

THE KARĀVA OF CEYLON

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

M. D. RAGHAVAN
EMERITUS ETHNOLOGIST
NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF CEYLON



K. V. G. DE SILVA & SONS
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WITH A FOREWORD

BY

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

- Folk Plays and Dances of Kerala, 1947.
Rāma Varma Research Institute, Trichur, Kēraḷa.
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 4. The Pattini Cult as a Socio-Religious Institution.
 5. An Antique Kandyan Vase.
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ABBREVIATIONS

A.R.E.	Annual Report on Epigraphy.
A.O.	Archiv Orientalni.
A.S.C.	Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.
C.A. & L.R.	Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register.
C.G.A.	Ceylon Govt. Archives.
C.H.J.	Ceylon Historical Journal.
C.J.Sc.	Ceylon Journal of Science.
C.L.R.	Ceylon Literary Register.
Cu.	Cūlavamsa.
C.Y.B.	The Ceylon Year Book.
D.R.	Dutch Records.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica.
E.Z.	Epigraphia Zeylanica.
I.G.C.I.	Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon.
J.C.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.W.A.Sc.	Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences.
Mah.	Mahāvamsa.
M.L.R.	Monthly Literary Register.
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
S.M.D.C.	Secret Minutes of the Dutch Council.
S.M.D.P.C.	Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council.
S.R.D.C.	Secret Resolutions of the Dutch Council.
S. P.	Sessional Paper.
S.Z.	Spolia Zeylanica.
T.A.S.	Travancore Archaeological Series.
T.L.	Tamil Lexicon.
T.R.A.S.	Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

FOREWORD

Ceylon's diverse and colourful population pattern has only lately attracted the attention of anthropologists. Earlier investigators, such as C. G. Seligman, concentrated on the study of the Veddās, the most primitive and archaic of the Island's numerous ethnic groups, and though A. M. Hocart and more recently Bryce Ryan gave an account of the general outline of the Sinhalese caste-system, there have been few intensive studies of any of the more advanced sections of either the Sinhalese or the Tamil populations. The work of E. R. Leach, Nur Yalman and M. Y. Banks will in time no doubt provide data on some of the individual caste-groups, but Dr. M. D. Raghavan is the first to produce a full scale monograph describing a community of considerable numerical and political importance. The Karavas, who form the subject of the present book, are a population of remarkable vigour and versatility. Their contribution to the development of Ceylon's economy cannot be easily overestimated. At one time a group of seafarers and fighting men, they developed fishing as their main caste-occupation, and have lately grown into a trading community of great wealth and enterprise. Today they hold a key position in the modern urban economy of Ceylon. In their adaptation to a style of life based on western models, they have perhaps gone further than any other Sinhalese social group, and many Karavas now stand in the forefront of national life.

My own knowledge of the community is limited, though during a recent visit to Ceylon I had the opportunity of moving among Karavas of all social classes. What impressed me most at that time was the extraordinary range of this caste-group, which includes speakers of Sinhalese and Tamil, Buddhists as well as Roman Catholics, simple fishermen and eminent intellectuals. Notwithstanding this great range, and in contradistinction to many Indian castes, the Karava community evinces no tendency to split into endogamous subcastes, and caste-cohesion survives even religious differentiation. It would appear for instance that there is

less prejudice against marriages between Buddhist and Christian Karavas than there is against intermarriage between Buddhist Karavas and Buddhists of another caste.

To the student of Asian social systems the Sinhalese caste-system is of particular interest. In many respects it follows the Indian pattern, while its ideological basis is entirely different from that of the Hindu social order. The fundamentally egalitarian philosophy of Buddhism provides no support for discrimination between social groups of distinct privileges, but in practice ideas of caste determine even recruitment to the various monastic orders, the monks of the Siamese sect, for instance, being drawn exclusively from the Goyigama caste. The author's interesting hypothesis regarding the development of the caste-system in Ceylon is certainly not yet the last word on this complex problem, but by giving a comprehensive and detailed account of one of the largest and most important castes, he provides us with extremely valuable material for the study of the Sinhalese caste-system.

Dr. Raghavan's approach to his subject is not merely that of an ethnographer. He has gone far back into the history of the Karava community and drawn a picture of its development and growth through the centuries. Occupying the regions along the Island's west coast, the Karavas must have been the first to make close contact with the Portuguese and later the Dutch, but this early European influence has only partly transformed Karava culture. Side by side with sections of the caste largely westernized in style of living are others that have retained extremely ancient ideas and folkways. Much of the rich ritual enacted in the fishing-villages may have its roots in pre-Buddhist ideas, and my own impression was that the average Karava villager professes simultaneously two distinct religions, namely Theravada Buddhism and the cult of yakka and local deities. He is evidently not conscious of any inconsistency resulting from adherence to two such different creeds: Buddhist worship concerns the fate of man in his next life, whereas the far more elaborate propitiation of deities and demons aims at securing benefits in this life. Whereas in mythology and folk belief the two creeds may partly be intertwined, they are clearly distinguished in ritual practice, and many of the ceremonies performed by Karavas for the sake of gaining

temporal aims have very little connection with orthodox Theravada Buddhism.

No more need be said to indicate the interest and importance of an intensive study of the Karavas. It is a privilege to introduce a new book by Dr. Raghavan, whose monograph on the Rodiyas and earlier contributions to the Ethnological Survey of Ceylon, have already established his position as an authority on the ethnography of Ceylon. I do so with all the more pleasure as only a few days have passed since I enjoyed the hospitality of the Government of Ceylon, and became aware of the wide scope for anthropological research in an Island remarkable for the diversity of cultural traditions no less than for its distinguished contribution to the artistic and spiritual heritage of mankind.

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November, 1960.

PREFACE

Ceylon owes a deep debt of gratitude to that keen observer of the social life of the Kandyan Kingdom, Robert Knox, whose chronicle, "An Historical Relation of Ceylon", 1681, was the first to kindle interest in the fascinating field of the Island's peoples. The Colonial days were notable for an exuberant interest in the new Colony; and the output of literature on Ceylon during the first one hundred years of the British occupation was immense. Nevertheless, books devoted to more than a superficial knowledge of the indigenous peoples were few and far between, and to intensive social studies, infinitesimal.

In modern times, students of social science drawn to studies of the peoples of Ceylon, have had some very pertinent remarks to make on the lack of a scientific survey of the social field. Typical of such pronouncements are these observations in the Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences. "There seems to be a dearth of material on the internal structure of the Sinhalese Castes. . . . There are no records of community surveys including caste data along with other relevant social facts concerning residence, segregation, present occupational activities, incomes, endogamy and tendencies toward disregard of caste rules . . . There are no facts relevant to the effects of the European System on the native economy, especially as regards the caste obligations and how the transition was made from one to the other . . . Finally, data on the specific location of caste villages in Ceylon and the districts of major concentration for each of the groups would be helpful in relating the castes to their physical and social environment". Gilbert: "The Sinhalese Caste System of Central and South Ceylon", Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. XXXV, Nos. 3 and 4, 1945, pp 113-114.

It is indeed a coincidence that these remarks should have found expression at a stage in the annals of Ceylon when a social survey had already begun to operate, and when that survey, the Ethnological Survey of Ceylon, had resumed activities with a planned programme of work after the cessation of the Second World War.

After a tenure of activity by the first Ethnologist, the late Lieut. Commander de la Haule Marett, from March 1937, to September 1939, mainly directed to racial studies and collection of physical anthropometrical measurements, the Survey was resumed with my appointment in July 1946, as Ethnologist in the Department of National Museums of Ceylon.

Free of all formal assignments, towards the close of 1957, I turned my thoughts to a field of studies that has been largely neglected, the field of the major constituent groups of the Sinhalese Social System, as distinguished from the minor and tribal groups which claimed more or less my wholehearted attention in the scheme of the Ethnological Survey. Except for brief mention in books that cover a wide ground, which precluded a monographic treatment, or in books devoted to the sociology of the mediaeval or Kandyan periods, the major groups have received no sustained attention at the hands of students of the social science. Nevertheless it is obvious that the several major groups have a wealth of traditional culture which deserves to be expounded with a sense of awareness of the need to foster and preserve "adaptable" values of traditional culture, values which are subject to uncontrollable changes under a variety of modernization influences.

Conscious of the importance of this extensive field, the major groups had come in for some amount of personal observation during my tours over the years past. Side by side with this was my interest in what, in the language of anthropology, is termed "Primitive Technology", in which field I had occasion to publish a few studies in the Ethnological Survey series ("The Swing in the New Year Sports of the Sinhalese", and "Aeolian Musical Instruments: the Musical Kite of Jaffna", S.Z. Vol. 26, Part I).

A line of study which largely interested me and which I had pursued sporadically, was the indigenous seagoing craft, which had taken me on a number of week-end visits to the coastal waters and the Negombo lagoon, inspired by the great master in the field of Primitive Technology, Prof. Henry Balfour, F.R.S. of Oxford, my teacher in Prehistoric Archaeology and Primitive Technology. This line of enquiry now began to re-assert itself, in particular, an investigation of the elaborate mechanism of the outrigger canoe, the *Oru*, a little known field of indigenous technology, and I

renewed my interest in the outrigger resting in the sheltered anchorage of the Negombo lagoon or breasting the waves in the quest of the harvest of the seas. These first steps paved the way to a steady extension of the scope of my observations to other aspects of Karāva art and culture. It was not long before, the studies took me over the entire western littoral, an integrated and co-ordinated design area.

From the maritime regions to the hinterland was the next stage. Among the villages of the interior are the remote Hindu Kurukulathār village of Manampitiya in the district of Polonnaruwa, the Buddhist Karāva villages of Diddeniya in the North Western Province and Ratalavāva in the district of Mātale in the Central Province, to name but a few of the more important villages where the traditional culture of the Karāva is best preserved. These and other villages were studied in the course of a cultural survey directed to the unravelling of the rich traditional culture of the people and their present life in the varying physical and social environment in the different regions of Ceylon. Nevertheless it can scarcely be claimed that the entire field has been covered within the span of time devoted to the project.

Anthropologists have deliberated on an analysis of the stages in the development of social anthropology. The first stage began with "E. B. Tylor and his immediate followers", "the stage of collecting of customs and institutions", "culture in the singular, undifferentiated and unparticularised sense", a stage "when the simple primitive community was not yet seen as an organised system". The second stage of social anthropology was characterised "by the scientific exploitation of the isolated self-sufficient primitive community". This stage in Ceylon found expression in field studies on tribal groups—the Vedda, the Ahikuntakaya—the Gipsy tribe, and the peripheral groups, the Rodiya and the Kinnaraya. The third and current period in the development of social anthropology has been identified with the attempt to deal "with societies that are not simple but are compound", communities "connected with or forming part of a civilisation or national State". (Redfield: "Primitive and Peasant; Simple and Compound Society", in "Society in India", Madras, 1956, p. 61). To this latter phase belongs the present

study of the Karāva, the first in the series of comprehensive studies of advanced groups of Ceylon.

Methods of relating social research to economic development found emphasis at the Regional Seminar on Techniques of Social Research, held by the UNESCO Research Centre, Calcutta, in December, 1958. The discussions underlined the importance of a sociological approach to development plans and policies based on a right understanding of the current social trends in South East Asian countries at present under economic planning programmes. Fundamental to such an approach are intensive studies of distinctive groups for a precise knowledge of the present conditions, needs, behavioural patterns and disposition of the different constituent groups of the Sinhalese society.

The impact of history on society in Ceylon has been far reaching. The coming of the Europeans, in the early sixteenth century, brought in fresh ideas, engrafted on indigenous institutions. Thus began a complex of socio-historical relations, which the student of society in Ceylon has to unravel. True to this feature of Ceylon society, the opening chapter of the present study is devoted to an exposition of the historical background preliminary to the detailed presentation of the social and cultural field in the subsequent chapters.

Comprehensive field studies of the several other social groups are indeed very much to be desired if we are to gain adequate knowledge of the normative life of the people; knowledge which should precede planning directed to social and material advancement. Attempts to gain a knowledge of society in Ceylon by an analysis of the literature of the Kandyan and Colonial days, lead to extensive misconstruction in the absence of current field data, and present a picture scarcely realistic of things as they are. There is no alternative to painstaking field studies, if we are to obtain "sociologically significant data on current society".

The first survey directed to an exposition of the several cultural features distinctive to the group, the studies called for an application, largely of the "qualitative" method of research. The studies envisaged extended from Social Organization, Gō Names and Kinship Terminology to the Kōlam, the unique play in masquerade, deep-sea fishing and Fishing Craft, and the vast field

of Traditional Psychology and Symbolisms emblazoned in the group standards and banners. These and other cultural data have been subjected to intensive treatment on a scale not usually done in survey studies.

A combination of observation and interview techniques has been faithfully employed in conducting these studies. The interviews have been mostly of a long and sustained character. Group interview has found only limited application as a first step to an understanding of the overall pattern of a rural setting, antecedent to intensive interviews of individual personalities.

Integrated by bonds of traditional values, the Karāva is essentially a homogeneous community. Nevertheless there are obvious divergences in the way of life of the coastal peoples as differentiated from the peoples of the hinterland. No generalisation can consequently be rightly made based solely on a study of a particular village whether coastal or interior.

The case method as a research tool has been judiciously employed, limited to a few cases of undoubted individuality competent to throw light on particular social problems.

In fine, it may be affirmed that a number of workers, born to the culture under study, coming to my aid, has been an invaluable asset and a vindication of the team method of research presented in the following pages.

M. D. RAGHAVAN.

Colombo, January, 1961.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A project of such wide scope as that covered by this book could not have been adequately treated without much assistance from a host of friends. They are too numerous to mention individually. I must express my great obligation to Mr. A. S. F. Weerasuriya and Mr. P. Jayaratna who directed me to many of the villages where ancient flags are to be found. I am also grateful to Mr. T. P. Fernando for assisting with the collection of a vast number of gē names pertaining to the Karāva, data which I have used in my study. My presence at Udappu during the annual festival of the Sri Krishna and Draupadi Amman Kovil was possible only because of the arrangements made by Mr. W. Prasoodi to whom my thanks are due. I am also grateful to Mr. A. P. Gomes for much assistance.

Particular mention must be made of the photographs used for the illustrations in this book. They are all the work of Mr. H. C. Ebert and their high standard is all the more praiseworthy when considering the conditions under which they had sometimes to be taken. I appreciate very much the patience, time and great skill which Mr. Ebert so readily gave to this work.

Symbols and symbolisms have been among my life studies in cultural anthropology. In my analysis and presentation of the symbolisms in the flags and banners of the group described in Chapters IX & X, I owe a deep debt to the researches of Dr. G. H. Mees, whose work "The Book of Signs", I have laid under contribution. In their letter N. K./J. Dept., of February 27, 1959, the publishers, N. Kluwer, Deventer, The Netherlands, have been pleased to permit me to make necessary extracts and references from the books of Dr. Mees. I make my acknowledgements to both the author and the publisher.

Mr. A. B. Cyril Fernando has helped me considerably in the collection of historical data, and in my field studies of kinship terminology, social organisation and the technology of the outrigger canoe. He has also prepared the Bibliography and the Index. My thanks are due to him for his valued collaboration.

M. D. R.

CHAPTER I THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1

Introduction

“Ceylon, rich in the resources of the soil and the wealth of the surrounding sea, occupies a central position in the Indian Ocean. The great sea-routes of the ancients as well as of the modern touch the Island.” “Consequently, she has always attracted settlers from far and near . . . Her proximity to India has been a factor of the utmost significance. The bulk of the inhabitants, their manners and customs, their arts and crafts, their occupational system and the method of village government, their religions and general outlook of life, all bear deep impress of their Indian origin.”¹

Ceylon's earliest connections with India are represented by the legends embodied in the *Rāmāyana*, the epic poem which recounts the abduction of *Sītā* by the king of Lankā, *Rāvanā*, and her recovery by *Rāmā*, with the aid of the Vānara chief *Hanuman*. But, with the arrival in Ceylon of the Aryan settlers from North India under a prince, called *Vijaya*, which, according to the ancient chronicles, took place in B.C. 543, the ethnical and cultural links with the sub-continent pass from legend to history. North Indian influence waxed strong with the spread of Buddhism in the reign of Dēvānampiyatissa (B.C. 247–207), the contemporary of Emperor Aśoka (B.C. 274–237), and it continued upto the Cōla conquest of Ceylon in the tenth century A.D. From that period to the arrival of the Portuguese, it is the South Indian influence that prevailed.²

The influx of Indian influence was partly related to invasions. “The three peoples, or rather realms, which traditionally divided South India between them were the Cōlās to the North West, with their capital in later times at Tanjore, the Pāṇḍyans south of them centred at Madura and the Kēralās on the West. It was

1. The Ceylon Year Book, 1948. Pt. 3. Ch. 2. 205.

2. Mendis : The Early History of Ceylon, 17.

the first two who were in constant contact with Ceylon. The rise of the one or the other in power as often as not was marked by an invasion of the Island."¹ Their royal emblems were a pair of fishes for the Pāṇḍyans, a seated tiger for the Cōlās and a bow for the Ceras.²

Towards the end of the third century B.C., Elāra, a Tamil from the Cōla country invaded Ceylon and ruled over Anuradhapura, until he was defeated and slain by Duṭugāmuṇu. Under Mahinda V, at the close of the eleventh century A.D., Rājārāja I, the great Cōla Emperor, conquered the whole Island, save the remoter parts, which continued to be held by the Sinhalese. Ceylon then became a province of the Cōla Empire and Polonnaruwa was renamed Jananāthapura. Nissanka Malla from Kālinga ruled over the Island for nine years (1187-1196), and the puppet sovereigns set up often after him were of the Kālinga race. From 1215 to 1236, Māgha, a scion of the same race seized the Sinhalese throne and tyrannized the people.

From the day that Vijaya and his followers espoused Pāṇḍyan wives, there had been matrimonial alliances between the Sinhalese royalty and the royalty of South India. The grandfather of Parākrama Bahu I is said to have been a Pāṇḍyan prince.³ Queen Ratnāvali, speaking of her royal connections says, "After the Prince named Vijaya had slain all the *yakkās* and made this Island of Lanka habitable for men, since then one has allied the family of Vijaya with ours by unions above all with scions of the Kālinga line."⁴ Of Mahinda IV (A.D. 975), the Chronicle says: "Although there was also in Lanka a race of nobles, the Ruler of men had a princess of the line of the ruler of Kālinga fetched and made her first *Mahēsi*. Of her was born two sons and a charming daughter. He made his sons *ādīpādās* and his daughter a queen: thus the ruler founded the royal house of the Sihalas."⁵ During the Kōṭṭe period, the Sinhalese royalty gets so mixed up with South Indian royalty, as to make it difficult, at times, to distinguish the one

1. Codrington: Mediaeval Sinhalese Kingdom, A lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 23rd March, 1937.

2. Codrington: A Short History of Ceylon. 1926. 15.

3. Cūlavamsa, Geiger, I. 358.

4. Ibid., LXIII, 12, 13.

5. Ibid., LIV, 9, 10, 11.

from the other. For instance, such celebrities as Alakēsvara or Alagakkōnar, who pushed back the armies of Āriya Chakravartī, King of Jaffna, Sapumal Kumārāya or Champak Perumāl, the conqueror of the Northern Kingdom, Vidiyē Bandāra or Tiruvē Bandār, the restless warrior, his brother Tammiṭa Sūriya Bandāra or Tammiṭa Sembahap Perumāl, to whose care the young Prince Dharmapāla was entrusted by his royal grandfather, Bhuvaneka Bāhu, and Nannurutunaiyār, the scholarly husband of the Sinhalese Princess, Ulakuḍaya Dēvi, were all princes connected with South Indian Royalty.

Another powerful factor of Indian influence in Ceylon was the presence of Indian mercenaries in the country. "The Island's history shows that foreign invasions and internal civil dissensions were of frequent occurrence. Most kings were in constant fear of foreign invasion or internal strife, and had to maintain powerful armies."¹ These armies were composed of local troops as well as of South Indian mercenaries. There were Tamils, Kēralās and Karnāṭās among them. About the 13th century, even Rajputs were found serving in the King's army.

Already in the 7th century, Tamil mercenaries were in Ceylon and they often proved troublesome to their royal employers.² Under Vijaya Bāhu I (1056-1111), the Indian mercenaries refused to fight their countrymen and revolted; but they were taught the lesson of their life.³ The many wars of Parākrama Bāhu the Great, made it necessary for him to maintain a large force of mercenaries. He assigned certain villages for their use, but dealt with them severely when they refused to carry out his orders or rebelled.⁴

The Chronicles mention an incident of the 13th century, which gives us an idea of the power these mercenaries had in the country: They began in the first instance, to hand over their pay to the chivalrous Āriya warriors at the head of whom was Thakuraka. But these declared: "We have at all times been people who one felt must be won over. Now ye must under all circum-

1. Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, Ariyapala. 160.

2. Cūlavamsa, Geiger, XLIV, 134; XLV, 12 ff.

3. Ibid., LX, 35 ff.

4. Ibid., LXXIV, 44-49.

stances, first of all by good pay win over the Sihala warriors and make them contented." And none of them now accepted the pay. "Be it so," answered the others. They paid all the Sihalas their money and then called upon the Āriya to take their pay. But again they refused with the words: "Our pay shall be handed to us later; we shall not take it now." So although all the ministers over and again urgently pressed them to accept their pay, the well-armed Āriya knights declared: "We shall say everything in the presence of the king." They betook themselves to the King's abode and when they saw the Sēnāpati Mitta sitting on the lion-throne, they stood for a time respectfully there. Then the warrior Thakuraka who was possessed of an undaunted heart, gave his comrades a sign, took his sharp sword and in a moment swiftly struck off the Sēnāpati's head so that it fell to the ground. Now when hereupon a great hubbub arose in the town, all the Sihala soldiers who were a mighty force, banded themselves together and asked the Āriya soldiers with Thakuraka at their head: "Why have ye done this evil deed?" They replied: "It took place at the command of King Bhuvaneka Bāhu who abides in Subhagiri." With the words, "Be it so", all the Āriya and Sihala warriors united and brought the King, their Lord, Bhuvaneka Bāhu from the town of Subhagiri to the town of Jambuddonī and with reverence consecrated him King.¹

The incident narrated above is this: When Vijaya Bāhu IV (1267-1270) was assassinated by his Sēnāpati (general) about October, 1270, his younger brother, Bhuvaneka Bāhu, succeeded in escaping; the usurper, failing to secure the allegiance of the "Āriya warriors", under their leader Thakuraka, who had been won over by the true heir, was murdered, and the Prince crowned at the beginning of 1271. In a footnote to "Āriya warriors", Geiger says, "In contrast to the Sihalas, these must be South Indian mercenaries." Rev. H. Puññaratana, in his interesting work, *Lankā-pura-Tattvaya*, thinks that this was an army of Āryan Kshatriyas from the North. The Cūlavamsa refers to the Aryan dynasty of Pāṇḍya.² Thakuraka is a well-known Rajput title. There were Rajput soldiers in Ceylon at that time, and Hamir Sank, the father of the romantic "Ceylon Princess", Pudmini,

1. Cūlavamsa, Geiger, XC, 16 ff.

2. Ibid., LXIII, 16; LXI, 36.

who married the regent of Chitor about 1275, perhaps, was one of the Rajputs who had taken service in Ceylon.¹

Some of these South Indian mercenaries formed part of the military corporations known as *agampādi* and *vēlakkāra*; while others remained autonomous groups or regiments under their own leaders. The *agampādi* troops are mentioned as early as the time of Parākrama Bāhu I;² the *vēlakkārās* even earlier.³ The *vēlakkāra* troops must have been a well disciplined force, for they bound themselves to die rather than abandon their post.⁴ But there were occasions when divided loyalties made them a menace to the peace of the country as it happened under Mahinda V (1001), Gaja Bāhu II (1131-1153) and even Parākrama Bāhu the Great.⁵

The Kings who employed these mercenaries gave them good pay, donated to them villages and conferred on them honours and titles. Those who chose to settle down in this country—and they were many—gradually adopted the language and culture of their neighbours, retaining, however, some of their tribal customs and manners, and even traits of their military character.⁶ With the arrival of Europeans and the development of colonial rule, they turned their attention to peaceful occupations, such as agriculture, fishing, handicrafts, and to trade and commerce.

In the following pages it is proposed to trace the history of one such ethnical group, who came to the Island from India centuries ago on military service and gradually made themselves one with the inhabitants of the country of their adoption. This group comes under the name of the Kauravās, Karāva or Kuru.

