanked the Society for awarding the medal.

10. Confirmation of the Minutes of the A. G. M. of the 159th year held on the 27th March, 2004

The Minutes of the A. G. M. of the 159th year held on the 27th March, 2004 were confirmed proposed by Mr. R. C. de. S. Manukulasooriya and seconded by Mr. Hemanta Situge.

11. Confirmation of the Minutes of Half Yearly General Meeting Held on the 27th September, 2004

The Minutes of Half Yearly General Meeting held on the 27th September 2004 were confirmed, proposed by Prof. Mrs. E. R. Wikramanayaka and seconded by Mr. Dhanesh Wisumperuma.

12. Annual Report for the year 2004 and the Audited Statement of Accounts

The Annual Report for the year 2004 and the Audited Statement of Accounts were accepted proposed by Prof. Vini Vitharana and seconded by Mr. B. L. Perera.

13. Audited Statement of Accounts

The Audited Statement of Accounts for the financial year 2004 was tabled. It was adopted proposed by Prof. Vini Vitharana and seconded by Mr. Frederick Medis.

14. Resolutions

Four resolutions have been submitted for adoption at the A. G. M.

Resolution 1

Rule 26 which states “A member shall be eligible for election as President or Vice President only if he has been a member of the Council for at least six years and also has presented his research successfully by way of lectures at meetings of the Society and contributed to the Society’s Journal” be further enlarged to include:

“and possesses a research degree at Master’s level or higher or equivalent qualification”.

Proposed by Mrs. K. S. Peiris and seconded by Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilaka.

After a considerable discussion the resolution was withdrawn by the proposer.

Resolution No. 2

Section 2 (f) of the Act No. 6 of 1992, permits the RASSL ‘to organize conferences directed towards achieving the objects of the Corporation’. It is therefore resolved that the General Council of the RASSL should hereafter organize an Annual Academic Session with the first conference commencing in 2005.

Proposed by Mrs. K. S. Peiris and seconded by Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 3

All decisions of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society should hereafter be made on the basis of a vote taken on each issue that is before the Council and the Council minutes should record the outcome of every such vote taken.

Proposed by Mrs. K. S. Peiris and seconded by Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake.

The resolution was not carried.

Resolution No. 4

This resolution was tabled in Sinhala and by which it has been proposed to (a) conduct all proceedings of the RASSL in Sinhala, (b) make adequate facilities to use the Tamil language, (c) include as much articles to the RASSL Journal in Sinhala and Tamil and (d) conduct the RASSL public lectures as much as possible in Sinhala, the selected lecture topics be closer to the present day society and suitable to the modern age.

Proposed by Mr. A. P. S. Galapatha and seconded by Mr. W. G. Weerawardena.

After a considerable discussion a vote was taken on the resolution at the request of the Proposer. Only two embers voted for and the rest of the members voted against.

This resolution was not adopted.

15. Election of the President, Office Bearers, Members of the Council for the year 2005/2006**Election of President**

In the absence of any other nominations, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana was unanimously elected to the Post of President. He accepted the post, took the Chair and thanked the members for placing confidence on him.

Vice Presidents

As there were no other nominees, the President declared Prof. Vini Vitharana and Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera elected two Vice Presidents.

Hony. Joint Secretaries

Out of the three nominations received to the two posts of Joint Secretaries, Mr. Methsiri Cooray declared that he would withdraw from the contest. Therefore, the President declared Dr. K. Arunasiri and Mr. M. G. Samaraweera are elected to the posts of Hony. Joint Secretaries.

Hony. Treasurer

Out of the two nominees for the post of the Hony. Treasurer, Dr. R. P. Tissa Jayawardhena was not present. Therefore, under section 29 (b) of the RASSL Constitution, the President declared Mr. H. V. Situge elected to the post of Hony. Treasurer.

Hony. Librarian

As there were two nominations for the post of Hony. Librarian, an Election was held. There were 63 members present at the time of the election. Out of the two contestants, Mrs. K. S. Peiris received 21 votes and Prof. T. W. Wikramanayaka received 42 votes. Consequently, Prof. T. W. Wikramanayaka was declared elected to the post of Hony. Librarian.

Hony. Editor

There were two nominations received for the post of Hony. Editor. An election was held having 57 members in the House at the time of election. Mr. A. P. S. Galapata polled seven (7) votes and Mrs. Padma Edirisinghe polled 46. Two (2) abstained from voting. Accordingly, Mrs. Padma Edirisinghe was declared elected to the post of Hony. Editor.

16. Following were elected as Council Members

The following were elected without contest under the category of above three years of the membership (12 posts).

1. Mr. G. W. Jayantha Aravinda
2. Mr. Methsiri Cooray
3. Mr. N. R. M. Daluwatta
4. Dr. Susantha Goonetilake
5. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake
6. Dr. E.D.T.Kularatne
7. Dr. Pandit Ananda Tissa Kumara
8. Prof. M.U. de Silva
9. Prof. Mrs. E. R. Wikramanayaka

The balance was elected from the floor of the House (Section 29 (a)).

10. Mr. Gaston Perera - received 24 votes

11. Mr. Frederick Medis - received 21 votes

The following two (2) were elected under three year category without an election.

12. Mr. Senaka Weeraratne

13. Mr. W. A. D. I. Wisumperuma

17. Election of Auditor

Ms. Wickramasingha Dayananda & Company, Chartered Accountants were elected Auditor for the term 2005/2007, proposed by Mr. Methsiri Cooray and seconded by Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake.

18. Presentation of the proposed Websites

Dr. Susantha Goonetilake presented the proposed website of the Portuguese Encounter and outlined it to the membership. He thanked the members Mr. Bhushana Nimalasuriya and Mr. Dhanesh Wisumperuma for their efforts in the construction of the website.

The President Dr. K. D. Paranavitana presented the proposed website of the RASSL and explained the contents. He also appreciated the services of Mr. Bhushana Nimalasuriya and Mr. Dhanesh Wisumperuma for their services in constructing this proposed website.

17. Vote of Thanks

Vote of thanks was proposed by Dr. K. Arunasiri, Joint secretary.

The Meeting concluded at about 6. 00 p.m. and was followed by a tea party.

Dr. K. Arunasiri

Joint Secretary

21. 04.2005.

Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka
Minutes of the Half Yearly General Meeting
Held on 26th September 2005

01. Date: 26th September 2005

Time: 2.00 p.m.

Venue: Gamini Dissanayaka Auditorium,
Mahaweli Centre, Colombo 07

02. Present: Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, Dr. Nimal Sarathchandra, Dr. Susantha Goonetilake, Mr. A. P. S. Galapata, Mr. Methsiri Cooray, Prof. Mrs. Rohini Paranavitana, Prof. M. U. de Silva, Mr. Jayantha Aravinda, Dr. K. Arunasiri, Mr. M. G. Samaraweera, Mr. M. Heratha, Mr. L. K. Karunaratna, Mr. Hoppe Todd, Dr. E. D. T. Kularatne, Padma Edirisinghe, Mr. W. A. D. I. Wisumperuma, Mr. S. M. J. Neangoda, Mr. D. G. B. de Silva, Prof. U. B. Karunananda, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana, Mr. D. G. A. Perera, Mr. Olcott Gunasekera, Mr. H. S. R. Wijemanne, Mr. N. R. M. Daluwatte, Dr. C. G. Uragoda, Dr. Mrs. Hema Goonetilake, Col. B. Munasinghe, Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake, Mr. Frederick Medis, Prof. Vini Vitharana, Mr. B. L Perera, Mr. D. A. W. Senanayake, Mr. L. M. Samarasinghe, Mr. Senaka Weeraratne, Mr. C. R. Withanachchi.

03. Calling of the Meeting to Order

The meeting was called to order by the President Dr. K. D. Paranavitana.

04. Notice of Half Yearly General Meeting

As directed by the President Hony. Jt. Secretary Dr. K. Arunasiri read the notice of convening the Half Yearly General Meeting.

05. Excuses

Rev. Robert Luckhart

Prof. D. P. M. Weerakkoday
 Mr. S. M. Nanayakkara
 Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya
 Dr. L. Gunawardena
 Prof. Eugene Wickramanayake

06. Condolences

Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
 Prof. Ananda Kulasuriya
 Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake
 Prof. Prof. Heinz Bechert

The members observed two minutes silence as a mark of respect to the above members who passed away during the last six months.

- 07.** The minutes of the A. G. M. held on 26th March 2005 were confirmed proposed by Prof. B. L. Perera and seconded by Mr. T. B. Karunaratne.

08. Matters arising from the Minutes

Proposed academic session

The Chairman of the Committee on academic session Prof. M. U. de Silva reported that four proposals have been received consenting to read papers at the academic session scheduled to be held on 24th March 2006.

Vacancy in the Council

The President reported that Prof. U. B. Karunananda has been elected to vacancy of the Council.

- 09. President briefly revived the progress of the RAS during the first half of 2005.**

Membership:

15 have obtained Resident Life membership while one obtained Non Resident Life. One membership was converted to Life membership from Ordinary membership.

Staff:

A special allowance of Rs. 1000/- for each of the employees was paid to the staff with effect from May 2005.

Mr. Wijesuriya Administrative Secretary retired w. e. f. 15th August 2005, after 11 years of service and Mr. B. G. Boteju was appointed as the Administrative Secretary.

Finance:

The government grant has been increased from Rs. 500,000/- to 700,000/-. Action is being taken to obtain a special grant to air condition the R. A. S. Library with the help of Hon. Minister of Cultural affairs and Hon Ministry of Finance.

International Book Fair

R. A. S. participated at the International Book Fair at the B M I C H in September and was able to sell R. A. S. publications including Journals to the value of Rs. 98,000/-

Further R. A. S. a successfully organized an academic Seminar on "Current Usage of Sinhala Language" at the B M I C H for school children to coincide with the Book Exhibition.

A D S L Facility

R. A. S. was able to install A D S L facility with help of a donor who wished to remain anonymous.

The R. A. S. Journal

L (50) has been already published and the next is being edited. The President stressed the necessity of obtaining quality academic articles for the Journal.

Library:

New books worth approximately Rs. 72,000/- have been purchased for the library.

Toponymy:

Re activated Toponymy Committee held several meetings and organized a seminar on July 2005, under its Chairman Mr. Frederic Medis. A publication is being prepared to be released in December 2005.

Atthakatha Translations:

Samantha Pasâdikâ Translation part iii and the Anguttaranikâya Atthakatha part ii Translation are with the Printer. Action is

being taken to obtain Rs. 817,389/- estimated cost from the Ministry of Buddhasasana for the printing of above Translations.

10 Discussion:

In the discussion that followed Mr. G. D. A. Perera and several members expressed their satisfaction for convening the Half Yearly General Meeting and placing before the members the progress of the Society. But some were of the view that the summoning of a general Meeting merely to convey the progress was not essential and it could have been conveyed by a letter to the membership. But the general consensus was such a meeting is necessary.

Dr. H. S. R. Wijemane said that the time fixed for the meeting i.e. 2.00 p.m. was not convenient to the members travelling from distance places like Kandy. His remarks were taken in to consideration Mr. S. K. Weeraratne proposed to hold an island wide essay competition among the school children on the objectives of the R. A. S.

The president Dr. K. D. Paranavitana thanked the members for their presence and requested their active participation for programmes planned.

The meeting adjourned at about 4.50 and was followed by a lecture on the Irrigation System of Deduru Oya vally by C. R. Withanachchi.

Dr. K. Arunasiri
Hony. Jt. Secretary

Dr. K. D. Paranavitana
Hony. President

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

The **ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING** of the 159th year of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, will be held on Saturday, 27th March, 2004 at 3.00 p.m. at the Gamini Dissanayake Auditorium of the Mahaweli Centre, 96, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 07.

AGENDA

1. Notice of the Meeting
2. Welcome address by the President of the RASSL
3. Condolences
4. Excuses
5. Confirmation of the Minutes of the AGM of the 158th year, 29th March 2003
6. Business Arising out of the Minutes
7. Confirmation of the Minutes of the SGM, 23rd August, 2003
8. Matters Arising from the Minutes of the SGM
9. Annual Report of the Council for 2003
10. Audited Statement of Accounts for 2003
11. Resolutions
15. Election of Auditor
16. Vote of Thanks
17. Refreshments

Methsiri Cooray
D G P Seneviratne
Hony. Jt. Secretaries
14. 02. 2004

OFFICE BEARERS OF THE SOCIETY

2003

159th YEAR

Patron

Her Excellency Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga
President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka

President

Hon. Dr. K D Paranavitana, BA (Hons.) (Cey), Diploma in
Archive Administration (The Netherlands), PhD (UNSW,
Australia), *Knight of the Order of Orange Nassau of the
Kingdom of The Netherlands, Sreyasrî Sudhîsvara*
(Amarapura Mûla Vanshika Nikâya)

Vice Presidents

Rev. Fr. Dr. X N F Kurukulasuriya, Diploma in Archives
(Rome), PhD in Archaeology (Rome) - Up to December
2003. (Resigned w. e. f. 24. 11. 2003)

Prof. Vini Vitharana, BA (Cey.), BA (Hons.) (Lond.), MA, PhD
(Lond.), PhD (Cey.), *Kala Kirti*

Mr. Frederick Medis, JP, FCSA (Hons.) - From January 2004

Hony. Jt. Secretaries

Mr. Methsiri Cooray, BA (Cey.), LLB (Cey.), Attorney-at-Law

Mr. D G P Seneviratne, BA (Hons.) (Cey.), MA (Murdoch)

Hony. Treasurer

Dr. K Arunasiri, BA (Hons.) (Cey.), MA, Ph.D (Kelaniya),
Retired SLAS

Hony. Editor

Mr. Asiff Hussein (up to July 2003)

Mr. R G G O Gunasekera, BA (Hons.) (Cey.), Retired CCS
(from October 2003)

Hony. Librarian

Prof. T W Wikramanayaka, MBBS (Cey.), PhD (Glasgow), DSc
Honoris Causa (Peradeniya and Ruhuna), Professor
Emeritus, University of Peradeniya

Members of the Council

- Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris, BA (Cey.), Diploma in Librarianship
Mr. N R M Daluwatta, P. C.
Dr. Susantha Goonetilake, BSc. (Eng.) (Cey.), AMIEE (Lond.),
BA (Soc.) (Cey.), MA, PhD (Exeter)
Prof. R P T Jayawardana, BA (Hons.) (Cey.), PhD (Lond.)
Prof. Kapila Abeyawansa, BA (Hons.) (Cey.), PhD (Cey.)
Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara (ceased to be a member from
April 2004)
Mrs. Ramani C W D Perera, ACA, FCMA (UK)
Dr. H N S Karunatilake, BA (Hons.) (Cey.), MA (Harvard),
MPA (Harvard), MSc (Lond), PhD (Lond.)
Mr. M G Samaraweera, BA (Lond.), CPM
Dr. W M K Wijetunga, BA (Hons.) (Cey.), PhD (Lond.)
Mr. Desmond Fernando, P. C., MA (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law
(Lincoln's Inn)
Dr. G S B Senanayake, BA (Cey.), BA (Hons.) (Lond.), MA
(Vid.), Ph.D (Kelaniya)
Dr. Lochana Gunaratne, Chartered Architect, PhD
Mr. K P Yasapala, BA (Kelaniya), Diploma in Archaeology
Dr. Mrs. Malini Dias, BA (Hons.) (Cey.), PhD (Lond.) (From
November 2003)

Past Presidents

- Prof. M B Ariyapala, (1980-1986) (1998-1999), BA (Hons.),
PhD (Lond.), Professor Emeritus (Colombo) DLitt *Honoris
Causa* (Colombo), DLitt *Honoris Causa* (Ruhuna),
Sri Lanka Sahitya Siromani (Malwatta Chapter)
Dr. C G Urugoda, (1987-1992), MD, FRCP, FCCP, FFOM, DSc
Honoris Causa (Colombo)

- Dr. K T W Sumanasuriya, (1992-1994), MA (Cey.), PhD (Lond.), *Sasana Kirti Sri* (Sarvodaya)
- Mr. A Denis N Fernando, (1994-1996) BSc (Hons.) (Cey), PhEng (ITC Netherlands), MSc (ITC Netherlands), F1 SurEng (SL), Fellow of the National Academy of Science
- Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya, (1996-1998), BA (Lond.)
- Mr. G P S H de Silva, (1999) BA (Hons.) (Cey.), Academic Postgraduate Diploma in Archives Administration (Lond.)
- Dr. H N S Karunatilake, (2000) BA (Hons.) (Cey), MA (Harvard), MPA (Harvard), MSc (Lond.), PhD (Lond.)
- Dr. S G Samarasinghe, (2001-2003) BA (Hons.) (Cey.), MA (Penn.), PhD (Colombo), LLB (OUSL), Retired SLAS

RESUME

1. **Period:** The report on activities presented here, covers the period January 2003 - December 2003. The audited financial statement covers the calendar year 2003. Vide Audit Report Pages
2. **Council Meetings:** During the period under review 11 Ordinary Meetings were held. Vide pages...
3. **Public Lectures:** 10 public lectures were held under the programme of Monthly Lectures. Vide pages
4. **Membership:** 29 new members were enrolled. Vide Finance and Administration Committee Report. Pages
5. **Journal:** Volume Number XLV was printed and published. Vide Publications Committee Report Pages....
6. **Library:** 74 Journals were added to the collection and 85 books have been received as donations. One new book and one Journal have been purchased. Vide Report of the Library Committee, pages...
7. Minutes of the **Special General Meeting**, 23 August, 2003. Vide pages...
8. Minutes of the **Annual General Meeting**, 29 March, 2003. Vide pages...