2

The Karāva Tradition

The Karāva people of Ceylon claim to be descended from the Kuru refugees, who scattered after their defeat in the great war between the Pāṇḍavās and the Kauravās or Kurus, related in the

1. Tod: Annals of Rajasthan. 1873, Vol. 1, 220.

2. Nikāya Saṃgrahaya. Sinh. Text 18.

3. Cūlavamsa, Geiger, LX, 36.

4. JCBRAS, XXIX. No. 77, 275.

5. Cūlavamsa, Geiger, LV, 4 ff; LXIII, 24 ff; LXXIV, 44 ff.

6. Ariyapala: Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, 174; CLR 3rd Series Vol. III, 385-392, 439-446.

Mahābhārata. Hugh Nevill in his *Oriental Studies* records the existence of the tradition in his time. "In Ceylon and South India, these Kariar or Karāwa as they are now called—Karawa (pronounced K'rāva) is said to have been the former Sinhalese pronunciation—have like their northern kinsmen the Kauravās of Central India (Dalton) maintained their descent to be from the Kuru refugees who were exiled from Kuru-ratṭa after the defeat of the Kauravās described in the *Mahābhārata*; and there is nothing improbable in the two independent traditions and much in their favour."¹

While it would be beyond the scope of this work to trace the different paths trodden by Kaurava refugees after their defeat in war, it is pertinent to note that in different parts of India there are peoples who to this day claim to be descended from such groups of Kurus who left their homeland. In Central India they were called KAURS.² In Bengal they came to be known as *Kur* and Robert Shafer states: "After the Battle of the *Mahābhārata* the PANCĀLĀS seem to have annexed the honoured name of the Kurus. The name Kuru and Kaurava seems to have soon disappeared from the political map of India. What became of the Kuru people? If one looks at a modern linguistic map one may note three small patches labelled *Kur*, which one may compare with ancient *Kuru*, and the larger patch labelled *Kur-ku*; also *Korwa* which we may compare with ancient *Kaurava*."³

Tod has stated: "But it would be impossible here to give even an indistinct outline of those important branches of the Hericūla races, who with their *Cūru* or Caurva brethren have left indelible traces from the 'Cliffs of Caucasus' to utmost isle Taprobane. The 'Caroora regia Cerobothri', adjoining the

1. Nevill: *Oriental Studies*, Vol. II, 9.—With Karāva and K'rāva compare Kārava which merits further study. It is found as the name of a sea-captain (nāvika) who occupied the highest seat in the Tamil Householders Terrace at Anuradhapura. (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. XIII, for the Year 1938, Leyden 1940. "Tamil House-Holders Terrace, Anuradhapura" by S. Paranavitana pp. 13-14.)
2. Dalton: *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, 137.
3. Shafer: *Ethnography of Ancient India*, 30. For the interesting view that the bulk of the Kaurava nation was not Aryan and that their Kshatriya varna was almost exterminated, see Robert Shafer: *Ethnography of Ancient India*, 30.

'Modura regia Pandionis', on the Coromandel Coast, was in all probability named from a colony of the children (Putra) of the Curus; and Coromandel itself may be Cūrúmandala, the region of the *Cūrús*."¹

In Southern India the ancient Pāṇḍyan kings claimed a Kaurava origin and tradition attributed to the Pāṇḍyan dynasty descent from the Lunar race. "In the South-east of the peninsula there were kingdoms founded by princes of their (Chandra) race before and after the great war as at Mahābalipur south of Madras and Madura the Capital of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, which was long governed by viceroys from Hastinapura."²

In Ceylon as in various parts of India the tradition of Kaurava settlements has lived on. Thus says a *Kadaim-Pota*: "In olden times, after the Rawana War, from Kuru Raṭa there came to this Island a queen, a royal prince, a rich nobleman, and a learned prime-minister, with their retinue, and by order of King Rama dwelt in the place called on that account Kuru Raṭa. In the year of our great lord Gautama Buddha, Gaja Bāhu, who came from Kuru Raṭa, settled people in the (second Kuru Raṭa), calling it Parana-Kuru-Raṭa. Into another place he sent 1,000 persons, and gave it to them calling it Alut Kuruva."³

Sinhalese works on caste are few, if the literature of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century caste controversies is excluded. The *Janavamsa*, which is usually regarded as a work not later than the fifteenth century, is attributed to a bhikkhu.⁴ It is valuable chiefly for its listing of the Sinhalese castes of the time. Unfortunately as its translator Hugh Nevill himself states, it has been mutilated and tampered with to suit the interests of different groups. The listings given in the book have been somewhat uncritically followed by later writers.⁵ In view of the

1. Tod: *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society—London*, 1831, Vol. 111, 157-158.
2. Taylor: *Historical Manuscripts*, Vol. 1, pp. 120, 195.
Dikshitar, in *Silappadikaram*, also refers to the Kaurava factor in the Pāṇḍya dynasty (p. 209), but conjectures that this dynasty may have had an indigenous origin. See also his *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 179.
3. Bell: *Report on the Kegalle District*, 2.
4. Nevill: *The Taprobanian*, Vol. 1, Part 111, 75.
5. Coomaraswamy: *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*. Second Edition, 1956, 21-22.

doubts cast as to the reliability of the *Janavamsa*, it is not proposed to draw on the information contained in this work to any great extent.¹

Nevill has stated that the Karāva in Southern India and Ceylon begin to be of recorded importance by the 10th century A.D.² It is significant that South Indian influence as a permanent feature in the courts and capitals of Ceylon commences at about the same period. The use of Indian mercenaries in Ceylon had already been a long-established practice and by the time of Vijaya Bāhu I a standing force of *vēlakkāra* mercenaries was serving the king. They were powerful enough in 1084-5 to put the king to flight by rebelling when preparations were being made for war against the Cōlas.³

These *vēlakkāras*, according to Geiger, first came to Ceylon with the Cōla king Rājendra I, who conquered the Island in the first half of the 11th century and they soon acquired great influence in the country.⁴ Half a century after their revolt against Vijaya Bāhu I they deserted Gaja Bāhu during his struggle against Kittisirimēgha and Sirivallabha.⁵ Even the great Parākrama Bāhu himself had to contend with a revolt of the *vēlakkāras* which he suppressed with the utmost severity.⁶ The stone inscription in Polonnaruwa erected by them and ascribed by Geiger to the year 1137 in which they undertook to protect the Temple of the Tooth Relic is arrogant in tone and exhibits their power at the time.⁷

During this period when South Indian influence was increasing in Ceylon we find numerous references in South Indian inscriptions

1. It may be noted, however, that Nevill who studied many versions of the text, states "I have a rare version, which contains an authentic passage referring to the Karāva caste, suppressed now from most copies." Hugh Nevill Collection, British Museum, Vol. 1, 27.

The passage is translated by him in *The Taprobanian* (1885-86), Vol. 1, Part IV, pp. 109-110. The Sinhalese text is found in the Hugh Nevill Collection, British Museum, Or. 6606 (39).

2. Nevill: *Oriental Studies*, Vol. 11, 9.

3. Codrington: *A Short History of Ceylon*, 57.

4. Geiger: *Army and War in Mediaeval Ceylon*. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. IV, 154.

5. *Cūlavamsa*, LXIII, 24 sq.

6. *Ibid.*, LXXIV, 44 sq.

7. Wickremasinghe: *Ep. Zeyl.*, II, 247.

to personages who styled themselves as Kurukularāyan. Thus, in the 41st year of Kulottunga I, 1070-1120 A.D. two salt pans at Vāriyūr alias Parākrama Sōlapperalam were gifted by Ponpariyūḍaiyan Araiyan Muvayirat-toruvan alias Kurukularāyan for a perpetual lamp called after Kulottunga in the temple of Succindram.¹ The name Kurukularāyan, obviously signifies a chieftain. The term is clearly analogous to the name Kurukulatalawan, from "Kuru, a prince of the lunar race, after whom his family was called Kurukulam" (*Tamil Lexicon*, 1926, Vol. II Madras). In the third year of the reign of Kulottunga III acc. 1178, land has been gifted by Karuppurūḍaiyan Periyalavan Kurukularāyan for the benefit (*nanru*) of Periyūḍaiyan alias Karikāla Sōla Adaiyurnaḍḍalvan and Narasingapanmār.² In the 12th year of the reign of Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva (1257 A.D.) an inscription states that the garbhagriha, ardhamaṇḍapa and the mahā-maṇḍapa of the temple were built of stone by Gurukulattarāyan of Taḍangannich—Chirur in Tirumalli—nāḍu who also set apart his village Anaiyūr alias Tennavan—Sirrur for maintaining the Sundara-Pāṇḍyan-sandi. The inscription states that he was the King's Minister.³

It is evident that at this time there were in South India people who styled themselves Kurukula princes and it is not surprising in view of the Cōla influence in Ceylon during the 11th century that inscriptional evidence should exist to show that the same designation was not unknown in the Island and that an army commander of Vijaya Bāhu I was himself a Kurukulattaraiyan.

The Tirumukkūḍal inscription of the Cōla King Virarājendra 1062-1067 records his invasion of the Island in the following terms, "(Putting forth) a number of ships (laden with) excessively large forces on the ever-swelling and highly protected sea, and without attempting to ford it, he (the Cōla King) began to wage a war in Ilam which cast a gloom on that army of the Sinhalese wherein Kurukulattaraiyan who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was

1. Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. 1, 247-248.

2. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, No. 126.

3. *Stone Inscriptions*. Madras Government Epigraphy, 554 of 1922.

not able to bear (the charge of the Cōlas) with the result that Vijaya Bāhu, the king (of the Island) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (the Cōla King) took his queen captive, conquered. . . . carried away immeasurably large family gems along with fine crowns and made Lanka with its impregnable walls his own."¹

The decline in Sinhalese power set in after the death of Parākrama Bāhu I in 1186, and, although the Kālinga prince, Nissanka Malla (1187–1196), proved himself to be a strong ruler, his death was followed by a period of chaos which ended with the accession of the Kālinga Māgha to the throne in 1215 A.D. During this period we see the beginnings of a more rigid adherence to the rules of caste which was undoubtedly due to the greater Hindu influence as a result both of South Indian immigrations and invasions of the Island. The Hindu background of Nissanka Malla makes him stress his Kshatriya origin and he takes great pains in his inscription to point out the right of his family to the Lion Throne.²

During the next two hundred years due to the continued foreign pressure the Capital was moved to Daṁbadeniya, Yāpahu, Kurunegala and Gampola. The sovereigns of Lanka had first to contend with the growing power of the Pāndyan kingdom and later with the imperialistic aims of the great Vijayanagar monarchs. In the fourteenth century the ascendancy of the Jaffna kingdom even threatened to engulf the Sinhalese throne and led the minister, Alagakkōnāra, who was himself a South Indian, to build the fortress of new Jayavardhanapura or Kōtte.³ The power of the Jaffna kingdom was checked, but the Sinhalese decline continued until the accession of Parākrama Bāhu VI (A.D. 1412–1468) who "raised the nation to a height never attained since the days of Parākrama Bāhu II, and never afterwards rivalled"⁴

1. Tirumukkudal Inscription of Virarajendra, E. I, Vol. XXI, Part 5, No. 38, pp. 220–250. Translated by K. V. Subramaniya Ayyar. For Tamil text see South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VII, p. 53, No. 126, 1933.

For earlier and later references to Kurukularayans in South India, see Annual Report of the South Indian Epigraphy, Year Ending March 31st, 1923 : 548 of 1922, 553 of 1922, 572 of 1922, 575 of 1922. Government of Madras, Public Department Epigraphy for 1910–1911, 700 of 1909, 83 of 1911. Ibid., 1912–13, 145 of 1912, 221 of 1912.

2. Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. II, 162–164.

3. Codrington: A Short History of Ceylon, 84.

4. Ibid., 93.

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as said already, Indian mercenaries continued to be used by the Sinhalese kings, and it is definitely known that Rajputs were employed immediately prior to and during the reign of Bhuvanaika Bāhu I A.D. 1271–1283.¹

For the fifteenth century there is much more evidence from which we may gain an impression of the Karāva military and social organisation as it existed in this Island at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese. But before proceeding to describe this society, mention must be made of three inscribed swords probably of the fifteenth century which contain the names of the recipients.² The names are of considerable interest from their resemblance to Karāva names of later days. We shall have occasion to note how the Paṭabāṇḍi (honorific) names of Karāva chiefs throughout the following centuries show few changes and invariably stress their Kaurava origin.

In the first sword the name of the grantee is illegible but his *varige nam* or clan name reads "Kauravara Āditt(ya) Arasa Nilayiṭṭa". In the second sword the recipient's name and clan name are given as "Kauravara Āditt(ya) Kuru (. . . .) (A)rasa Nilayiṭṭa Illēnāga. The recipient of the third sword was "Kauravara Ādittya Kuruvīra Arasa Nilayiṭṭa Mahā Nāga". The inscription on the second sword states that Illēnāga was made second king and that on the third sword states Mahānāga was made a general.

1. Tod: Annals of Rajasthan I, 1873, 220.

C. A. & L. R., X, 88. Cūlavamṣa, Geiger, XC, 16 ff.

2. J.R.A.S.C.B., Vol. XVIII, No. 56, 388–391; 447–449.

For a discussion of the dates on these swords, see A Dip Into the Past by H. F. and F. Fernando, 1920, 16–17.

"Kauravara; Kaurava, relating to or belonging to the Kurus, from Kuru, descendant of Kuru" (Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Sir Monier Williams, Oxford, 1899).

Ādittya, in Sanskrit means the Sun, Surya. Āditi is the name of the most ancient Indian goddess and mother of the Ādittyas and of Gods. Varuna one of the Ādittyas, commonly thought to correspond to "Quronos" of the Greeks, often regarded as the Supreme Deity being then styled, King of the Gods, or King of both men and gods. In later mythology, he has been a kind of Neptune, and he is best known in his character as the lord of the Ocean. He is the regent of the Western quarter (Monier Williams: A Sanskrit-English Dictionary).

Arasanilayitta—endowed with, or possessing kingly status.

These swords were the heirlooms of the Karāva family of "de Rowel". The de Rowels in common with the d'Anderados, de Fonsekas, Tamels, Tisseras and Lowes possess the proud clan name Varunakula Ādittiya Arasanilayitta.¹ From the possession of a common clan name in the diversity of surnames, it is reasonable to infer that on conversion to Christianity the different members of the same clan took the various surnames by which their descendants are known to this day. At what period in the history of this illustrious clan the word Kauravara gave place to Varunakula it is not possible to say although there are numerous references to these families in the Dutch records right from the beginnings of Dutch times.² The clan name is definitely recorded as Varunakula Ādittiya Arasanilayitta in eighteenth century documents.³ The Mukkara Haṭana gives it as Varunakula-sūriya Arasanilayitta. In the Portuguese Tombo, unfortunately, the *varige nam* is seldom recorded and even the *patabāṇḍi* names are not usually mentioned. We are given the names adopted upon conversion together with the earlier "heathen" name. It is therefore difficult to trace with any certainty the history of these families in the Portuguese period although there are references to d'Anderados and Tisseras.

1. "The warige-nama was the clan name, either of local origin or indicating the service and, therefore, the social rank of the possessor, and the patabendi-nama, very often an accretion of honour-giving names as the family advanced in official status, was the name symbolical of worth or courage conferred on elevation to office." E. Reimers "Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames," Journal R.A.S.C.B., Vol. XXXI, No. 83, 440.
2. For the de Fonseka family documents, see Sessional Paper IX of 1933, p. 13. Also see Dutch Records, Volume 2673D, which deals entirely with matters pertaining to the d'Anderado and the de Fonseka families. For an earlier reference, see Baldaeus: Description of Ceylon, (Amsterdam 1672), in Churchill's Voyages, III, p. 798, for Dom Manuel d'Anderado, "one of our Cingalese Captians and Modliar" (1658).
3. Dutch Acts of Appointment, Vol. 1563/2284, folio 237.
Don Gerrit Tissera Varunakula Additiya Wiresurige Arasanillaitte appointed Mudaliyar of Negombo district, 1761.
Dutch Acts of Appointment, Vol. 2555, Folio 11.
Don Simon Melho Varunakula Adittiya Wirasuria Arasanillaitte, appointed Mudaliyar of Pitigal Korale in 1762.
Also see Vol. 2556/273 for his nephew who succeeded him.
Don Francisco Melho Varunakula Additiya Wirasuria Arasanillaitte. Regarding the Tissera family of Negombo, the Dutch Governor Van Goens says:—"There resides at Negombo one Joan Texeiro who is of good family and also possesses a knowledge of matters, but he is jealous of the Mudaliyar of Negombo. It would also be necessary for Your Excellency sometimes to summon him." Memoirs of Ryckloff Van Goens. Translated by E. Reimers, 1932.

The Varunakula is a clan of the Karāva, and is one of the three great Sūriya clans of this caste. The clans are Kurukula-sūriya, Varunakulasūriya and Arasakulasūriya or Mihiṇḍukula-sūriya. Presumably the grantees of the swords belonged to the Varunakula clan which would account for their descendants styling themselves as Varunakula Ādittiya. The term Kauravara is evidently the Sinhalese form of pronouncing the Tamil Kauravar, which is the regular Tamil word for the Kaurava of the *Mahābhārata*. From a study of the names one may conclude that the grantees were chiefs of illustrious descent whose titles stress their Kaurava origin.

We have already seen that in the South of India prominent families including the Pāṇḍyan dynasty claimed a Kaurava descent. Allowing for the all-pervading influence of the *Mahābhārata* on subsequent folk legend and tradition in various parts of India, the persistence with which southern legends and records mention the Kaurava connection cannot be dismissed without admitting the strong probability of a basis in fact.¹

In considering the Karāva tradition of a Kuru origin, it should be remembered that an immigration from the north of India was not probably directly involved, and is not claimed. The Mukkara Haṭana (chapter 1.3) which describes one such arrival, places their habitat in Southern India prior to their appearance in Ceylon. It is likely that the earlier immigrations were also traceable to such groups, long domiciled in the south who in the course of cen-

1. The evidence is not confined to individuals, families, and groups, but extends to geographical areas as well, and comes down to modern times.

Arikesari Maravarman (670-710 A.D.), ruined the Paravas who did not submit to him, and destroyed the people of the fertile Kurunadu. (Nilakanta Sastri: The Pandyas Kingdom, 52.)

In the 13th century, a sub-division of Rajagambhira-valanadu in Trichinopoly district was known as Kurunagai-nadu. Rangacharya: Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, 1919, Vol. III, p. 1521.

The inscriptional evidence extends to comparatively modern times. Thus we find that Dodda-Deva-Raja (a Mysore Raja), 1659-1672, claims to have subjugated the Kurus. (Rice, B.L. Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions, London, 1909, p. 128.)

Thurston, describing the Pattanavan of Madras Presidency (1909), states "Some Pattannavans give themselves high-sounding caste titles, e.g. . . . Varunakula Mudali . . . or Kurukula vamsam after Kuru, the ancestor of the Kauravas." Thurston: Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. VI, p. 178.

turies of acculturation adopted the Tamil language as their own, just as their descendants in Ceylon adopted the Sinhalese language and culture. This does not preclude an ultimate northern origin now lost in the mists of antiquity. In any event, in studying the culture and traditions of a people, it is not so much the probable origins of traditional beliefs that are of importance as the beliefs themselves, and their effect on subsequent developments and institutions.

3

The Mukkara Haṭana

The standard histories and chronicles of Ceylon, like *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvāṃsa*, *Cūlavāṃsa*, *Nikāya Saṃgraha*, *Rājaraṇākara* and *Pūjāvāliya*, do not tell us anything definite about the arrival and settlement of the Karāva in this country. The reason may be because these events do not fall within the period covered by the records, or because they did not fit into the author's plans. In fact, these venerable documents are deficient in information about many events of the Kōṭṭe period and later, as pointed out by Geiger, in his footnotes on chapters XCI and following of the *Cūlavāṃsa*. The *Rājāvāliya* is, however, an exception; but, even here much has to be supplemented from the works of European historians and unpublished local records. For information about the Karāva, one has, therefore, to turn elsewhere; for instance, to histories about South India, and to Sinhalese and Tamil writings, mostly manuscripts, which preserve the traditions of particular localities and groups of people. These traditions, when viewed in the light of ethnic details, which can yet be gathered in the coastal districts and isolated Karāva villages of the hinterland, add flesh and blood to the dry bones of history.

Among such documents I should like to cite here the *Mukkara Haṭana*, which contains interesting information about the coming of the Karāva and their subsequent settlement in the Island. This manuscript is found in the Hugh Nevill collection of the British Museum as Or. 6606 (53), and consists of 4 large palm-leaves, written on both sides. It is in Sinhalese and in a style similar to that of the *Kaḍaim Pot*, *Vitti Pot* and other popular local histories. The story told there is substantially contained in another manuscript work, published in the *Silumina* of November

1, 1936, by the late Dr. Andreas Nell under the title *Rāja Simha Kālē Pravṛti*. In fact it appears to be just another version with some additional details. It is in the same collection under Or. 6606 (54), and written down on 10 small palm-leaves. The Vanni-upata too gives much the same story.¹

Here is a literal translation of the *Mukkara Haṭana* :²

1. British Museum, No. Or. 6606 (139). See also Udaṛaṭa Vitti, P. M. P. Abhayasinha, 131; Itihasa, by the High Priest Weligama Sri Suman-gala Terunnanse, 1876; Mohotti Mudaliyar F. E. Gooneratne, in Ceylon Independent of June 11th, 1919. Bryce Ryan, in Caste in Modern Ceylon, p. 11, mentions evidence for large scale movements of mercenaries into Ceylon in the mid-fifteenth century.
2. For Sinhalese text see Appendix 1. Nevill's Note on this manuscript. (Note 408, No. P 17323) in the Hugh Nevill Collection of the British Museum, is as follows :—

408. " *Mukkaru yuddha kathā* "

This is a short account of the subjection of the Mukkaru, and their defeat during the reign of a Parākrama Bāhu of Kōṭṭa at Saka 1159, or A.D. 1237! This date however carries us back to the dynasty at Dambadeni! The date however occurs in both my copies. The king's army was collected at Kaelani modara, from the three countries of Kānchi, Kilakkarai, Kāvēri pattunam, and proceeded to Puttalama, where the war was commenced, and that fort taken, after a three months siege, and a loss of 1500 of the king's troops. They then proceeded to Nāgapattunam, where one of the royal leaders, Manika Talavan, was killed. That fort was taken after three months and twenty-five days siege, and a further loss of 1300 of the royal troops.

The leaders of the troops engaged from South India in the royal cause were, Vachchunātu Dēvare, Kurukulanātu Dēvare, Mānika Talavan, Adiyarasa Adappan, Warnasūriya Don Branāda Adappan, Kurukulasūriya Mudiyanse, Paradikulasūriya Mudiyanse, and Arasakulasūriya Mudiyanse. These chiefs were the heads of the Karāva or Kareār clans, subsequently settled between Chilaw and Negombo on the West coast of Ceylon. This is followed by an account of the arrival of the Portuguese at Colombo, and the capture of Negombo by Rājasinha and the Dutch, through the treachery and stratagem of the Karāva chiefs there, details of which are given.

The date S. 1159 has evidently been wrongly placed, and must in the original record have referred to some other event in the history of the Mukkaru, and not to their defeat by the Kareār mercenaries of the king, unless it is corrupted, which is unlikely as it occurs in both my copies. This defeat was in the reign of a later Parākrama Bāhu at Kōṭṭe, and the Tamil forces were under the command of his brother Tani-ela Bahu Raja, about A.D. 1508.

The account occupies only four rather large leaves in my copy A.

Don Branāda, or Don Fernando, must have been one of the earliest chiefs converted by the Portuguese, unless we suppose he had taken his title from some Genoese adventurer of a still earlier date. The confusion of dates suggested by me is rendered probable by the nature of this little book, which is evidently made up from some kavi or

MUKKARA HAṬANA

(The Mukkara War)

(Translation of Or. 6606 (53) of Hugh Nevill Collection in the British Museum)

Fol. 1.

May there be Prosperity !

When His Majesty, Srī Parākrama Bāhu¹ of the city of Kōtte, was reigning, Mukkaru from Punnāla, encamped at Puttalam and Nāgapattanam,² with the intention of capturing Lanka. The nobles who bore the news were asked "Who do you think are mighty enough to fight the Mukkuva hosts?" They replied, "If we would engage them in battle, it would be best to summon here the armies from the three countries (*raṭa*), namely, Kāñcīpura, Kāvēripattanam and Kilakkarai."³ When it was the royal pleasure to inform them that this suggestion was good, a message was sent to the three countries, as proposed by the nobles. The *nilamakkārayō*⁴ of the three countries, after perusing three letters

ballad of the war, and the title deeds of the Karāwa families, after the arrival of the Portuguese.

I met with another copy of this tract, in a very confused state, preserved with great care by the Tamil Kareārs of Egoda Pattu in Tammankaduwa, with the tradition that it recorded their original settlement there under Rajasinha II, at A.D. 1646, after he took Negombo with the help of their ancestors. They said it was a writing drawn up then, which on comparison with my copy A appears to be true.

Their copy says that the Arachchis of Waellewiya Mudaliyar who had betrayed the Portuguese at Negombo to Rajasinha and the Dutch, received Egoda Pattuwa as a fief, as well as a number of villages in Matale district. This colophon of the rewards is not given in my copy A, which was preserved with great care amongst the descendants of the Karāwa chiefs at Negombo. The Tammankaduwa copy is evidently made from an older book which was on small leaves, not numbered, and the subject matter is all confused in consequence of this being copied without intelligent restoration in the original sequence."

1. Probably Srī Parākkrama Bahu VI of Kōtte, 1412-1467. The date given later as 1159 Saka Era or 1237 A.D. must be a copyist's error.
2. Nāgapattanam : probably an obsolete village to the North of Puttalam, where there are yet such names as Nāgamaḍu, Nāgamodḍai and Nāgavillu (cf. Gazetteer of the Puttalam District by Modder, *sub voce*).
3. Kāñcīpura : Kāñjivaram or Conjeevaram, near Madras, the famous city of the Pallavās, as early as the 9th century A.D. (cf. History of India by Majumdar, Raychaudhuri & Datta, pp. 173-5 : Cūlavamṣa, LXXVIII, 121). Kāvēripattanam, on the banks of the Cavery river, near Trichinopoly, and South of Kāñcīpura.
4. Nilamakkārayō : office holders. (cf. Rājāvaliya, Sgh. Text, p. 55.)

patent, assembled at Kāñcīpura with the armies of the three countries to discuss the message received, and, after a martial display, proceeded to Lanka.

The names of these *nilamakkārayō* are, Vammunāṭṭu Dēvar,¹ Kurukulanāṭṭu Dēvar,² Mānikka Talavan,³ Adiarasa Adappa Unnāhē,⁴ Varna Sūriya Dōmbranada Adappa Unnāhē,⁵ Kurukula Sūriya Mudiyanse, Paradakula Sūriya Mudiyanse, Arasakula Sūriya Mudiyanse. With these nine (*sic*) *nilamakkārayō*, there set out 18 āracci,⁶ 7,740 soldiers, an *āmbaṭṭaya*⁷ and with him five *tovilkārayō*,⁸ They set sail in three *hamban*⁹ and landed at *Kālaṇi Mōdara*, in the year 1159, the 15th *Mina Rivi*, *Pancamilat Rivi dina*, to the *Rehenē nākata*, the *Lagna* of the Lion, *Guru Hōrava*. Thus indeed it happened.

The monarch, seated on his bright golden throne, received the *Nilamakkārayō* and their armies, who had arrived, questioned them about their names, clans and incidents of their voyage and graciously presented to them honours and emoluments. Then, surveying the array of men from the countries and displaying the

1. Vaccanāṭṭu Dēvarir lord of V°. "Vacca was a town in N. India, called also Kausambi, the capital of Nemi-Sakkaram, King of Hastinapura, (22 miles N.E. of Meerut), who transferred his capital to Vacca." (C.A.L.R., VII, p. 2). *Vāccha-nāṭṭu-thevaragay* is still the name borne by certain Karāva families of Siyane Korale where some of the oldest Karāva families are resident. (*ib.*). This title as well as the following may have been borne as a reminder of their ancestral country.
2. Kuru-kula-nāṭṭu Devarir : lord of the Kuru country. "The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised the Kuruksetra and Thāneswar." (Pre-Buddhist India by Mehta, p. 382). Traditions about royal settlers from Kuru-rata in Paranakuru Korale and Alutkuru Korale were current in Ceylon. (Tri Sīmalē Kaḍaim Saha Vittī by Marambe, p. 14.)
3. Mānikka Talavan : Talaivan (Tam.) = a king, ruler, governor.
4. Adiyarasa Adappa Unnāhē : adiyarasa (Tam.) = chief king ; Adappa (Tam.) = a chieftain or headman ; Unnāhē (Sgh.) = an honorific applied to men of social position.
5. Dōmbranāda perhaps for *thomaram nathan* (Tam.) = chief or commander of the javeline-armed or lance-bearing troops. It has nothing to do with the Portuguese "Don Baranada", as Hugh Nevill imagined.
6. Mudiyanse and Aracci were originally Military honorific terms.
7. Āmbaṭṭaya : Tamil *ambaṭṭan*—barber.
8. Tovilkārayō : one who performs service to a village, such as the washer or the tom-tom beater ; one who conducts a devil ceremony.
9. Hamban : from Malay-Javanese *sampan*, a skiff.

splendour of an *asura*¹ entering the sun's sphere, he decided that they were skilled in warfare. He, thereupon, asked them whether they were prepared to fight the Mukkuvars encamped in Puttalam. They replied they were. Then, armed with bows, swords, daggers, javelins, battle-axes, lances, slings and such like weapons, they marched on Puttalam, engaged the enemy in battle, and, in three months, wrested their fortress. On their side, the number of those who fell in battle was 1,500. Undaunted by this loss, they carried the war into Nāgapattanam and fought for 40 days. During this engagement, Mānikka Talavan, the chieftain, fell in the field. After two and a half months of fighting, they captured Nāgapattanam. In these two wars, 2,800 soldiers died on this side. After they had captured the two forts, they exhibited the two red flags² of the citadels and the heads of the two (enemy) chieftains.

The king was much pleased with their feat and granted them on copper *sannas*, as their hereditary *paravēni* lands,³ Mādinnoruva, Ānaolundāva,⁴ Munnessarama, Kammala, Tambarāvila, Hunu-

1. Asura : or Titan. Here it is used in the sense of Sikurā, the planet Venus.
2. Ratu Koḍi deka : two red flags. There are three Mukkuva flags known to have existed, namely, Hanuman Koḍiya, Monarabāndi Koḍiya and Ira Haṅḍa Koḍiya ; there are also two flags at Navatkadu, a Mukkuva village in the Kalpitiya peninsula, the Singam Koḍi and Hanumān Koḍi. (Sinhalese Banners and Standards by E. W. Perera, p. 26.)
3. Paravēni : denotes that which has come down from one's ancestors. *Sahaja P°*, hereditary in the family, occurs in a Galagedera Deed (No. 896 of September 17, 1858), the land to be enjoyed by the grantor's daughters and the heirs of their bodies in any way they please. (Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon, by Codrington, p. 13.)
4. Mādinnoruva : in Andaravāva Palāta, Hatalispāhe Korale East. Ānaolundāva : There is a Tamil deed of sale of a land in Kottapitiya, in Anavulundan Pattu, P.K. North, Chilaw District. It is written on an old palm leaf. The following is a translation made by a sworn translator :—

On the 15th March, 1644.

Palappu, the son of Kuncikommadiyar and Vanniya of Kurukula caste, put in auction, the village named Kottapitiya, situated in Anavulundan Pattu, and when they were crying out, were there bidders for the said village, Andre Velasu, son of Anthony Velasu, said "Yes," and became the highest bidder, by offering for it the sum of 180 silver pieces, named *tambakasu*, having first inquired into the rights in connection with the said land. The selling party having agreed for the said sum received it in full.

Both parties, having gone into the temple of Maikanda Moorthiar Sannathy, situated at Bogamuva, the selling party gave up all their rights and claims in connection with the land and delivered it over to

pitiya Street, Periyamulla Street, Kammala Street, Kolonpiṭi Mahavēdiya, Vāllevēdiya, Kurana Vēdiya and Meegamuwa.

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Besides these, they were given the *Rāvana*, the *Irahaṅḍa* and the *Makara* flags,¹ as well as ceremonial necklaces, *Vattapputarisal*, rings, gold and silver swords of office, gold and silver chains, gold and silver bands, gold and silver wands, ear ornaments, palm-leaf parasols, *ali savaran*, two for each, silver platters, silver cups, silver tongs, silver forks, silver spoons, silver jugs, silver pots and such tokens of honour.² Moreover, an order went forth from the royal Palace that they be free of all port-dues and taxes and charges for passports (*muddara mila*),³ whenever they enter or leave the 18 *toṭamuṇa* (ports),⁴ for purposes of trade. Negombo was granted to them as their hereditary (*paravēni*) land, as long as their generations shall last. And thus they were settled in Negombo.

During this reign, some Portuguese from Goa presented themselves, with many gifts and offerings and, after inquiries about their proceedings, when they were asked why they had come, they replied : "It is because there are many wars in our country

the buying party in presence of both Vanniar and Paṭṭankattinār of Anavulundan Pattu.

The boundaries of the said village are as follows : It is bounded on the North by the land of Manaveri, on the West by the Vellāṅḍikulam, on the South by the tree called Illipe, on the East by the ant hills. The whole soil within these four boundaries, together with the produce thereon, namely, trees bearing and trees in blossom, was sold and the due value was received. The witnesses were Th. Palavanniyar, Itihamy of Anavulundava, Nainde of Siruvilla. This document was written by Kanakka Pulle.

The price of 180 silver pieces was handed over to Palappan by Andrapulley, the son of the native physician.

The witnesses for the said amount being received, Irakuttampulley of Vellavala, Anthony Pulley, the son of Nalladappanār and Saviel Kommanjiyar.

1. The flags, Ira Haṅḍa and Makara are dealt with in the text.
2. Perās mudu : signet rings.

Māla darisan : darsana māla = ceremonial necklace ; (rf. Daṁbadeni Asna, p. 4) ; *kasthāna* = swords of office ; *havadi* = waist chains ; *raṅ bandi* = gold bands ; *bastan* = cane, baton (from Port. Bastao) ; *vaḍana tāla atu* = ceremonial talipot umbrella (rf. Glossary by Codrington) ; *ali savaran* = white whisks or chowry made of yak's tail (rf. Ratnasuriya : Shorter Sinhalese-English Dictionary).

3. Muddara mila : fees paid for obtaining stamp mark as a sign that permission has been granted to cross over the frontiers.
4. Tōṭamuṇa = seaports.

and, therefore, trade is poor. We have, for this reason, come to throw ourselves at your feet and request your Majesty to grant us a plot of land, to the extent, at least, of a bull's hide.¹ There we propose to put up our settlements, live by trade and be loyal to the Royal Court. For this we have indeed come." When they had made this petition, the King granted such an extent of land by a copper *sannas*. In this manner, they cut a bull's hide into thin strips, and whatever land they could enclose with them in that they built a fort, surrounded it with a brick wall, placed guards and settled down. Considering it unsafe to be there, he, (the king) moved to the city of Sitavaka. Then again, the Portuguese encamped (*andāyan ganimin*) beyond Sitavaka. Thereupon, he (the king) thought it inconvenient to be there and moved to Senkaḍagala. When he was in this city, the Parangi fixed their boundaries this side of Koravahalkada² and set up 21 military posts and taking their stand in them, demanded service of all in that part of the country.

When our exalted Lord, Rāja Siṃha, the sovereign of Lanka, who, like a spotless conch set in water, is scion of the dynasty of Manu, in an unbroken line, occupied the throne, and came to Badulla, and lived there, he mustered a great army in Uva and 150,000 men from the Maha Atapattuva,³ together with their officers (*appuhuru*), and armed them with numerous weapons and many leaden bullets and powder. Then surrounding himself with this mighty fourfold (*caturāṅgini*) arrayal, like the god Sakra issuing forth to battle against the *asuras* (titans), he fought against the Parangi in various places, and, like a royal lion, gained victory. Then again, he marched to Daladāgan-vela,⁴ with the retinue of his ministers, intending to engage the enemy in combat. When Our Lord, the exalted Rāja Siṃha, like a royal lion, which rips

1. This story about the bull's hide is a folk tale and has no historical foundation.
2. Kōra-vahalkada : probably the gateway leading to Koratoṭa in Pallo Pattuva, Hēvagam Korale.
3. Mahā Atapattuva : King's bodyguard (rf. Rājāvaliya, Sgh. Text, p. 68).
4. Daladāgan vela : *Pāraṇi Aitihāsiya Granthayak*, an ancient historical work discovered by two members of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in May, 1936, at the Rājanahā Vihāre in Balalla, in the Maho district, says, "Daladagan Eliyē Parangiya Rasiha Deviyan vaṭakarapu nisā, etc." (rf. *Siḷumiṇa*, Vol. 9. No. 38, p. 151). Evidently, it is a reference to the incident narrated to have taken place at Daladāgan Vela.

open hostile elephants, marched to Daladāgan-vela for battle and took up his position, many ministers, who had received banners and ceremonial parasols as tokens of their loyalty to the Court, broke their ranks and fled, at the sight of the approaching enemy. Then, the shield-bearer (*Palihavaḍana rāla*)¹ of Mahākuṃbura,² who attended on our Lord, Rāja Siṃha, seeing that the enemy advanced closer and closer, he, too, threw down his shield and fled. The king looked at him twice or thrice and shouted to him,

Fol. 3

"If my command is of any avail, do not run away! Do not run away! May the life I have granted you be happy and long!" The man replied, "A command is of any avail, if there be life only." So he said and kept to his course. "I will make" said the king, "the rice of Mahākuṃbura bitter." The man answered, "If the rice of Mahākuṃbura become bitter, will then the yams, leaves and withered foliage of Pingan Oya become bitter too?"—and he kept running. Thereupon, the king threw down the iron shield which was in his hand, and stood on it. Then espying a great stork (*mānāviya*)³ flying over his head, he released the falcon (*vaḍana kurulla*),⁴ which was in his hand, and said "Here shall be Raja Siṃha's pitch."

As he stood there, 500 soldiers armed with pellet-bows (*gal dunu*) slings (*gal paṭi*), dirks (*kiricci*), battle axes (*ketēri*), daggers (*jama-jādi*), maces (*balatadi*), *vana taḍi vanan* (?), quoits (*cakra valalu*), guns (*hadi tuvakku*), pistols (*at tuvakku*), mortars (*bīraṅgi*), flintlocks (*bondikulā*), lances (*susa lansa*), spears (*patisthāna*), and such like weapons,⁵ came with the Parangi captain, named Iskopiti (and) our Negombo Mudaliyar, named Mahā Gaurenda, ready for battle. But the Negombo Mudaliyar, seeing the king like a brilliant sun, bethought himself that, if the hostile array battled against the Lord, the renowned scion of the pure Sūriyavaṃsa, it would appear

1. Palihavaḍana Rāla=shield bearer (rf. Rājāvaliya, Sgh. Text, p. 61).
2. Mahā Kuṃbura : in Uḍa Dumbara, Mādasiyapattuva, in the Kandy district.
3. Mahanāviya : great stork.
4. Vaḍana kurulla : lit. 'the bird that is carried'; falcon.
5. Bala tadi : maces (rf. Carter's Sinhalese-English Dictionary); vāna tadi : iron or stone clubs; vānā cakra valalu : steel quoits. (for Sinhala Weapons and Armour rf. see Deraniyagala: J.C.B.R.A.S., No. 95, Pt. III : and Daṃbadeni Asna, p. 6).

to be disloyalty to the royal house of Kōṭṭe, on the part of those who had come from Kāñcipura, at the royal command. For that reason he slashed the sole of his foot with the dirk he held in his hand, and, showing the blood to the enemies, he said that the men of Sinhālē had attacked him. Thus he deceived the Parangi and, passing them by, remained in the place where he stood before. Then our Lord, Rāja Siṃha, summoning his nobles of the ministerial council, inquired of them why the Parangi had come and gone away afterwards. Velleke Dissāva,¹ who had received the dissavany of Mātālē, reported to our Lord, Rāja Siṃha, that in the days of the royal house of Kōṭṭe, troops had been summoned by forwarding letters patent to the following countries, to wit, the Kurukula country, Kāñcipura, Kīlakkarai and Kāvēripaṭṭanam, in order to fight the Mukkuvars of Puttalam; that these warriors on being sent against the Mukkuvars had gained victory and been honoured with ranks and titles and been granted Negombo, as their hereditary land (*paravēni*); that they had been loyal then and were so yet; that they had, therefore, thought it wrong to join the hostile armies, who fought against the royal house, and, that it was on this account that Varnakulasūriya Arasa Nilayiṭṭa Mudaliyār of Sea Street, Negombo, had slashed the sole of his foot and departed from the field and not on account of fear.

On hearing this, the king was moved to favour the Mudaliyār. So, he tore off a leaf from his ceremonial parasol of palm-leaves, and, taking his golden style, wrote on it to the following effect: "If a man of such loyalty came into my kingdom of Siṃhalē, I will foster him and grant him many honours, titles and high offices." After writing this message, he attached it to the tip of an arrow and shot it off with his golden bow. Those near the principal tent of the Negombo Mudaliyār read the letter. Thereupon, the four officers (*nilamakkārayō*) of the black troops said to the Parangi, "The hour we set out was not auspicious. We have no leaden balls too. Our troops are not strong enough. We will, therefore, return to the fort, and, after equipping ourselves suitably, we will come back." So saying, they departed. The Parangi, however, inquired into the loyalty shown by the Mudaliyār of Sea Street, towards the royal Court of Kōṭṭe, and after arresting him and the black troops, forbade them to launch into the sea even an

1. Vallekē Dissava ?

outrigger, and ordered them not to cross the Nakulukan-Tota.¹ Should any one dare to do so, they would put gun powder into his mouth and fire him. Such was the proclamation made by beat of drum.

Once again, the lord, Rāja Siṃha, sent letters to Holland. In response to it, the Dutchmen got things ready and appeared off the sea. The Parangi, hearing of this, kept close watch to prevent them (from landing). The Lord, Rāja Siṃha, being informed of this, wrote letters requesting the Dutchmen to land with haste, and despatched messengers to hand them to the Mudaliyār of Negombo. They (the messengers) delivered them to Kurukulasūriya Mudaliyār of Negombo. The four Mudaliyārs, who were the most loyal to Siṃhalē, on reading these letters said "Even if we lose our lives we must deliver the despatches to the Hollanders on account of our loyalty to the *Mahāvāsala* (the great Court)". So saying they commissioned Ileneide² the friend and relative of the Mudaliyār of Sea Street. Ileneide, however, at the risk of his life swam the sea,

Fol. 4

and at dawn on the following day handed over the despatch. The Hollanders read it and came to land from the sea.

The Lord Rāja Siṃha attired in full regalia . . . (Ms. decayed) delivered over to the Hollanders his favourite troops and treasures. Then he sent for the *nilamakkārayō* (officials) of Negombo who were in Kapuvarāla (? place name) encampment. These were Kurukulasūriya Mudaliyār of Mahāvīdiya, Sempra-arasa Arasakula Adappayār of Kurana, Arasakulasūriya Virasinha Āraci of Kurana,³ Jayasūriya Āraci, Ranasinha Āraci of Mahāhunupitiya Kaṭṭadappaya Āraci, the blood relations of the Mudaliyār of Sea Street, Adiarasa Adappayār and several others from among the Araccis. On all of them he conferred honours and titles and decorated them with necklaces.

1. Nakulukan-tota: Nakolagantōṭa (rf. Rājāvāliya, Sgh. text, p. 63); now Nagalagam.
2. Ileneide: Ilean of Negombo is mentioned in the Portuguese Tombo (rf. The Ceylon Littoral in 1593 by Pieris, p. 29).
3. Virasinha Āraci: is mentioned as the father of Cunjappa, in "Tombo de Ilha de Ceylao 1618, Liv. III, I, fol. 35; op. cit. p. 29).

Traditions about the arrival and settlement of royalty from Kuru Rata are found in other Sinhalese documents too.¹ From the language and the events of which it relates the Mukkara Haṭana could not have been written earlier than the second-half of the seventeenth century. It is essentially the work of a people removed from their kith-and-kin, seeking to preserve and hand down to generations yet unborn the history of their group and its traditions.

Traditionally, the arrival of the Sūriya clans of Negombo is attributed to have occurred during the reign of Parakrama

1. Marambe : *Tri Sinhālē Kaḍaim Saha Vitti*, p. 14.

“ In days of yore, there came from the Kuru Rata a Queen, a Prince, a nobleman, a Brahman Guru and their retinue. After they had fought the Ravana campaign, they settled down, with the King's permission, in a place which came to be called Kuru Rata. When the world of mortals, the world of the Asurās, the world of the Nāgās, the world of the Dēvās and the world of the Brahmās, where the *sāsana* of our great Gautama Buddha was established, became like unto a divine abode, this world of mortals too, shone brightly, at that time. As the Lord of the earth, Gajabāhu, coming first from the Kuru Rata originated the name, Kuru Rata, and departed, they called it Alut-kuruva. Since the King, Rājamana, confirmed this title, those born there are men possessed of great energy, like great royal ministers.”

The same account is found in the ancient historical work, *Pāraṇi Aitihāsiya Granthayak* (Sīlumīṇa, Dec. 18, 1938).

There are also accounts of an invasion of Ceylon by Mukkaru under their king, Nala Mudaliya, and of the arrival of troops from 'Aiyōti-paṭṭalama' (Oudh) on the King's invitation, to fight the invaders, as he felt too weak to face them. The event is placed in the reign of Bhatiya, King of the Sinhalese. It is not certain whether this king is Bhatikabhaya (B.C. 20) or Bhatika Tissa (141 A.D.). This story is found in the above mentioned ancient history (*Sīlumīṇa* Vol. 9. No. 40, 1938, p. 138), in the *Rājāvali Kathāva*, fol. ku (Or 6606/150) and in a document quoted in *Uḍarata Vitti* (p. 106). The Mukkuvars were sometimes called Kāka Mukkaru; and, the *Rājāvaliya* notices a country called *Kākarata*, among those which do not profess Buddhism (p. 3). The *Dambadeni Asna* speaks of Mukkuva mercenaries in Ceylon in the time of Parakrama Bahu II (p. 4). The Mukkuvars were, therefore already known in this country, long before they were mentioned in the Mukkara Haṭana; and, other documents, too, record their presence about a hundred years after the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI of Kotte. For instance, *Pāraṇi Aitihāsiya Granthayak* narrates that a certain Nākunāciya, an interpreter of Galgamuva, in Hatalispahē Korale, on being made a Vanniyar by Rajasingha I, was invested with the title of Kumarasingha Mudiyaṇse (Sīlumīṇa, Vol. 9. No. 38, 1938, p. 151). An ola deed dated “the first Sunday of the first day after the expiration of the month of *navam* (February) in the year 1501 of the Saka Era (A.D. 1580)”, mentions a sale of land in Galgamuva to “Kumarasinghe Vanni Unnahege Nainde Marakkaya Pulle, the Liyana Nainde (scrivener)”. Just as the traditions about their connection with this country came to be preserved and recorded in the popular histories of the past, so the story of their defeat by the Karāva was handed down to history by the Mukkara Haṭana.

Bahu VI of Kotte 1412-1468 A.D. The date given in the Mukkara Haṭana does not tally with this as Saka 1159 would fall in the year 1237 A.D. of our calendar. As all existing versions of this event are agreed that the Karāva clans were invited by a king of Kotte, we must reject any date earlier than the commencement of the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI who was the first Sinhalese monarch to reign from Kotte as his capital.

The three towns Kāncipura, Kāvēripaṭṭanam and Kilakkarai were in this period situated within the territories of the Vijayanagar Emperors for whose activities in Ceylon there is evidence. The Allampundi plates¹ of Virūpāksha dated Saka 1305 state that the prince having conquered the kings of Tundira, Cōla, Pāṇḍya and the Sinhālās presented crystals and other jewels to his father Harihara II 1379-1406. An inscription dated Saka 1360 (1438 A.D.) describes Dēvarāya-Maharāya as having “levied tribute from Ḫam”.² Firishtah states that the kings of Ceylon, amongst others, maintained ambassadors at the Vijayanagar court,³ and we know that Danaik who may have been the minister who was designated Dakshina Samudrādhipati, Lord of the Southern Ocean, in 1415,⁴ was in the frontier of Ceylon between 1442 and 1443 A.D., when a desperate attempt was made on the life of Dēva Rāya II by a relative.⁵ It would be but natural, in this context, for the king of Ceylon to seek aid from the powerful empire on the sub-continent, of which he was, if not a vassal, at least an overshadowed neighbour.

The events in the narrative fall into three distinct periods when analysed. We may take it that the arrival of the Sūriya clans took place during the reign of Sri Parakrama Bahu VI of Kotte, although a somewhat later date cannot altogether be rejected.

1. Epigraphia Indica III (1894-95) No. 32, p. 228, see also Codrington : A Short History of Ceylon, 84.
2. Madras Annual Report of Epigraphy, 144 of 1916.
3. Sewell : Forgotten Empire, 46.
4. Epigraphia Carnatika, IX An. 85, p. 119.
5. Sewell : Forgotten Empire 74. Salatore (Indian Antiquary, Vol. LXI, 1932, pp. 223 et seq.) places Danaik's visit to Ceylon in 1415, but refutes the view that there was a Vijayanagara conquest of Ceylon after Virūpāksha. See also Nilakanta Sastri, K. A. : A History of South India, 1955, p. 260.

The narrative places the arrival of the Portuguese during the same reign, but if Parakrama Bahu VI is meant, this is quite impossible because the Portuguese first landed in 1505 during the reign of Vira Parākrama Bāhu VIII. But as one reads further, it is clear that the narrator is compressing the events of a hundred years to fall within a single reign. The third series of events centre round Rāja Siṃha II and have very much the impression of a contemporary record.

Of the flags mentioned, no specimen of the Rāvana Koḍiya is known to be in existence, but the Irahaṇḍa Koḍiya (Sun-Moon banner), and the Makara Koḍiya are amongst the royal insignia of the Karāva people which are still in use on ceremonial occasions. A side light of obvious interest is that the Irahaṇḍa Koḍiya (the Sun Moon flag) is the traditional banner of Hatara Kōrale (Plate XIX). Father Manuel Barradas describing a Karāva wedding in Moratuwa in 1613 says, "The wedded pair come walking on white cloths, with which the ground is successively carpeted, and covered above with others of the same kind, which the nearest relatives hold in their extended hands after the fashion of a canopy, which protect them from sun; the bride is carried in the arms of the nearest relative, and when this one tires another takes his place. The symbols that they carry are white discs and candles lighted in the day time, and certain shells which they keep playing on in place of bagpipes. All these are Royal symbols, which the former kings conceded to this race of people, that being strangers they should inhabit the coasts of Ceilao, and none but they or those to whom they give leave can use them."¹ To this day, the poorer Karāva when they cannot afford the use of the pearl umbrella, carry instead a canopy of white cloth.

The description left by Barradas finds valuable corroboration in a still older source, namely the banner (Plate XII), that was replaced by a second banner (Plate XIV) upon the conversion to Christianity in 1556, both of which flags are preserved amongst others in a family descended from two Negombo Mudaliyārs who settled in the Kandyan country.² In the centre is a chief wearing a conical head-dress, seated upon a white elephant, holding a sword

1. M.L.R. 4 (1896), 134.

2. Perera: Sinhalese Banners and Standards, 21.

in one hand and an elephant goad in the other. On either side are displayed two pearl umbrellas, ceremonial talipot fans, fly whisks, sun, moon, stars, a double fish, a cobra with expanded hood, conch shells, flambeaux with five wicks, white shields with a chank in the centre, the lotus flower and ears of corn. With this symbolism we may compare Ehelapola's description of the five insignia of Royalty or Panchakakudhabandaya listed as (1) Hak paliha or shield of chank colour. (2) Mutukuḍe, pearl umbrella. (3) Rankaḍuwa, golden sword. (4) Chāmaraya, fly whisk; (5) Mirivāḍi Saṅgala, pair of sandals.¹ If, as Valentyn states, there were in his day certain restrictions placed on the Karāva in regard to their insignia, the explanation can only be sought in Dutch antipathy towards the Catholic Karāva and in the other causes which contributed to the decline of Karāva prestige during the Colonial period.² However, neither before the time of Valentyn nor afterwards is there any historical evidence for the use of the royal insignia by any group other than the Karāva.