Founded 1845

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
96, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 07.
Tel: / Fax: 2699249

01. 02. 2004

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Notice is hereby given that the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka will be held on Saturday, 27th March, 2004 at 3.00 p.m. at the Gamini Dissanayake Auditorium of the Mahaweli Centre, 96, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 07.

RESOLUTIONS

Members who wish to move any resolutions at the Annual General Meeting should send their resolutions duly signed by them and by the seconder, who should be a member, to reach the Hony. Jt. Secretaries on or before 3.00 p.m. on Saturday 22nd February, 2004.

Subscriptions

In the case of Ordinary Members, please make sure that any arrears of subscriptions are paid up to and inclusive of 2004. Only members who are not in arrears will be entitled to propose, second and vote at the Annual General Meeting.

Methsiri Cooray
D G P Seneviratne
Hony. Jt. Secretaries

COUNCIL MEETINGS AND MEMBERSHIP

Council Meetings

Nine Council Meetings were held during the period April - December 2003. Attendance of members is given below.

Office Bearers

Dr. K D Paranavitana	(President)	9
Rev. Fr. X N F Kurukulasuriya	(Vice President) resigned in Nov.	5
Prof. Vini Vitharana	(Vice President)	9
Mr. Methsiri Cooray	(Hony. Jt. Secretary)	9
Mr. D G P Seneviratne	(Hony. Jt. Secretary)	7
Dr. K Arunasiri	(Hony Treasurer)	9
Mr. Asiff Hussein	(Hony. Editor) ceased from Aug.	4
Mr. R G G O Gunasekera	(Hony. Editor) from October	3
Prof. T W Wikramanayaka	(Hony Librarian)	7

Council Members

Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris	9
Mr. N R M Daluwatta	6
Dr. Susantha Goonetilleka	6
Prof. R P T Jayawardana	6
Prof. Kapila Abeyawansa	2
Kalasuri Wilfred M Gunasekara (Ceased from April)	0
Mrs. Ramani C W D Perera	4
Dr. H N S Karunatilake	9
Mr. M G Samaraweera	9
Dr. W M K Wijetunga	5
Mr. Desmond Fernando	4
Dr. G S B Senanayake	7
Dr. Lochana Gunaratne	5
Mr. K P Yasapala	2
Dr. Mrs. Malini Dias (from November)	1

Past Presidents

Prof. M B Ariyapala	4
Dr. C G Uragoda	5
Dr. K T W Sumanasuriya	2
Mr. A Denis N Fernando	7
Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya	6
Dr. S G Samarasinghe	8

Membership

During the period under review (13) thirteen Resident Ordinary Members, (28) twenty eight Resident Life Members and (3) three Non - Resident Life Members were enrolled.

Condolences

It is with deep regret that we report the death of the following members of the Society during the period under review.

Mr. E M C Amunugama (O/287)
Prof. T Nadarajah (...) (President, 1986)

(A) New Members

Ordinary / Resident

Mr. Piyaseela Weerasekera (O/R) O/341
Dr. P N Duraiswamy (O/R) O/342
Dr. K D G Wimalaratne (O/R) O/343
Heenatigala Garments (Pvt) Ltd., (O/R) O/344
Prof. Buddhadasa Hewavitharana (O/R) O/345
Ms. I J Mawalle (O/R) O/346
Ms. Somi Sekerama (O/R) O/347
Mr. Sudath Gunasekara (O/R) O/348
Dr. D U R Goonewardena (O/R) O/349
Dr. Mrs. N S de Sylva (O/R) O/350
Dr. R L de Sylva (O/R) O/351
Mr. S K Weeraratna (O/R) O/352
Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne (O/R) O/353

Life / Resident

Mr. D L O Mendis (L/R) L/652
Mr. C G Weeramantry (L/R) L/654
Mr. G G H. G Gunawardane (L/R) L/655

- Mr. S D N Dharmarathne (L/R) L/656
 Mr. B Asoka Keerthi de Silva (L/R) L/657
 Ven. Dr. Medagoda Sumanatissa Thera (L/R) L/658
 Mr. H G Gunadasa de Silva (L/R) L/659
 Mr. Somapala Egalahewa (L/R) L/660
 Mr. M M Jayawardena (L/R) L/661
 Mr. N S C de Silva (L/R) L/662
 Mr. I A Gunasekera (L/R) L/663
 Mr. T G Perera (L/R) L/664
 Prof. Oliver Abeynayake (L/R) L/665
 Mr. W A D I Wisumperuma (L/R) L/666
 Mrs. T M M Jayawardena (L/R) L/667
 Dr. T L Gunaruawan (L/R) L/668
 Mr. de M Ramasubbu (L/R) L/669
 Dr. Arumugam Thangarajah (L/R) L/670
 Dr. A E Kulatilake (L/R) L/671
 Mr. S G Mapalagama (L/R) L/673
 Rev. U Ananda (L/R) L/675
 Ms. W M Suseema Prabodani Perera (L/R) L/677
 Dr. S M K Herath (L/R) L/678
 Dr. Sujit Pradin Sivasundaram (L/R) L/679
 Mr. H M R Ellepola (L/R) L/680
 Ven. Dr. Kahapola Sugataratana (L/R) L/681
 Mr. K G E R W Dharmawardene (L/R) L/683
 Mrs. A A Sumanawathie (L/R) L/684

Life/ Non Resident

- Mr. A M Morgan Davies (L/NR) L/672
 Mr. George Frederick Hodges (L/NR) L/651
 Mr. Koshala Sirimevan de Silva (L/ NR) L/653

(B) Conversions - Ordinary to Life Membership

- Mr. N A L Billimoria (L/674)
 Mr. W J E Monhemius (L/682)

As at December, 2003 the Society had members on roll consisting of a Patron, 3 Honorary Members, 477 Resident Life Members, 74 Resident Ordinary Members, 2 Non - Resident Ordinary members and 7 Institutional Members.

MONTHLY PUBLIC LECTURES
2003 / 2004

Date	Lecturer	Subject of Lecture
2003		
28 April	Prof. Vini Vitharana BA (Cey.), BA (Hons.) (Lond.), MA, PhD (Lond.), PhD (Cey.) <i>Kala Kirti</i>	A Further Attempt at the Identification of what Sigiriya would have been during its hay-day and who the Ladies of Sigiriya were
26 May	Mr. Frederick Medis JP, FCSA (Hon.)	Changes and adaptations in the early British coin and currency note issuing policy in Ceylon Lecture cancelled.
21 July	Seminar on Thai Sri Lanka Historical and Religious Relations	
25 August	Prof. T W Wikramanayaka MBBS (Cey.), PhD (Glasgow) DSc <i>Honoris Causa</i> (Preadeniya and Ruhuna), Professor Emeritus University of Peradeniya	Foods Eaten in Ancient Sri Lanka: A preliminary Report
29 September	Vidya Jyothi Dr. C R BSc. (Hons.) (Cey), PhD (Adelaide)	Small Tank Heritage of Rajarata and Ruhuna from Mediaeval to Colonial
27 October	Dr. K Arunasiri BA (Hons.) (Cey), MA, PhD Deputy Editor, Ency -clopaedia of Buddhism	A Critical Examination of <i>Mahâ Thûpa</i> Account in <i>Mahâawamsa</i>

24 November Dr. Susantha Goonatilake The Reverse Transfer in the
 BSc. (Eng.) (Cey.), Early Colonial Period: The
 AMIEE (Lond.), BA Role of Sinhala Jewellery
 (Soc.) (Cey.) MA, PhD and the Portuguese Court
 (Exeter)

29 December Lecture Cancelled.

2004

26 January 4 Mr. Rex I. De Silva Bird Migration in Relation
 FSZ, MI (Bio), to Sri Lanka: A Review.
 Naturalist

23 February 4 Mr. Raj Somadeva Archaeology of Text: A
 BA, MA Lecturer, Remote Sensing Interpreta-
 PGIAR tion of the Yatatla Dageba
 Slab Inscription

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Society gratefully acknowledges with thanks the support extended by Her Excellency Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, the Patron of the Society in pursuing the objectives of the Society.

The Council extends its sincere thanks and appreciation for the invaluable support given by the Minister of Education, Human Resources and Cultural Affairs, Hon. Dr. Karunasena Kodituwakku and the Minister of Justice, Buddhasasana and National Integration Hon. W J M Lokubandara.

The Council wishes to record its thanks to all Office Bearers and Members of the Council for their commitment and support. The contribution made by all those who volunteered to serve in different *ad hoc* Committees is gratefully acknowledged.

The Council wishes to record its thanks to Mahaweli Centre for the facilities and assistance given in the use of the Gamini Dissanayake Auditorium.

The Council also extends its thanks to Messers Mahendra and Haritha Senanayake and the staff of the Sri Devi Printers for their untiring efforts made in printing and bringing forth neat and tidy issues of this Annual Report, the Journal and the Newsletter.

The Society wishes to thank Mr. B E Wijesuriya, Administrative Secretary, Miss. K D S Wijenayake, Assistant Librarian, Miss. S D Weeraratne, Computer Operator, Mr. R M Weerakone, Binder, Mr. Thusitha M Geekiyanage and Mr. Chaminda Wijesiri, members of the minor staff.

Methsiri Cooray
D G P Seneviratne
14. 02. 2004

REPORT OF THE HONY. TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 2002

The audited statement of Income and Expenditure for the year ending on the 31st December 2003 is submitted for information of the membership. It is regretted that the annual Govt. grant has been reduced from Rs. 700,000/- to Rs. 500,000/- and on that too a token cut of 10% had been imposed and we received only Rs. 490,000/-. The Hon. Minister was requested to increase the grant to Rs. 1,000,000/- and it is hoped this would materialize in 2004. The R. A. S. finds it difficult to meet the ever - rising costs and run the affairs of the Society.

Hony. Treasurer wishes to thank Mr. B E Wijesuriya, Administrative Secretary and the staff for their co-operation extended in managing the finance of the Society.

Dr. K Arunasiri
Hony. Treasurer

REPORT OF THE FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE

Meetings

The Finance and Administration Committee held eight (8) meetings during the period April - December 2003.

The following were the members and their attendance at the meetings:

Name	No. of Meetings
Dr. K D Paranavitana (Chairman)	7
Dr. K Arunasiri	6
Mr. N R M Daluwatta	5
Dr. H N S Karunatilake	6
Mr. M G Samaraweera	3
Mr. Desmond Fernando	0
Mrs. Ramani Perera	2
Prof. M B Ariyapala	3
Mr. Methsiri Cooray (Convener)	7

Enrolments

The following were enrolled as new members during the year 2003:

- Mr. George Frederick Hodges (L/NR) L/651
- Mr. D L O Mendis (L/R) L/652
- Mr. Koshala Sirimevan de Silva (L/ NR) L/653
- Mr. C G Weeramantry (L/R) L/654
- Mr. G G H G Gunawardane (L/R) L/655
- Mr. S D N Dharmarathne (L/R) L/656
- Mr. B Asoka Keerthi de Silva (L/R) L/657
- Ven. Dr. Medagoda Sumanatissa Thera (L/R) L/658
- Mr. H G Gunadasa de Silva (L/R) L/659
- Mr. Somapala Egalahewa (L/R) L/660
- Mr. M M Jayawardena (L/R) L/661
- Mr. N S C de Silva (L/R) L/662
- Mr. I A Gunasekera (L/R) L/663
- Mr. T G Perera (L/R) L/664
- Prof. Oliver Abeynayake (L/R) L/665
- Mr. W A D I Wisumperuma (L/R) L/666

Mrs. T M M Jayawardena (L/R) L/667
 Dr. T L Gunaruawan (L/R) L/668
 Mr. de M Ramasubbu (L/R) L/669
 Dr. Arumugam Thangarajah (L/R) L/670
 Dr. A E Kulatilake (L/R) L/671
 Mr. A M Morgan Davies (L/NR) L/672
 Mr. S G Mapalagama (L/R) L/673
 Rev. U Ananda (L/R) L/675
 Ms. W M Suseema Prabodani Perera (L/R) L/677
 Dr. S M K Herath (L/R) L/678
 Dr. Sujit Pradin Sivasundaram (L/R) L/679
 Mr. H M R Ellepola (L/R) L/680
 Ven. Dr. Kahapola Sugataratana (L/R) L/681
 Mr. K G E R W Dharmawardene (L/R) L/683
 Mrs. A A Sumanawathie (L/R) L/684
 Mr. Piyaseela Weerasekera (O/R) O/341
 Dr. P N Duraiswamy (O/R) O/342
 Dr. K D G Wimalaratne (O/R) O/343
 Heenatigala Garments (Pvt) Ltd., (O/R) O/344
 Prof. Buddhadasa Hewavitharana (O/R) O/345
 Ms. I J Mawalle (O/R) O/346
 Ms. Somi Sekerama (O/R) O/347
 Mr. Sudath Gunasekara (O/R) O/348
 Dr. D U R Goonewardena (O/R) O/349
 Dr. Mrs. N S de Sylva (O/R) O/350
 Dr. R L de Sylva (O/R) O/351
 Mr. S K Weeraratna (O/R) O/352
 Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne (O/R) O/353

Salary Revision

Salaries of all employees were revised upwards with effect from 1st September 2002.

On a request made by several employees to have E P F Benefit, the Council decided to start a scheme within the Society with effect from 01 January 2004 and this has been implemented.

Methsiri Cooray
 Hony. Jt. Secretary
 22. 02. 2004

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

The Library Committee comprised the following members and 09 meetings were held during this period.

Attendance	April 2003 – January 2004
* Rev. Fr. X N F Kurukulasuriya (Chairman)	4
Mr. Frederick Medis (Chairman)	1
Prof. T W Wikramanayake (Hony. Librarian/Convener)	8
Prof. R P T Jayawardana	4
Dr. W M K Wijetunge	4
Mrs. Kamalika S Peiris	8
Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya	9
Mr. K P Yasapala	2

* Resigned with effect from 24 November, 2003.

** Appointed in January, 2004.

*** Acted as Chairman during Rev. Fr. Kurukulasuriya's illness.

The utilization of the library facilities of the RASSL during the year was as follows:

Number of visits by members and others to the library	459
Number of books received as donations	30
Number of periodicals received as donations	74
Number of books purchased	01
Number of journals purchased	01
Number of books repaired by the binder	431

Rs. 350.00 + US\$ 95 were spent on the purchase of books and periodicals. The Library Committee gratefully records the donation of books (85) and periodicals (74) received during the year under review. (List of publications added to the Library during the year 2003 is attached).

The scanning of catalogue cards for computerizing the catalogue was started on 28. 10. 2003, using the scanner lent to the Library by Council Member Dr. Susantha Goonetilleka while he was out of the

country. Up to the subject no. 600 were computerized. The Council has decided to purchase a scanner for use by the Library. When one is made available the scanning will be continued. Dr. Goonetilleka's gesture is gratefully appreciated.

Dr. W M K Wijetunga and Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya marked books and journals "For Reference Only". The rules used by them when doing this are as follows:

1. All publications on Oriental Art and Archaeology kept in reserve so far to be continued to be in the Reserved List. All these are marked with a capital R on the book itself and also indicated in the Card Index.
2. All monthly Journals e.g. Ceylon Today, Tropical Agriculturist, and Christmas Numbers, Buddhist and similar publications.
3. All Reports of the National Museum, Archaeological Department and Cultural Ministry.
4. Encyclopedias, Bibliographies and similar publications
5. All books published before 1950.
6. All new publications above the value of Rs. 3,000/- acquired recently.
7. Manuscripts

The council started lending of books with effect from 01st January 2004. The following rules, drawn up by the Committee, for lending books are as follows:

- (a) Books or Journals borrowed should be returned to the Library within thirty days. A member could borrow the same book or journal for a further period of thirty days provided no other member has applied for the same book or journal.
- (b) A member who has retained a book or journal for more than thirty days without prior authority will be liable to a fine of Rs. 1/= per day per publication, for any additional days the books etc. have been retained by the member.

- (c) A member who has failed to return the publications borrowed for a continuous period of three months would be notified in writing by the Hony. Librarian to return the books Along with the fines due on them.
- (d) If, even after such notice, the publications are still not returned by the member, the Hony. Librarian should bring the matter to the notice of the Council without delay for appropriate action.
- (e) The Council shall, at its very next meeting, after such information is received, inquire into the circumstances of such delay and, if no satisfactory explanation is tendered, take action to suspend the defaulting member for a specific period.
- (f) If such member still fails to return the books etc., any action deemed fit, including expulsion from membership may be taken. However, if the publications are returned by this time, he shall yet be liable to a penalty that would be decided by the Council.”

It is hoped that all Library users will adhere to these rules, especially the rule requiring the return of the borrowed articles by a certain date.

Mr. Thusitha Geekiyanage, Office Peon attended the workshop conducted by the National Library and Documentations Services Board regarding binding and preservation of Library materials from 01. 12. 03-03. 12. 03.

The Hon. Librarian wishes to thank the Chairman and Council Members, for their cooperation during the year under reference. He also wishes to thank very warmly the assistance rendered by the members of the Library Committee at all times, and the assistance given by other members of the administrative staff.

Prof. T W Wikramanayake
Hony. Librarian

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

The Publications Committee held 09 meetings during the period April 2003 to February 2004. No meeting was held in the month of September, 2003. The composition of the Publication Committee was as follows.