The engagement in which Rāja Siṃha nearly fell into the hands of the enemy cannot be identified with certainty, and may refer to the battle fought in 1632 at a place called Matra Gama by Queyroz, where the Prince of Matale and Rāja Siṃha, who had been made co-regent with his father in 1629, were completely routed by the Portuguese. Queyroz states that one of the princes had to hide in a cave from which he afterwards escaped, while the other returned to Kandy with his defeated troops.³

Remarkable confirmation of this incident as recorded in the Mukkara Haṭana comes from the account of a Catholic priest writing on the Mission of Ceylon in 1707. The Dutch persecution of Catholics having commenced, the priests and practices of the Catholic faith were proscribed. The Mudaliyār of Negombo Don

1. P. E. Pieris: Portuguese Era 1, 453.

2. Valentyn, p. 3. 1726.

The ten insignia of the Karāva people as listed by G. A. Dharmaratna in "The Kara-Govi Contest" (1890), p. 54, and which are in use at the present time, are: (1) Pearl Umbrella; (2) and (3) *Ālawattan*, "a kind of fan which is carried before the great" (Dictionary of European Mission, Pondicherry 1856). (4) *Ira-Haṇḍa Koḍiya*, sun-moon flag. (5) *Makara Koḍiya*, Makara flag. (6) Trident. (7) Sword. (8) *Davula*, drum. (9) *Tammāṭṭama*, kettle drum. (10) Bugle.

3. de Queyroz, 794-795. See Note 4, page 20 supra.

Alfonso Pereyra was known to harbour the priests when they came to minister to their flock, but the Dutch Government did not dare to take action against him. "Yet for all that," says the Father, "the Modeliar would have had trouble were it not that he is very much esteemed by the King (of Candia). Once when his father was at the head of an army division, in the war waged by the Company on the late king, he could have captured the king in one of the encounters, but he let him escape, for which the King recommended his son, the present king, to show him gratitude. Even on this occasion when he went to Putulao, all the chiefs of the place received orders from Candia to visit him with presents, which they did faithfully. This is the great reason why the Hollanders fear to pick a quarrel with the Modeliar, and it is for this reason that the accusations made against him, the petition of the Christians, the declaration of faith of the people of Negombo, with all the questions and answers, and also my letter, were all sent to Batavia."¹ The writer places the incident during a war waged by the Company against Rāja Siṃha II, but as it is most unlikely that the same king could have figured in such a situation on two occasions with two different chiefs of Negombo, we can conclude that both accounts refer to the same event. This valiant chief Don Alfonso to whom the devotion of his people is attested both by Valentyn and Bolscho, suffered for his faith after the death of Rāja Siṃha's son, Vimaladharmasūriya II, being banished to Batavia with his family.²

1. "Account of the Successes of the Ceylon Mission" 1707, by Father Miranda translated by Father S. G. Perera, C.A. and L.R., Vol. VI, 1921, Part 3, 128-129.

2. The Dutch Tombo Keeper, Bolscho writing in 1707 says:

"The subjects also have become so wild during the last eight years, that for the most part they appear to have no longer any respect for high or low European authorities, and only regard their own chief; wherefore it is in the highest degree necessary that the Governor may make a change here, and according to the old custom of that place appoint a second chief over them, for which office *Jan Tiller**, lately dismissed, would be the most suitable, who will bring them back easily and gradually to their old Service, and then the others will probably follow, which is likely to happen all the easier, since Negombo is not provided with a Subaltern Chief." J. P. Lewis "Old Negombo," C.L.R., Vol. 4, 1889, p. 54.

* *Tissera*.

The people of Negombo "refuse to recognize for their chief (opperheer) anyone except Modelyar Alfonso Perera, and show very little respect to others and none ever to Europeans". Valentyn 337, translated by Fr. S. G. Perera, C.A. & L.R., Vol. VI, 121 (Note 21).

The final episode related in the Mukkara Haṭana deals with the arrival of the Hollander in Ceylon and the landing effected near Negombo, which we know to have occurred in January, 1640.¹ The narrative ends with the bestowal of honours and titles on the chieftains of Negombo by Rāja Siṃha for their services in the war against the Portuguese. From other sources there is ample corroboration of the fact that the Karāva chiefs and their clans sided with the Sinhalese King and his Dutch allies in this last struggle with the Portuguese.² This loyalty to the Sinhalese King and his Dutch allies is remarkable because many Karāva were faithful adherents of the Catholic Church, and therefore had to fight against their co-religionists, the Portuguese. The time was to come,

1. Codrington: A Short History of Ceylon, 118-119.

2. The connection between the d'Anderado family and the Dutch began at the outset of the Dutch era; "they (the D'Anderados) assisted in many wars on behalf of the Hon'ble Company in various places"—according to an old Dutch MS. of the de Fonseka family; Sessional Paper IX of 1933. In 1656 Manuel d'Anderado was guarding the Pass at Kalutara with his lascarins—Pieris: Port. Era II, 454. In 1658 he took part in the expedition to Jaffna against the Portuguese. Also see Note 2, page 12 supra. He was made Sabanḍaar and appointed sole Ceylonese member of the Dutch Court of Jaffnapatam—"Instructions from The Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon." 1656-1665. Trans. by Sophia Pieters (1908), 95.

The following extracts from the Memoirs of Ryckloff Van Goens (1663-1675) trans. by Reimers, 1932, p. 8), are also illuminating:

"The people of Negombo pride themselves on being the most faithful of all the natives, and this is worthy of some measure of credence seeing that we have resided there for so many years longer than in Colombo. There are also some among them who can speak tolerably good Dutch.

Negombo has hitherto remained free from all taxes, everyone occupying as much land as he can cultivate without paying any tithe (of produce) or other land tax. This may also be certainly continued for a few years longer. No *dekkum* or any other tax is recovered from them, nor need they be recovered for the present." It is significantly clear that the Dutch were not going to allow these immemorial exemptions in perpetuity.

With the foregoing may be compared the statement of Father de Miranda—"Caymel which is in the territory of the King of Candia . . . and the inhabitants were people of Negombo who come there for greater commodity and till and cultivate the lands without any payment to the King, and serve the Company like the other vassals, who live in the Dutch territory, as it is permitted them both by the King and the Company" C.A. & L.R. (1921), Vol. VI, 123.

The Kandyan King was apparently more conscious of past obligations than his Dutch neighbours.

when the Hollander having achieved his object, and consolidated his conquest, started on a systematic policy of persecuting the Catholics which bore hardest of all upon the Karāva people who had shown considerable unanimity in accepting the Catholic faith, and who were to show an even more striking steadfastness in adhering to that faith.

It is to this period of religious persecution that we can attribute the withdrawal of some of the chiefs of Negombo with their clansmen, to villages in the Kandyan kingdom where their flags and other heirlooms are preserved by their descendants.¹ The Kandyan monarchs, not unmindful of the valuable services rendered by the warrior chiefs of Negombo, settled them in various parts of the interior. The descendants of those who went away to avoid religious persecution, have in the course of centuries become Hindus or Buddhists, while those who stayed behind and their descendants till now have remained Catholics.

4

The Karāva and the Conquistadors

“There is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people fair of skin and comely withal. They don jackets of iron and hats of iron; they rest not a minute in one place; they walk here and there; they eat hunks of stone and drink blood; they give two or three pieces of gold and silver for one fish or one lime; the report of their cannon is louder than thunder when it bursts upon the rock *Yugandhara*. Their cannon balls fly many a *garwa* and shatter fortresses of granite.” Thus, according to the Rājāvaliya, was report made to the king of the arrival of Don Lourenco De Almeida and his Portuguese on 15th November, 1505.² Strange consequences were to flow from this first meeting of the Conquistador with a Sinhalese King, leading after three hundred years of agonising conflict to the ultimate extinction of independence itself.

1. Perera: Sinhalese Banners and Standards 21; Gooneratne: Landhesi Kaaleya (1922), 77-78.

Lawrie: Central Province Gazetteer (1896), Vol. 1, 38, Vol. 11, 675-676, 777.

2. Rājāvaliya, 73.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Karāva chiefs, quick to learn the technique of the new warfare, were to play a worthy part in the interminable struggles of the period. And, if to the superficial view, they fought sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other, the explanation lies on the one hand, upon their traditional loyalty to the Sinhalese monarchy so clearly stated in the Mukkara Haṭana, and on the other, to their passionate adherence to the Catholic faith. If to this division of loyalties, is brought to bear their greater susceptibility to foreign influences by reason of their habitat, and their more external position in relation to the Sinhalese political and social structure, we begin to understand something of the dilemma which must have faced the ordinary Karāva clansman. Loyal to his chief, grateful to a monarchy which had given due recognition both to his military prowess and his blood pride, stubbornly adhering to his new faith, his position as well as that of his chief deteriorated with the extinction of the Kōṭṭe kingdom, and later, with the persecution of his religion by the Protestant Dutch power.

The conversion to Christianity did not embrace the entire group, as there are villages like Udappu with an unbroken Hindu tradition. There are also large numbers of Karāva from Colombo to Dondra and beyond who are Buddhists. From the evidence of the “pagan” names preserved in the Portuguese Tombo, it is clear that in Negombo certainly, and probably also in other parts, the people were Hindus prior to conversion.¹ It is the large proportion of converts, and the manner in which the conversion occurred, that led the Portuguese writers to describe it as the conversion of an entire people. The event is thus recorded by Queyroz: “As the King of Cota showed himself altogether inclined to our Holy Faith, the effusion of so much blood in such bitter wars was not able to prevent the blood of Christ from prevailing for the conversion of that heathendom; for in the beginning of the year 1556 more than 70,000 Careas with their Panṭagaṭim were converted to our Holy Faith, and were baptized by the Missionaries, the Religious of St. Francis; and when this good news reached Portugal the King D. Joao III wrote the following letter to the Guardian of their Religious order. ‘Friar Francisco de Chaves. I the King send you much greeting: I

1. Pieris: The Ceylon Littoral, 25-33.

received the letter which you wrote to me, and I rejoice to read the good reports which you give therein about Afonso Pereyra de Lacerda whom the Viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas sent as Captain of Ceylon, whose doings, it seems to you, our Lord has been pleased to favour because of his good purpose and conscience. I am much pleased thereby and I also rejoice at the news you give me of how our Lord was pleased to enlighten, by means of the Religious of your order, that nation of Careas, who, you say, live in the seaports of Ceylon and are said to be more than 70,000 souls, whose captain called Paṭangaṭim¹ came with them. I give great thanks to our Lord for it and greatly recommend you to labour as much as you can in order that there may be no lack of what is necessary to obtain the end which may be expected from such a beginning, since, from what you write, there are signs to show that their conversion is sincere.’”² The sincerity of the conversion was to be amply tested and proved.

Queyroz states that, moved by this example many other Sinhalese were also converted, and there can be little doubt that the King himself was emboldened thereby to declare his acceptance of the Christian faith in the following year. It has been said that this mass conversion is perhaps significant of the capacity of the Karāva people for acting as a corporate whole.³ But from the fact that only one chief is mentioned, the entire group could not have been involved in the conversion.

The readiness to embrace Christianity arose from many causes. Being comparative newcomers, the Karāva were less enmeshed in the intricacies of the Sinhalese social structure. Lesser involvement in the feudalism of the time gave them greater freedom of action. Portuguese influence in Ceylon was concentrated more in the coastal regions which were directly ruled by the Kings of Kōṭṭe, and this influence therefore was brought to bear primarily on the coastal population. Political considerations would also have prevailed. A group that served the Kōṭṭe Kings and looked to them for support, would be particularly sensitive to the decline

1. “From Tamil paṭṭankatti, one on whom a title (paṭṭam) is conferred (lit. bound), whence Sinhalese Paṭabenda,” de Queyroz: Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon, 326 footnote.

2. de Queyroz: Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon, 326–327.

3. Pieris: Portuguese Era 1, 138.

in the power of that monarchy. The Portuguese, who purported to support the same monarchy, were in fact rapidly supplanting their royal allies. A closer alliance with the Portuguese based on a common religious interest, was therefore desirable for reasons of security. That the Karāva conversion, however, was not based solely on self-interest becomes manifest in subsequent history, when their sincerity was put to the test. Nor were they backward in serving the later Sinhalese Kings who endeavoured to drive out the European foe.

The Portuguese form Paṭangaṭim is the equivalent of the Tamil *Paṭṭankatti*, and the Sinhalese *Paṭabānda*, a designation generally applied to Karāva chiefs. Karāva *gē* names frequently end with—“patabendige”; and from Portuguese sources we know that there were numerous Paṭangaṭims in the maritime districts. The principal chiefs were the *Mahāpaṭabāndas*, designated by the Portuguese as Paṭangaṭim Major, and in Negombo in 1613, the two *Mahāpaṭabāndas* were Dom Gaspar da Cruz, over the Kurukulasūriya, and Afonso Pereira, over the Varunakulasūriya.¹ In Chilaw the Mahapaṭabānda of the Port was Don Simao, and the head of the establishment was Sepala Mutiar.² In 1574 Pencuti Aracheche, the *Mahāpaṭabānda* of Colombo, was beheaded and quartered by the Portuguese for treasonable communication with Māyādunne of Sitāvaka.³ If he had been a Christian, it is likely that he would have adopted a Portuguese surname according to the custom of the time. Nor was Pencuti Aracheche the only Karāva chief who served the interest of the Sitāvaka kings. The Dutch Tombo of Ambalangoda records that certain Karāva families in the locality were descended from Sitāvaka Tantilla and Rājapakse Tantilla, who were both holders of Sannas granted by Māyādunne.⁴

There is further evidence to the fact that only a section of the group must have become Christians in 1556, because it was only

1. Pieris: Ceylon Littoral, 26.

For an interesting tombstone of a Paṭabenda's wife see J.R.A.S.C.B. Vol. 22, No. 65, 386–388.

2. Ibid., 6.

3. de Queyroz: Temp. and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon, 424.

4. Journal R.A.S. C.B., Vol. XXXI, No. 83, 448–449.

Also see Dutch Records, Vol. 7399A, pp. 9 and 172.

in 1606 that the five Paṅgaṭims of Chilaw were conducted to Malwāna and publicly baptized, at which ceremony the Captain General himself stood sponsor.¹ These chiefs returned to Chilaw loaded with honours, and later it is stated that the Paṅgaṭims of Chilaw had all been received into the Church, their example being followed by a great many others.² Even today there are five Mihindukulasuriya sub-clans in Chilaw, namely—Fernando, Perera, Peiris, Pinto and Costa. They resided in the five *Kuḍis* or localities, and the group heads were the *Panchapradānīvaru*, or five chieftains, and it is presumably the *Panchapradānīvaru* of the time who were baptized at Malwāna.

In the 1556 conversion the clansmen accompanied their chief into the new faith, and, judging by the connection of the *gē* name with particular surnames as they survive today, we can infer that generally the clansmen followed the head of the group into the new religion. Amongst the clans of today in Moratuwa are found the Liṅdamulagē De Silva, Varusahennediḡē Soysa and Fernando, Vidanelāḡē and Mahāvidānelāḡē de Mel, Telgē and Maha Telgē Peiris, Mahā Marakallagē Dias, Cooray and Perera, and Weerahennediḡē Fernando. The tribal loyalty of the clansman to his chief and his sovereign pervades the Mukkara Hatana. The clansman's pride in the achievements of his chief is exemplified in the songs narrating the exploits of the Varunakula Ādittiya Arasanilayiṭṭa clan.³ Unfortunately, history does not record

1. Perera, Fr.: Jesuits in Ceylon. C.A. & L.R., Vol. II (1916) 21; C.A. & L.R. Vol. II (1916), p. 71. Among the converts was an arachchi (nobilitate principos).
2. Perera, Fr.: Jesuits in Ceylon. C.A. & L.R., Vol. II, 1916, 24.
3. The following translation is of an ōla manuscript found at Pulinalārāmaya Vihāre, Kalutara. These Sinhalese verses are a specimen of a folk ballad, written by an unskilled village minstrel, to extoll the gallant deeds and the nobility of Mudaliyar Andradi and the Mudaliyar of Kammala. The style is poor, and the meaning confused and obscure. The author is evidently from the Low Country; the use of such forms as *Sengalapura*, *nettu*, *Ahostinu irattu*, and his high esteem for the men of the Low Country show this. Personalities mentioned are: Mudaliyar Andradi, Mudaliyar of Kammala, Arasakulasūriya Mahā Nilame, Mudaliyar Agostinu and King Parakrama. The following is a free translation, as far as the meaning can be made out.

Sheet I

Listen, ye friends, give ear to the exploits of the ancient Mudaliyar Andradi, who held command over Negombo, Alutgama and Jaffna

the name of the leader of 1556, nor do we hear anything more about him. We are left in no uncertainty, however, that he must have been a particularly powerful chief.

These Paṭabendas of the 16th and 17th centuries were men of considerable influence. Pencuṭi Āratchi was not the only Karāva chief to be approached by a Sinhalese king, for in 1656 the Paṭan-

renowned on that account as a minister of war, sprung from Karāva ancestry. He received honours more numerous and secure than all other mortals.

Sheet II

When the Nilamēs of every korale of the country, attacked with their swords and captured (whom?) like a heap of seed, and charged with their cruel lances and daggers the embattlements of Sinhale, and surrounded them, so that not one was left, by any means, without being reduced to ashes like burnt straw, who are they that fought all over the land and liberated it, but the famed Karāve Mudaliyars?

Sheet III

Who is it that chased away skilfully the Sinhala Adigars to the great hilly country (or to Makandura?). Who is it that pursued the Sinhala men, who infested villages and districts, and shot them dead? Who is it that cleaved with a dagger the head of the Dissava of Uva, proceeding like a golden image? Who else but the virtuous Mahā Mudali of Kammala in the field of battle?

Sheet IV

Ah! let us see him coming, heralded by the cloud-coloured double conch-shell, and the lion-shaped trumpet (*sinha valinda?*), the throb of drums and the sound of modulated cymbals, amid the applause of his people, making the land resound. See him coming, with newly fastened white flags and the canopy over his head. Is it right, oh! Lord, to stand and fret over him, who bears the name of Juan and Don?

Sheet V

When King Parākrama, after giving them (or him) residence at Colombo and Negombo, drove them (or him) out, the Mahā Mudaliyar of Kammala issued forth in a rage with dagger and sword. Thereupon, Ahostinu Mudaliyar and all left the city of Sengalu, thinking that it was under the instigation of Arasakulasūriya, who had been appointed Mahā Nilame. (The meaning of this verse is not clear unless the historical background is known.)

Sheet VI

When the Sovereign Lord, residing in Colombo, decked bright with the necklace, sent the Nilamēs to pursue with swords in their hands and torment and kill the Sinhala enemies, who were traversing the forest, who, then, were the Mudaliyars of the land but the Karāve Mahā Mudaliyar of Kammala?

Sheet VII

There is no other Mudaliyar in the Low Country, but this exalted person, who saw, in recent times, the way the Dutch around here fought with vigour. Who is it that went to battle, armed with gilt

gattim of Coquille was the recipient of overtures by Raja Sinha II.¹ Earlier in 1597 another Paṅgattim, Thome Rodriguez, played a different role, when with five Fidalgos of the Royal House, together with a mudaliyar and an arachchi, he took the oath of loyalty to the King of Portugal to whom the kingdom had been bequeathed by Dharmapala, last King of Kotte. These representatives had been selected by an assembly of nobles and people to swear fealty to the new sovereign on their behalf.²

In the stirring events of the Portuguese regime history has preserved not only the doings of renowned Paṅgattims, Mudaliyars and other nobles, for there is the fully documented story of an ordinary Karāva soldier, Antonio Barreto, who by his courage and skill in war rose to become Kuruwiṭa Rāla, the Prince of Uva, a guardian of the sons of Dona Catherina, Queen of Kandy, and co-regent of the kingdom. So great was his reputation for valour that Queyroz states "his people considered him immortal and neither in the one (Portuguese) nor in the other (Kandyan) territory would they believe that he was killed, till they saw his head in Candea whither the General sent it, which being recognized by all,

daggers, fastened to the two hands? The reputation of the exploits of this Minister has come to stay in the Low Country.

Sheet VIII

Beautiful flambeaux held on either side of him and the double talpata (talipot leaf parasol) doing him honour, the yak-tail (whisk) and the two-pointed lance, come down from the clouds: these proclaim the ancestry, which bred him. By such signs, know ye, that theirs is a nobility second only to the Lord (King). The manner of this account is just like cutting down a *tala* tree and the entire world (sakvala) being illuminated. (The allusion must be to some current proverb.)

The clansman's proud submission to the Sinhalese monarch is typified in the following verse:—

සිංහල දේසේ කවුද බොල	න්නේ
ආරිය වංශේ අයද බොල	න්නේ
සූරිය වංශේ අයද බොල	න්නේ
අනික් කෙනෙක් අප නොනකාමී	න්නේ

Tri Simhalē Kaḍaim Saha Vitti, Marambe, 25.

A similar verse is found in Rājāvali Kathāva, British Museum Or. 6606 (150).

1. Pieris: Portuguese Era 2, 454.
2. de Queyroz: Temp. and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon, 529. The other representatives were Thome de Souza Arronches, Captain of Colombo, Dom Antonio, Dom Constantino, Dom Jorge, Dom Joao, Don Pedro Home Pereyra, the kinsmen of the late King, Belchior Boteloh Modeliar, and Domingos da Costa arachchi.

they considered it a great marvel".¹ Whilst Kuruwiṭa Rāla waged a long and bitter war against the Portuguese on land, his nephew fought the enemy at sea as Admiral of King Senerat's fleet and met with considerable success. The names of his captains have been preserved by Baldaeus as Wandige Nay Hanni, San-derappo, Kistena, Dingappe, Ordia, Marasinge.²

5

The Evidence of the Tombos

With the appearance of European powers in the Island and the establishment of their rule successively by the Portuguese and Dutch over a part of the country, the problems of exploiting the resources of the country to their fullest necessitated the study and recording of the Sinhalese system of land and service tenure. In the course of time modifications crept in, to the benefit of the foreign ruler, whose chief concern was to work the system to the maximum advantage and in the context of conditions prevalent at the time. The surviving Portuguese Tombos, with the exception of a supplementary Tombo compiled in 1622, were made between 1610 to 1615, and provide valuable insight into the social and economic structure of the kingdom which the King of Portugal inherited in 1597, by donation, upon the death of Don Juan Peria Pandar of Kōṭṭe. The Tombo therefore, throws light on the rights, usages and duties of king and subjects during the time of the Kōṭṭe monarchs. Much information can be gathered on the social conditions prevalent during the later Kōṭṭe period, particularly in relation to the social groups of the time. The Third Book of the Portuguese Tombo, dealing with the seaports, villages and lands of the maritime districts, provides considerable information on Karāva social structure and economic status. A translation of the Negombo and Chilaw Tombos is furnished in Appendix 2.

In addition to the Portuguese names of the people who had become Christians, the "pagan" name is often preserved. In Negombo the prevalence of the Portuguese title dom is singularly high. It was a title that was reserved only for people of the highest

1. de Queyroz IV, XVII, 731. For the rebellion of Antonio Barreto, see de Queyroz, 591. For his appointment as joint guardian of the princes, see Baldaeus 692. For his appointment as co-regent of the kingdom, see Baldaeus 694.
2. Baldaeus 691-692.

rank.¹ Amongst the names from Negombo are : Dom Francisco *al* (alias) Velaida Perumāl, Dom Pedro *al* Ilea Perumāl, Dom Joao *al* Vira cuti, Peria Perumāl Cancapole, Gaspar De Cruz *al* Bāl-sūriya Ārachche, Dom Fernando, Dom Jheronimo *al* Nilacuti. These names clearly point to the people having been Hindus prior to conversion. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the court itself was very much influenced by Hindu ideas, the King's name being invariably given by Portuguese writers as Peria Pāndār. Tammiṭa Sūriya Bandāra, who, according to the Rājāvaliya, was the younger brother of the King's father, was known as Sembahap Perumāl, while De Couto describes prince Sapumal as "Queba Permal", and Vidiye Bandāra the King's father, as "Treava Pāndār".² Mannamperuma Mohōṭṭi, prominent in the time of Raja Sinha I of Sitāwaka, hailed from the Sōli country, and went by the name Aritta Kivendu Perumāl.³

That South Indian Hindu influences pervaded all the other Sinhalese social groups as well, in the sixteenth century, is borne out by a study of the Third Book of the Portuguese Tombo. To quote but a few examples; among the representatives of the domain of Madampe were Vulamgula Perumāl, Vira Peruma, and Puruxuram Perumāl (Ceylon Littoral, 9). Among the Mohottiar of Matara was Perca Peruma, late Mutiar of the Disava of Matara,

1. "A further title or addition to the names which the Sinhalese adopted from the Portuguese are the words 'Don' and 'Dona', which are widely used, especially in the Low-country, after the *gē* name. They are corruptions of the Portuguese words "Dom" and "Donna" respectively. When the title was first granted by the Portuguese, it was conferred only on noblemen and Sinhalese of the highest rank, but it seems subsequently to have been adopted as a matter of course by any person appointed to an office under Government." E. B. Denham: Ceylon at the Census 1911, p. 188. "To denationalise the race was not the missionary's object, and yet such was the inevitable consequence of the course he pursued, for with baptism came a rebirth under a foreign name and every royal convert was dubbed a Dom." P. E. Pieris: Portugal in Ceylon 1505-1658, 14.

The fidalgos of Dharmapāla who took the oath of allegiance to the King of Portugal in 1597 were all Doms. Their names are given in note 2, p. 36 supra. Of these Don Joao and Don Constantino were the sons of prince Dom Paschoal. Journal R.A.S.C.B., Vol. XX, No. 60, 414 Note 4.

2. de Queyroz, Fr. S. G. Perera in footnote at p. 234.

De Couto, J.R.A.S.C.B., Vol. XX, No. 60, 69, Ibid., 100.

3. Rājāvaliya. Trans. by Gunasekera, 93.

and the Ārachches of Matara included Alla Peruma, Xemdi Peruma, and Sinna Peruma (ibid. 81).

Other names typical of particular groups are Xembo, Cunja, Pata, Vira, Nala, Nainde and Patini for the Durāva, and Aruma, Nila, Cumura, Vira, Chauvari, Virate for the Salāgama (pp. 28-29).

In the "unusually select" community noticed by Pieris at Panadura, occur the names Aruma Peruma, Marapule, Patini (ibid. 34).

Amongst purely Sinhalese names recorded in the Portuguese Tombo for Negombo are Madapuḷi Ārachche, Samaravīra, Vije-simha, Maḍavana Ārachchi, and Virasinha Ārachchi. Manchnāyaka Liana Perumāl is a mixture of Sinhalese and Tamil. The name Varṇa, obviously in reference to Varunakulasūriya occurs, but generally, the Portuguese Tombo does not give the *gē* name or clan name. This is probably the earliest Portuguese reference to the Varunakulasūriya, and is supported by two other references to a Manoel Fernando Varnacully Paṭangattim of Mirissa in the present Southern Province, and another Varnacully described as a Carea of Matara. To the Mihiṇdukulasūriya clan, which was formerly also known as Arasakulasūriya, must have belonged Arassa Paṭangattim of Paiyagala.

The term Carea is sometimes used in the Tombo to describe the Karāva, but often no reference to the caste of a particular person is made. In reference to Negombo, where the people even now call themselves Kurukulathār, the designation Carea is hardly used in the Tombo. The inference is, that either the Karāva were not yet fully formalized as a caste, or the Negombo Kurukulathār could not yet be conveniently fitted into a definite and clear cut category, however advantageous this may have been for the administration.¹ The Tombo clearly distinguishes between the Careas, and the Carea Pescadores, who were Karāva people engaged in fishing as an occupation. For instance, in Macune Pazugala (Maggona-Paiyagala) "The largest group were the Careas, of whom thirty one land owners possessed 60 ortas. They are described either as heathen, gentio, or Native, natural. One alone appears as pescador, fisherman and one as Singer, cantor (Gikiy-

1. For details of Negombo in the Portuguese Tombo cf. Pieris: Ceylon Littoral, 25-32, and Appendix 2.

anna?) and one was a widow."¹ Portuguese writers, not so closely in touch with such realities, knowing that many Karāva folk were engaged in the fishing industry used the term Pescadores to describe the Karāva people, and by the time of the Dutch it had become a standard practice to describe all Karāva as "Vissers". Later European writers following the Dutch practice referred indiscriminately to the Karāva as "fishers".²

1. Pieris: Ceylon Littoral, 43.

2. When Queyroz refers to the Careas in Negombo (Book 1, Ch. 3, 20), he seems to be speaking of immigrant fishermen. Elsewhere, (Book I, Ch. 14, 98), he states that the Carauā were one of the four classes constituting the body of the Commonwealth. Significantly, this is the nearest approximation reached by a Portuguese writer to the Sinhalese term *Karāve*. References to Careas by Portuguese writers have to be treated with caution because it is evident from the Tombo that the designation was not applied at all to many Karāva in Negombo and elsewhere. Further, where the designation was used in the Tombo, there is a distinction between 'Carea' and 'Carea Pescador'. This distinction, made on the spot by Portuguese and Sinhalese officials is in contrast with the confusion which equated Carea with fisherman. "Karāva is not from Karā, near, but a corruption of Kuru-vara, 'the Kuru people,' changed from Kuruwa to Karāva." (Nevill: Taprobanian, Vol. I, Part IV (1886) 110.) For a discussion of the term "Karāva" also refer Itihasa by Weligama Sri Sumangala Terunanse, Colombo 1876.

Knox does not mention the Karāva. Cordiner (1807), Vol. 1, p. 93, Davy (1821), 112, Armour (1842), quoted in Hayley, Appendix VI, describe the Karāva as 'fishers'. Valentyn, (1726) pp. 2-3, and reproduced in Philalethes, goes one better and divides them into nine classes according to fishing methods! De Saram, in "A Description of Castes on the Island of Ceylon, Their Trade and Their Services to Government", supplied to Sir Robert Horton on 24th January, 1832, had obviously read his Philalethes, and could not let the opportunity pass without adding his quota to the farrago of nonsense. One of Valentyn's so called categories is *Godō-Keulo*, who may not fish in the ocean, but at the mouths of rivers or in inlets of the sea. Compare De Saram, "Land fishers who catch fish standing on rocks without going to water". Again, Valentyn—"Tok-Keulo—These are not permitted the salt water at the mouths of rivers. They fish with a peculiar kind of net of which they are restricted to the use." Compare De Saram who has to resort to onomatopoeia to explain "Tok", "Tok fishers who go beating their canoes as they go to fish." So, the men whom Valentyn prohibited from launching out to sea, are permitted by De Saram to go boating while beating a tok-tok on their canoes! The term *Keulo* is a spite term when applied to the Karāva.

Ryan states "The distinctions made, make little sense in the actual practice of fishing and that such occupational limitations existed on a subcaste basis seems unlikely." Caste in Modern Ceylon, 73 Footnote 12.

It is the boast of the Karāva fisherman that he fishes only in the sea, and that this is no recent claim is borne out by Barradas writing in 1613, a hundred years before Valentyn and two hundred years before De Saram, of the Karāva fishermen of Moratuwa: "They

The Sinhalese kingdoms before Kōtṭe were all in the interior of the Island. Agriculture was therefore both the mainstay of the people and the chief source of wealth for the State. With the spread of *Abhiṃsā* doctrines, killing, and therefore fishing were discountenanced. But when the main centres of population moved to the South-West, as during the Kōtṭe period, the important position of commerce, trade, fishing, shipbuilding and other forms of maritime enterprise becomes evident from a study of the Tombo. But this change in emphasis, which was to occur under the Kōtṭe monarchs, again alters its character with the shift in Sinhalese political power back into the interior under the Kandyan Kings. With some exceptions, the maritime folk in Kandyan eyes were valuable only in so far as they contributed to the embarrassment of the European occupying power. The vital connection that existed under the Kōtṭe Kings had been broken.

Sea fishing, as an occupation, could hardly have existed in an agricultural community with its centres of population located in the interior. Thus, Ariyapala (Society in Mediaeval Ceylon), does not find a single reference to sea-fishing in the thirteenth century, only river fishing being mentioned, although fish formed a good part of the diet of the people.¹ But with the emergence of a monarchy located in the coastal belt, as the Kōtṭe Kingdom was, even the religious prohibition was not evidently strong enough to prevent the development of a fishing industry. The Karāva, more than any others, settled as they were in the seaport towns of the south-west, already possessing a knowledge of navigation, took to fishing in large numbers. But it is well to bear in mind that they also took to many other occupations with equal facility. The Karāva of the interior is an agriculturist. Nor has fishing ever been a monopoly, as the rest of the major coastal groups and some of the minor ones as well, have contributed to the development of the sea fishing industry. The exploitation of the fresh water

fish only in the ocean, and not in the River, although it is nearer than the sea; nor in the winter, when the sea is impracticable, in spite of the greater need which presses on them, will they fish, as they consider it a degradation. And certainly, what causes wonder in this and in other people of this kind, is, that although so wretched, miserable, and poor, they have so many points of honour, that they would rather die than go contrary to it" MLR IV (1896) 134.

1. Ariyapala: Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, 336.

fisheries has been almost entirely carried out by groups other than the Karāva.

The importance of trade and commerce in the seaport towns of Ceylon is well illustrated in the Portuguese Tombo. The chief articles dealt in were arecanut, paddy, rice, legumes, betel and pepper. All these were subject to customs duties in kind, the Portuguese in this matter merely following the former Sinhalese practice. In Chilaw, for each male or female slave bought, the purchaser paid two Larins to the King. For each vessel sold in the Port the purchaser and seller paid ten per cent of the value. For each vessel newly built the King levied ten per cent of the cost of labour involved. But this was a duty levied only on foreigners, because local shipowners were exempt owing to the importance of their offices and the service they rendered to the King. Amongst other articles of merchandise in Chilaw were cloth, opium and spices.

In Negombo a flat rate of duty in respect of land transfers and sale of slaves is mentioned. Amongst other merchandise, chaya, resin, coir, cotton and timber are listed. An innovation introduced here by the Portuguese was the levying of an extra tax for the maintenance of the port, and for the salaries of the officials. Along the maritime belt the fishing industry provided one of the principal sources of royal revenue, and dried fish was both a cherished article of consumption and a source of royal revenue.

In the Dutch Tombos, the information as befitting a period of more intensive administration is more detailed. The Karāva in Dutch times possessed "parallel institutions and parallel ranks" to those of the Goigama or cultivating caste.¹ The Karāva chiefs were known as Mahā Vidāna, corresponding to the Kōraia or the military rank of Mudaliyar. The Paṭṭangāṭim appears to have lost much of his former position and now corresponds to the rank of a Muhandiram.² The *gē* names indicate the military sea-faring and commercial character of the peoples' occupations. The existence of a Nāṇayakkāra or noble class is evident. From the Tombo of Ambalangoda which has been carefully studied by Mr. Edmund Reimers, the late Government Archivist, it is seen

1. J.R.A.S. C.B., Vol. XXXI, No. 83, 448.

2. Ibid., 448.

that the castes traditionally associated with personal and ceremonial service, which are usually found in the vicinity of Karāva villages, were well represented. We find potters, washermen, dancers and drummers figuring amongst the inhabitants of the village. The Mukkara Haṭana states that the five classes of doers of service accompanied their Karāva masters.¹

The following Karāva names from the Ambalangoda Tombo illustrate from the *gē* names the various ancestral occupations.² Wenaidegey Siman Nambie, *i.e.* Siman of the house of Naide of the adze, Nambie; Lienneaatjigey Daniel de Zilve, Vidāna, Nāṇayakāraya, a descendent of Sītāwaka Tantilla, the holder of a Sannas granted by Māyādunne; Michiel Perera, Nāṇayakāraya of the house of the Schoolmaster, belonging to the Nāṇayakkāra class (gentry); Appoelagey Poentjenaatjera (Female), of the house of the Gentleman; Mannanahewage Joean, Joean of the house of the Soldier of the house of the *Grain-measurer*; (the double *wāsa-gama* should be noted). Witānegey Philippe, of the Gamarāla Class (village headman); Alegia Waḍugey Adriaan, Adriaan of the house of Alegia, the Carpenter; Paṭṭebendigey Michiel de Waas, Michiel de Waas of the house of the Paṭabenda, (officer of inferior rank to a Muhandiram); Kallomarakkalagey Juan, Juan of the house of Kallōe the Sailor; Lokoagey Salman, Nāṇayakāraya, Salman of the Great House, Nāṇayakkāra; Magnus Perera Weerasekera Guneratna, Muhandiram; Philippoe de Zilva Weeresequera, Kangany of the Guard; Kodipilli Paṭabendigē Hendrik, Hendrick of the house of the Paṭabenda, the Standard-bearer; Goeroegey Maria, Maria of the house of the teacher; Lienneaatjige Daniel, Daniel of the house of the Writer Arachchi; Siman de Silva, Paṭṭangātyn, Nāṇayakāraya; Kodikaregey Roebel, Roebel of the house of the Standard-bearer; Kallōe Mālimige Philippoe, Phillipoe of the house of Kallōe the Pilot; Pattiregey Paaloe, Nāṇayakāraya, Paaloe, of the house of the Accountant,

1. See Notes 7-8, page 17 supra.

2. J.R.A.S.C.B., Vol. XXXI, 83, 448-450. The examples are all taken from the paper of Mr. Edmund Reimers.

There are other Karāva families with the *gē* name ending in Tantrige, for example Muthutantrige; Appantantrige; Queyroz (Book I, Chapter 14, 98), states that the ranks of the farmers were Tantri, Ārachchi, Mudali and Rāla. All these titles occur in Karāva *gē* names surviving to the present day. Queyroz here is apparently referring not to a formalized caste but to a class of persons.

Nānaya-kāraya. The Gē Names of the group will be found extensively dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

There is a certain monotony and a distinctive quality, arising from the preponderance of soldiering, sea-faring and commercial activity as the principal occupations of the past, as well as from the lack of any necessity to seek anonymity by recourse to place names.¹ The names and titles of the chiefs exhibit the same tendency, and although in conformity with Sinhalese practice paṭabāṇḍi or "honour giving names" are adopted, they are far fewer in number than in the case of other groups. On the contrary, even the paṭabāṇḍi name is often no more than the ancient clan name. The following names of chiefs all taken from the late Dutch period illustrate the point:

Chikoe Paṭabendigē Thome Silva Kurukulasūriya, Paṭtangattyn of Kalutara 1760.² Mahābaḍuge Jasientoe Fernando

1. "It is worthy to remark that in the old ōla Thombos of marriages and births of the Galle District (which were in my official charge for nearly 30 years from 1867), I find that there is a peculiarity in the 'warigē' names of most of the "karawe" families, which are not to be found in other classes of the people and I am led to believe that there must have been two classes, according to their respective occupations. As an illustration are the following:—Range (Rangē) one of the oldest and respectable Karawe families of Dewundara. It is said that the original ancestor was an officer or caretaker of the gold ornaments of God Vishnu of the famous Dewundara 'devale'; (2) Jayasuriye, a Karāwe family of distinction at Matara; (3) Koḍippili of Mirisse believed to have been the flag-bearer of the native armed lascoryns; (4) Warnakula Paṭabendige of Kataluwa, from the name itself it appears that some of the ancestors have held the office of "Paṭabenda" (or inveter); (5) Wirasuriye of Galle; (6) Wirawarna Paṭabendigē of Ambalangoda; (7) Hēwagē, being in military service, etc. Of the others, (1) Galappathigē, (2) Badugē, (3) Koruwagē, (4) Merinnhagē and a pretty good number of others, all indicating the occupations of the respective ancestors." (The Landhesi Kaaleya or the Dutch Times by F. E. Gooneratne Mohotti Mudaliyar of Galle 1922, 80). "In the old ōla Thombos of the Galle District (which were in my official charge for nearly 30 years) I found the following names invariably being borne by Karāwe families, namely; 1. Toṭa-hewāgē (meaning soldiers guarding the port or ferry); 2. Guardiye-hewāgē (soldiers of the Captain-General or Governor); 3. Hewāgē Marakkalagē or more correctly Marakkala Hewāgē (soldiers belonging to the vessel or *thony*-marines); 4. Kodikara hewāgē (soldiers who had the charge of the flags belonging to the army), etc. In this connection it may be stated that the old "karawe" family of Koḍippili Paṭabendigē of the Matara District, "Kodippili" (flag cloth) and "paṭabendi" invested with a name, literally, "tied with a nalalpaṭa" are supposed to be the descendants of a military officer who had the charge of the flags of the army, apparently a standard Bearer." Ibid. 82-83.

2. Ceylon Dutch Records 785, 120.

Kurukula Jayasūriya, Joint Paṭtangattyn, Barberyn 1759.¹ Steeven Fernando Weerawarna Kurukulasūriya, Paṭtangattyn over the Rua Grande (Grand Street, Negombo), 1763.² Augustinus Ferdinandus Kurukulasūriya Weerasinghe, Muhandiram and First Malabar Interpreter to the Secretary of Policy and Justice, Galle 1763.³ Francisco Fernando Warnekoelwitten (Varunakula Aditten), Aḍapannār of Caymelle 1763.⁴ Konstantin Fernando Kurukulasūriya, Lascoreen Muhandiram, Negombo 1764.⁵ Luis Fernando Warnekoeroekoelat (Varuna kurukula Āditiya) Aḍapannār, Paṭtangattyn, Colombo 1769.⁶ Bastian Pieris Rasamanogere Warnakula Ditadipadicear, (Rasamanukula Varunakula Āditiya (?), Joint Paṭtangattyn Colombo 1761.⁷ Don Joan Perera Arasa Nilayyiṭṭa, Muhandiram, Pituankare 1762.⁸ Don Joan Perera Arasa Nilayyiṭṭa Mahā Muhandiram, Negombo.⁹ Don Simon Melho Warnakula Aditya Weerasūriya Arasa Nilayitta, Mudaliyar, Pitigal Korale 1762.¹⁰ Bandāranaike Suriya, Basnāyaka of Dōndra and Paṭtangattyn.¹¹ Don Gerrit Tissera Warnakula Āditiya Weerasūriye Arasanilayyiṭṭe, Mudaliyar of Negombo 1761.¹² Don Francisco Melho Weerasūriya Arasanilayyiṭṭa, Mudaliyar of Pitigal Korale 1765.¹³

6

The Nadir

"As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." The opening lines of the forty second Psalm are symbolised in the banner (Plate XIV) used after conversion, where the panting hart is depicted in combination with

1. Ceylon Dutch Records 785/543.
2. Ibid. 2443/75.
3. Ceylon Dutch Records 2443/279.
4. Ibid. 2443/305.
5. Ibid. 1034/174.
6. Ibid. 1034/607.
7. Ibid. 2284/91.
8. Ibid. 2243/13.
9. Ibid. 2443/350.
10. Ibid. 2555/11.
11. Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council. J. H. O. Paulusz 1954, p. 147.
12. Ceylon Dutch Records 1563/2284/237.
13. Ibid. 2556/273.

other Christian symbols. As if to show that age old traditions have not been cast away, and that the rich symbolism of the past has not been forgotten, the flag also carries the sun, moon and stars, the elephant and the fish. The eighteenth century saw a decline in Karāva importance, and this can partly at least be attributed to the rigid adherence of many to the Catholic faith. The symbolism of the panting hart turned out to be no empty thing, and the king of Portugal was proved correct in his views as to the sincerity of the conversion.

With the fall of Jaffna in 1658 the Dutch became the masters of maritime Ceylon. They were not slow to embark on a policy of repressing the Catholics; churches, colleges and schools were razed or converted to Protestant use; they expelled all Catholic priests, fixed by law the penalty of death on any priest that dared to enter the Island, or on any Catholic that ventured to harbour a priest. Catholics were compelled to attend Dutch churches, to baptize, marry and bury according to Protestant rites, and send their children to the proselytizing schools set up by Government. The most tempting inducements to apostasy were held out, the profession of the Catholic faith being made a disqualification for the holding of office under Government.

For thirty years there were no Catholic priests in Ceylon, and only the Catholics of Colombo had the periodical ministrations of priests from the ships that visited Colombo. In other parts of Ceylon the situation of the Catholics was more grievous. Deprived of their churches and the ministrations of their priests, the people kept up a form of passive resistance. They presented for baptism children whom they had already baptized according to Catholic rites. The children went to school to avoid the fines, but were taught their religion at home by parents. The fines sometimes amounted to as much as 700 Rix Dollars. Many people from Negombo and elsewhere left the Dutch territory. "De Costa and Schot also reported in the following year that large numbers of natives quit the Company's territory and pass over to the other side of the Caymel river and erect villages with Catholic churches. According to a report of Dissawa Bolsche 'on the other side of the river Caymel there were thatched churches in Tomany, Namile, Oedankare, and a stone church in Tambarawila'."¹

1. Fr. Perera: Catholic Negombo. p. 21.

With the arrival of Father Joseph Vaz in Ceylon in 1687, the Catholics took courage and began to openly flout the Dutch plaakaats. The Dutch in Colombo soon became aware of the presence of a Catholic priest and attempted to seize him, but he quietly made his way to Negombo, where he took shelter in the house of the Mudaliyar Don Affonso Pereyra, 'a Zealous and eminent native Catholic'.¹ Later in 1707, Father Manoel Miranda was to seek shelter in that same house.² As we have seen, the Mudaliyar Don Affonso Pereyra and his family were eventually banished to Batavia.³ Other prominent Catholics like the bold aracheche of the lascarins in Negombo, Simao da Cruz, were also banished, but Cruz escaped from exile, and returning in disguise to the Island, settled down in the Kandyan territory.⁴

During the time of Father Joseph Vaz the leader of the Colombo Catholics was the Karāva chief Simao Collaco, who was the best physician in the city and a friend of many prominent Dutch people.⁵ A Dutch proclamation dated 11th December 1706 required the various castes, including Chetties and Paravars, under pain of fines and chastisement, to send their children to a newly opened Dutch Reformed School in Colombo. The Karāva Catholics took the initiative, under Simao Collaco and other chiefs in resisting the demand. They presented a petition in which they firmly declared their adherence to the Catholic faith. The matter was considered by the Political Council, and all those who had signed the petition were fined 400 patacas. The three leaders, Simao Collaco, Francisco Nunes, and Pedrinho Pieris, as well as two others were arrested.⁶

Towards the middle of the century, "Negombo, where the memory of the Mudaliyar Affonso Pereira was still fresh, became the centre of an agitation to obtain freedom of religion".⁷ In 1744 the Negombo Catholics sent a collective letter to the Governor

1. Oratorian Missions in Ceylon. Fr. S. G. Perera, p. 53.

2. Ibid., pp. 63-64.

3. Ibid., pp. 88, 159.

4. Ibid., p. 89.

5. The Catholic Church in Ceylon Under Dutch Rule, Fr. R. Boudens, p. 175.

6. Ibid., 104-107.

7. Ibid., 137.

and Council. The dignified restraint and firm declaration of belief makes this a noteworthy document.¹

“Heaven and earth are our witnesses that since ancient times we have been Christians and of the Roman religion. Many obstacles have been placed in our way in order to prevent this. Our mudaliyar and several of our people and nation have perished, been put in chains or exiled to Batavia and Tuticorin. Thus many of our people have been lost. However this has not made us fear nor did we relinquish our Faith, but on the contrary we became stronger in it, notwithstanding the injuries inflicted on us. Though they should cut us in pieces we shall not change; we will persevere in the doctrine of our religion which was given by Our Lord Jesus Christ to the Holy Apostles and accepted as truth from the beginning. Though we might lose all our goods, movable and immovable and even our heads, we shall not abandon our Faith. We fear the Lord who can chastise soul and body, and by observing His commandments we show our faith in Him; but we shall not change our religion and our Faith in order to please a lord who can punish only our bodies. Your Honours should not exert yourselves to bring us to the Reformed Faith, for though we may have to undergo many torments and chastisement, we shall remain irrevocably attached to our religion. Our assemblies are responsible to Christ the Lord (. . .) Therefore we shall not abandon Him and no king shall be able to impede us. Before Pilate, Christ the Lord has declared that His Kingdom is not of this world but of heaven; and in heaven there are no soldiers, nor houses, nor forts, nor ships, nor riches, nor cannons, nor muskets, nor swords, but only those who believe in Him and observe His commandments, and continually fix their thoughts on Him. In consequence Your Honours should not trouble yourselves excessively in our regard, for we shall not change to the Reformed Religion and should it happen that we be forced to do we shall be prepared to shoulder our responsibilities publicly . . . We allow our priests to baptize our children as soon as these are born, for should they die without being baptized . . . such children are certainly lost. The “baptism” given afterwards to these children by the Reformed predikants is but a washing.

1. The original text was not found. The Dutch translation is in C.G.A., D.R. 3117 (Translation of Olas) ff. 1-3r. The extract quoted is from the Catholic Church in Ceylon by Fr. R. Boudens, pp. 140-141.

“ . . . We are all faithful subjects of the Company, and when service is asked of us we do not omit to render it in all humility. When it is impossible for us to do so, we hire coolies to do it in our stead. We have never lived in dissension with the Company and we hope that it will be able to possess the Island always. Our priests do not teach us anything else but to live in peace and on good terms with the Company, but we ask you, in as much as concerns our religion, not to force us; and should we be forced, it would be useless to count on our perseverance . . . because we will not change our religion, for we have too great a love for it, and we refuse to listen to the doctrines and admonitions of the Reformed predikants or to their prayers, sermons, catechisms and psalms . . .”

The Governor Valentijn Stein van Gollenesse wrote to Van Imhoff, Governor General at Batavia, asking for directions and he was advised to be prudent.

In Kalutara, in 1746, the Catholics boldly refused to assist in repairing the Schools, stating that those who used them should repair them. The Political Council decided that the ringleaders should be seized and put to work in chains.¹ But Catholic resistance continued to grow, and in 1750 Van Gollenesse was informed that the people in the region of Negombo were “bitterly popish”. Matters came to a crisis on 20th September 1750 when the Catholics of Negombo marched to the Reformed Dutch Church, and prevented the Predikant from entering it. “The Dutch chief Sturm arrived on the scene to demand the reason of this behaviour. They answered that being Catholics, they refused to have their children baptized by the predikant of the Company or send them to its school. They gave Sturm an ola petition detailing their grievances with the request that it be sent to the Dutch authorities at Colombo. Then they dispersed and let the predikant enter the church, which he did only to find the children he was going to baptize had been taken away.”²

The petition was signed by the dwellers of Sea Street, Grand Street and Pitipana. It concludes, “In case it were to happen that again we are taught the Reformed Religion, then we will be

1. Proceedings of the Political Council, 6th June, 1746, C.G.A., Vol. 86, ff. 205-206.
2. The Catholic Church in Ceylon Under Dutch Rule. Fr. R. Boudens, 146.

obliged to say that it happened by order of the Honourable Company; but we testify under oath that . . . we will never abandon our sincere Roman religion and Faith."¹ This petition was discussed by the Governor and his Council, and the opinion of the Consistory of Colombo was to impose severe measures on the Catholics, and one of the recommendations was that none but Protestant headmen should be employed by the Government in the districts.