Members	Attendance
Prof. Vini Vitharana (Chairman)	8
Dr. S G Samarasinghe	6
Mr. D G P Seneviratne	6
Dr. G S B Senanayake	5
Mr. R G G O Gunasekera	5
(Hony. Editor/Convener) from 13. 10. 2003	
Dr. Locana Gunaratne	4
Dr. Susantha Goonatilake	4
Mr. Asiff Hussein	4
(Hony. Editor/Convener) up to 04. 08. 2003	
Dr. K D Paranavitana	3
Dr. W M K Wijetunga	3
Dr. C G Uragoda	2
Prof. Kapila Abeyawansa	1

The main responsibility of the Publications Committee is the publication of the Journal. Eight articles were received for publication in the current Journal, which is New Series Volume XLVII. Five of them were selected for publication after receipt of the referees' reports. A referee's report on one of the articles is awaited. One paper was received for the section on Notes & Queries and it will be published in the Journal. A book has been sent for review.

On the recommendation of the Publications Committee, the Council approved organising a Seminar and publication of a Special Issue of the J/RASSL to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the reintroduction of Higher Ordination by Thai Buddhist monks during the reign of King Kirti Sri Rajasingha. The Seminar was held in 2003 and the papers presented were published as a Special Issue.

Arrangements are being made to issue two *Newsletters* one of which will be on the *Paanadura Vaadaya*.

The recommendation made to commemorate the 500 years of the arrival of the Portuguese and the beginning of the colonial influence in Sri Lanka that fall on year 2005 was accepted by the Council and a special sub-committee was appointed for its implementation.

The Administrative Secretary handled the sale of past publications of the Society on the price list approved by the Council and the total sales during the year have realized Rs 90,947.00.

R G G O Gunasekera
Hony. Editor and Secretary
of the Publications Committee

REPORT OF THE PALI ATTHAKATHA TRANSLATIONS COMMITTEE

The Pali Atthakatha Translation Committee comprised the following members and regular meetings were held during the period under review.

Dr. S G Samarasinghe - Chairman
 Prof. Kapila Abhayawansa - Secretary
 Prof. M B Ariyapala
 Dr. K D Parnavitana
 Prof. N A Jayawickrama
 Dr. K T W Sumanasuriya
 Dr. G S B Senanayake
 Dr. Abhayaratna Adhikari

The Committee has been established in terms of Section 3 of the RASSL Constitution and has undertaken the responsibility of translating and publishing the 48 *Atthakathas* of the *Tri Pitaka*. The Committee is very happy to report that up to the end of 2002 the following *Atthakathas* were published.

1. *Kankhavitarani*, 293 pages, Rs. 350 (translated by Prof. Kapila Abhayawansa)
2. *Dhammapadatthakatha*, Part 1 - 505 pages, Rs. 600 (translated by Ven. Welimitiyawe Dhammarakkhita)
3. *Theri Gatha*, 290 pages, Rs. 500 (translated by Dr. G S B Senanayake)
4. *Visuddhimagga*, 410 pages, Rs. 550 (translated by Mr. H W Dissanayake)

The activities completed in 2003 are as follows.

1. The publication of *Anguttara Nikaya Atthakatha*, Part 1-626 pages, Rs. 800
(Translated by Prof. Kapila Abeyawansa)
2. Completion of the translation and handing over the Manuscript of *Samanthapasadika Vinayatthakatha*, Part 1 to the printers
3. Completion of the translation of *Samanta Pasadika Vinayatthakatha*, Part 2
4. Completion of the translation of *Samanta Pasadika Vinayatthakatha*, Part 3
5. Completion of the translation of *Anguttara Nikaya Atthakatha*, Part 2

These manuscripts will be printed as soon as we receive the necessary funds from the Ministry of Buddha Sasana.

The printed copies are handed over to the Buddha Sasana Ministry keeping 10% with RASSL.

The Atthakatha Project

The Buddha Sasana Council is very keen that the RASSL should continue with this project and it's Chairperson, Her Excellency the President has directed that estimates for completing the project should be submitted to the Buddha Sasana Council.

Accordingly the Committee prepared the estimates and were first submitted to the RASSL Council which approved them after a lengthy discussion. The final draft was submitted to the Secretary, Ministry of Buddha Sasana on 10th November, 2003.

The breakdown of the Estimates is as follows

1. Estimates for the translation, editing and printing of ten *Atthakathas* during the year 2004 amounts to Rs. 4,405,300.00.
2. Estimates for the translation, editing and printing of the balance 31 *Atthakathas* within the subsequent four years amounts to Rs. 11,694,850.00

These estimates include provision for administrative work, postage, stationary and traveling, etc. so that no expenditure will be charged to the main RASSL funds.

Staff for Translation, Editing, etc.

The Committee had three meetings with the Secretary, Buddha Sasana Ministry attended by Ven. Ellalwala Medhananda as the representative of the Buddha Sasana Council.

The Secretary informed the meeting that the Buddha Sasana Council was very pleased about the project undertaken by the RASSL and described it as a project as magnanimous as the translation of the *Tri Pitaka* and informed that Her Excellency wanted a five year Programme with the Estimates to complete the project.

The Ministry Meeting discussed in detail the academic and the administrative inputs required immediately and decided to take action to recruit the Staff for Translation, Editing, etc. These decisions were submitted to the RASSL Council which approved the Atthakatha Committee recommendations and action was taken to advertise in the first instance the posts of translators.

The necessary advertisements were published very prominently in the *Silumina*, *Iriida*, *Divayina* and *Irida Lankadipa* on 11th September, 2003.

There were 143 applications and all of them were invited for a test held on 31st, October 1st, 2nd and 3rd November 2003. There were 21 candidates who had done well in the test.

They were interviewed and 12 were selected for appointment as translators. Letters of appointment will be issued to them as soon as we get the funds from the Buddha Sasana Ministry and commence activating the 2004 programme.

New Member

The Council has on the recommendation of the Committee approved the appointment of Prof. Ratna Wijetunga, retired Professor of Sinhala at the University of Sri Jaywardenepura.

Dr. S G Samarasinghe

Chairman

Pali Atthakatha Translation Committee

3rd February, 2004

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE COMMEMORATION OF THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF UPASAMPADA IN SRI LANKA

The year 2003 was the 250th commemorative year of the re-establishment of Higher Ordination for Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka by the Mahatheras from Thailand and the establishment of Siyam Maha Nikaya on 20 July 1753 in Kandy during the reign of King Kirti Sri Rajasingha (1747-82). This event could be considered as the culmination of the exchange of cultural heritage between two Asian nations with the intervention of a contemporary European power, namely, the Dutch.

As a result of this triangular relationship of three nations, namely, Sri Lanka, Thailand and The Netherlands, a considerable archive has been created in three languages and still preserved in three countries for further research. Taking into consideration this factor, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka (RASSL) unanimously decided to commemorate the event and bring to light

hitherto unknown facts on this subject by (a) organising an International Seminar on 21 July, 2003 and (b) publishing a Special Number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society on the same subject.

A Sub Committee appointed by the Council to implement the above two tasks comprised

Dr. K D Paranavitana (Chairman)

Dr. Mrs. Lorna Dewaraja

Dr. G S B Senanayaka

Dr. S G Samarasinghe.

The Sub Committee met at five occasions between January and July 2003 and made all arrangements for the Seminar and release of J/RASSL Special Number simultaneously on 21st July 2003 at the Auditorium of the Mahaweli Center.

Ven. Ambanwelle Pannasekara, Anunayaka thera of the Malwatte Chapter delivered an *Anushasana*. The following presentations were made at the Seminar. Prof. Mendis Rohanadeera on *the Earliest evidence of cultural relations between Sri Lanka and Dwaravati Kingdom in Thailand*, Dr. Lodewijk J Wagenaar on *Looking for Monks from Arakan: A Chapter of Kandyan Dutch relations in the 18th century* and Dr. Hema Gunatilleka on *Sri Lanka Cambodia relations with special reference to 14th and 18th centuries*.

The Minister of Buddhasasana, Justice and National Integration, Hon. W J M Lokubandara, Minister of Human Resources, Education and Cultural Affairs, Hon. Dr. Karunasena Kodituwakku and His Excellency Jerm Tivayanond, Ambassador for Thailand graced this occasion.

The Sub-committee appointed for the purpose took all possible steps to publish the Special Number of the J/RASSL with a comprehensive collection of articles with wider perspective extending up to 20th century together with copies of three original documents as Appendices. The articles by J. F. Dickson, P. E. Pieris and S. Paranavitana which were published earlier were reproduced in the Special Number as they are relevant to the subject. The Editorial

Committee is grateful to the contributors for their cooperation. The courtesy of the Director, National Archives and the financial contribution of Rs. 60,000/- made by the People's Bank for this project is gratefully acknowledged.

The Sub Committee also take this opportunity to thank Mr. B E Wijesuriya, Administrative Secretary and the staff of the RASSL Secretariat for their support in making this event a success.

Dr. K D Paranavitana
Chairman, Sub Committee

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE COMMEMORATION OF THE 160TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PANADURA VADAYA

On a request made by the Council for the Commemoration of the Great Debate of Panadura, the Council of the RASSL decided to organize a joint seminar on *Panadura Vadaya* in collaboration with the said organization. The Sub Committee appointed on this subject comprised

Prof. Vini Vitharana (Chairman)

Dr. K D Paranavitana (Convenor)

Dr. T L Gunaruwan

Prof. Tissa Kariyawasam

Prof. M U de Silva

Dr. Susantha Goonetilake

Dr. H N S Karunatilake

Dr. Locana Gunaratna

Mr. Muditha Karunamuni

Mrs. Kamalika S Peiris

The Sub Committee held five meetings between 1st September and 20th November, 2003. The roceedings of meetings were mainly focused on (a) One day Seminar (b) Issue of JRASSL Special number on the subject. Accordingly, the seminar was organized on 6th December, 2003 at the Auditorium of the Mahaweli Centre.

All specialists who had consented to present papers and Chairman of Sessions were present, and the members of the audience co-operated enthusiastically in the discussions. The Chief Guest, Dr. P R Anthonis, was present through-out the day's proceedings, himself participating in the discussions.

Special mention may be made of the Ven. Dr. Pallekande Ratanasara who, in the course of the discussions, made the house aware of a Russian publication (which he had discovered in a library in Moscow) that contains a contemporary report on the *Pânadurâ Vâda* - bit of information that the members of the audience had not heard of before. An idea was expressed that the learned venerable monk be requested to translate it for publication in a future number of the RAS Journal.

The following papers were presented at the Seminar.

1. Suppression of Buddhism and aspects of indigenous culture under the Portuguese and the Dutch
Dr. K D Parnavitana
2. Suppression of Buddhism and aspects of indigenous culture under the British
Prof. M U de Silva
3. The Panadura Vada: Content, Context and Style
Dr. K D G Wimalaratne
4. The Philosophy of Panadura Vada
Ven. Dr. Kahapola Sugatharatana Thera
5. The Panadura Vada: The local and foreign impact
Dr. H N S Karunatilake
6. The construction of the Panadura Vada as Buddhist Fundamentalism
Dr. Susantha Goonatilleka
7. The Panadura Vada: thr Buddhist, Christian and Islamic inter-face
Mrs. Kamalika S Peiris

Six papers that had reached the Organising Committee earlier were reproduced, and made available to the participants at Rs. 150/- per set. All sold out.

Lunch and tea were provided to the participants, 70 in number, at Rs.100/- per person.

The Council at its meeting held in December 2003 decided to publish all seven papers with a select bibliography as a Special number of the J/RASSL. All papers are now being edited and will be published before the end of 2004.

Prof. Vini Vitharana
Chairman / Sub Committee

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE COMMEMORATION OF THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF AMARAPURA NIKAYA

The Council of the RASSL decided to accede to the request made by the Amarapura Maha Sangha Sabha to make a joint Seminar and a publication to commemorate 200th anniversary of the establishment of Amarapura Nikaya. The Sub Committee appointed comprised

1. Dr. H N S Karunatilake (Chairman)
2. Dr. K D Paranavitana (Convenor)
3. Ven. Pundita Davuldena Gnanissara Maha Nayaka Thera
4. Ven. Kotugoda Dhammavasa Anu Nayaka Thera
5. Ven. Brahmanawatte Seevali Nayaka Thera
6. Ven. Gantune Assaji Nayaka Thera
7. Ven. Tapovanaye Suthadhara Thera
8. Ven. Dr. Pallekande Ratanasara Nayaka Thera
9. Ven. Ahungalle Wimalajeewatissa Nayaka Thera
10. Prof. Tissa Kariyawasam
11. Prof. Oliver Abenayake
12. Prof. M U de Silva

13. Prof. Vini Vitharana
14. Dr. Vibhavi Wijayasiriwardena
15. Dr. Praneeth Abhayasundara
16. Dr. K D G Wimalaratne
17. Prof. Kapila Abeywansa
18. Dr. Hema Goonetilleka

This Sub Committee held eight meetings between August 2003 and February 2004, identified the Chapters of the proposed publication and invited contributors to the respective chapters.

- | | | |
|-----------|---|----------------------------|
| Chapter I | Historical and cultural background to the formation of Amarapura Nikaya | - Dr. Hema Goonatilleka |
| II | Economic and social background to the formation of Amarapura Nikaya | - Prof. M U de Silva |
| III | Contemporary thought in search of Truth | - Prof. Oliver Abenayake |
| IV | Establishment of Amarapura Nikaya | - Dr. K D G Wimalaratne |
| V | Resistance movement within the local social fabric | - Prof. M U de Silva |
| VI | Christian missionary activities | - Dr. H N S Karunatilake |
| VII | Social and theoretical dimensions | - Prof. Kapila Abhayawansa |
| VIII | Impetus rendered to the advancement of the lay Buddhist movement | - Prof. Tissa Kariyawasam |

- IX Distinctive features
of the leadership of
Amarapura Nikaya - Dr. Vibhavi
Wijayasriwardana
- X Present-sub-sects - Ven. Gantune Assaji
Nayaka Thera
- XI. Literary Contributions
by Scholars - Dr. Praneeth
Abhayasundara
- XII. Classified Bibliography - Ven Tapovanaye
Suthadhara Thera

The Committee is expected to receive all contributions by 31 March 2004 and proceed with editing them. The identified chapters and their contributors are as follows.

Dr. K D Parnavitana

President, RASSL, Convener, 14 February, 2004

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Minutes of the 156th Annual General Meeting (158th Year)

- 01. Date, Time and Venue:** 29th March 2003 at 2.00 p.m.
Gamini Dissanayake Auditorium,
Mahaweli Centre
Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha,
Colombo 07.
- 02. Present:** Dr. S G Samarasinghe (President), Mr. Das Miriyagalla, Mr. R Wijedasa (Jt. Secretaries), Prof. M B Ariyapala, Dr. K T W Sumanasuriya, Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya, Dr. H N S Karunatilake, Mr. A D N Fernando, Mr. Nimal Sarathchandra, Kalasuri Wilfred M Gunasekara, Mrs. Ishvari Corea, Mr. M G Samaraweera, Mr. Frederick Medis, Mr. L K Karunaratne, Mr. D P W Karunatilake, Dr. K Arunasiri,

Mr. H L W Dissanayake, Dr. G S B Senanayake, Mr. H S Coperahewa, Mr. P Nagasinghe, Mr. R G G O Gunasekera, Mr. K P Yasapala, Prof. Rohini Paranavitana, Ms. Nirosha Paranavitana, Mr. Methsiri Cooray, Mr. D G P Seneviratne, Prof. Kapila Abhyawansa, Mr. L Sugunadasa, Dr. A Adikari, Prof. R P T Jayawardena, Prof. Kusuma Karunaratne, Rev. Fr. X N F Kurukulasuriya, Dr. K D Paranavitana, Mr. Hemantha Situge, Mr. Asiff Hussein, Mr. S J Munasinghe, Mr. B L Perera, Mr. G D Abeyratne, Prof. Vini Vitharana, Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris, Mr. N R M Daluwatta,

Dr. Susantha Goonetilake, Mrs. Ramani C W Perera, Dr. W M K Wijetunga, Mr. Desmond Fernando, Dr. Lochana Gunaratne, Mrs. A Wijrdeman Broese van Groenou, Prof. Nimal de Silva, Mr. L H R P Deraniyagala, Ven. Pundit Gammeddegoda Punnasara Thero, Dr. A D Soysa, Dr. L A D A Tissa Kumara, Mr. T B Weerakone, Mrs. C B Weerasinghe, Dr. C G Uragoda, Mr. K P Wimaladharma, Dr. Kingsley Wickremasuriya, Mr. Sam Wijesinhe, Dr. Ratna Wijetunga, Mr. R A Wijewansa, Prof. T W Wikremanayake, Mr. C R Withanachchi, Mr. W G Weerawardene, Mr. C Wellappili, Prof. Mrs. D M Wickremasinghe, Mrs. Uda Hettige Mr. B A Hulangamuwa, Dr. Mrs. L S Dewaraja, Mrs. P B Edirisinghe, Mr. Anton Fernando Dr. Hema Goonetilake, Prof. Geri Jayasekera, Mr. R G Kudaliyange, Mr. A Lagamuwa, Mr. P Manamperi, Prof. Mrs. T G I Munasinghe, Mr. S W Nanayakkara, Mr. J P Obeysekera, Mr. U Pathirana, Dr. A S W Tammita Delgoda, Mr. D L U P S Siriwardene.

03. Calling of the Meeting to Order

The Meeting was called to order by the President with 74 members being present.

04. Notice of the Annual General Meeting

The President called on the Hony. Jt. Secretary to read the Notice Convening the Meeting who duly read it.