On March 6th 1751 Gerrard Joan Vreelandt was sent as Governor. This man tried a conciliatory method with the Catholics. He was of opinion that a more benign attitude towards the rebellious people of the Negombo and Kalutara districts would be more beneficial than oppression, and he wrote to Batavia for instructions. Before the reply came the discovery of statues of saints in Kalutara necessitated the arrest of three leading Catholics who were exiled to Tuticorin. New Plakkaats were published.

On August 18, 1751 a Dutch predikant of Colombo went with soldiers to Negombo to arrest 24 of the leading Catholics. A crowd of one thousand strong came out to meet them, declaring themselves to be Catholics and courting arrest. They also presented a new petition written in the name of the Catholics of Sea Street, Grand Street, Pitipana, Periyamulle, Toppu and Pallansena, all in the Negombo region; also the Alutkuru Korale and the whole Kalutara District. It was a compendium of all the grievances, demanding the release of all prisoners detained for their faith, and concluded: "However for no chastisement in the world shall we lay down our religion."²

The result was that a detachment was sent against the people of Negombo. The people fled to an island where they remained for two weeks, and on the promise given by the Dissawa that they would no longer be disturbed on account of their religion, they returned to their homes.³

1. C.G.A., D.R. 3128 (Translation of Olas). Extract taken from The Catholic Church in Ceylon under Dutch Rule, Fr. R. Boudens, 148.

2. The Catholic Church in Ceylon Under Dutch Rule, Fr. R. Boudens, 150.

3. *Ibid.*, 151.

There was a short lull. Then with the arrival of a new Governor, when the Dissawa sent to investigate confiscated the goods of some, 19 were arrested and sentenced to hard labour for one year. A fresh plakkaat invalidating Catholic marriages provoked more trouble. As usual it was the Negombo Catholics who took the initiative. "On the 23rd, March 1754 some 200 or 300 Catholics went in procession through the town with banners and candles and carrying statues of saints under baldaquins, crying in Tamil 'Christ is risen'. Their audacity took the Dutch Chief Sturm by surprise." But no action could be taken as the promoters could not be identified.¹

The Dutch began to relax the rigours of their penal laws towards the end of their rule. Sir Emerson Tennent records "Notwithstanding every persecution, however, the Roman Catholic religion retained its influence and held good its position in Ceylon. It was openly professed by the immediate descendants of the Portuguese, who remained in the Island after its conquest by the Dutch; and in private it was equally adhered to by large bodies of the natives, both Sinhalese and Tamils, whom neither corruption nor coercion could induce to abjure."²

The arrival of the British in 1796 brought peace and relief to Catholics. The penal laws passed by the Dutch were repealed, and in the year 1806 at the instance of Sir Alexander Johnstone, the then Chief Justice of Ceylon, the Catholics obtained permission to exercise their religious duties freely.

Karāva Buddhists did not fare better than their Catholic fellow caste-men because the general causes of the decline affected them no less. The revival of Buddhism in the Kandyan territory led to the re-establishment of the priestly succession in 1753. Initially, admission to the "Siamese Sect" was not rigorously qualified by caste, and a number of Karāva priests received Upasampadā ordination between 1773 and 1798.³ But the question of caste quickly hardened, and by the close of the century, the Siamese Sect restricted the higher ordination exclusively to men of the Goigama caste. The Low-country castes responded

1. The Catholic Church in Ceylon Under Dutch Rule, Fr. R. Boudens, 152.

2. Christianity in Ceylon, Tennent, 42.

3. J.R.A.S.C.B., Vol. XXXVIII, Part II, No. 106, 91-92, 97.

by sending parties of bhikkhus to Burma, and the years between 1800 and 1810 saw priests of the Salāgama, Karāva and Durāva castes receiving Upasampada ordination in Burma and founding new lines of priestly succession on their return to Ceylon. This marked the complete separation of the Siamese Sect and the Low-country castes; thereafter Karāva monks were ordained in these new Burmese Sects, rather than remain in an order which would never permit them to advance beyond the status of the *Samanera*.

During the early days of Dutch rule we have seen that the Company received the loyal support of the Karāva chiefs. In the case of the chieftains and clansmen of Negombo, the Mukkara Haṭana states that this support was due more to the loyalty of the chiefs to the Sinhalese King who had allied himself with the Dutch to drive out the Portuguese. Nor was this close collaboration confined to the affairs of the Island.¹ But yet, when we compare the offices held by clans like the Varunakula Ādittiya Arasanillaṭṭa at the beginning of Dutch rule with their position at the end of the period, we cannot but conclude that there has been a decline in importance. (Appendix 3.)

Nor was religion the only cause of the Karāva decline. In the more settled times of the Dutch occupation, the emphasis on war became of less and less importance. The Kandyan monarchs, after Rāja Siṃha II, were no longer a serious threat to the maritime government. As for naval enterprise, there was none so far as the Sinhalese monarchs were concerned, and the Dutch had no necessity to recruit sailors locally.

The diminution of Karāva prestige in the middle and late Dutch period can also partly be attributed to Dutch policy, based

1. "As reward for the fine services of the Sinhalese Chieftains Mo-otṭy Appuhamy and Louis d'Andrade rendered at the siege and capture of Cochin and in order to link them more closely to the Company, it was resolved and decreed to bestow on each of them an honorarium of eighty Rix-dollars together with a gold chain or similar gift." Secret Resolutions of the Dutch Council, No. 10, page 22, 1st September, 1663. Louis d'Andrade belonged to the Varunakula Adittiya Arasanillaṭṭa clan.

"Projected expedition for the capture of Cochin and Coilan."

"With a view to increasing the size of this contingent of troops and in view of the fact that certain volunteer soldiers among the Islanders have earnestly offered their services for this expedition it was resolved to attach also the Mudaliyar of Negombo with 100 troops; Don Louis d'Andrade of Kalutara with 60 troops." Secret Resolutions of the Dutch Council Vol. 9, page 188, 16th January, 1660.

not only on religious grounds, but also on the desire not to incur the hostility of the Company's subjects by placing chiefs of other castes in authority over areas predominantly occupied by people of the cultivating caste.¹ The Goigama or cultivating caste had considerably increased in power and prestige during the preceding two centuries, both in the Kandyan country as well as in the maritime districts.² That the Karāva decline was gradual

1. Van Rheede, Special Commissioner 1684-1691 refers to certain Karāva chiefs as "despised persons" who were placed in authority over the "highest castes".—Valentyn 270. Political considerations apart, Van Rheede had experienced trouble with another Catholic group—the Bharathars of the Fishery Coast, who had resisted all his efforts to induce them to attend the Dutch religious services. (Life of Father Joseph Vaz, Father S. G. Perera.)
2. The Govi are mentioned towards the end of the 12th century. (E.Z. 11, 162-164.) For the thirteenth century Ariyapala concludes that "raja, bamunu, govi (vellala), velanda, candala were well established, and the other castes, as berava or rada based on the different vocations followed by their members, were also known". (Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, 292.) The Govi caste is dealt with in the Janawansa, which describes it as being engaged in purely agricultural occupations. (Tabrobianan, Vol. I, Part III, 76.)

From the sixteenth century there is the evidence of European observers. It is rarely that the caste designation 'Bellale' is used in the Portuguese Tombo and it is therefore difficult to assess how far the name denoted a formalised caste. The term 'Mayorals', which is used by Rebeiro to designate those "who are the same as Citizens among us", cannot be said to apply to the Govi exclusively because the same term is used in the Tombo to describe people who are obviously Karāva. (Ceylon Littoral, 26.) Mayorals are also mentioned in connection with the Batgama or Padu caste described by the Portuguese as Pacha, but in this case the qualifying word 'Pacha' is placed before or after "Mayoral". (Vide Tombo of Kiraveli Pattuwa J.R.A.S.C.B., Vol. XXXVI, Part 4, 144, 147, 149, etc.) The term Mayoral therefore cannot be equated exclusively with Goigama, but appears to relate to a class of privileged village cultivators of certain castes including the Goigama amongst others.

From the remarks of Queyroz, while it is clear that farming carried an honourable status this was presumably in relation to certain groups rather than to a single caste, as the ranks he mentions as applicable to the sons of farmers are found surviving in the gē names of the Karāva as well as the Goigama. (Queyroz, 98.)

The impression one gains from Queyroz is that formalised caste status of the Vellāla or Govi existed, but to a much less degree than in later times (Queyroz, 1087, 1089.) There existed at this time the ancient nobility of the Island. The term Bandāra was used exclusively by members of these princely families and in the Portuguese Tombo they are invariably described as Principe. Where they had become Christians they also took the title of Don.

The thirteenth century Pūjāvaliya states that members of the royal family did not mix with the Govi caste. (Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, 289.) The inscription of Nissanka Malla (E.Z. 11, 162-164)

is evident from the statement of Father Miranda, writing as late as 1707, when he says "This caste of fishermen is not like the one

bears out the later evidence of Pūjāvaliya and Janavaṃsa that the king and court were caste exclusive.

From the accounts of eighteenth century and later observers an upward trend in Govi status becomes noticeable. But Knox, (1681), has preserved the tradition of near equality of the "inferior sort" of Govi with the goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters and painters, which extended to eating together. (Knox 1911 Edition, 107.) Queyroz (1686), confirms this when he classifies the social structure in Ceylon into four classes, namely, "the nobility, the priestly class, the husbandmen and workmen and the low castes". (Queyroz book 1, 44.) By the time of Valentyn (1726), the highest class among the Govi are described as Bandares or Adassing (royalty), and Armour, (1842), corroborates this. (Caste in Modern Ceylon, Ryan, 67, 70.) This exhibits a change from conditions prevailing up to almost the end of the seventeenth century, and establishes the fact of a considerable rise in Govi status. That these status postulates have continued to operate and spread down to all ranks of the Govi is seen in the frequent preference of Kandyan Govi for the name of Banda.

An opposite view is expressed by writers of such eminence as Geiger and Paranavitana. Geiger states that the mediaeval kulinās who were Kshatriya in origin, merged with the Vaisyas. He attributes the origins of the modern Vellala or Govi to this fusion. (Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times, 30-32.) Paranavitana thinks that the kulinās were probably the same as the "govi-kula". (History of Ceylon, University of Ceylon, Vol. 1, Part II, 560.)

There are many considerations that make these conclusions improbable. If the Kshatriya clans merged with a non-Kshatriya land holding class, why should the great mass of the resultant product have lost all consciousness of such an origin? Even at the end of the middle ages the Janavaṃsa and Nāmāvaliya state that the cultivators were Sudras. (Janavaṃsa. Taprobanian Vol. I, Part IV, 104.) (Nāmāvaliya. Translated by Rev. C. Alwis, 1858, 58.) As late as the nineteenth century the Niti-Nighantuwa implies the Sudra origin of the cultivators. (Ryan: Caste in Modern Ceylon 6.) The view that in the fifteenth century the upper classes belonged to the "govi caste", therefore requires further examination. (History of Ceylon, University of Ceylon, Vol. I, Part II—744.)

Many Kandyan Radala still repudiate Goigama origins or affiliations. But the extent to which such Radala are sprung from the nobility of the fifteenth century must remain an open question.

The practice of treating the Radala as the top segment of the Goigama appears to be a late development and may well have arisen in Kandyan times. It is interesting to observe, however, that "Where the Radala is, the status of other goigama groups remains relatively low, compared to undifferentiated localities" (Ryan-Caste in Modern Ceylon 99). The explanation lies in the equation of the Radala with the earlier nobility. We also get a glimpse of Goigama status in relation to that nobility.

In the low-country, although certain families gained prestige by serving the Colonial powers and this small group practically monopolised office under the Dutch and British, there is nothing to indicate that they were anything but Goigama. The growing practice of referring to some of them as Radala is the novel result of recent election campaigns.

in our country, but is the chief one in Colombo and many of them are related to the Whites and many of the Mesticos come from them".¹ There was frequent intermarriage throughout Portuguese and Dutch times between Sinhalese and Europeans, the example being set by princes of Kōṭṭe.²

The extinction of the royal house of Kōṭṭe led to the eclipse of its leaders and nobility, many of whom had formed Portuguese marriage connections, and had been converted to Catholicism. They would therefore have no place in the polity of the Kandyan Kingdom, which was to be consolidated by Vimala Dhamma Suriya I and his successors. The Karāva, who were comparative late comers, were heavily concentrated along the maritime districts of the present Western and Southern Provinces, in proximity to the capital. Less formalized than subsequently as a caste, the evidence of the gē names and clan names suggests that the chiefs were no more than "primus inter pares". The use of the royal insignia depicted on the banners which have come down to us confirms that the Kshatriya status of the group was recognised by the kings of Kōṭṭe.³ Non-involvement in ceremonial or feudal functions arose from high status as well as from late arrival.⁴ With the extinction of the protecting monarchy, the Karāva would naturally be amongst the first to suffer. Cut off from the social processes of the Kandyan kingdom, where a manorial feudal system was reaching its maturity with privileged families at its apex, the Karāva remained with some exceptions a strictly Low-country caste, whose greater formalization coincided with the rise in status of the cultivating caste.

1. de Miranda: An Account of the Successes of the Mission of Ceylon. C.A. & L.R., Vol. VI (1921), Part III, 121.
2. Sinhalese Social Organisation—3 footnote 1. For the admixture of European blood with the Kandyan Sinhalese, cf. Introduction to Knox's Historical Relation of Ceylon. Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. VI, Nos. 1-4, p. XVI.
3. Even as late as the 17th Century, it was recognised by the Portuguese, that the mere holding of office did not entitle persons, otherwise ineligible, to the use of insignia. "Neither banners nor ornaments of white cloth shall be set up for the Vidanas of the Villages or of Corals, but only for those persons to whom this honour is due." Queyroz, Book VI, 1087.
4. An exception is provided in late Kandyan times where certain Karāva resident in the interior, holding service lands, had to provide pack-bullocks for the transport of government stores. (Sinhalese Social Organisation, 183.)

With the establishment of British rule a period of great economic activity was to follow. The Karāva, who as ship-owners and merchants had already accumulated wealth and experience, were not slow to utilise the new opportunities that followed in the wake of British enterprise. Wealth made from coffee and arrack rents went into the development of the coconut industry, and into a wide field of wholesale and retail activities. The education provided by the missionary schools led to the growth of a new English educated class, who were to play a prominent part in the agitation for political reform which culminated in the achievement of independence.

CHAPTER II

CASTE IN SINHALESE SOCIETY

Caste is specifically a Hindu concept. It is not fundamental to the Buddhist or to the Christian. Nevertheless, Caste is a reality in Sinhalese society. Yet it is not the same as Caste in India. Alike in name, it is different in design.

The Sinhalese social system is a federation of constituent interdependent groups, each a unit of its own, with its distinctive tradition and culture. Nevertheless a number of common factors, language, religion, a common habitat, and above all the concept of a Sinhalese nationality, weld the groups together into an integrated whole—the Sinhalese Society.

A fundamental question arises in regard to the constituent elements of the Sinhalese Social System. How far does the system as a whole conform or not, to the pattern of a hierarchical or stratigraphic structure with a gradation of higher and lower castes as in the Hindu system?

The question is not difficult to answer, though a number of factors cloud the issue. To a certain extent these are inherent in the nature of the occupation of the Island by different strands of immigrants coming at different times. Not only has caste in Ceylon turned on the course of the immigrations, the problem has been influenced, even vitiated in the course of ages by different attitudes and interpretations.

That caste and its evils were much in evidence in the India of the Buddha's time, is clear from the several discourses of the Buddha and his methods in dealing with it. There is no indication of any segmentation of society in Ceylon into castes before the coming of Buddhism. It is one of the niceties of Ceylon's social history that the first positive indication of a multilateral social scene synchronises with the spread of Buddhism. The earliest reference is contained in these words of the Mahāvamsa in setting out the retinue of peoples that accompanied the Bo-tree from

India to Ceylon:—"Eighteen persons from royal families and eight from families of ministers, and moreover eight persons from brahman families and eight from families of traders and persons from the cowherds likewise, and from the hyena and sparrow-hawk-clans (from each one man), and also from the weavers and potters and from all the handicrafts, from the nāgas and yakkās."¹ In these lines we have an epitome of the varied social groups that are believed to have entered Ceylon with the sacred Bo-sapling.

Assuming the reality of the picture, we may read in it a cross-section of the colonisation of the Island, and a reflection of the caste system of India at the time (227 B.C.) with its diversified groups. We may also rightly draw the inference that caste in Ceylon is inherent in the character of the colonisations of the Island, different groups of immigrants coming and occupying the Island at different times.

In a nutshell, the Social System may be regarded as a product which has had its nucleus in the immigrations from India to Ceylon, influenced and profoundly changed in the course of ages by various cultural forces in the regional environment of Ceylon. The situation continued to be so fluid that it was long before the system took a definite pattern.

An analysis of the field makes it manifest that there are two schools of thought. The one which interprets the Sinhalese social system on the model of the Hindu system with its distinct four-fold division, the Brāhmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sūdra, and a large class of Avarnās who do not fall under the fourfold division. The other school of thought turns on a balanced judgement, that however much caste in Ceylon may have had earlier reflections of the Hindu system in remote days, to interpret it in terms of this system is not realistic of things as they are, Ceylon having evolved a regional social system of its own, distinct and separate from that of India. These two views may now be examined in brief with a view to an understanding of the caste system in Ceylon, as it functions today.

The school of thought which interprets the Sinhalese social system as a prototype of the fourfold division of the Hindus is abundantly obvious in the pages of the Pāli Chronicles, the *Mahāvamsa*

1. *Mahāvamsa*, Geiger, 1912, p. 128.

and the *Cūlavamsa*, and is continued in the later works. These have been at pains to uphold the idea of a hierarchical structure of the pattern of the Hindu system.

The earliest social code which strives at an explanation of the social system is the *Janavamsa*, a Sinhalese work reputed to have been written by the Maha Thera Sri Buddha Rakkhita and usually ascribed to the fourteenth or fifteenth century, although Nevill adduces reasons for an earlier date.¹

The period of the *Janavamsa* is obviously related to one of the most intensive in the story of the colonisations of the Island. Almost all the social groups who arrived from India and settled on the extensive sea board and the hinterland find mention in this, the first social chronicle. A critical study of the *Janavamsa* leads to the conclusion that already society in Ceylon at the time, had come to be more complex than can be readily explained in terms of the classical Hindu fourfold division.

The next venture in social codification was a long way off, in the early Colonial days, which succeeded the Kandyan. Among the more exacting is the *Nīti Nighanḍuva* with its sustained efforts to interpret the social system in terms of the system of the Hindus, the Brāhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sūdra.² But a change of emphasis with a view to explaining the social developments that had occurred in the intervening period now becomes apparent, and centres round the superior social status of the cultivating group, the Goigama, which until a few decades ago was usually designated the Vellāla, the name specifically of the Tamil caste of cultivators.³

The alternative view is represented by Hayley who analyses the several sides to the problem and arrives at the following conclusions: "The chief characteristic of the various lists of the castes which have been drawn up lies in the fact that each of them gives a different order of precedence and even at the present day there is considerable dispute between certain castes as to their relative position in the social scale. Some of the discrepancies

1. Hugh Nevill Collection, British Museum, Vol. I, 27.

2. *Nīti-Nighanḍuva* or The Vocabulary of Law—Le Mesurier, C.J.R. and Panabokke, T.B.

3. *Ibid.*, 6.

may no doubt be explained by the different positions of various writers. Knox for example, does not mention the important caste of the Karavas at all. The difference between the order stated by the published *Nīti Nighandūva* and that of Armour's version, which in other respects is a translation, or adaptation, suggests a deliberate difference of opinion or intentional alteration by one or the other. But when independent writers like Knox, Cordiner, and Davy give different accounts, the conclusion would seem to be that there was no fixed order of detailed precedence such as is sometimes supposed. Some castes are clearly of higher social rank than others; but between castes of nearly equal degree, the distinction was perhaps in some cases, less certain."¹

Whatever the historical, social and cultural processes that have brought about this state, an important factor in the study of the Karāva are those unique heraldic emblems and symbols which point to a traditional heritage distinctive to the group.

Let us now take note of certain specific concepts of interest to the study of caste in Ceylon and their general bearing on the regional social system. Perhaps the most fruitful of these underlying forces centered round the statecraft of the several historical periods.

The social system as such is a product of social evolution. It is not a government or state organisation. Nevertheless at different stages of the history of Ceylon, the state-craft of the time based on patronage, shifted the emphasis from one community to another. This directly or indirectly led to the concentration of power in a particular caste and in particular families to the detriment of the other groups. With state patronage went the social elevation of the favoured caste. A factor of immense consequence in the life of Ceylon, this is an apt illustration of what has been sociologically called the "Circulation of the Elite". It changed from one age to another. The Portuguese, the first Europeans to occupy Ceylon, favoured the Karāva of the Western littoral, who had already been the recipients of high honours bestowed by the Sinhalese kings of the Kōṭṭe and Sītāwaka dynasties. Many of the Karāva accepted the faith of the newcomers, and the

1. A Treatise on The Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese, Hayley, F. A. 148-149.

Portuguese rewarded them for their steadfast loyalty and devotion to duty. The Dutch reversed the policy of the Portuguese on religious grounds, and persecuted the Karāva in various ways. The Kandyan Kingdom, under the inspiration of the Malabār dynasty (1739-1815) sponsored a feudal pattern of social organisation with the king as the centre and an ever widening orbit of functional and occupational groups, each with its own services to the state and society at large, in an elaborate system of Rāja-kāriya remunerated by grants of land held on service tenure.

The Kandyan Kingdom towards its later stages witnessed the end of Dutch rule in Ceylon and the rise of the British who became masters of the whole Island under the Kandyan Convention of 1815.

A direct consequence of the state patronage and the "Circulation of the Elite", was the rise of a hierarchy of favoured families in the eighteenth century both in the Kandyan country and in the Maritime districts ruled by the Dutch. Thus grew up a family structure and a caste ascendancy centred round a few of the families. Generally speaking, social and caste status became more or less the creed of these few families, one of the many factors in the growth of a class structure. The growing prestige of the few also led to a rise in the general status of the connected caste group.

Neither the social system of Ceylon, nor its more conspicuous external feature, the caste system, is lost in the mists of antiquity as the system of the Hindus; so much so, that we are in a position to theoretically isolate or pick out the several stages in the evolution of caste in Ceylon. The first stage may well be termed the "No Caste Stage". Historical evidence gives no sustenance to the idea of segmentation of Sinhalese society into pronounced caste groups. Caste seems to have had little or no meaning in the early ages of Ceylon till about the eighth century.¹ The first step towards caste possibly coincided with the gradual rise of vocational groups, the beginnings of a differentiated functional set-up serving the needs of an evolving society, the nuclei of the service groups of the later days. In time, these rather loose occupational groups, took shape into something of a pronounced structure of functional units. Customs of endogamy, that each social unit shall marry within

1. Ariyapala: Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, pp 284-285.

the group and not outside it, and the ban on eating together, steadily developed. Such customs in the practical business of family and social life, while they unified the several units, drove a wedge between each of the groups themselves and the rest of the society. The later stages witnessed an intensive location of each caste group in its own territorial bounds. Thus grew caste villages, of artisans, potters, weavers, drummers, and a host of others. Caste villages are a great feature of rural Ceylon.

The social system changes with time, and this is what has been happening to the system of the Sinhalese from early to modern times. The system elaborately built up by the Kandyan kings has been in process of change for over a century and a half. Without entering into the details of these phenomenal changes of the old order, which vary in their incidence between regions, the social system today may be broadly classified into two principal sections. The first is composed of the major groups—the Durāva, the Goigama, the Karāva and the Salāgama, each with its own cultural system. The other section answers generally to the social concept of functional or service groups.

These latter groups still continue their several services to society at large. Nevertheless, these functional units themselves react to change, so much so that it is true to say that the idea is steadily vanishing, of a man being born to a particular work, the basis of the feudal principle.

In dealing with the Sinhalese social system, it is necessary to be aware of the two fundamentally different concepts outlined above. The observations of Hayley already referred to, on "castes of nearly equal degree", obviously relate to the major social units of the Sinhalese.

Where caste as a social concept is not part of the religious system of the land, its functioning in society is a subconscious assumption that whatever the religious doctrine, caste and its working is inherent in the practical day to day social and family life. This indeed is what sustains caste and its working whether in Ceylon or in India. The difference, which is vital, turns on the fact that the concept of caste is not only not repugnant to Hinduism but is fundamental to it. In Ceylon, on the other hand, with no religious sustenance, caste is a product of the nuclear

culture of the immigrants as they settled in different times with their Hindu ideology influenced and modified in the course of ages by several cultural forces which have gone into the growth of a distinct regional social system with its related cultural system. The constituent major groups, each held together by strong ties of tradition, customs and ways of life, settling at different periods in the Island's history, restrained the development in Ceylon of a vast hierarchy of castes and sub-castes as in India.

Despite the integration of the several major communities, most groups were inexorably drawn in the process of time within the social configuration of the Kandyan polity. The ideology of social co-ordination albeit smouldered within. Thus arose the conflicting concepts of co-ordination and equality of status on the one hand, and the superiority complex born of the Kandyan feudalism on the other. The early decades of the British Colonial regime were socially charged with the Kandyan social atmosphere. With the progressive and steady educational and economic advancement of the constituent major groups, under the stable rule of the British, a change began to spread over the land. It set people's minds thinking in terms of the innate equality of man.

Many a dynamic factor contributed to this growing feeling of social parallelism. Among the earliest of these forces stands Buddhism, the religion of the land from the time of Devānampiya Tissa (247–207 B.C.). In later days, European influences and the religious systems they founded progressively introduced from the days of the Portuguese to those of the Dutch and the English, promoted this feeling of co-ordination among the major units of the Sinhalese.

Finally, we have yet another of the many issues in the problem of caste—that caste is a product of different ethnic groups, living side by side, without fusion. This certainly was among the primary predisposing causes in the very early days of the social scene in India. Nevertheless, this is not realistic of the social situation today. In India as in Ceylon, the differences between castes are more cultural than ethnic. If by the term ethnic is meant the biological differentiation of mankind by races, each with a distinct ensemble of facial and other physical characters, this is not a distinction generally borne out at present between castes.

CHAPTER III
SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY :
THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE KARĀVA

The Karāva are so predominantly a coastal population over the extensive sea board from Dondra to Chilaw, that it is little known they are quite a significant factor in the interior of Ceylon as well as in its maritime lands. The several factors, physical and biological, in which the group lives, have promoted distinctive modes of life suited to their environment; "the experiences in customs and traditions over the generations, embodied in their culture." True of any society, this is particularly true of the Karāva, who are found over widely separated areas ranging from the South West of the Southern Province, to the Central and the North Central Provinces, where they occupy ancestral villages of their own in the Kandyan Hill Country, and the Vanni of the North Western Province.

With a spatial distribution widely separated and segregated, the social geography of the group is an aspect of their culture which has remained an obscure chapter in their social history. Studies of the conditions and mode of life of the group in their varied habitat give us an objective picture of the normative life of the people, throw interesting light on social phenomena, and yield valuable material on current social life in these far flung villages. These studies also reveal the relationship of culture to geographic areas and to topography in relation to the group.

While the cultural practices among the Karāva who live under the same topographical conditions of the sea board, are largely similar, there are variations too. The Karāva of Udappu are Hindu with a cultural life altogether different, though they in common with the rest of the coastal group, engage in deep sea fishing as one of the means of livelihood. This abundantly illustrates the truth that "geographic areas and cultural areas do not always coincide".

That people may be divided culturally without any regard for geography or topography cannot be better illustrated than by a study of the Karāva on either side of the Negombo lagoon. On one side, the people largely speak Tamil; on the other side, in Dūwa (Plate XX), people use no Tamil but speak the Sinhalese language and are fundamentally Sinhalese in culture. This in a small way reproduces the classic example in Europe, where "on one side of the Upper Rhine, people speak German, while on the other side, they speak French and are French". The island of Dūwa, though separated from Negombo by a narrow water course, the Negombo lagoon with its outlet to the sea, has a culture altogether different from that of Negombo. In Piṭipana Vidiya, the Karāva speak Sinhalese and their kinship system is Sinhalese, which however betrays some earlier Tamil foundation. Again the Karāva here, of the Mihiṅdukulasūriya clan, speak Sinhalese as their counterpart in Chilaw. Dūwa has an abiding place in the life history of the Karāva, as a study in acculturation and absorption with the Sinhalese culture. The process of Sinhalese acculturation is indeed one which has been going on apace all over the Karāva habitat from Negombo to Chilaw, an area of varying cultural signification. Dūwa's topographical isolation has helped in hastening this cultural process, the Negombo lagoon having acted more as an accultural stimulus than as a topographical barrier. Sinhalese acculturation of the Dūwa Karāva, has been a slow and imperceptible process over the ages.

The two well marked residential quarters of Dūwa are Piṭipana,¹ about twenty acres in extent, occupied by about 75 families of the Durāwa, and Piṭipana Vidiya, of about thirty acres, the home of some fifty Karāva families of the Mihiṅdukulasūriya clan. A plan dated 1852 shows that Dūwa at that time was much larger in extent. A considerable extent of the land has been submerged by the advancing sea, a problem all over this coast.

Adjoining Dūwa is the large Sinhalese area of Pamunugama with a varied population mainly engaged in deep sea fishing. These influences reacting over generations of the Karāva, have resulted

1. The name Piṭipana, is in itself a word of interest. The name literally means the *puṭṭi*, elevated land, on which stood a pana, the palmyra palm; the combined name evolving in the present name, Piṭipana,— a name which recalls the times when the palmyra palm on an elevation, was a landmark.

in the dominance of the Sinhalese culture strong in them today. And yet despite the counteracting forces in social relations, the Karāva as a group have maintained their individuality and integrity unimpaired. Though all in Dūwa and Pamunugama are Roman Catholics, the Karāva have their separate Church and separate schools.

A topographical isolation of a different character, with a culture pronouncedly different is revealed in Manampitiya, of Egoḍa Pattuwa Kōrale, in Tammanakaduwa District of the North Central Province. Park-like and dry, eight miles to the south of Manampitiya, is the jungle around "Gunner's Quoin", one of the ancestral homes of the Veddas. Between the villages of Gallēla and Manampitiya flows the Mahāvāligaṅga. In the Middle Ages when Polonnaruwa was the capital of the Sinhalese kings, from 1017 to 1235 A.D. Manampitiya was obviously a populous village sharing in the general prosperity of the age. The natural depressions on the surface of the soil have been developed into tanks by the hand of man, fostering the ancient cultivation of the region.

Abandoned by the Sinhalese from the time that Polonnaruwa ceased to be the capital of the Kingdom, Manampitiya was obviously left to nature, until its present inhabitants, Kurukulathār of Negombo, went into occupation of the land; one of the several bands of refugees escaping from the political and social upheavals of the Dutch times.

Whatever be the circumstances that led to the establishment of this far flung outpost of Karāva culture, here today is seen the traditional Hindu culture of the Karāva preserved for posterity, with the flags and banners of the group in the hands of these humble peasants and cultivators. These flags and banners are the living links of the Karāva all over Ceylon—the sacred insignia which open up a vast field of study in Hindu symbolisms and signs. It was from this village and from these people that E. W. Perera collected his data on Karāva flags for his monumental work, "The Banners and Standards of the Sinhalese".

The cultural adaptations the people of Manampitiya have developed are the result of many variable but interrelated factors. Physically vigorous, the people are by no means lazy, which belies

the generalisation that a hot climate promotes indolence. The men have no doubt adjusted themselves to the climate. The irrigation facilities that the village enjoyed both natural and artificial, have been reconditioned and exploited by the later Karāva immigrants into this Dry Zone village. Thus no doubt developed an agricultural technology suited to the region.

The indigenous irrigation methods which have developed through the ages to suit the special Dry Zone conditions, find a practical application in Manampitiya today. Kankāna Vil Kuḷam—literally the tank beyond the sight of the eye, over two miles in extent, fed by the Mahāvāligaṅga, ensures a never failing supply of water for agriculture. Agriculture here as in the Dry Zone generally is a matter of practical irrigation; no crops can be raised by depending on the supply of rain water. Dry Zone villages have therefore developed indigenous methods to suit special conditions. As the level of the water in the tank sinks in seasons of drought, wells are sunk on the bed of the tank. Water is lifted up by a leather bucket let down into the well and drawn up by a pair of bullocks running down an inclined plane. The man who works it sits on the two ropes, the one fitted to the top of the leather bucket—*toppai*—and the other to its lower loose end. As the bucket reaches the uppermost point, the rope which keeps the tail of the receptacle folded up, is released, and the water is directed into a small channel along which it flows to the fields.

The available land is distributed to the peasants at the rate of three acres of paddy and one acre of high land. As a rule only one paddy crop is raised in a year. When the rainfall on the central hills is heavy, there is plenty of water in the river, and the villagers have an easy time. When the rainfall is scarce over the hills, water in the river goes down in level and with it the level of water in the tank. The villagers are equal to the problem which is met by the well and the water-lift technology set out above. The village has a total of two hundred and twenty acres of occupied land with about a hundred houses.

Houses in general have an open *mantapam* in front, a fairly large sized hall according to the proportions of the house, with a dwarf wall around. Behind this are the living rooms, with a large verandah in front supported on wooden pillars. Out-

side the village bounds, *chēna*¹ cultivation is carried on, 2 or 3 acres for each family; crops of *kurakkan* (ragi), chillies, maize and gingelly are raised. Tobacco is largely cultivated on the banks of the Mahāvāligaṅga in the dry season.

The Kurukulathār population of Manampitiya number five hundred more or less. Kanapathi Pillai Kadirkāmar Thambi is the Vidāne and Village Council Chairman. Chinna Teru Mudali and Periya Teru Mudali are by tradition the two ancestors who left Negombo to save themselves and seek their fortunes elsewhere. These two ancestors seem to symbolise the two clans, hailing from Sea Street and Grand Street of the main settlement of Negombo. The descendants of Chinna Teru Mudali are those who now occupy Manampitiya with their Kuḍimakkal—the feudal functionary slaves—the Vaṇṇār or the Washerman, the Ambaṭṭan or the barber and others. It is said that the Kuḍimakkals traditionally numbered 18, each with its own function. Among these are the Koḍikkāreṅ, flag bearer; Tiṅveṭṭikkāraṅ, torch bearer, the bearers of Ālavattam (the Ceremonial Fan), Venchāmara (the fly whisk made of the bushy tail tuft of the white deer), and the Kuḍaikkāreṅ or umbrella bearer. The umbrella is the ceremonial Muttukkudai, the Pearl umbrella, one of their many insignia.

Periya Teru Mudali had no wife and died childless. The descendants of his retainers are all living in Karapilai, Soru Vila and Savanpetṭi four miles away. Of the total of seven families who left Negombo homes, the remaining five spread themselves further to the East, occupying areas in or about Chankalāḍi, Batticaloa and Eravūr.

As a group in whom Hindu customs and habits are preserved unchanged, the ways of life reflect the institutionalised character of Hindu societies in the social customs attached to births, deaths, and marriages, as in other habits of daily life.

As life departs from the body, devotional songs are sung, so as to dispel the evils of worldly associations and influences, and prepare the soul for a restful passage. These invocatory songs are sacred to God Skanda and are known as *Skandānan Alankāram*. Songs of *Vaikunṭa Ammānai* are also sung to alleviate the family bereavement.

1. The shifting cultivation of the dry zone of Ceylon.

A number of songs commemorating the classical romances of old foster the emotional life of the folk. Songs of the character of *Pulandhiran Kalavu Mālai*, the romance of Pulandhiran, son of Arjuna, *Alli Arisāni Mālai*, the song of Queen Alli, and a number of other poetical compositions are sung to music. A series of songs of heroism are the *Paḍai Pāṭṭu*, war songs. *Kōlāṭṭam* and *ūñjal*, are among the recreations of girls, played to accompanying songs on festival days, as the New Year Day of Chittirai (April). Adults too have their own *Kōlāṭṭam*, played to the singing of devotional songs invoking prosperity, plenty, and a good harvest. *Vaikāsi paravam*, the *pournami*, or the full moon day in the month of Vaikāsi (May), is sacred to Goddess Kaṇṇaki Amman, the goddess otherwise known as Pattini. *Pongal*, the sweet preparation of rice and jaggery in milk is made; as the milk rises, the pot is taken out and the *pongāl* offered to the Goddess at the Kaṇṇaki Amman Kōvil. Deepāvali and Saraswati Pūja are among the other festivals observed in this typical Hindu village.

Kadirkāmar Tambi is a worthy representative of the ancient lineage in direct line of descent from the great progenitor, the Chief who led his followers to this distant Dry Zone outpost, safeguarding their traditions and their priceless flags and banners—the insignia of the Karāva. More than any single person today, he breathes the very spirit of the past, preserved in its pristine purity in this far flung little village, comparatively untouched and uninfluenced by the sophistication of modern times all too evident in most of Ceylon. No Gē name reflects his ancestry, as in Sinhalese personal names generally. He calls himself Mudaliya Vaļāvukār, the occupant of the Mudaliya Vaļāvu, the family home of the ancestral Mudali: and the family is styled the Mudaliya Kuḍumbam.

On paying social calls Mr. Kadirkamar Tambi testifies that the Kurukulathār are traditionally received with three mats, draped over with three white cloths, and two *tāmbūla taṭṭams*, trays of betel and nuts. At ceremonial functions besides the flags and banners, two chanks are borne in front, one the spreading chank—the *marīāda chanku* or the customary chank, and the other the *Vetti Chanku* or the triumphal chank announcing victory; the *Ti-Vetti*, a portable open lamp in brass with a holder and an oil container burning a thick rag wick. It is of a traditional pattern,

special to the purpose of ceremonial processions. As specimens of *daval panthama*, or daylight torch, are not to be found today in other villages, the specimen preserved here, is a rare object of particular value.

Marriage as an institution has preserved much of the Hindu ceremonials. Kalyānam, Vivāham, and Sambandham, are the alternative terms denoting marriage. Marriage proposals are initiated by a preliminary visit to see the girl. If the girl is acceptable, the nearest relations of the girl pay a ceremonial call on the bridegroom. On both parties agreeing, the dowry or *seedanam*, is settled. Both the houses are decorated, the marriage *pandal* erected in the bride's house, and the *arasānikāl* or the bridal post, planted. This ceremonial post is of a milk bearing tree, *pāl maram*. At the auspicious time, the *muhūrtham*, the bridegroom, is conducted in procession to the bride's house. The bridegroom's party makes a money payment called *parisam* to the bride's, and a basket load of *palahārams*, or sweets and delicacies. The bride's party accepts the *parisam*. The bridegroom's party brings with them the bridal dress and other essentials, the Koorai, the wearing apparel, Koorai Chaṭṭai (Velvet dresses), Koorai Chēla (Sari), Tāli Koḍi, (the necklet with the tāli—the sacred marriage symbol), Cheepu, (comb), Kaṇṇāḍi (looking glass), and articles of perfumery (Vāsana dravyam), attar, (scent), puṇuku (civet), and Kastūri (musk). These are displayed on a silver tray, blessed by the guests and handed over to the bride's party with another tray of betel, pāk (nuts), paḷam (plantains), and the *palahāram* (sweets). The bride's party in turn hands over to the bridegroom's party a tray of personal gifts consisting of a Vēṭṭi (wearing cloth), a sālvaī (the *anga vastram* or shawl), a banian and rings. The Brahmin purohit presently busies himself with preparing the hōmam the sacrificial fire, making offerings to God Pillaiyār and the nine planetary deities (nava grahangal). The bride is now duly conducted to the marriage *pandal* and the bridegroom ties the tāli at the auspicious moment. The bridegroom repeats with the priest, the customary vows—*Chandra Sūriya Sākshiyā* with the Sun and Moon as witnesses that he takes the bride as his wife for the rest of his life. The bride responds with vows in similar terms to be wife to the man, "as long as the Sun and Moon last". The couple thrice circumambulate the hōmam, the sacrificial fire,

and the bride places her feet thrice over the stone *ammi*, the grinding stone, symbolising that in her devotions to her husband, she will be as firm and strong as the stone. Exchange of garlands and rings brings the ceremony to a close.

Separation seldom takes place. In the unlikely event, of separation, no legal proceedings mar the dissolution of the marriage contract. No maintenance is ever asked, for the wife living apart and her children, and even if offered is not accepted.

A woman in menses is under pollution for a duration of seven days which is more than the normal period of four days ordinarily observed by Hindu women. During these seven days, she takes no part in household duties, but remains separate in an outhouse. She is, in the terminology of the folk, a *tala mulukku kāri*, literally, a woman subjected to a course of purificatory baths. On the first three days she takes a bath without application of oil. On the fourth day she takes an oil bath. The pollution is now considered to be only partially removed. The bath is continued on each of the remaining three days. After the last bath on the seventh day, the pollution is altogether removed, and she resumes her normal daily life. On these days of ceremonial pollution, she wears a cloth provided by the Vaṇṇān or wears one of the cloths already washed by the Vaṇṇān and kept in stock. This latter custom is a late development, as it saves the need of getting a daily change of *māṭṭu*, as the ceremonial cloth, provided by the Vaṇṇān for the purpose, is termed.

Taking leave of Manampitiya, cultural areas of a different character claim our attention. Among these, the more noteworthy today are Ratalavāva, in the Kandyan district of Matale South and Diddeniya in the North Western Province, both occupied by the Karāva of the Varunakulasūriya Clan.

Ratalavāva, in Asgiri Pallesiya Pattuwa, of Matale South, in Mahāwela Wasama, enshrines in its cool resort, traditions of the Middle Ages which still animate its population of about three hundred peasants distributed in over forty houses. The people here are Karāva of Varunakulasūriya lineage. In the words of the Gazetteer by Lawrie they are "descendants of Fishers brought from Negombo by King Rāja Sinha to serve in time of war".¹ The

1. Lawrie, A. C.: Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon, Vol. II, p. 777. 1898.

expression "fishers" reflects the growing tendency during the Colonial period of discounting the real character of the people as the fighting class of Ceylon's Middle Ages. It reflects too the growing prejudice which had gained ascendancy all through the Colonial days of the British regime and continued to recent times. Surely "fishers" could not have been brought to fight, or "to serve in time of war"; and as fishing is scarcely an activity of the Kandyan hills, it is obviously a "fishy" observation, in the sense of a deliberate prevarication. The statement indeed is in the same vein as the one in the same Gazetteer on Ambana in these words; "A village in Gampahasiya Pattuwa, Matale South, granted by a King on a Sannas to a Tamil fisherman, Migomuwa Mudiyanse, for services at the battle of Migomuwa (Negombo)"¹ As villages endowed by the Sinhalese kings in recognition and in gracious remembrance of valorous deeds in war, these marks of royal favour appear in their right perspective. The Migomuwa Mudiyanse, honoured by the King with the grant of Ambana, is obviously the personage of the same name who founded the Paḍi-wita Iswara Dēvāle in the reign of King Rajadhi Raja Sinha, a temple long since abandoned. The image in the dēvāle is supposed to have been removed to the Vihare of the place.

The name "Ratalavāva" has an interesting derivation, thus recorded in the Gazetteer; "King Parakrama Bahu of Galagama returned after a victory, and in order to test the constancy of his Queens, he hoisted a red flag by the tank."

There is no sign of the tank now, perpetuated in the name of the village. Here was also a dēvāle, which has long ago vanished, dedicated to the God of Minneriya. The dēvāle, decayed, it is said on the death of the last Kapurāla (the priest). The villagers are Buddhists, in whose domestic life the worship of the Hindu gods finds an active place. Among the ancestral families is the household of Varunakulasūriya Mudiyaṅselāge Punchirāla, the only house in which is treasured a number of the traditional insignia of the group. These are the *Ira Haṅḍa Kōḍiya*, the Sun and Moon Flag (Plate I, Fig. 1); the *Simha Kōḍiya*, the flag with the lion emblem (Plate I, Fig. 2); and a striped coloured *Pāvaḍa*, the cloth spread out on ceremonial processions before important personages (Plate II, Fig. 1).

1. Lawrie, A. C. : Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon, Vol. I., p. 38.

These the family possessed from time immemorial and King Raja Sinha II confirmed their right to use these objects of regalia on ceremonial occasions. The King also bestowed on Punchirāla's ancestors the rank of Paṭabendi, conferred with a gold fillet tied over the forehead and a gold belt. These, the family have lost in subsequent years. The family also had the *daval pandama*, day light flambeau, which also they lost. Some of the insignia are believed to be at Hurulla near Anuradhapura, including an old pearl umbrella (Muttu Kuḍai). The objects of insignia that the family have, are displayed by them on joyous occasions such as weddings, but are no longer carried in processions.

The *Ira Haṅḍa Kōḍiya* measuring 4'7" × 2'5" has the sun centrally situated, flanked by two stylised elephants on either side standing face to face, with the crescent moon just above the hind quarters of the elephant on the right. A row of four petalled flowers on the top and bottom, is symbolic of stars. The sun has a human face, the halo of rays around the circumference producing an unmistakable symbol of the sun.

The figure of the lion on the lion flag, 3'2" × 1'4", is an object of even greater cultural value in symbolism. The face again is remarkably human, with the mane stylised and disposed all around the human face, signifying symbolically the rays of the sun. The anthropomorphism is of great significance. The three motifs of the sun, the animal, and the human, are combined to form a composite figure, a triumph of creative symbolism. The slim body and the long tufted tail, are typical of the lion. Anthropomorphic and composite figures are a feature of early symbolisms which have developed on account of specific situations in the human consciousness, and represent psychological realities. In the details of the flag, the face represents the human nature and the physical body, the lion symbolises the attributes of courage and vigour, and the sun symbolises Life and Reality. Sun and moon also symbolise the Sūriya and Chandra Vamsa, the solar and lunar races from whom the Kshattriya claims descent.

Though Buddhists, the culture of the people is strongly reminiscent of the earlier Hindu life. The Hindu gods, Mahā Vishnu and Bāla Subramaniya are the household deities receiving worship at the house of Punchi Rāla. Among the personal names of old

in this village are the Hindu names, Valli Ammā, Ummāchehi, Ārumugan, Sinna Thambi, Kandappā, Vēlati and Vēlan. Many of these are names of Hindu gods. A number of men and women have Hindu puranic names.

The village has a wealth of folk culture. The magical Vira Yakun Neṭṭuma and dances in the curative rituals of the Tovil and the Garā Yakkā and Hūniyam Yakkā dances are masked dances, very effectively produced by dancers wearing masks and the appropriate colourful costume. The masks themselves mark a departure from the general range of the art of the mask. These do not cover the whole face, as masks generally do. They are rudimentary pieces covering each feature of the face (Plate II, Fig. 2). The Kandyan district has no masked dances of the class prevailing in the South. The masked play of this village is thus a feature of great interest. The eyes, the nose and the mouth have each a mask of its own. The eye and the nose pieces are strung together. Adjusting these over the several parts, the sections are held in position by strings tied behind. The mouth, the lips and the teeth are each detached pieces, similarly secured by strings. The incipient art of the mask and the masked dance disclosed here, have a pronounced contribution to make to the study of the masks and masked dances of Ceylon.

Diddeniya in Maulla division of Baladore Korale of the North Western Province is yet another village of Buddhist Karāva: an isolated village, a few miles beyond the beaten track of the high road. With a topography characteristic of the province and a soil hard to handle, the peasant has indeed to labour and toil arduously to make a living on the produce of the land. And yet he does it, from day to day, adapting himself to the conditions imposed on him by Nature in the shape of his physical habitat.

The village has a population of seven to eight hundred, distributed in about a hundred houses. Karāva of the Varunakulasūriya Clan form the bulk of the residents. The school master of the local Government School, Varunakulasūriya Kumārasinghe Mudiyaṅselāge Vēlappu, states that there are two smaller clans here locally named Wijesinghe and Kumārasinghe Mudiyaṅselāge. Hindus by origin, the whole village is now Buddhist observing Buddhist customs and ceremonials of social life. They intermarry

with other Buddhist Karāva villages of Paḍavita, Dumbemāda (Four Korales), Andarapāne (near Alawwa) and Umuthuwella, near Pasyāla. They have also social relations with the Karāva village of Gojjarāgama, in Galgamuwa, a village partly Buddhist and partly Hindu.

The earlier Hindu culture of Diddeniya survives in personal names. Vēlappu, Sitappu, Kandappu, Veerappu, Kumarappu, Nilappu, Bālappu, Sembappu are some of the men's names. Thēvammā, Valliammā, Vallihāmy, Patihāmy, Panuammā and Thangammā are some of the names of the women. The essential basis of Hindu culture is also seen in the village dēvālaya dedicated to god Kataragama, the Kapurāla of which is a Tamil.

The village is remarkable for the ancient flag, the Sudu Ātu Bāṅdi Koḍiya, in the possession of Varunakulasūriya Kumārasinghe Mudiyaṅselāge Sembappu (Plate III). The flag has been in the family for ages, and was brought here when they left their ancestral homes in Negombo, in search of a refuge where they could pursue a life true to their own traditions. The symbolism featured in this pictorial record cover so wide a range going so deep into traditions that they are separately dealt with in the chapter on the Traditional Psychology.

A Hindu Karāva village is so rare a phenomenon, that the location of the Hindu village of Uḍappu, on the Western littoral, in the vicinity of Chilaw, is of immense cultural interest; here is one of the few Draupadi Amman Kovils in the whole of Ceylon, the other temple dedicated to Draupadi Amman being at Pāndrippu in the Eastern Province in the neighbourhood of Kalmunai. A feature of the shrines dedicated to Draupadi is the ceremonial Fire Walking held on the last day of the annual festival.

A village of Hindu Karāva, Uḍappu is a populous settlement by the sea coast. The annual festival of the temple to Draupadi (Plate IV, Figs. 1 and 2) falls in the Tamil month of Āvani, July to August, and occupies a period of ten days. The celebrations begin with the Dwajārōhaṇam, the Flag Hoisting, on the first day and conclude with the ritual of the Fire Walking on the last day. On the days intervening, the whole story of the adventurous life of the Pāṇḍava princes, is enacted in a series of ceremonial shows. In the course of an evening's "Kathā piraṅgam" the

story of the Pāṇḍava princes is narrated as expounded in the sacred epic, Mahābhārata.

Inside the shrine, *pūjā* is made to the images of Draupadi, and the Pāṇḍava princes. The club (the *gata*) of Bhīma, the bow and arrow of Arjuna, and the bows and arrows of the other princes, are grouped around, and offerings made of fruits and flowers, by the officiating Brahmin priest.