05. Welcome Address

The President welcoming the members present at the AGM said

the main activities handled by the Society were covered in the Annual Report (AR) which had been printed and circulated. However, he wished to make some comments. The monthly lecture series was conducted as usual throughout the year and they were thought provoking and well researched. The discussions after the lectures were profitable. As regards the library 8000 volumes have been properly catalogued and data updated. Special thanks are due to Hony. Librarian for her efforts in volunteering to employ a specialist at the cost of Rs. 8000/- per month from her own funds for three months to complete the task in time. The Publications Committee chaired by Dr. K D Parnavitana and with the editorship of Mr. D G P Seneviratne was able to release the J/RASSL XLVI. The *Atthakatha* Translations Committee was rejuvenated and five *attakathas*, namely, i. *Kankhavitarani*, ii. *Dhammapadatthakatha*, iii. *Therigatha*, iv. *Visuddhimagga* and v. *Anguttara Nikaya* were translated and published. A project proposal has been prepared to accelerate translations of 50 volumes of *Atthakatha*. The Toponymy Committee chaired by Mr. Frederick Medis continued its useful work. So did the Committee on the History of the Written Word with the chairmanship of Dr. Mrs. Malini Dias. An effort has to be made to find a sponsor for the proposed Exhibition. One of the Past Presidents, Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya published a research work on *Ambakke Devalaya*. Action has been initiated by the Council on a proposal made by Dr. Lorna Dewaraja to commemorate 250th anniversary of the re-establishment of Buddhist Higher Ordination and Thai-Sri Lanka Historical Relations by a sub-committee chaired by Dr. K D Parnavitana. He also thanked all office bearers, the Council and the staff of the Secretariat for their support. He stressed the need of being more research oriented in pursuing the objectives of the Society.

06. Condolences

The Hony. Jt. Secretary announced the deaths of the following members as per information received at the RASSL Secretariat.

1. Mr. H M Gunasekera
2. Mrs. A L Tammita
3. Mr. K D W Ratnayake
4. Mr. Palitha Weeraman
5. Mr. W B Marcus Fernando
6. Dr. Mrs. Martha E Pricket Fernando
7. Mr. Sydney C Perera
8. Mr. I M G A Iriyagolla
9. Mr. E M C Amunugama
10. Mr. Eardley Gunawardene

The house observed two minutes silence in honour of the deceased members.

07. Excuses

Rev. Robert Luckhart, Mr. D S D P R Senanayake, Pundit William Alwis, Mr. Ananda Chittambalam, Lt. Com. S Devendra, Mr. Jayantha Aravinda, Prof. A S Kulasuriya and Mr. H W Dissanayake.

08. Confirmation of the Minutes of the AGM of the 158th Year

The Minutes of the AGM of the 158th year were confirmed proposed by Mr. Desmond Fernando and seconded by Mr. Sam Wijesinha.

09. Business Arising from the Minutes

Mr. A D N Fernando stated that page 4, item 7, Library Committee completed the stock taking but errors still exist and the valuation of books has not been done.

On item 15 Mr. A D N Fernando stated that there is a problem with the constitution without the Board of Trustees. The land has been gifted to the RASSL at the time of President R Premadasa and the order to that effect was issued at the time of President J R Jayewardene. If the land belongs to the Society the buildings in that land automatically belong to the Society which is a fact accepted in law.

Page 34, item 08. Annual Report, Dr. H N S Karunatilake stated that he made a complaint to the President inquiring why he was

not invited for any Council Meetings and questioned what constitution is in practice now. In the Administration Report his name is listed under Past Presidents whereas in the *Newsletter* vol. 2 no. 4 it has been left out.

The President replied that the matter was taken up at a couple of Council Meetings and he had tabled a Council Paper on this matter seeking clarification or interpretation as to who is a Past President. As the President he could not take a decision alone, a committee was appointed to look into the matter. This was recorded in the Council Minutes of May 28th, 2002 in which it was decided to follow the provisions of the 1998 Constitution and section 4.1 of the Act of Incorporation and to invite both Dr. Karunatilake and Mr. G P S H de Silva to the Council Meetings as Past presidents.

Prof. M B Ariyapala said that this issue of Past Presidents came up after Prof. T Nadaraja resigned and a committee was appointed to decide whether he belongs to the category of Past Presidents. The decision was that as he did not serve the full term and cannot be considered as a Past President. Prof. Ariyapala sought legal opinion on this matter and the opinion he received was that those who resigned half way cannot be considered as Past Presidents.

Dr. Susantha Goonetilake inquired whether the follow-up action with regard to item 16 has been taken, i.e. quarterly General Meetings. The President said that the Council requested Mr. A P S Galapatha who had drawn attention to the matter to draw up items for discussion; Mr. Galapatha took the view that it was the responsibility of the Council to do that.

10. Annual Report of the Council for 2002

The Annual Report of the Council for 2002 (158th Year) was accepted.

11. Audited Statement of Accounts for 2002

Mr. Methsiri Cooray wished to have a clarification on telephone expenses recorded in the Audited Statement (Rs. 64,684.78)

whether it contains private calls. Mr. Desmond Fernando said that the details of telephone calls could be obtained from Sri Lanka Telecom. Mr. A D N Fernando said that a register of telephone calls with details should be maintained. Hony. Treasurer assured that he would obtain particulars of the phone calls made and take preventive measures to control it in the future.

Subject to above, the Audited Statement of Accounts was adopted proposed by Mr. Desmond Fernando and seconded by Mr. A D N Fernando.

12. Amendment to the RASSL Act

Prof. M B Ariyapala explained at length the history of amendments to the current RASSL Constitution. He pointed out that the President and the Council has challenged the supremacy of the Society. The Council has not carried out the directives of the SGM held on 24th October, 1998 at which a new constitution was unanimously adopted. It was suggested that para 4.1 of the Act of Incorporation should be amended. We did nothing about it for last five years. First Mr. G P S H de Silva tried to do it but resigned prematurely. Then Dr. H N S Karunatilake succeeded him for the rest of his tenure. Later, Dr. S G Samarasinghe as the President appointed a committee. They prepared a new constitution which was totally rejected at a General Meeting. The other suggestion was to amend the Act in keeping with the 1998 constitution. That was also lost. He proposed that a committee be appointed to amend the Act. A committee was appointed and he was asked to go ahead with the matter. As per the committee decision he had contacted a parliamentarian who wanted a draft amendment in English, Sinhala and Tamil. The draft was prepared and translated and there were no Council meeting held in between and therefore he had to give it to the parliamentary committee. The final copy was received by him to advertise in the newspapers which he did and paid the bill on behalf of the Society. A question was raised as to why the notice was not produced to the Council for approval. There were three clauses that were to be added to it.

The notices were signed by Mr. Jayantha Jayaweera (MP). The Council took serious action against him. Council stopped the payment. The Vice President said that Prof. M B Ariyapala himself had directly communicated with the parliamentarian. The Hony. Treasurer promised to pay but the money was not given. We have delayed this matter by 5 years. The Constitution says that half yearly meetings should be held. The Council has no powers to ignore the Constitution.

Mrs. Kamalika Pieris as an observation said that an amendment is necessary to get rid of the Past Presidents and to have the immediate Past President in or to have a President Elect years in order to complete the unfinished business of the previous Council.

13. Publications

Mr. Gamini Seneviratne said that Prof. Ariyapala and Mr. A D N Fernando had raised pertinent issues regarding the manner in which the Council had functioned in the last two years. It had not carried out the decisions of the AGM or even its own decisions. The manner in which the proceedings of the Council were conducted as well as the manner in which they were recorded has been very unsatisfactory. He pointed out that in a learned society matters must be discussed in an open and disciplined manner and the reasons for decisions taken by the Council set out clearly. The proceedings of the Publications Committee, of which he was, as the Hony. Editor of the Society, convenor ex-officio, had been similarly marred. Some of its members, including its Chairman, had taken objection to its proceedings being recorded accurately, and resorted to taking decisions by a show of hands. That was patently a travesty of how academic matters should be conducted. That Committee had, quite illegally, converted itself into some kind of 'editorial board'. The vanity behind that action could be seen in the title page and the page overleaf in which the names of the members of the Committee are prominently displayed – a first in any learned journal. Book reviews requested of two leading Sri Lankan academics, Prof. Merlin Pieris and Prof. Gananath

Obeyesekere, which they had sent in, had not been carried on the ground that the books so referred to them had been published more than two years earlier. Mr. Seneviratne said that He had pointed out that the credibility of the RASSL was in question. The quality of some of the articles in the Journal was clearly not up to standard. – but included on ‘a show of hands’! The image of the Society is affected by the quality of the Journal and by how articles, notes, book reviews come to be selected.

Mr. Seneviratne reported these goings on to Council and requested that the PC be reconstituted. The Council referred the matter to Mr. Sam Wijesinha for report, - but failed to provide Mr. Wijesinha with the secretarial support he required.

14. Resolutions

Resolution 1 re the **Library** proposed by Lt. Com. S Devendra and seconded by Mr. Ishvari Corea was taken up for discussion.

It is hereby resolved that the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka will be a Reference Library from this day onwards and that no books will be lent out to any one under any circumstances. Nothing in the Constitution or Rules of the Society shall be construed as negating this Resolution in any way.

Mrs. Ishvari Corea moved the resolution on behalf of Lt. Com. S Devendra. Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya said that this resolution is *ultra vires* to the provisions of the RASSL Constitution and the resolution should be presented by the proposer himself, the seconder has no powers to present it. The President ruled out the objection and allowed Mrs. Corea to proceed with the presentation of the resolution.

Mrs. Corea and gave several reasons for the need of safeguarding the Society’s great asset, the library, by adopting this resolution. She further said “For several years members have been complaining that books were getting lost. There was no way of checking whether this was true. For this it was necessary to compare the books held against the books shown in the

Accession Register. This year the job was completed. There are 8000 books in stock and 362 missing. The unfortunate part is that not a single book has been removed from the Accession Register for the last 50 odd years. Therefore these 362 books may have been lost anywhere between 1950 and this year. We were able to locate only seven books against names of borrowers. Some time ago a large number of members were deprived of membership for non-return of books. Even then, unreturned books continued to be shown in the Accession Registers as stock. My position is that the RASSL is not administratively a strong organization, with no tradition of taking over and handing over duties. The books and records have not been carefully looked after. During the last two years, lending was stopped to carry out a stock taking. As for periodicals, there is no list even to compare with. There were no catalogue cards as well. This month we completed that job also. There are 10,770 journals and periodicals all catalogued. This work has been done with great care and it has been recommended that a proper handing over of stocks and records be completed by the outgoing Hony. Librarian and ensure continuity by her successor.”

Accordingly, this resolution is being moved to keep the library stocks safe from a few people for the benefit of the membership of today and future.

Mr. A D N Fernando said that some 10 years ago he reported that books have been lost. As regards to journals if one is lost the whole series is of no use. He fully agreed with the resolution. Mr. Desmond Fernando also expressed that no lending is possible and to make all books categorized as reference books.

The President pointed out if we pass this resolution we will have to amend the Act of Incorporation and the RASSL Constitution as well. Therefore he wished to put the resolution to the house for a decision and suggested to make it reference and lending both. This was agreed to and requested the next Library Committee to categorize accordingly and stick to the rules of the Constitution.

The resolution was not carried.

Resolution 2 re Office Bearers proposed by Prof. M B Ariyapala and seconded by Mr. S J Munasinghe was taken up for discussion.

I wish to submit the following amendment to the RASSL Constitution as article 26 clause (B). "All other office bearers should have been members of the Society at least for three years from the date of enrolment or two years as members of the Council."

The Resolution was adopted.

Resolution 3 proposed by Dr. H N S Karunatilake and seconded by Prof. M B Ariyapala was taken up for discussion.

"The Executive Council of the Royal Asiatic Society shall not make any Rules, Regulations and take decisions that are contrary to the provisions in the Constitution of the Society."

The Resolution was adopted.

Resolution 4 proposed by Mr. A P S Galapata and seconded by Mr. W G Weerawardane lapsed in the absence of the proposer.

15. Election of President

The president announced that two nominations, viz, Dr. H N S Karunatilake and Dr. K D Paranavitana, for the post of President have been accepted and an election has to be conducted. He invited Mrs. Ishvari Corea and Rev. Fr. X N F Kurukulasuriya to conduct the election. The members present at the auditorium were registered and checked at the entrance, therefore a head count was taken. Seventy seven (77) members were present. The polling was conducted and after the count, Rev. Fr. Kurukulasuriya handed over the results to the President Dr. S G Samarasinghe. The result was announced as follows:

Dr. K D Paranavitana	51
Dr. H N S Karunatilake	21
Spoiled votes	02
Total voted	74

The President declared that Dr. K D Parnavitana has been elected president of the RASSL for the next term of two years.

16. President Elect Takes the Chair

The Elected President took the Chair and thanked the members for the confidence placed on him. He said the he is fully aware that the task ahead is difficult and try his best to contribute to achieve the objectives of the Society to the best of his ability. He conducted the meeting here onwards.

17. Election of Office Bearers

Vice Presidents (Two Posts)

The President announced that there are two posts of Vice President. Rev. Fr. X N F Kurukulasuriya has been nominated to one post and the other is vacant. He called for nominations from the house for the vacant post and the following nominations were received.

1. Mr. Frederick Medis Proposed by Prof. Kusuma Karunaratne
Seconded by Mr. R Wijedasa
2. Prof. Vini Vitharana Proposed by Dr. G S B Senanayaka
Seconded by Dr. K Arunasiri

Having referred to the relevant clauses in the RASSL Constitution for the post of Vice President it was found that both nominations are in order. A vote was taken by show of hands having Rev. Fr. X N F Kurukulasuriya as the referee. The result was as follows:

Prof. Vini Vitharana	38
Mr. Frederick Medis	07

The President declared that Prof. Vini Vitharana elected Vice President.

Hony. Jt. Secretaries (Two Posts)

The name of Mr. Hemantha Situge has been nominated to one post and the other was vacant. The President called nominations from the house for the vacant post. Accordingly following names were proposed.

1. Mr. Methsiri Cooray Proposed by Mr. N R M Daluwatta
Seconded by Mr. Desmond Fernando

At this stage of the meeting Mr. Hemantha Situge withdrew his nomination. The name of Dr. G S B Senanayaka was proposed by Mr. Situge and seconded by Mr. Asiff Hussein. Dr. G S B Senanayake also withdrew. The President called for further nomination.

2. Mr. Gamini Seneviratne Proposed by Mr. B L Perera
Seconded by Mr. A D N Fernando

The president declared that Mr. Methsiri Cooray and Mr. Gamini Seneviratne are elected Jt. Secretaries.

Hony. Treasurer (One Post)

The President declared that in the absence of any other nominations Dr. K Arunasiri was elected to the post of Hony. Treasurer proposed by Dr. S G Samarasinghe and seconded by Prof. Rohini Paranavitana.

Hony. Editor (One Post)

The President declared that in the absence of any other nomination Mr. Asiff Hussein was elected to the post of Hony. Editor proposed by Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya and seconded by Dr. K D Paranavitana.

Hony. Librarian (One Post)

The President declared that in the absence of any other nomination Prof. T W Wikramakayake was elected the post of Hony. Librarian proposed by Desmond Fernando and seconded by Mr. A D N Fernando.

18. Election of Council Members (Fourteen Posts)

Mssrs. Jayantha Aravinda, A P S Galapatha and Ashley de Vos were absent and therefore their nominations were deemed to have lapsed. Mr. Methsiri Cooray has been elected to the post of Hony. Jt. Secretary. Accordingly, four new nominations were called from the house. The President declared that the following were elected as the members of the Council.

A. Category - Over three years

1. Mr. Kamalika S Pieris
2. Mr. N R M Daluwatta
3. Dr. Susantha Goonatilleka
4. Prof. R P Tissa Jayewardena
5. Prof. Kapila Abeywansa
6. Kalasuri Wilfred M Gunasekara
7. Mrs. Ramani C W D Perera
8. Dr. H N S Karunatilake
9. Mr. M G Samaraweera
10. Dr. W M K Wijetunga
11. Mr. Desmond Fernando
12. Dr. G S B Senanayaka

B. Category - below three years

13. Dr. Lochana Gunaratne
14. Mr. N Y Yasapala

19. Election of Auditor

Messers Wickramasinghe Dayananda & Co., Chartered Accountants were elected auditors Proposed by Mr. Desmond Fernando and Seconded by Mr. Methsiri Cooray.

20. Vote of thanks

The vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. Frederick Medis.

Methsiri Cooray

D G P Seneviratne

Hony. Jt. Secretaries

2003. 01 12

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the **Special General Meeting** held on 23rd August 2003 at 3.00 p.m. at the Auditorium of the Mahaweli Centre, 96, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo Colombo 07.

01. Members Present: Dr. H S S Nissanka, Mr. D G A Perera, Mr. A P S Galapata, Prof. Rohini Paranavitana, Mr. J A Perera, Dr. K D Paranavitana, Mr. Methsiri Cooray, Dr. H N S Karunatilake, Mr. I A Gunasekera, Dr. Susantha Goonetilleka, Mrs. K S C Wijesekera, Dr. Hema Goonetilleka, Mr. N R M Daluwatte, Mr. V R K de Silva, Mr. W A D I Wisumperuma, Dr. K Arunasiri, Mr. Frederick Medis, Mr. M G Samaraweera, Dr. R L Jayakody, Lt. Com. S Devendra, Prof. B Hewavitharana, Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya, Mr. A Denis N Fernando, Mr. Asiff Hussein, Mr. T G Perera, Mrs. Kamalika S Peiris, Mr. M H V Cooray, Dr. G S B Senanayake, Dr. S G Samarasinghe, Mr. S Egalahewa, Prof. R P T Jayawardena, Ven. Dr. Medagoda Sumanatissa, Prof. Russel Bowden, Mrs. R C W D Perera, Mr. Sam S Wijesinha, Mr. D G P Seneviratne, Dr. Kingsley Wickremasuriya, Mr. D L. U P S Siriwardane, Mr. C Dahanayake, Mr. H F Rupesinghe, Prof. Vini Vitharana, Dr. P G Punchihewa, Mr. K P Yasapala, Mr. V R Nanayakkara, Mr. G D Abhayarathna, Dr. L P Mendis, Dr. H S R Wijemanne, Mr. Ravi Deraniyagala, Dr. K D G Wimalaratne, Prof. Mendis Rohandeera, Dr. C G Uragoda, Prof. A S Kulasuriya, Mr. G G H G Gunawardane, Dr. K Locana Gunaratna, Mr. Neil Dias, Ms. Somi Sekerama, Mr. H V Situge.

02. Excuses: Rev. Robert Lukhart, Mr. K N V Syone, Mr. Kaushi Udeshi and Mr. H D Ratnasuriya.

03. Announcement: The President, Dr. K D Paranavitana took the Chair and announced that the non-members and those who have not paid subscription for the current year to leave the auditorium. Having checked the quorum and in the absence of any objections he called the meeting to order.

04. Notice Convening the Meeting: The Hony. Joint Secretary, Mr. Methsiri Cooray read the notice convening the Special General Meeting.

05. Preliminaries: The attention of the members was drawn by the President to sections of the RASSL constitution relating to the Special General Meeting and the position of Hony. Editor. Simultaneously he placed the Council resolution before the house for discussion. He also appealed the membership present to make their submissions and arguments in brief and avoid cross talk in order to save time.

06. RESOLUTION

The Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, resolves, that, as per the minutes of the Council meeting held on 30th June 2003, that the matter mentioned below, viz “un/suitability of The Editor” arising out of a report of the Publications Committee meeting held on 26. 05. 2003 given below, be submitted to the General body at a Special General Meeting.

“In course of the deliberations, the following factors were taken into consideration,

- i. that the election of Mr. Hussein to the post of Editor is in order vis-à-vis the Society’s Constitution,
- ii. that he is a journalist attached to a local English language news-paper, and is neither an accepted scholar nor a professional academic worthy of being the Editor of a scholarly journal such as that of the RAS,
- iii. that he was a student following a Diploma Course in Journalism at the Open University, and has not obtained even a First Degree.

“The membership, therefore, came to general agreement that Mr. Hussein’ election to the above post is morally not justifiable (though regular in any other way), and that the ensuing situation is inconsistent with the prestige that this Society’s Journal should continue to maintain.

- “The members, hence, decided to recommend to the Council
- i. that the Editor be requested to send in his resignation
 - ii. that he be granted membership in the council so that he (with his appreciable command of the English language) may continue to edit the Society’s ‘Newsletter’ - a function that he has been performing so far, satisfactorily
 - iii. that another member of the Publications Committee be appointed to the post of Editor.”

Methsiri Cooray

Hony. Jt. Secretary

07. Discussion: Mr. N R M Daluwatta making an objection stated that the resolution was not in order as there is no proposer and seconder.

Mr. Denis N Fernando raising a point of order asked on what basis this resolution was brought before the house.

Mr. Ravi Deraniyagala wished to know whether this resolution was presented to the elected Council for the first instance and if so did the Council vote to present it to this General Meeting. The President said the Council decided to present this to the General Meeting for a decision.

Mrs. Kamalika Pieris stated that Mr. Asiff Hussein’s appointment as Hony. Editor is constitutionally correct. However, the Council was in complete agreement that the removal of the Hony. Editor could only be done at a Special General Meeting. The Council had no intention whatsoever to humiliate him. That is the reason why this resolution was brought before the General Membership.

Lt. Com. S Devendra said that the resolution should be presented as worded by the Council.

Dr. Susantha Goonatilleka outlined the chain of events that led to summon this meeting. At the very first meeting of the Council he heard from Mr Hussein that he was an undergraduate

student of the Open University and hence not suitable to be the Editor of the JRASSL. He questioned, for example, if his Professors were to contribute an article to the JRASSL, he would be submitting it to a Journal of which their pupil is the Editor. He said that an undergraduate is not at all suitable to be the Editor of a reputed academic Journal like the JRASSL.

Mr. Sam Wijesinha questioned how is it possible to grant membership of the Council without a member being elected at a general meeting. If the person is not fit enough to be the editor of the Journal how could he fit enough to be the editor of the Newsletter. Firstly, if the resolution is put forward to debate it must be in the form of a resolution, whereas the one tabled is not in the form of a resolution. Secondly, the argument relating to Mr. Hussein's educational qualifications, he said, that the possession of a degree is not a valued argument, as there have been several editors of newspapers who did not have a degree.

Mrs. Kamalika Pieris while thanking Mr. Wijesinha for his views said at the time of the last AGM, she too knew that Mr. Hussein was not the best person for the post of Editor. However, even at a later stage it is our duty to rectify the mistake by following proper procedure.

Dr. K D G Wimalaratne drew the attention of the House to section 31(d), (e) and section 40 (a) of the Constitution and said that the meeting has been properly convened and if the Constitution is silent on the removal or appointment of a member, the Council has the authority to interpret the Constitution and take appropriate action.

Prof. Vini Vitharana speaking as the Chairman of the Publications Committee recounted the events leading to the summoning of this burdensome meeting including withdrawing his nomination for that post. He stated that Mr. Hussein's position as editor is constitutionally correct. He said that Mr. Hussein has the right as any other member to be appointed as the Editor. The decision of the Publications Committee was to invite him to resign in order to maintain the honour, prestige

and the dignity of the RASSL which is an intellectual body. There was a valid objection raised by a member to be considered by the Committee. Subsequently, we all sat in Council and decided that a SGM ought to be summoned to discuss this. That is the meeting we are holding now, he further said.

Dr. Goonatileka stated that the RASSL constitution is under an Act of Parliament Clause 5 (b) of which says that there shall be a register of members where the educational and professional qualifications including degrees of the members are mentioned. This indicates that the value of academic qualifications is recognized. Secondly, it also authorizes the General Body to make rules and regulations as a corporate body including expulsions. He reiterated that the academic journals are different from newspapers and there is a crucial difference between the two situations.

Mr. D G P Seneviratne, Hony. Jt. Secy., expressing his views as a member of the society said that Mr. Wijesinha had misdirected himself in equating the editing of an academic journal with putting together a newsletter.

He said further that as Dr. Goonatileka and Dr. Wimalaratne had pointed out the by-laws provided for by the Act (or the Constitution) are open to the Council to interpret. It is time now that the qualifications of the Editor should be scrutinized before the nominations are accepted. It was only after the last AGM it was realised that Mr. Hussein did not have the background to hold an office of this kind, and his conduct has underlined that fact. Since he has refused to resign and the Council did not consider itself empowered to take corrective action itself, the Council decided to place the matter before the General Body.

Hony. Jt. Secretary, Mr. Methsiri Cooray explained that the Special General Meeting had been properly convened by the Council under section 40 (a) of the Constitution, valid notice has been given and the resolution has been posted to the membership of the Society under section 41(f).

Accordingly, the Council has acted in a most democratic manner. Dr. Wimalaratne stated that Council has correctly acted under section 40 (a) therefore the meeting is in order and the house can go ahead with the resolution.

Mr. D G Perera stated that there is a serious issue before us. That is why this meeting has been summoned. Mr. Hussein technically has every right to be the Editor, but the question is whether is it in the interest of the Society to do so. Are we going to take the risk by this august Society to make an Editor who had attacked the Sacred Tooth Relic and the Dalada Maligawa through his writings. He said that we don't want to have a resolution of this nature if Mr. Hussein bowed out gracefully for us to honour him. Dr. Karunatileke pointed out that the Chairman of Lake House had made a public apology to the country for Mr. Hussein's article, and this alone invalidates his suitability to hold any office at the RASSL.

Lt. Com. S Devendra, speaking of the Constitution Part IV section 27 (b) specifies that the editor elected shall remain in the position for a period of two years. Therefore we have no right to getting rid of him. There is a means of getting rid of somebody of the RASSL. That is in the RASSL Act of Incorporation 6 (i) by taking majority votes not less than two thirds of its members present. If we want him out there is a way. Let's follow that way. From 1856 to 1985 there was no Editor for the Journal. The Secretary was the editor of the Journal. Mr. Sittampalam who was a proctor without any academic qualification did so. None of these instances the academic requirements have ever been made a requirement.

At this stage of the meeting the President tabled a letter received from Prof. T W Wikramanayake Hony. Librarian, opposing the resolution of removing Mr. Hussain from the post of Editor.

- 08. Acceptance of the Resolution to be adopted:** The President summarizing the arguments of the speakers and came to the conclusion that (a) the current SGM has been convened properly

and the proceedings were in order and (b) the next question is whether the house should consider this resolution or not.

Mr. Ravi Deraniyagala, having listened to the discussion stated firstly that the Council had decided on this resolution and put it to the SGM, secondly, the Council had worded it and voted to be placed before the SGM.

Dr. S G Samarasinghe stated that now we have come to a position now whether this resolution *per se* should be taken up or not and requested to put to vote.

After much discussion President placed the resolution before the house to vote whether it be taken up as a resolution or not. The voting will be done by a secret ballot and invited house to propose two members to conduct election. Dr. Karunatilake proposed the name of Prof. B Hewavitharana and Mr. Frederick Medis for the purpose. The ballot papers were distributed requesting members present to tick or cross before the cage "yes" or "no". After counting the votes Prof. B Hewavitharana declared that out of 54 ballot papers issued 53 had been marked and returned. That means one vote has not been cast. Out of the 53, 'Yes' = 34 and 'No' = 19.

09. Amendment

Since the house had so voted in favour of placing the resolution before it, the President declared that the resolution be voted on by a show of hands. Dr. H N S Karunatilake proposed an amendment to the resolution that "the current editor of the Royal Asiatic Society be removed from his post forthwith." Mr. Methsiri Coorey seconded the amendment.

At this stage of the meeting Mr. Denis N Fernando and Mr. Asiff Hussein walked out of the meeting.

Mr. Asiff Hussein who returned to the meeting with Mr. Denis N Fernando stated that "This proposed resolution is invalid because it was not sent to the membership for consideration. Therefore, you cannot go ahead with it. If the house goes ahead with it I intend to take legal action."

The President tabled and read out a letter given to him that afternoon by Mr. Asiff Hussein through his lawyer Mr. Elmore M Perera dated 22. 8. 2003 addressed to Hony. Jt. Secretary Mr. Methsiri Cooray, with copies to the President, RASSL and Dr. Susantha Goonatileka.

Several speakers stated that Mr. Asiff Hussein could certainly make use of any legal redress or any such legal action. He as a citizen has every right to do so and welcomed to go ahead with it.

Dr. Susantha Goonatileka wished to record his letter dated on June 06th which had been distributed among the members of the Council.

The President also tabled a letter sent by Mr. Denis N Fernando dated 25. 09. 2003 and has been circulated addressed to RASSL President, Council Members and Members of the Society.

10. Resolution put to the vote

The same two members, Prof. Hewawitharana and Mr. Medis were appointed to count the votes. Mr. Methsiri Cooray read out the amendment to the effect "Mr. Asiff Hussein, the Hony. Editor of the RASSL be removed from the post of Hony. Editor of the RASSL, forthwith". The Resolution, incorporating the amendment proposed was put to the house.

At this stage of the meeting, Mr. Denis N Fernando and Mr. Asiff Hussein walked out of the meeting and did not return.

The result was 34 for and 3 against with 6 abstentions. The President declared that the resolution together with the amendment was adopted by the House.

The President declared the meeting concluded.

Methsiri Cooray
D. G. P. Seneviratne
Hony. Jt. Secretaries

Dr. K. D. Paranavitana
President
16 September 2003

Abstracts of Minutes of Council Meetings 2003/2004 159th Year

159-01 – 28th April 2003

Present: 24 Council Members; Excuses: 2; Absent: 2

The President warmly welcomed the new Council Members.

The President requested the new Council Members to introduce themselves.

Dr. S. Goonetilake suggested that the re elected Council Members also should introduce themselves.

The President while addressing the Council stressed, the following points.

- i. Importance of work according to a set Programme/Calendar of events
- ii. Importance of attending all Council meetings/Standing Committee Meetings
Ad hoc Committee Meetings and Lecture Meetings
- iii. Give more authority to Standing Committees.
- iv. Request Hony. Secretaries to confine the minutes only to the decisions taken
- v. Sharing duties of Secretaries

The President tabled the Council Paper No. 1/2003 dated 28/04/2003 and it was decided to implement the proposals contained therein by the relevant sub committees.

The minutes of the meeting dated 2003-02-24 were adopted, proposed by Mr. Daluwatta and seconded by Dr. Arunasiri, subject to the following amendment:

Regarding 158-11-05, Mr. Seneviratne pointed out that “the inquiry by Mr. Sam Wijesinha” was not “on the work of the Editor” but on the Editor’s recommendation to the Council that the Publications Committee be reconstituted for the reasons that he had outlined in his memorandum to the Council.

Regarding 158-11-05 Mr. A.D.N. Fernando pointed out that it is the Editor's name that should appear on the title page, but in this case (JRASSL Volume XLVI) the Publications Committee has inserted the names of its members on that page as well as on the reverse of that page!

Dr. Susantha Goonetilake said that he had just discovered that Mr. Asiff Hussein is a student, that he does not have even a basic degree. He said that there should be minimum qualifications for such a position if the Journal and the RAS are to be credible. Mr. A.D.N. Fernando said that there should be a nominations committee that would examine the credentials of those whose names are put up for election to the Council and Dr. H.N.S. Karunatilake said that the CV of candidates should be circulated to the Council beforehand. Fr. Kurukulasuriya suggested that these matters be taken up by the Publications Committee and the Finance and Administration Committee. It was decided that this be done.

Library Committee

Dr. Karunatilake said that the Library Committee should not procrastinate in taking action on this matter and he asked that the 24 defaulters referred to be listed together with the titles of the missing books.

Publications Committee

Mr. Seneviratne referred to the comments he made at the AGM on the manner in which the previous Publications Committee had acted, and that he would take up these matters with the new Committee.

Referring to the last AGM Mr. A. D. N. Fernando said that RAS had been present and that the elections may have been "rigged".

The Atthakatha Committee

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe reported that the Buddha Sasana Ministry has asked for a concrete programme of work in order to consider the request made for more money and other resources. He said that a meeting was scheduled for 2003-05-06 and he would report the outcome at the next Council meeting.

The reports of the following sub committees were tabled.

1. The Finance and Administration Committee Meeting held on 12/03/2003.
2. The Library Committee Meeting held on 12/03/2003.

Any other business

Dr. Karunatilake raised the question of Past Presidents being invited to serve on the Council. Dr. Samarasinghe read out a Council paper of 2002-05-13 on the subject. Mr. Desmond Fernando said that, technically, every past president even if he had served only for a day should be so recognized. This was agreed to.

Standing Committees

The following were nominated to serve on the Standing Committees

Finance and Administration Committee

Dr. K.D. Paranavitana (Chairman), Dr. K. Arunasiri, Dr. H.N.S. Karunatilake, Prof. M.B. Ariyapala, Mr. Desmons Fernando, Mr. N.R.M. Daluwatta, Mr. M.G. Samaraweera, Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekera, Mrs. Ramani C.W.D. Perera, Mr. Methsiri Cooray (Convenor).

Library Committee

Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. F. Kurukulasuriya (Chairman), Ms. Kamalika S. Pieris, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Mr. K.P. Yasapala, Prof. R.P. Tissa Jayawardena, Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake (Convenor).

Publications Committee

Prof. Vini Vitharana (Chairman), Dr. C.G. Uragoda, Mr. D.G. P. Seneviratne, Dr. G.S.B. Senanayake, Prof. Kapila Abhayawansa, Dr. Susantha Goonetilake, Dr. K. Locana Gunaratna, Dr. W.M.K. Wijetunge, Mr. Asiff Hussein (Convenor).

Ad Hoc Committees

Attakatha Committee

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Prof. Kapila Abhayawansa, Prof. N.A. Jayawickrema, Prof. M.B. Ariyapala, Dr. G.S.B. Senanayake, Mr. A. Adikari.

Research Committee

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Dr. Susantha Goonetilake, Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. F. Kurukulasuriya.

Purchase of Photocopier

The need for a new photo copier was discussed. It was decided that quotations would be called and the Finance and Administration Committee would make its recommendation to the Council at its next meeting.

Donations

Dr. Paranavitana said that the General Manager of the People's Bank who has applied for membership for the RASSL has arranged a grant of Rs. 60,000/- to the Society and has pledged another Rs. 40,000/-, from the Bank. The President tabled the covering letter from the Bank and the cheque for Rs. 60,000/- and he will acknowledge the grant with thanks.

Announcements

The President say that he had contacted the Japanese Cultural Attache for a grant to purchase air conditioner, multimedia projector for the Society.

Dr. Goonetilake also brought to the notice of the Council the first National Buddhist Studies Conference which is being hosted by the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka on the 9th and 10th May 2003 at the Mahaweli Centre and the call for papers for the 9th International Conference on Sri Lankan Studies (ICSLS) on "Sri Lanka at Crossroads: Continuity and Change".

AGM Minutes

The minutes of the last AGM will be prepared by the Hony. Joint Secretaries in consultation with the previous Joint Secretaries.

Committee Meetings

It was agreed that the Library Committee would meet at 3.00 p.m. on the first Monday of the month, the Publications Committee at 4.00 p.m. on the second Monday and the Finance and Administration Committee at 3.00 p.m. on the third Monday.

159-02 – 26th May 2003

Present: 21 Council Members ; Absent: 6

The suggestions made at the meeting called by the President were discussed and requested relevant committees to take appropriate action.

Dr. Karunatileke said that the names of the defaulter i. e. borrowers of library books, should be tabled at the next meeting of the Council. This was agreed to. Prof. Wikramanayake said that their membership had been terminated.

Clarifying this, Mr. A D N Fernando said that persons who are not generally known to attend meetings of the RASSL had been present at the last AGM.

While canvassing for office was a matter for candidates to use their judgment on, it was agreed that the RASSL facilities should not have been used for that, and a list of telephone calls that were originated from the RASSL in February & March, 2003 was to be obtained. Since the question of payment for that information was raised, Dr. Goonetilake offered to pay the requisite fee.

Dr. Parnavitana said that the Council had agreed at its last meeting that permission be given Dr. W G Weeraratne of the Encyclopaedia on Buddhism to republish the article by Prof. S. Parnavitana on "Religious Intercourse Between Ceylon and Siam". Hon'ble Joint Secretaries were requested to reply accordingly.

It was noted that the donation from the People's Bank had been obtained by the President, pursuing a suggestion made by Dr. Susantha Goonetilake.

The minutes were adopted as proposed by Mrs. Kamalika Pieris and seconded by Dr. Arunasiri.

It was noted that the ad hoc Committees would continue as previously constituted with the co-option of new members to them. The President of the RASSL would be an ex-officio member.

Rising to a point of order relating to 159-01-08, Dr. Karunatilake stated that action has to be taken against the former President S. G. Samarasinghe for certain irresponsible and discriminatory acts and decisions taken by him when he was holding the office of President. Dr. Karunatilake mentioned that in the Council minutes of 28th May 2002 it was stated "The Council considered the Council Paper No. 8 submitted by the President and decided to approve the second recommendation by him namely. "The Council can rescind the 1987 decision and invite both Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva and Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake to be members as provided in 4(1) of the Act. By a vote of 9 in favour and 3 against it was decided to include both Mr G. P. S. H. de Silva and Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake in the Council." Dr. Karunatilake stated further that in the list of office bearers in the Annual Report 2002 he is listed as a Past President. But contrary to this, in the most recent Newsletter No. 4 dated, March 2003, that was released long after the Annual Report, his name has been excluded. Third Dr. Samarasinghe has written to the Parliament without the authority of the General Assembly not to proceed with the amendments to the Act, whereas the General Assembly had authorized the Council to make appropriate amendments to the Act. Fifth on the excuse that there was no business to be transacted he had deliberately

failed to convene a General Meeting at mid year. A clarification was sought by the Council on the eligibility of Past Presidents to be members of the Council, and the opinions of Mr Desmond Fernando P. C. and Mr. N. R. M. Daluwatte P. C. were requested. Both of them expressed the view that the position of past Presidents can never be in doubt even if Dr. Karunatilake was President for only one day. The Council unanimously endorsed the opinions of the two President's Council. Dr. Karunatilake concluded by declaring that he opted to be an elected member of the present Council, and not serving on it as a Past President.

Finanace and Administration Committee

It was noted that the Government Grant has been reduced by Rs. 200,000/- Dr. Karunatilleke agreed to speak with the Hon. Karunasena Kodituwakku regarding this.

Regarding purchase of Photo Copier, Dr. Karunatilake requested details of quotations with a schedule before the next meeting of the F and A Committee.

Library Committee

It was decided that the Library Committee could, as a rule, approve the acceptance of books gifted to the RASSL, and refer to the Council only those where some doubt exists as to their suitability.

Publications Committee

The question of the suitability of Mr. Asiff Hussein for the position of Hony. Editor of the RASSL was taken up. The Chairman of the Publications Committee, Prof. Vini Vitharana presented to the Council the unanimous decision of the Committee in the following terms:

“In course of the deliberations, the following factors were taken into consideration”

- i. that the election of Mr. Hussein to the post of Editor is in order vis-à-vis the Society's Constitution
- ii that he is a journalist attached to a local English language newspaper, and is neither an accepted scholar nor a professional academic worthy of being the Editor of a scholarly journal such as that of the RAS.
- iii. that he was a student following a Diploma Course in Journalism at the Open University, and has not obtained even a First Degree.

The membership, therefore, came to general agreement that Mr. Hussein's election to the above post is morally not justifiable (though regular in any other way), and that the ensuing situation is inconsistent with the prestige that this Society's Journal should continue to maintain.

The members, hence, decided to recommend to the Council

- i. that the Editor be requested to send in his resignation
- ii that he be granted membership in the council so that he (with his appreciable command of the English language) may continue to edit the Society's 'News Letter' - a function that he has been performing so far, satisfactorily
- iii. that another member of the Publications Committee be appointed to the post of Editor.

After considerable discussion, as no decision could be arrived at before the meeting concluded, the matter was put off for the next meeting.

159-05- 30th June 2003

Present: 21 Council members; absent: 6; excuses: 2

Dr. Arunasiri pointed out that the Budget for 2003-2004 had been tabled at the last meeting and discussed.

The list of those who had failed to return library books was tabled. It was noted that some well known persons were among them. It was decided that the list of books removed by each such person should be tabled, giving particulars of the edition and the current valuation of same. Thereafter Letters of Demand should be sent to them. Mr. A D N Fernando said that some who had been expelled had been readmitted as Members. Those particulars too were to be tabled.

On the question raised by Mr. A D N Fernando, it was clarified that only the opening sentence of the paragraph related to what he had said. Dr. Karunatilake wished to know whether SLT has as yet supplied the list of telephone calls for February and March; he was informed that it was expected.

Mrs. Kamalika Pieris proposing and Dr. G.S.B. Senanayake seconding the minutes were confirmed.

Dr. Karunatilake wished to know that action had been taken regarding the matters raised by him. It was decided that Dr. S.G. Samarasinghe is to respond in writing at the next meeting, and thereafter a sub-committee consisting of Mr. Sam Wijesinha (Chairman), Mr. Desmond Fernando, and Dr. W.M.K. Wijetunge are to report on the matter.

Mr. A D N Fernando read out definition of “scholar” and “academic” from an encyclopaedia in terms of which even a secondary school student would qualify to be regarded as one. Mrs. Pieris said that there are accepted criteria for determining who a ‘scholar’ is that should be plain to members of a learned society. Mr. Fernando said that said Mr. Hussein’s assertions with respect to the Tooth Relic are supported by Emerson Tennent, and that there is a possibility of Fundamental Rights application being filed at Supreme Court by Mr. Hussein. Mr. Daluwatte raised legal arguments in support of Mr. Hussein and said that he was being discriminated against on ethnic grounds.

Prof. Vini Vitharana said that he felt humiliated and insulted by certain views expressed by Mr. Denis Fernando which tended to cast aspersions on the learning and scholarship of the members of the Publication Committee particularly those of the Chairman and showed his role as Chairman in a poor light.

Mr. Fernando in the recent past at the Publication Committee proceedings one member ran the show and that particular member did not permit the Hony. Editor to do his work and influenced the President too. Mr. Asiff Hussein said Mr. Methsiri Cooray, who was not a member, was present at the Publication Committee which unanimously reported that the present Editor was not suitable to hold such office and that he should resign. Mr. Cooray pointed out that he was not present at that meeting of the Publications Committee but only at the subsequent Publications Committee meeting. This was confirmed by Chairman of the Publications Committee. Mrs. Kamalika Pieris and Dr. Locana Gunaratna pointed out that it is the practice in societies like SLAAS and professional associations that the Honorary Secretaries are not merely free to attend meetings of any sub committee but are encouraged to do so. This was accepted.

Mr. M G Samaraweera proposed that this matter be submitted to the general body at a Special general meeting. Prof. Ariyapala said that was the proper course of action as the Council has no authority to remove an office bearer who had been elected by general body. Mr. Samaraweera’s proposal was seconded by Mrs. Pieris. On a request for a show of hands the Council

endorsed this decision with only three dissenting. The President thereupon referred to Article 40(a) which provided for a Special General meeting to be convened by the Council at its discretion and said that a suitable date would be fixed for a SGM.

At the end of what was a heated discussion, Fr. Kurukulasooriya expressed his disappointment at the manner in which the Council meeting were conducted. He said that the dignity and decorum of the RAS and the Council Members must be maintained. He said that while we would like to do our duty by the Society, we must also be fair by ourselves.

Finance and Administration Committee Report

Though the committee had recommended the purchase of a Photocopier for cash it was reported that no stocks were available.

Application for enrolments of Mr. M.M. Jayawardena, Mr. P.N. Duraiswamy, Mr. N.S.C. de Silva, Dr. K.D.G. Wimalaratne and a representative company of Heenatigala Group were approved.

Library Committee

The Council decided to defer approval of rules pertaining to Library User's Guide. Council wished that the Library Committee obtain more information on the defaulters as detailed above.

Publication Committee

Mrs. Kamalika Pieris said that most of the articles in the current Journal were by members of Publication Committee. She pointed out that, for instance, it carries a contribution by Mr. Situge that is not suitable for a Journal of this kind. She also said there is bias in the newsletter. The Newsletter should carry a note that "articles in the newsletter do not represent the views of the RASSL".

Other business

The President tabled a letter requesting RASSL sponsorship for a conference on the Panadura Vadaya; it was decided that the writer be invited to speak with the Council at its next meeting.

He also said that the conference on the 250th Anniversary of the Upasampada would be held on 21st July, 2003 at the Mahaweli Centre Auditorium.

159-04 -28th July 2003

Present: 19 Council members; Excuses: 1; Absent: 6

Minutes of the third meeting of the Council held on 30. 06. 2003 were confirmed subject to corrections proposed by Mrs. Kamalika Pieris and seconded by Dr. K. Arunasiri.

The members who have not returned the library books to be written to and after one month, if there is no response, to suspend their membership. Dr. Susantha Goonetilake volunteered to pay the relevant telephone bills. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake wanted to know whether Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe had responded to his allegation. Hony. Secretary was requested to forward the relevant minutes to Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe.

Mr. Denis N. Fernando wanted to record the names of the four members who dissented and the names of the council members present who endorsed the decision to convene a Special General Meeting.

On a query by the President, Mr. N. R. M. Daluwatte confirmed that as stated in the minutes the council endorsed the decision to convene a Special General Meeting and submit the matter.

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake queried whether the Editor continues to function as the Editor.

Hony. Secretary announced that the Special General Meeting will be held on Saturday, 23rd August, 2003, at 3 p.m. at the Auditorium of the Mahaweli Center.

Finance and Administration

1. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala to identify the year in which the former president had violated the constitution.
2. The enrolment application to carry the addresses and signature of the applicant.
3. The Financial Statement for June was tabled. Noted.

Library Committee

1. The Council wanted the Library Committee to attend to and furnish further details about the defaulters.
2. Attention was drawn to the draft Library Rules and wished to expedite their approval.

Publication Committee

1. Prof. Vini Vitharana tabled the text of a brochure. The Council wished to see the lay out of the brochure. Mr. Asiff Hussein volunteered to produce a lay out at the next meeting of the Council.
2. Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga withdrew from the PC, subject to a written confirmation from the Hony. Secretary.
3. The PC was requested to expedite publishing the next issue of the Newsletter.
4. The PC reported that the Special Number of the J/RASSL has been given No. XLVIII for 2003 as it was meant for Commemoration of 250th anniversary of Upasampada, and No. XLVII will be the regular number for 2002.
5. The price of the Special Number was confirmed, as Rs. 250/- for members and Rs. 300/- for non - members.

Atthakatha Committee

The President said that Prof. Ariyapala had indicated that one translation is in print. The stipulated percentage of copies has to be given to the Buddhasasana Ministry. They have taken part of it and the balance still remains.

Any Other Business

1. President tabled the letter dated 26-07-2003 from the Secretary Amarapura Maha Sangha Sabha, Ven. Kotugoda Dhammawasa Nayaka Thera, which was kindly conveyed to the Council by Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. F. Kurukulasuriya. This letter contained a request to the Society to organize and sponsor a meeting to commemorate the 200th anniversary of establishment of the Amarapura Nikaya. The Council accepted this proposal and the Hony. Secretary was requested to send a reply to the Secretary of the Amarapura Maha Sangha Sabha. The Council appointed a Committee comprising Rev. Fr. X. N. F. Kurukualsuriya (Chairman), Prof. Vini Vitharana, Mr. M. G. Samaraweera and Dr. Locana Gunaratne.
2. President announced to the applause of everybody that he had reliably come to know that the Hon. Minister of Cultural Affairs

had recommended to enhance the government grant to the RASSL to Rs One Million.

The balance of the annual grant, Rs. 240,000/- for the year 2003 had been received, less 2% cut imposed by Treasury.

3. .At the commencement of the meeting the members of the Council met two representatives from the “Panadura Vadaya Anusmarana Sabha” of Panadura, namely, Dr. T. L. Gunaruwan and Mr. M. Karunamuni. Their letter from this organisation dated 06. 06. 2003 was read out by the President. At the request of Mr. Denis N. Fernando Dr. Gunaruwan spelt out the objectives of their Society. He said that their intention is to create a new interest and awareness on the Panadura debate and to have an intellectual dialogue with possible interaction. He mentioned that James de Alwis in his “Sidath Sangara” edition had prophesied that Buddhism would decline soon in Sri Lanka. This did not happen, due to the great Panadura Vadaya which inspired the local patriots and even foreigners like Col. Henry Steele Olcott to stimulate the cause of the Buddhists. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake said that we should re-awaken the country and provide information to the new generation on the events such as these. Dr. Goonetilake pointed out the necessity to document the vast resource material unearthed. Dr. Samarasinghe welcoming the proposal wanted the role of the RASSL be identified in this regard. Dr. Gunaruwan said that they have organized a competition of essays, speeches and paintings, among school children. There will be radio, TV programmes and public discussions. A public meeting in Panadura will also be held on 24 August. A new book will be published on the “Panadura Vadaya” emphasizing its inspiration and impact before the end of the year. Dr. Gunaruwan suggested that the RASSL to organize and sponsor a seminar jointly with the Panadura Vada Anusmarana Sabha. If the suggestion is accepted funds could be raised, he said.

Despite repeated observations by Mr. Denis Fernando that Dr. Gunaruwan should first write the book and then come back to the RAS the Council accepted the proposal and appointed a Committee comprising Prof. Vini Vitharana (Chairman), Dr. Susantha Goonetilake, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake and Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe.

4. President tabled a letter from the Commissioner of Labour dated 22. 07. 2003 informing that the RASSL is not liable to contribute to the EPF and ETF as it's staff remains below 10. Noted.
5. Dr. Locana Gunaratna observed that there is a lot of time wasted on correction of minutes. There should be certain guide lines for writing minutes. The main purpose of the minutes is to record the issue and decisions taken with regard to them. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake said in his tenure as President, he would personally go through the minutes. The Secretary observed that members under guise of correction of minutes were introducing after thoughts, a typical example being Mr. Denis Fernando's correction above "Mr. Denis Fernando said one has to go by the concept and not by the definition".

159-04 -25th August 2003

Present: 20 Council members, absent; 4, excuses; 1

Point of Order:

After the meeting was called to order by the President, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake raised the point of order whether Mr. Asiff Hussein still holds the position of the Hony. Editor, as he had presented himself at the meeting. An amendment to the Resolution before the last Special General Meeting (SGM) moved by him on the floor of the house was seconded by Mr. Methsiri Cooray and it was adopted by majority vote of the house removing Mr. Asiff Hussein from the post of Hony Editor of the RASSL. Hony. Secretary had already conveyed the decision of the SGM held on 23rd August 2003 to Mr. Asiff Hussein and there is no reason for Mr. Hussein to be present at this meeting of the Council. At this stage Mr. Asiff Hussein was requested by the President to leave the meeting as he was no longer a member of the Council.

Confirmation of Minutes

Minutes of the fourth meeting of the Council held on 25th August 2003 were confirmed, subject, to following corrections, proposed by, Ms. Kamlika Pieris and seconded by, Dr. Susantha Goonetilleka.

- i. Page 1, 159-04-02, iv - Mr. Denis Fernando wanted the following correction included to read as "one has to go by definition and not by concept".

159-06- 29th September 2003

Present: 19 Council Members; absent; 4, Excuses; 3

Confirmation of Minutes

Mr. A Denis N Fernando stated that he objected to the Minutes and wanted a memo prepared by him be taken up. Several members pointed out that he could propose any amendments as each item of the minutes was discussed. Eventually Mr. Fernando agreed to do so. At this point Mr. Asiff Hussein entered and took a seat while a minor employee of the RASSL began, on his instructions, to distribute a memorandum to the Members of the Council. [It transpired that Mr. Hussein had, without permission, employed the facilities of the Society to produce his memorandum]. The President reminded Mr. Hussein that he was no longer a member of the Council and requested him to leave forthwith. Mr. Desmond Fernando and Mr. N R M Daluwatta also asked him to withdraw. Mr. Hussein refused to do so and Dr. H N S Karunatilake moved that Mr. Hussein be suspended from membership in the Society. This was seconded by Dr. Susantha Goonetilleka and agreed to with Mr. A Denis N Fernando expressing dissent. Mr. Hussein continued to remain and proceeded to cast aspersions on some members of the Council. The President adjourned the meeting until Mr. Hussein should leave the RASSL Secretariat. When the meeting was reconvened he finally did so. Dr. H N S Karunatilake moved that Mr. Asiff Hussein be expelled from the Society, this was seconded by Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris. Mr. A Denis N Fernando said that it is not open to the Council to expel a Member. Dr. Goonetilleka pointed out that the Council derives its authority in such matters from the general body under the Act of Incorporation. It was also brought to the notice of the Council that section 31(d) and (e) of the RASSL Constitution empowers the Council to deal with any matter not covered by the Constitution. Mr. N R M Daluwatta proposed that the motion be taken up at the next meeting for a final decision. Mr. Desmond Fernando and Dr. Lochana Gunaratna supported that view. Mr. D G P Seneviratne explained that this was not the first occasion on which Mr. Asiff Hussein had conducted himself in this manner, and that the present eruption had occurred right before the Council itself. Dr. H N S Karunatilake said that Mr. Hussein had presumed to summon a meeting of the Publications Committee even after he had ceased to be a member of that Committee. Mr. Desmond Fernando was of the opinion that there was a strong *prima facie* case for Mr. Hussein's expulsion and suggested that any explanation offered by Mr. Hussein be considered and a final decision can be made at the next meeting of the

of Upasampada on the initiative of Siam Nikaya. Within two days Rev. Fr. X. N. F. Kurukulasuriya had gone to discuss this matter of commemorating the 200 Anniversary of establishment of Amarapura Nikaya without a mandate from the RAS. Rev. Fr. X. N. F. Kurukulasooriya said that he did discuss this matter with the Ven. Nayaka Thero when he went to see him on another matter. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake suggested that the Ven. Kotugoda Dhammavasa Thero be invited to address the Council of the RAS. Ms. Kamalika Pieris said that the RAS is not a religious society, but a research society. Dr. Goonetilake said that we should not abandon the project and we should re-constitute the committee. He said that the committee should co-opt outsiders, and there are 5 PhDs in the area. Rev. Fr. X. N. F. Kurukulasuriya said that the existing committee could be dissolved and he did not wish to be a member. Mr. M. G. Samaraweera wanted to resign as he did not consider himself a scholar in this field. At this stage Dr. K. D. Paranavitana proposed that the committee be dissolved. This was agreed to. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake's name as Chairman of the committee was proposed by Mr. N. R. M. Daluwatte and seconded by Mrs. Kamalika Pieris. This was approved. It was agreed that Prof. Tissa Kariyawasam and Prof. M. U. de Silva be invited to serve on the committee. Dr. K. D. Paranavitana would serve on the committee and Dr. Vini Vitharana too expressed a wish to serve on it. This was agreed to. The committee could co-opt other knowledgeable persons as members.

During the above discussions, the President called on Mr. A. D. N. Fernando to observe decorum. Since Mr. Fernando continued to interrupt the proceedings, the President named him on two occasions, and he indicated to Mr. Fernando that if he repeats such behavior it might become necessary to take disciplinary action against him.

The President thanked Dr. Susantha Goonetilake for paying the RAS telephone bills for February and March 2003. Mr. D. G. P. Seneviratne pointed out that what Dr. Goonetilake had offered to pay was the fee for obtaining details of phone calls originating from the RAS in those two months, and it was ridiculous to have him pay the bills. It was decided that the sum paid by him be reimbursed to Dr. Goonetilleka. It was noted further that the request for a statement from the SLT had been delayed and the Administrative Secretary is answerable.

Finance and Administration Committee

The finance and Administration committee met on 17th August and submitted its report along with the Statement of Accounts for July 2003.

New Enrolments: Dr. M. Ramasubbu, Mr. A. M. Morgan Davies, Dr. A. Thangarajah, Dr. A. E. Kulatilake, Mr. Sudath Gunasekara

Library Committee

The Library Committee had met on 4th August and submitted its report.

The Council thanked Mrs. Kamalika Pieris for the gift of a number of valuable books to the RAS Library.

Publications Committee

The Publications Committee had met on 17th August and submitted a report which was not acceptable to the Council requested to send in a revised report.

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake proposed that Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera for the vacant post of the Hony. Editor. This was seconded by Dr. K. D. Parnavitana and the proposal was approved and the Hony. Jt. Secretaries were requested to communicate with him.

Mr. A. D. N. Fernando raised objections to this appointment in a violent manner. The President named him for the second time for indecorous behavior.

Atthakatha Translations Committee

It was noted that the Buddha Sasana Ministry has agreed to fund the translation of the entire corpus of the Atthakatha. It was decided that the Ministry be requested to advertise for translators.

Any Other Business

It was noted that several members of the Council had absented themselves for three consecutive meetings with no valid reason given. It was decided to implement clause 27 (c) of the RASSL Constitution.

The Council agreed that the dates of the public lectures by Dr. Arunasiri and Dr. Goonetilake be interchanged.

A letter from the RAS of Great Britain agreeing to collaboration with the RASSL was tabled.

159-06- 29th September 2003

Present: 19 Council Members; absent; 4, Excuses; 3

Confirmation of Minutes

Mr. A Denis N Fernando stated that he objected to the Minutes and wanted a memo prepared by him be taken up. Several members pointed out that he could propose any amendments as each item of the minutes was discussed. Eventually Mr. Fernando agreed to do so. At this point Mr. Asiff Hussein entered and took a seat while a minor employee of the RASSL began, on his instructions, to distribute a memorandum to the Members of the Council. [It transpired that Mr. Hussein had, without permission, employed the facilities of the Society to produce his memorandum]. The President reminded Mr. Hussein that he was no longer a member of the Council and requested him to leave forthwith. Mr. Desmond Fernando and Mr. N R M Daluwatta also asked him to withdraw. Mr. Hussein refused to do so and Dr. H N S Karunatilake moved that Mr. Hussein be suspended from membership in the Society. This was seconded by Dr. Susantha Goonetilleka and agreed to with Mr. A Denis N Fernando expressing dissent. Mr. Hussein continued to remain and proceeded to cast aspersions on some members of the Council. The President adjourned the meeting until Mr. Hussein should leave the RASSL Secretariat. When the meeting was reconvened he finally did so. Dr. H N S Karunatilake moved that Mr. Asiff Hussein be expelled from the Society, this was seconded by Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris. Mr. A Denis N Fernando said that it is not open to the Council to expel a Member. Dr. Goonetilleka pointed out that the Council derives its authority in such matters from the general body under the Act of Incorporation. It was also brought to the notice of the Council that section 31(d) and (e) of the RASSL Constitution empowers the Council to deal with any matter not covered by the Constitution. Mr. N R M Daluwatta proposed that the motion be taken up at the next meeting for a final decision. Mr. Desmond Fernando and Dr. Lochana Gunaratna supported that view. Mr. D G P Seneviratne explained that this was not the first occasion on which Mr. Asiff Hussein had conducted himself in this manner, and that the present eruption had occurred right before the Council itself. Dr. H N S Karunatilake said that Mr. Hussein had presumed to summon a meeting of the Publications Committee even after he had ceased to be a member of that Committee. Mr. Desmond Fernando was of the opinion that there was a strong *prima facie* case for Mr. Hussein's expulsion and suggested that any explanation offered by Mr. Hussein be considered and a final decision can be made at the next meeting of the

Council. He agreed that Mr. Hussein's membership in the RASSL be suspended with immediate effect. It was decided that the motion for Mr. Asiff Hussein's expulsion from the Society be taken up for a decision at the next meeting of the Council. Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris proposed and Dr. K. Arunasiri seconded the motion for the adoption of the minutes. The minutes were adopted.

Matters arising from Minutes

Prof. M B Ariyapala said that he had some amendments to move to the minutes of the July meeting as he was not able to attend the last meeting and requested the Council to permit him to do so. The President invited Prof. Ariyapala to proceed. What Prof. Ariyapala had to move was that although Mr. A P S Galapata had written to the then President, not even the mid-year General Meeting had been held last year or the year before. He said that the then President had acted in violation of the Constitution. Despite a Council decision on the matter and an announcement in the Newsletter, no meeting had been held. He added that he believed that the former President had been misdirected by former Vice President, Mr. Somasiri Devendra and said that some punitive action should be taken against those responsible for this violation of the Constitution and of a Council decision. Prof. Ariyapala handed in a letter resigning from the Council and from the Finance and Administration Committee with effect from 15. 10. 2003.

Regarding the request made to Dr. Samarasinghe for a written communication of the charge leveled against him by Dr. Karunatilake. Dr. Karunatilake pointed out that the charge was already there in the Council Minutes. It was noted that Dr. Samarasinghe's response was awaited.

Mr. R G G O Gunasekara's appointment as Honorary Editor was confirmed.

Publications Committee

It was reiterated that the Publications Committee should meet as scheduled and submit a report before the next meeting of the Council.

Finance and Administration Committee

The Finance and Administration Committee had met on 08 September and its report was tabled. The statement of receipts and payments for August '03 was accepted.

The Council decided to admit following applicants as members of the Society.

Dr. R L de Sylva, Dr. Mrs. N S de Sylva, Dr. D U R Gunawardena, Mr. S G Mapalagama

Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris suggested that the admission of new members be made a separate item on the agenda of the Council meetings and that particulars of the qualifications of applicants for membership be circulated. This was agreed to.

Library Committee

The Library Committee had met on 1st September and its report was tabled. It was reported that the defaulters since 1992 will be individually informed reminding them to return the borrowed books early. Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya said that all books that are gifted to the Library should be tabled before the Council. This was agreed to. The Council thanked Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya for donating a copy of his book on *Embekke Devalaya*.

Attakatha Translations Committee

Dr. S G Samarasinghe tabled a report of the sub-committee dated 04 September '03 and the notes on discussions with the Buddha Sasana Ministry dated 04. 09. 2003. Accordingly it was reported that,

The *Atthakatha* Committee to prepare two estimates for the translation and editing of all remaining *Atthakatha* and print them within the next five years.

The first estimate should cover the translation, editing and printing of 10 *Atthakatha* in 2004.

The second estimate to complete the printing of the balance 31 *Attakatha* within the next four years, i. e. 2005-2008.

RAS to take action to recruit translators and any other staff necessary to implement this project.

Funds for the accelerated project plan will be provided by the Buddhasasana Ministry to the RASSL. On Dr. Kapila Abeywansa's suggestion it was agreed that Dr. Ananda Kulasinhe and Prof. Ratna Wijetunga who are Pali scholars be co-opted to the Committee. Sub-Committee on the 200th Anniversary of Amarapura Nikaya The minutes of the third meeting of the sub-committee on the Commemoration of the

200th Anniversary of the Establishment of Amarapura Maha Nikaya held on 19th September '03 were tabled. The Council noted the chapters of the proposed publication.

Sub-Committee on the 130th Anniversary of Panadura Vadaya

Prof. Vini Vitharana, the Chairman of the Sub Committee on the 130th anniversary of Panadura Vadaya, reported to the Council of its progress. He tabled the proposed programme of the Seminar to be held on 06th December '03. Noted.

Research Committee

Report of the Research Committee dated 04th September '03 was tabled by Dr. S G Samarasinghe. It was reported that the sub-committee is working on *Study of the Comparative Laws of South- East Asia with particular reference to the Buddhist background*. Noted.

Any Other Business

The Council noted that Mr. Wilfred M Gunasekera had ceased to be a member of the Council and decided to appoint Dr. Malini Dias to fill that vacancy. Her name was proposed by Dr. K Arunasiri and seconded by Mr. Methsiri Cooray. The President tabled a response by the Jt. Secretaries to a document attacking Dr. Susantha Gunetileka. Dr. Lochana Gunaratna and Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris stated that their addresses had obviously been taken from the RAS as they contained the errors in the RAS list of members. The Council decided not to release the list of members to any member hereafter without the approval of the President of the RASSL. This is to be strictly adhered to. Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris drew attention to the need of publishing Volumes VI and VII of the late H A I Goonetilleke's Bibliography. Mr. D G P Seneviratne was requested to undertake that task. Mr. Seneviratne agreed to get in touch with the Vice Chancellor, University of Peradeniya in the first instance and report to the Council. Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris proposed that the reception area of the RASSL Secretariat be rearranged in order to provide better and prominent room for the President and two Secretaries. It was decided that Mr. Methsiri Cooray, Jt. Secretary, would make a formal complaint to the Police regarding Mr. Asiff Hussein and that Mr. Hussein would not be permitted to enter the RAS premises and to notify his expulsion in the RASSL Secretariat.

159-07- 27th October 2003

Present: 14 Council members; Excuses; 5, Absent: 7

Confirmation of Minutes

Dr. H N S Karunatilake brought to the notice of the Council that despite Mr. Asiff Hussein being prohibited from entering the RASSL premises he had forced himself in, had been using the Journals on display and had even come into the Council room. He reiterated that Mr. Asiff Hussein be expelled from the Society. Mr. A Denis N Fernando proposed that an inquiry be entrusted to a committee headed by Mr. Sam Wijesinha. This was objected to by Mrs. Kamalika Pieris on the ground that Mr. Wijesinha had already stated his views at the Special General Meeting (SGM). Mr. Methsiri Cooray suggested that a committee of three independent persons be requested to conduct an inquiry. This was agreed to. Mr. A Denis N Fernando said that Mr. Asiff Hussein had prepared a record of the proceedings of the SGM based on an audio recording made by him.

Matters Arising from Minutes

The President welcomed Mr. R G G O Gunasekera, the new Hony. Editor. Mr. A Denis N Fernando objected to this and said that the appointment was illegal. Mr. Gunasekera responded that he accepted the position as there is a job to be done, however, he is quite prepared to quit if his services are not required.

The letter of resignation delivered by Prof. M B Ariyapala was taken up. It was decided that the resignation should not be accepted and that Prof. Ariyapala's consent be sought to make him an Honorary Member of the RASSL. His name to that effect was proposed by Dr. S G Samarasinghe and seconded by Dr. H N S Karunatilake.

Dr. S G Samarasinghe stated that he had handed in his response to the charge made by Dr. H N S Karunatilake.

1Library Committee

The Library Committee had met on 06th October and its report was tabled.

Mr. A Denis N Fernando said that he was technically liable for the *Nampotha* that he had consulted. He stated that he had not taken it out of the building but had obtained a photocopy. He stated further that the document had been produced surreptitiously and that is why copies are not available in the bookshop. Since he accepted liability for the loss of

the book he was asked to obtain a copy from the printer or the author's heirs.

Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya said that books had been marked for reference leaving the others available for lending. Mr. D G P Seneviratne requested a note from the Library Committee setting out the basis on which the separation was made. This was agreed to.

The attention of the members of the Council was drawn to draft Rules drawn up for the Lending Library sent along with the Library Committee Minutes dated 02. 06. 2003. The President requested to table the views of the members of the Council in this regard at the next meeting of the Council.

It was decided that the library would be closed for up to two weeks with effect from 27. 10. 2003 to enable the catalogue cards to be scanned; it was further agreed that the Asst. Librarian and a peon would be paid overtime for this work. The Council noted the list of books donated and purchased. The books donated by Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris were also gratefully accepted.

Publications Committee

The Publications Committee had met on 13th October 2003 and its report was tabled.

Mr. D G P Seneviratne pointed out that he was appointed by the Council to serve on this Committee and that he was not there in his capacity as a Joint Secretary. He stated further that he had asked the previous Council to reconstitute the Publications Committee and he would table those Council Papers for the present Council to take necessary action.

The Council noted the contents of the report.

Finance and Administration Committee

The Finance and Administration Committee had met on 13th October and its report was tabled. The statement of receipts and payments for September '03 was accepted

Enrolments

Rev. U Ananda, Mr. S K Weeraratne, Mr. N A L Billimoria ,

Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris suggested that Dr. Lochana Gunaratne's advice be requested regarding the rearrangement of the space outside the Library. This was agreed to.

Mr. Methesiri Cooray said that he had lodged a complaint regarding Mr. Asiff Hussein at the Cinnamon Gardens Police Station.

Attakatha Committee

Dr. S G Samarasinghe said that 142 had applied in response to the call for translators. A preliminary short listing had been done. After a test those short listed would be interviewed and 10 selected with a further 10 as reserves.

Mr. D G P Seneviratne inquired whether the rates of payment for translation, proof reading, etc. had been approved by the Council. Dr. S G Samarasinghe agreed to present a paper to the Council on the matter.

It was noted that from the translated and printed books, the RASSL would receive 100 copies to dispose of the way in which it decides. The balance copies will be handed over to the Buddhasasana Ministry while the sales proceeds of those would also go there.

Any other business

Regarding the proposal made by Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris on the publication of Volumes 6 and 7 of H A I Goonetilleke's Bibliography, Mr. D G P Seneviratne reported that he had taken the matter up with the Vice Chancellor and the Librarian at Peradeniya. They have agreed to enlist the services of Dr. Goonetilleke's successor, Dr. N T S A Senadheera as well as some members of the library staff to complete that task. Mr. Seneviratne had explained to them that the RASSL may not be able to fund the project and the University had undertaken the publication.

159-08 - 24th November 2003

Present: 19 Council members, excuses: 2; absent: 6

Resignation of the Vice President

A faxed letter of resignation from the Vice President, Rev. Fr. Dr. X N F Kurukulasuriya dated 20 November 2003 was tabled. The Council appreciated the contribution made by Rev. Fr. Kurukulasuriya in all the endeavours of the Society in the past. The Council with regret accepted the resignation.

Confirmation of Minutes

The Minutes of the Council meeting held on 24 November 2003 were confirmed proposed by

Dr. H N S Karunatilake and seconded by Dr. K Araunasiri.

Matters Arising from Minutes

Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya said that 34 respected Members of the Society had submitted a memorandum protesting against the decision made at the SGM and requesting that the harm done to the good name of the Society be undone. This memorandum without a date was tabled at this stage of the meeting.

Mr. Methsiri Cooray pointed out that only six of the signatories had attended the SGM. Dr. H N S Karunatilake said that most of the signatories never participated in any activity of the Society and signed this document relying on hearsay of others who were interested in the matter.

After an extensive discussion it was decided that there was no need to appoint a separate committee go once again into the matter of terminating Mr. Asiff Hussain's membership in the Society. The matter was put to the vote, with Messrs. N R M Daluwatte, R G G O Gunasekera and M G Samaraweera abstaining and all others present voting in favour of the expulsion of Mr. Asiff Hussain.

Dr. Susantha Goonatilleka brought to the notice of the Council that a series of ill-founded reports on the RASSL had been carried in the *Sunday Leader* and said that a complaint be lodged with the Press Complaints Commission. It was decided that this be done.

Dr. H N S Karunatilake pointed out that Dr. S G Samarasinghe had responded only to one of the issues raised by him. Dr. Samarasinghe was requested to respond to the other issues as well, the matter to be discussed at the next meeting of the Council.

The Council thanked Dr. Susantha Goonatilleka for loaning his scanner for the purpose of copying the library catalogue. The 'note on the basis of the reservation of books' prepared by Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya was tabled. Dr. K D Paranavitana said that there are a number of valuable manuscripts in the library that should not be made available for borrowing. The note was approved subject to inclusion of the fact referred to above.

Dr. Goonatilleke said that an Indian establishment headed by Sri Narasimha was prepared to scan such documents free of charge; in fact such an offer

had been made but the RASSL had not responded. He agreed to draft a letter to Sri Narasimha.

The composition of the Publications Committee was discussed. The Council decided that the number of members may in the present instance exceed 7 and all acts of the Committee would be regarded as being valid.

Dr. S G Samarasinghe tabled a note on the rate of payments for translation as proof reading, approved by the Council.

Publications Committee

The Publications Committee had met on 10th November 2003 and its report was tabled.

Mr. D G P Seneviratne brought up the question of publishing the reviews of two books by Prof. Gananath Obeyesekera and Prof. Merlin Peiris. The Council referred the matter to the Publications Committee for necessary action.

The Council agreed with the Hony. Editor that the Hony. Jt. Secretaries should call for quotations for printing of the next issue of the Journal.

The majority of members of the Council were not in favour of making a token payment for external reviewers. The contents of the item 4 of the report of the PC were noted.

Finance and Administration Committee

The Finance and Administration Committee had met on 10th December and its report was tabled. The statement of receipts and payments for October '03 was accepted.

Enrolments

Rev. Kahapola Suganaratana, Mr. H R M Ellepola, Dr. S M K Herath, Ms. Suseema Perera, Dr. Sujit Pradin Sivasundaram

It was brought to the notice of the Council that a reply from Mr. Ananda Pilimatalawa is awaited.

Library Committee

The Library Committee had met on 10th December and its report was tabled.

The scanning of the library catalogue is in progress.

The Council decided to ask for a written reply from Mr. Denis Fernando to the letter sent by the LC on the library book that he had not returned.

The Council noted the list of journals and monographs received on exchange together with the list of books donated by Mrs. Kamalika Pieris on 03. 11. 2003.

Attakatha Committee

The *Attakatha* Committee had met on 17th November and its report was tabled.

The estimated cost of translations of the rest of the *Atthakatha* has been sent to the Ministry of Buddhasasana on the 13 October 2003. The selection of translators is in progress.

The report suggested that since the funding for the *Atthakatha* Project is to be received from the President's Fund for this specific project, the accounts should be maintained separately without mixing up with the general accounts of the Society. Approved.

Sub-Committee on the Commemoration of the *Panadura Vada*

Prof. Vini Vitharana, the Chairman of the sub-committee reported that all arrangements have been made to hold the Seminar on Panadura Vada on Saturday, 6th December 2003 at the auditorium of the Mahaveli Center. A press conference also has been called at the RASSL Secretariat in order to get a wider publicity to the event. A considerable number of participants have already confirmed their participation.

Sub-Committee on the Commemoration of 200th Anniversary of the Establishment of Amarapura Nikaya

Dr. H N S Karunatilake, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee reported that seven meetings of the Sub-Committee have been held so far. The Chapter Contents to the Special Number of the J/RASSL and their contributors have been identified and invited. The work of the S u b - Committee is in good progress.

Any other business

Refer to 159-08-06 above re. memorandum on SGM held on 23. 08. 2003.

The complaint dated 16. 11. 2003 against Mr. A. Denis N Fernando made to the President of the RASSL by Mr. Methesiri Cooray was tabled and taken up for discussion.

The Council engaged in a serious and considerable discussion on the complaint made by Mr. Cooray and condemned the behaviour of Mr. Denis Fernando on defaming a fellow Council Member as a “rogue” in the presence of several other senior members of the Council.

Dr. H N S Karunatilaka said that few years ago he had witnessed that Mr. Fernando tried to assault Mr. Cooray by raising a council chair. The President, Dr. Paranavitana confirmed that he too had witnessed that incident.

Since Mr. Fernando became a Past President he has not actively or constructively participated in the statutory and *ad hoc* committees of the Society to which he was nominated. He had been constantly intimidating and humiliating at the Council Meetings, the fellow Council Members that he did not like or did not agree with his opinions. As a result of this unbecoming behaviour of Mr. Fernando, the Council lost the services of some respected and learned Council Members. It was found that his participation in the Council as a Past President was more destructive than constructive. The majority of the Members present in the Council expressed their displeasure in having him as a Member of the Council.

The Council decided to take up the complaint made by Methsiri Cooray for further discussion at the next meeting of the Council.

A letter sent by Mr. A Denis Fernando dated 23rd November 2003 on the subject of correction of minutes of the Council Meeting held on 27th October 2004 (should be 2003) was tabled and the contents were noted.

159-09 - 29th December 2003

Present: 13 Council members, absent; 11, excuses; 3

Vote of Condolence

Before the commencement of the day’s proceedings, the attention of the Council was drawn to the passing away of Ven. Gangodavila Soma Thera which had aggrieved the whole nation in an unprecedented manner. The role played by Ven. Soma Thera in reawakening and reviving the Buddhists traditions and cultural values in Sri Lanka will never fade away from the Sri Lankans’ memory for generations to come. His contribution to the nation in an hour of need was highly appreciated by the members. The

Council observed two minutes silence. The Hony. Secretary was requested to convey this Vote of Condolence to the Chief Incumbent of the Dharmayatanaya at Maharagama.

Confirmation of Minutes

The Minutes of the Council meeting held on 24 November 2003 were confirmed proposed by Dr. K Arunasiri and seconded by Mr. R G G O Gunasekera.

Business Arising from Minutes

The name of Mr. Frederick Medis was proposed for the vacant post of Vice President by Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya and seconded by Dr. S G Samarasinghe. In the absence of any other names the Council elected Mr. Frederick Medis to the post of Vice President for the rest of the term (Art. 30).

The memorandum by 34 members protesting against the decision made at the SGM and requesting that the harm done to the good name of the Society be undone. It was observed that the memorandum was undated and only six out of 34 signatories had attended the SGM.

Dr. H N S Karunatilake pointed out that Dr. S G Samarasinghe had responded only to one of the issues raised by him. After considerable discussion and on a suggestion of Mr. Methsiri Cooray Dr. Karunatilake agreed not to proceed with the matter. The matter was closed.

Writing to the Indian establishment headed by Sri Narasimha will be taken up at the next meeting of the Council.

Publications Committee

The Publications Committee had met on 10th December 2003 and its report was tabled.

The President said that he had written to Sri Devi Printers for a quotation. The Council decided to continue printing of the Journal with Sri Devi Printers.

Printing of the Journal XLVII should be concluded before the next AGM to be held at the end of March, 2004.

The meetings of the PC will be held on every second Wednesday of the month at 3.00 p.m. at the RASSL secretariat commencing from December 2003.

Finance and Administration Committee

The Finance and Administration Committee had met on 09th December and its report was tabled. The statement of receipts and payments for November'03 was accepted.

Enrolments

Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne, Mrs. A A Sumanawathi, 3. Mr. K G E R W Dharmawardene

Application of Mr. C. Gamage: to complete it correctly and resubmit. The application of Mr. Ananda Pilimalawa: to be taken up at the next meeting of the Council. The Council decided to include a column indicating the educational qualifications of the applicants for the membership of the Society.

Library Committee

The Library Committee had met on 09th December and its report was tabled.

The Council at the request of the Library Committee decided to call quotations to purchase a scanner.

The Council decided to open the lending library to members of the Society from 1st January 2004 and requested the Hony. Librarian to notify the membership as soon as possible with stipulated conditions of borrowing.

The Council noted the list of journals and monographs donated together with the list of books donated by Mrs. Kamalika Pieris on 16. 11. 2003.

Attakatha Committee

Dr. S G Samarasinghe, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee reported that the concurrence of H. E. The President for the project is awaited through the Buddhasana Ministry to proceed with the translations project. The work of the *Attakatha* Committee is in good progress.

Sub-Committee on the Commemoration of the *Panadura Vada*

Prof. Vini Vitharana, the Chairman of the sub-committee tabled a report on the success of the One day Seminar held on *Panadura Vada* on Saturday, 6th December 2003 at the auditorium of the Mahaveli Center. The Council entrusted the same Sub-Committee to continue editing of the papers presented and proceed with the publication as a Special Number of the J/RASSL.

Sub-Committee on the Commemoration of 200th Anniversary of the Establishment of Amarapura Nikaya

Dr. H N S Karunatilake, the Chairman of the Sub-Committee reported that seven meetings of the Sub-Committee have been held so far. The Chapter Contents to the Special Number of the J/RASSL and their contributors have been identified and invited. Another meeting of the Sub-Committee will be summoned soon and its progress is to be reported at the next meeting of the Council.

Any other business

The complaint dated 16. 11. 2003 against Mr. A. Denis N Fernando made to the

President of the RASSL by Mr. Methsiri Cooray to be taken up at the next meeting.

The Council decided to send a copy of the complaint made by Mr. Cooray to Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando under registered cover for his response.

A letter sent by Mr. A Denis N. Fernando dated 27th December 2003 on the subject of correction of minutes of the Council Meeting held on 24th November 2003 was tabled. Since the letter was distributed at the meeting the members of the Council decided to take it up at the next meeting of the Council.

The Council decided to hold the next Annual General Meeting on Saturday 27th March 2004 at 3.00 pm. m. at the Auditorium of the Mahaweli Center. The notice and calling for resolutions if any will be issued in Sunday 1st February 2004. Resolutions will be closed on Sunday 22nd February at 3.00 p.m. and the Council to meet on Monday 23rd 2004.

All Chairmen of the Sub-Committees were requested to hand over their administration reports to Hon. Jt. Secretaries before the end of January, 2004 in order to prepare the final Administration Report.

Hon. Jt. Secretaries were requested to table the draft minutes of the last AGM at the next meeting of the Council.

159-10- 26th January 2004

Present : 20 Council members; absent: 6; excuses:2

The minutes of the meeting held on 29th December, 2003 were confirmed, proposed by Dr. K Arunasiri and seconded by Dr. H N S Karunatilake.

Referring to the statement that 'the President had written to Sri Devi Printers for a quotation' for printing the Journal, Mr. Seneviratne pointed out that quotations are called also in the interests of Dr. Paranavitana as his books are published by Sri Devi Printers. Dr. Vitharana said that the Council had made a decision and there is no point in raising this matter again. Mr. Seneviratne said that he was not present at the last Council meeting, and it is open to the Council to act in its own interests. Dr. Goonetilake said that the present decision be allowed to stand and the practice of calling for quotations be resumed hereafter. The Council accepted that proposal.

The conduct of Mr. A D N Fernando and his habit of sending memoranda to the Council were discussed at length. Mr. Daluwatta and Mr. Seneviratne said that there could be no objection to Mr. Fernando or anybody else circulating memoranda to the members of the Council provided the RASSL facilities were not used for that purpose. The Council was free to act according to its judgment on any such representations.

Publications Committee

The Publications Committee had met on 14 January, 2004 and its report was tabled.

Portuguese in Sri Lanka, 500 years in retrospect – a critical survey

Dr. Susantha Goonetilake proposed that a committee be appointed to prepare a concept paper on this for the next meeting. The following were appointed to the committee, subject to it being open to it to co-opt others: Dr. W M K Wijetunga, Dr. K L Gunaratna, Mrs. Kamalika S Pieris, Mr. R G G O Gunasekera, Dr. H N S Karunatilake and Dr. Susantha Goonetilake.

Newsletter

The Chairman of the Publications Committee undertook to bring out two issues of the Newsletter before the next AGM. A letter from Dr. Susantha Goonatilake dated 09 December, 2003 on the Panadura Vadaya seminar was tabled.

Finance and Administration Committee

The Finance and Administration Committee had met on 12 January 2004 and its report was tabled. The statement of receipts and payments for December '03 was accepted.

Absentees: It was decided that Council members who have been absent for three consecutive meetings be written to in the first instance.

A letter sent by Mr. W J E Monhemius dated 2 January 2004 thanking the Society for offering him Life Membership was tabled.

Library Committee

The Library Committee had met on 05 January, 2004 and its report was tabled.

Atthakatha Translations Committee

Dr. S G Samarasinghe, Chairman of the Committee reported that he had discussions with the Secretary of the Ministry of Buddhasasana regarding release of funds required for the accelerated translations project and a reply is awaited.

Toponymy Committee

It was decided that the toponymy committee be revived, with Mr. Frederick Medis, Dr. Malini Dias, and Dr. Vini Vitharana.

Committee on the Exhibition on Written Word

A letter from Dr. Mrs. Lorna Dewaraja on this subject dated 12 January 2004 was tabled.

It was decided that Dr. Malini Dias be requested to proceed with the exhibition on 'Written Word' and requested her to make a proposal to raise funds for the purpose.

AGM Minutes

A draft AGM minutes have been circulated among the members of the Council along with the minutes of the last Council meeting and it was taken up for discussion. Mr. Seneviratne said that it was not an accurate record of those proceedings and that what he himself said had been misrepresented. It was agreed that Hony. Secretary, Mr. Seneviratne would make the necessary corrections.

A communication received from Mr. Das Miriyagalla dated 10 January, 2004 in this regard was also tabled.

RASSL Medal

Dr. Susantha Goonetilake asked that the members of the Council be given particulars of the qualifications of the last five persons who had been awarded the Medal. The President undertook to do this.

Any other Business

Dr. S G Samarasinghe by his letter dated 18 January, 2004 requested the concurrence of the Council to make necessary photocopies of some printed material available in the RASSL library for the use of the research that is being carried out by him. This was agreed to

Annual Report: It was decided that reports from all sub-committees, including ad hoc committees, be incorporated in the Annual Report.

159-11- 23rd February 2003

Present: 17 Council members; excuses: 4, absent: 6

Prof. Vini Vitharana said that he had agreed to do one and not two issues of the Newsletter.

Prof. Vitharana said that he was not a member of the Toponymy Committee but had agreed to help. This was noted.

Mr. Medis said that the matters raised by Mr. Seneviratne should not be placed on record as it would bring the Society into disrepute. Mr. Desmond Fernando said that the Minutes should not be some kind of Hansard. Mr. Seneviratne responded that these Minutes run into 3-4 pages and can hardly be compared to the hundreds of pages of mostly garbage that appears in the Hansard. He inquired of Mr. Medis whether he was suggesting that it is not the actions themselves but the recording of them that would bring disrepute to the Society? Mr. Medis said that the charge has not been documented. Mr. Seneviratne pointed out that following the logic of Mr. Medis's argument, it would be much worse if the documentation was to be placed on record. The Minutes were confirmed subject to the corrections made, Mr. Daluwatta proposing and Mr. Desmond Fernando seconding.

Matters Arising from the Minutes

Dr. Goonetilake reported that two meetings have been held. It was decided to discuss this work at the next meeting of the Council.

The Newsletter would be distributed at the AGM.

The Council decided that the rule regarding non-attendance at Meetings would not apply to Past Presidents. It was decided further that the Rule should be revised.

The draft Minutes of the last AGM were to be revised in the light of the comments made by Mr.Seneviratne.

The question was raised whether being a Past President of the Society was a necessary criterion to qualify for the Gold Medal. Dr. Goonetilake emphasized that proven scholarship should be the primary criterion. The criteria are to be considered at the next meeting. Thereafter suggestions may be made in writing by Members.

The Annual Report has been sent to the Printer. It was noted that the Auditor's statement was awaited.

Publications Committee

It was noted that, contrary to the minutes of the Publications Committee, Mr. Seneviratne had declined to undertake the production of the Newsletter due to other obligations at the University of Peradeniya.

Library Committee

It was decided that the President would look into the matters raised by Mrs. Kamalika Pieris.

Finance & Administration Committee

It was noted that the government Grant had been restored to Rs.700,000/-. Mrs. Pieris objected to the proposed encashment of unutilized leave. The matter was referred to the F & A Committee.

Other Committees

Progress on the commemoration of the establishment of the Amarapura Nikaya was noted.

Any Other Business

Mr. A D N Fernando raised the matter of a Court action regarding Mr. Asiff Hussein. The Council approved the action already taken to respond to it, Mr. A D N Fernando dissenting.

The Publications Committee was directed to go into the schedule of Monthly lectures and finalize same.

It was decided to place the Resolutions proposed by Mrs. Pieris and seconded by Dr. Karunatilake before the AGM. The Resolution proposed by dr. S G Samarasinghe was considered inappropriate.

Notice To Contributors

The Publication's Committee of the RASSL welcomes contributions on subjects subscribing to the objects of the Society, for publication in its Journal, which is published yearly.

Each contribution should be accompanied by a statement that the subject matter has not been published already and will not be submitted elsewhere without the consent of the Publication's Committee.

Three copies of the Article and a diskette carrying the article should be sent to the Editor, typed with double spacing. References should also be double spaced. Manuscripts should be typed in capital and lower case letters, on white paper. 216 x 279 mm. or A4 (212 x 297). Arrange components in the following order: title page, abstract, text, references, tables in numerical sequence, and figure legends. Number all pages consecutively, starting with the title page.

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