Among the spectacular observances during the festival are the *Swayamvaram*, the marriage of Draupadi to the five Pāṇḍava princes; *Draupadi Vastrāpaharaṇam*, an episode in the game of dice between the Kauravar and the Pāṇḍavar; the Vanavāsa or the exile of the Pāṇḍavar and the austere penance of Arjuna. On the last day towards afternoon, is enacted the triumphant march of Yudhistīra the eldest and the chief of the Pāṇḍavar, conducted in ceremonial procession after their ultimate victory over their kinsmen the Kauravar (Plate V). Pāṇḍavar reoccupy the throne of Hastinapura, and the Kauravar disperse.

As this last scene is enacted, all is ready for the Fire Walking. The fire pit is a trench approximately ten feet long and proportionately deep; full to the edge with burning embers of cart loads of tamarind logs. The priest and all the devotees proceed for a ceremonial bath in the waters of the sea. With a pot of water hoisted on his head, with peacock feathers and a bunch of coconut flowers stuck round the sides of the pot, the priest walks in steady and devout strides round the trench of fire. Standing at its eastern end, he sprinkles a little turmeric water over the glowing embers, and proceeds over the fire, followed by the crowd of devotees to the resonant cries of "Harō, Harā".

A high antiquity is claimed for this village of Hindu Karāva. The annual celebration at this temple is reputed to have been maintained for some hundreds of years. Nevill has featured the temple in one of his studies in the course of which he gives a comparative account of this temple festival in relation to the celebrations at the Draupadi Amman Temple at Pāndrippu in the Eastern Province.¹ In his time, the caste flag—makara, re-

presenting the Varunakula, was used at the ceremony. The temple at Uḍappu is today called the Sri Krishna and Draupadi Dēvi Kōvil, a later extension of the dedication, by the presiding Brahmin priest.

A cultural survey of the varying habitat of the group thus leads us to interesting conclusions, that things are not what they seem, that the culture of the Karāva presents varying phenomena suited to their different modes of life. The study reveals a most important factor in Sociology, that more than other contributory factors, the most decisive in human societies are the "natural resources, in terms of which the group technology develops". Thus the seafaring man develops an elaborate technology of fishing, as the landsman develops techniques of agriculture. In Ratalavāva, the Karāva is a farmer suited to his hilly habitat, as in Diddeniya and Manampitiya, he makes a living on soil not so yielding, developing methods of irrigation suited to the region. In Uḍappu he is a fisherman living by the sea.

The distribution of plants and animal life of a land constitutes the biological habitat of the region. In lands by the sea, the biological factor that matters is the wealth of fish in the waters of the sea. On these, men make a living, as the Dry Zone villager in the vicinity of jungles made his living for ages, trapping or shooting animals for food, a major factor in the life of the Dry Zone peasant as of the Vādḍa. He maintained a balance between the animal world and himself, both by killing the animals for food, and safeguarding the crops against their depredations. Culturally, there is little functional difference between the villager in the vicinity of a forest teeming with wild life and the Karāva by the sea, subsisting by fishing.

These investigations lead us to but one conclusion, that the varying habitat gives variety to Karāva life, proving that "social life is cultural and culture always mediates between man and his physical habitat".

1. Nevill, Hugh : The Taprobanian, Vol. II, Part II, April 1887, pp. 58-60.

CHAPTER IV KARĀVA SOCIETY

1 The Social Organisation

The social organisation of a people regulates the social relations at a particular stage in the story of their life. It varies from time to time, according to the conditions that stimulate a particular form of organisation. Changes are so inherent in the life of any society that it has been rightly said "a society must either change or die". So vast are the changes produced in the womb of time that it is difficult today to think in terms of the past, or to analyse the structural components of a society as it functioned in the distant days. Yet, though origins have little relation to present conditions, the evolutionary story of a society has a cultural value even in relation to the present life of that society, not to speak of its high sentimental value to the community.

Almost all the major social groups of Ceylon have had an elaborate social structure the pattern of which is either lost or obscure today. In no other social group is this perhaps more evident than in the life history of the Karāva of Ceylon. A powerful social factor all over the Western sea board from Dondra to Chilaw, particularly in and about Negombo, where the consolidation is most pronounced, secluded pockets of this group are distributed in varying numbers in widely disconnected parts of the hinterland. An analytical study of their social structure demands intensive field work over their extensive habitat.

Though they function under varying conditions of life and work in the different parts of Ceylon, traditions largely trace their central home of dispersal to Negombo and its environs. Negombo is the resultant product of the Karāva in a sense which is scarcely true of any other urban centre of Ceylon: and Negombo holds today the key to the social organisation of the Karāva of practically all Ceylon. Here the social organisation of the Karāva of the

Middle Ages can still be studied and the studies subjected to sociological analysis. That something more than the mere outlines of social structure can be gathered at this distance of time, despite vast changes in culture, religion and mode of life, is a test of the efficiency and stability of the social organisation as it actively functioned in the life of the people of the Middle Ages.

The group as a whole admits of a threefold division, the Kurukulasūriya, the Mihiñdukulasūriya and the Varunakulasūriya, each an endogamous unit in the early days. Negombo has all the three divisions: All Mahā Vidiya or Main Street, the Rua Grande of the Portuguese, belong to the Kurukulasūriya; Vālla Vidiya or Sea Street, the Rua da Praha, is the home of the Varunakulasūriya; with Dūwa, on the other side of the Negombo lagoon, inhabited by the Mihiñdukulasūriya, alternatively known as the Arasakulasūriya.

If more is known of the Kurukulasūriya clan organisation than that of the other two divisions, it is solely due to their large concentration in and about Negombo. The names of the sub-clans within the Kurukulasūriya can be traced in Negombo today, though solely as a survival of names, without a corresponding differentiation of functions. Even so, the names are mostly expressive of original functions within the group, functions which have long ceased to operate.

Among the family names of the Kurukulasūriya clan preserved in the social life of Negombo are Dutṭuvan, Kattāḍi, Māderi, Vanametti, Semban, Vairavan, Piratti, Ilayan, Adappan, Nāṇayam, Kampan, and Tarumar to mention some of the more noteworthy. These survive as family names in particular families, and are generally used in daily social life. A number of these names recall the basic Hindu social system, functional, religious and social.

The functional significance is not obvious today except in such obvious names as Kattāḍi, or the folk priest who conducted rituals propitiating spirits and the lesser gods. Māderi is a synonym for the goddess Kāli, Kampan is synonymous with Siva and Kanjan is the name of the god Brahma ("one born in a lotus")¹. Kanjan

1. Tamil Lexicon, Madras, 1932, Vols. I and VI.

alternatively signifies one skilled in woodcraft. Adappan literally means a leader, a headman, or one who controls. In the occupational functioning of Negombo, the name denotes the chief pilot of a sea going craft. An interesting suffix prevailing today is Kāṇi, as in the name Mātang Kāṇi. Kāṇi as a titular name signifies one who holds a Kāṇam, a prescriptive right or a privilege to do a certain function enjoined by social usage. The name surviving today is reminiscent of the institutional pattern of early Karāva society on a basis of functional services. Semban or Sembian, is an ancient chief in early societies.

Nāṇayam is another titular suffix as in the names Kurukulasūriya Mary Emerancia Fernando Nāṇayam or Kurukulasūriya Anthony Alfred Fernando Nāṇayam. There are four families of the name in Negombo. Nāṇayam literally means wealth; money more specifically, and its usage as a personal suffix is of interest. The more common personal name today is Nāṇayakkāra, a man of wealth. Nāṇayam as occurring in Karāva social structure in Negombo obviously means the same, a man of riches. In the Dutch Tombo of Ambalangoda the suffix occurs in the form Nāṇayakkāraya in reference to a number of Karāva families. Generally the name is associated with a noble family. Adikāram is yet another family suffix, as in the name Kurukulasūriya Charles Fernando Adikāram. The functional and service basis of the social structure is obvious from these survivals of family names. The services appear to have arisen from specialisation within the group and are not related to feudal caste services as they developed in the social structure of the Kandyan period.

The functions as such have vanished today. Nevertheless, in the day to day life of Negombo these various appellations still distinguish one person from another; and in a place where several persons have the same surname, these honorific titles fix the identity of the individual. The names come from ancient times. That they were in common use in Portuguese times is seen from the Portuguese Tombo. Many of these are preserved for us in the Gē names, serving to remind us of the days when different groups of people held various functions and services which regulated and determined their place in society. An examination of the Gē names, separately dealt with, reveals many a feature of the social structure of the past.

The survivals of functional social structure in and about Negombo are a valuable index to the institutional form of social organisation that prevailed among the Karāva of the Middle Ages, when constituent units were held together in a strongly welded and integrated society. The many functional names still surviving in Negombo at this distance of time reflect an elaborate social structure eloquent of the traditional culture of the group.

The several Sinhalese groups have each its own distinctive culture and social heritage. The characteristics peculiar to each distinguish one society from another with a common awareness of their distinctive group attachment. The Karāva are a good example of a pronounced "close group", of a culture "tightly integrated", with a sense of belonging together stemming from a complex of emotional and mental attributes reflected in a feeling of "in-groupness". A heritage of the Middle Ages, this "in-group" ideology preserved the group intact, as it does today, with a bond of sympathy which holds the members together. The cause of greater caste formalisation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must be sought in this common heritage from an earlier less formal society whose functionalism was not strong enough to counteract the unifying effects of the "in-group" ideology.

This core of a closely knit group life found expression in the Middle Ages in a code of sumptuary laws, with the conventional prescription of superiority inherent in a rigid code of sumptuary social behaviour. Authentic accounts of the working of the sumptuary laws are hard to collect today, and would have been altogether a fruitless enquiry were it not for the unimpeachable statements of some of the oldest and most trustworthy of the elders of the community. One of these is the impressive personality of Kurukulath Arasar Aiyān Pillai Kumāra Vēlu Vanniyan of Timbilla, of the solitary Hindu family of the Negombo Chilaw sea board.

The Ambaṭṭaya or Barber has been the Kuḍimakan of the Karāva and still serves the Karāva society in functional social services; among his main functions, right down to modern times, was the rigid application of the sumptuary laws. When society is gathered together for social occasions, the Ambaṭṭaya is addressed in words, the effective meaning of which is as follows: "Kuḍi-

makanē, see if the Sabha (gathering) is all right; make sure there are no 'mōsamāna ālkal'—'undesirable persons', among us". In the event of any such individuals being present, as for example, resulting from an inter-caste marriage, the Kuḍimakan extinguished the lamps, at a night gathering, and the undesirables were duly conducted out. Such was the business of the Ambaṭṭan, the Kuḍimakan, a term which quite literally means the "domestic slave".

The Kuḍimakan was an institution of the high caste Hindus of the Middle Ages, an institution which has largely survived today in the social system of orthodox Hindu societies, though very much modified and attenuated in modern social life, as in the Jaffna Hindu social system. The Kuḍimakan is a concept of the Middle Ages, steadily vanishing under the modern concept of the equality of man.

The rigid application of sumptuary laws was described by another striking personality of Negombo, Hugo Pieris, in whom is treasured much of the old world culture of the group. The role of the Kuḍimakan, the Ambaṭṭan, in the exercise of the sumptuary laws cannot be more explicit than in the words of Hugo Pieris—"Mēsaiyil, Kuṟavu irikkutu"—"there is a flaw at the table, conduct him out". Equal seating and treatment cannot be given to other castes and therefore such persons have no place at the table.

Among the more remarkable personalities interviewed during the course of this work was Kurukulath Arasan Aiyar Pillai Kumāra Vēlu Vanniyan of Timbilla mentioned above. At the head of almost the only Hindu Karāva family on the Chilaw sea board, his has been a personality of intense cultural interest. Living on the produce of his coconut and other lands, with his interests centred solely in agriculture, in him is found a fitting illustration of the truth that the Karāva have been anything but "fishers" from ancient times.

Coming from an ancient line of Kurukulathār chiefs, he traces his ancestry to India. The immediate provocation for his particular clan to leave India was, as so often happened in the history of nations, romance. The King became fascinated by a daughter of the clan. Resenting his advances, for he was a Maravar by caste,

the family felt compelled to leave the shores of the homeland, without arousing the King's suspicions. Pretending that they were going in pursuit of trade, the family left in boats. To the *arasānikāl*, or the bridal post of the marriage pandal, was tied a bitch. Apprised too late of the peoples' plan to foil his cherished wishes, the King begged of them to return. The people, as a body, replied, "Mun Veccha kāl, pin vaikka mātār", "the foot that is forward, shall not be retraced".

They came with their Kuḍimakkal—the Vannān (washerman), Ambaṭṭan (Barber), and Valaikār (Fishing men), all in boats. After they left the homeland, the king sent several deputations to persuade them to return. No man or woman returned, despite the King's orders to take them by force. The men whom the King sent also came to stay. The group of emigrants numbered four or five families. The original families who left their homes in India under such adventurous circumstances, landed at Mannar, went from thence to Calpentyn, from Calpentyn to Puttalam, from Puttalam to Mundel, and from Mundel to Uḍappu. From Uḍappu some went southward and settled at Munnēsaram, Gojjarāgama, and at Maṇḍanmunai. These families still remain Hindu and together form an inter-marrying unit.

The virgin girl whose hand was demanded by the King came to be distinguished as Kamalakkanni. To avoid her marriage to the King she was drowned with her consent. Among the chiefs in this batch of emigrants were the Ambalakkārs who regulated the religious life of the group. They settled on the spot where they landed and founded the present Draupadi Amman Kovil, at Uḍappu.

Kamalakkanni was in time deified and is now the household goddess of the community at Uḍappu. Pūjā is performed once a year to propitiate her. No image impersonates her. A water pot symbolises the Kula Dēvatā, the family goddess, whose worship is restricted to the women of the group. Men do not participate in her worship. An almsgiving is held in her memory once a year.

A man of advanced age, he was in fact over 80, Kumāra Vēlu Vanniyan did not live long after a personality study of him was made. He was V. C. Member for Anaivilundan Pattu, Vel Vidāne, Juror, Gansabha court; and a trustee (Ūralan) of the Munnēs-

aram Hindu Temple. He is survived by his second wife, her three children, and seven children by his first wife.

2

The Social Classes

An integral feature of the social system of modern societies is the class structure with a threefold class differentiation. In common with other societies, the Karāva acknowledges a fairly well marked class structure of an upper, middle and lower class. Along the coastal belt and the hinterland of the Western and Southern Province, a differentiated class structure is more evident than elsewhere. In the interior villages, as Diddeniya, Ratalavāva and Manampitiya the members of the group are neither rich nor poor, however much particular families may claim descent from traditional ancestors. Largely subsisting on the produce of the soil, the inhabitants of these interior villages are mostly of one class, the Middle Class.

The roots of the class system of the Karāva may be traced to the functional constituents of the Middle Ages. The effective and efficient functional components revealed in the complex of Gē names formed the nuclei along the lines of which developed the class structure of the later days. This clearly illustrates the sociological postulate of "the Functional Basis of Class Differences", that "all class differentiations presumably began as or grew out of a social division of labour".

A correlated factor in the evolution of class differentiation is to be sought in the Statecraft and State policies which varied with the different historical periods. Of this phenomenon and its incidents in the social history of Ceylon, something has already been told. The honours bestowed by the Kings of the Kōtṭe and Sitāwaka dynasties, and the favours and privileges conferred by the Portuguese, and within limitations by the Dutch during the hegemony of the respective powers, while they influenced the interests of the community as a whole, promoted the social standing of the persons and families whom they thus chose to honour.

From early days, the Karāva as a group were enterprising. Trade with the South Indian coast was very much in their hands, for they possessed an abundance of sailing vessels. Evidence of

this are the Gē names Hettigē and Marakkalagē, particularly the latter, signifying families of owners of sea-going craft. The wealth that business brought in this and other ventures in addition to the ancestral wealth acquired in services to the State, they invested in the settled times of the Colonial regime, in estates and business enterprises. Thus grew up a capitalist class who nevertheless are not unmindful of the needs of the society at large. Higher education opened the door to employment in the services of the State with the distinct higher class status concomitant to State services.

Skill in technological pursuits is part of their heritage testified to by the large unit of Gē names, as Vaḍugē, Mahā Vaḍugē, Vaḍu Tantrigē etc. These names are strongly suggestive of the class of technicians, an important limb of the society. Technical arts absorb many in modern times. Considerable numbers are carpenters, masons and skilled boat-makers. Though differentiated occupationally and highly specialised in skill, all are socially alike, and look upon one another as social equals.

Class differentiations notwithstanding, the core of independence is so much part of the personality of the common man that individuals show no subservience either in their relations with one another or in their behaviour towards other social groups. Though ever so poor, the man is economically independent of the rich. Adults are gainfully employed, each suited to his physical and mental equipment. The unskilled find service as rowers of paḍḍa¹ boats, carters, labourers, or in the business of deep sea fishing. By no means lacking opportunities of making an honest living independently, domestic service is the least of the fields for which they have any disposition. There is a strong aversion to domestic employment which is considered degrading.

The difference between classes is purely a difference in economic status, reflected in a higher standard of life. Of whatever class, they are socially an undivided whole. The respectability of the poor man is recognised by the rich, who do undoubtedly feel for the poor. It is not an instance of mere vocal sympathy. Imbued

1. The large flat-bottomed punt shaped barges, used in coastal transports over the canals of Ceylon.

with the spirit of social service, the wealthy are liberal in public charities. In social service and public benefactions they stand pre-eminent in Ceylon.

A bond of social oneness, traditional culture and religious bonds hold together men of all classes. A rhythm of social balance is evident throughout the society. Of whatever religious affiliation, the life of the Karāva is rooted in their traditional culture which is vital to all, rich or poor, upper, middle or lower class.

The Sinhalese class structure is a phenomenon that has received a certain amount of attention in recent writings. Among the latest observations are these remarks of Saratchandra: "One of the effects of colonialism in Ceylon was the creation of a new upper class who adopted the English language as its home language, took English names, and followed English manners to as nice a degree of perfection as they were capable of, and in every possible way tried not to identify themselves with the people of the country. They patterned their lives and their interests on those of their rulers, and would know about the latest happenings in England in the field of art or music or literature. The upper classes (including the higher stratum of the middle class) constituted, therefore, a cultural and linguistic group forming a minority within the wider group of the Sinhalese people with whom they were related only by blood. The cultural situation in Ceylon within the past fifty odd years could be best understood in the light of this social phenomenon.

"The extent of the rift between the upper classes and the rest of the people appears to have been greater in Ceylon than in any Asian country including those that came under the rule of Western powers. In India the upper classes still had their roots in the traditional culture although they learned the English language, read English literature, and became aware of new values and new ideals of life and art through their contact with the West. Particularly in Bengal, the contact with Western culture proved a stimulus to the native culture and produced a flowering of it; and the leadership came from the upper and middle classes who, not being so cut off from their traditional roots as the Sinhalese upper classes, were able to incorporate whatever they wished to of the Western culture into the pattern of the indigenous culture so as to make

it more vital in the context of present day industrial civilization, and make it more acceptable to the modern mind."¹

This is not the place to discuss the pace of Europeanization in the four and a half centuries of European influence in Ceylon. While conceding the large strides of Europeanization all over Ceylon and its intensity in the city of Colombo, speaking of Ceylon as a whole, it is not an unbalanced Westernization that rules the life of the peoples today, except for a certain limited section of society. The stricture expressed in the passages quoted above may appropriately apply to this limited number. So far as Karāva society in general is concerned, not only is there little of any social rift, there is positive harmony and concordance in the social life of the classes. It may rightly be said that all classes are culturally articulated.

3

The Kuḍimakkal of the Karāva

More than any other single factor differentiating Hindu Society of the present from that of the past, is the institution of the Kuḍimakkal—a system with a network of functions and services. As an integral part of the Hindu social life of old, the system is one which can best be studied in the context of the Hindu society of Jaffna.

In so far as Karāva society is concerned, there is considerable evidence of the Kuḍimakkal having been an essential feature of medieval Karāva society, reflections of which have endured to present times. The place and role of the Kuḍimakkal in the social life of the Karāva was part of the valuable testimony forming the personal reminiscences of one of the elders of the group, Hugo Pieris. An account of this, already given, throws light on an aspect of Karāva social life which is fast vanishing.

Significant too is the narration made by Kurukulath Arasan Aiyar Pillai Kumāra Vēlu Vanṇiyan of Timbilla. The four families that left their ancestral homes included according to him, the

1. "Traditional Culture of Ceylon and its Present Position. A Symposium." p. 99. "Some Aspects of Traditional Sinhalese Culture." (Ceylon University Conference on Traditional Culture, Peradeniya, 1956.)

Kuḍimakkal groups—the Vaṇṇān, (the Washerman) and the Ambaṭṭan (the Barber), who served the social needs of the society.

It is interesting that of these Kuḍimakkal, the one that had most to do in the maintenance of social discipline and the social behaviour pattern of the Karāva, were the Ambaṭṭaya. The study that I conducted a few years ago, of a particular family of the Ambaṭṭaya of Vaikkal revealed many interesting customs and gave insight into the part the Ambaṭṭaya filled in social life.

The weddings of the Karāva have been the main occasions for their customary services. The Ambaṭṭaya accompanies the party which goes round the village to invite the wedding guests, himself carrying a tray of betel leaves. While the actual invitation is done by members of the party, the betel is served by the Ambaṭṭaya. When serving the ceremonial betel, two layers must be on the tray served to the Annavirāḷa, Moopurāḷa and also the Rāḷahāmy.

The betel tray or “heppuva” is an object of ceremonial interest. The tray contains a sheaf of betel leaves covered with a white cloth and on the cloth is arranged another tray of betel. When the betel has been almost completely served, the few remaining leaves are the perquisite of the Barber.

On the wedding day of the Karāva, the Ambaṭṭaya has to perform an important ceremonial service. In the midst of the assembly he trims the beard of the bridegroom with a razor or a pair of scissors. It is a symbolic trimming of a hair or two only, which are dropped into a cup of milk. Prior to the trimming, the Ambaṭṭaya places a silk handkerchief around the neck of the bridegroom.

After this ceremonial trimming, the bridegroom places a gold ring on the Barber's finger and presents him with a bottle of arrack placed on a tray of betel leaves. On the following day he is given a fee of Rs. 15. This is the old custom of “Magulravuṇa Kapanaṇvā”. He is also given a generous quantity of rice, curries, vegetables, oil cakes, sweets and plantains to be taken home. The bride's family too give the Ambaṭṭaya similar gifts.

When a death occurs, it is his function to go round and tell all the relatives of the deceased to attend the funeral. If the deceased is a man the Ambaṭṭaya trims the beard and moustache of the corpse, for which service he is remunerated both in kind and in cash. When the corpse is being taken to the cemetery for burial

the Barber follows the funeral car. He carries with him a small cup of holy water from the church. He sprinkles the grave with this ceremonial “water of purification”—*asiripan*, as it is called. The cup becomes the property of the Barber.

Joachim Fernando, of Vaikkal, a respected old man, states that his uncle Vissenti Rāḷa had hundreds of such cups in his possession, all obtained by performing purificatory rites at funerals. This custom is now practically obsolete. Joachim Fernando has been a cultivator from his youth, growing vegetables. His sons have all taken to “barbering” and have opened their own saloons. The fact that they are people of means is seen by the fine bungalow the family occupy.

A noteworthy feature of the village of Vaikkal is that all families have the same Gē name, Chakravartigē, indicating descent from a common ancestor. Though a kinship group bearing the same Gē name, the village is an inter-marrying unit. Joachim Fernando's father and mother both bore the same Gē name. In another village all families bear the name Vidāna Gē. As for personal names, they all bear the popular Portuguese names Fernando, de Silva and Dabare. All are Catholics.

Other Ambaṭṭaya families are distributed in the villages of Aṇḍimulla, Bōlawalana, Periyamulla, Mārawila and Chilaw. Agricultural interests have largely centred round vegetable farms, each family owning an extent of high land for intensive market gardening. This has helped to better living standards and has lifted them out of their economic dependence on their customary services to Karāva society.

Manu the ancient Hindu law giver, credits the Ambaṭṭan with being the descendant of a Brahmin father and a Vaisya mother. “From a Brahman with a daughter of a Vaisya, is born a son called an ‘Ambastha’.” They are equally the children of a Brahmana by a woman of one of the other Vaṇṇās.¹

Janavaṃsa, gives a quaint account of the origin of the Ambaṭṭaya.

“At this time, because to some there was no beard and whiskers, to some women there were no breasts, they were called neuters

1. Thurston: “Castes and Tribes of Southern India”, 1909—Vol I, p. 32.

(napunsaka). Thus hair, and hair on the body, coming into existence, the distinctions of men and women arose.

“ At that time when the king went to the assembly, so that cutting his beard and whiskers his face might appear beautiful, saying, ‘ make it of good shape ’, he ordered a certain trusty king’s minister.

“ Then that man saying, ‘ it is good ’, cutting the king’s beard and whiskers, making a good shape, then seeing that the king’s face was beautiful, was delighted. All the other Rājās, Bamuna, Grahapati and Sūdra seeing that, began, by the man who performed the service of the king’s beard, to have their beards and whiskers shaved.

“ When time had so passed, because the man who cut the hair and beard, became skilful in cutting beards and whiskers, because he had no leisure for cultivating and trading owing to the beard-work giving him hire ; causing the beard-work of all, both great and small, to be done by him, they began to pay wages. Therefore to those who for a long time doing beard-service took hire, because they cut (kapaṇa), the hair of the head, because they shampooed (samapaṇṇa), they were called Kapakaya, and Nahapita, and the names kept up. ‘ Kesa massumpi khāyakō kappako cha nahapitō.’ (Those who cut hair and beards are Kapako, are Nahapito.)

“ Whilst thus spending their days for a long period in beard service, for the Maharaja Wijaya who rendered fearless the three worlds, and attained royal supremacy over Lakdiva, and for the seven hundred great persons who came with him, because there were none who understood shaving for the beard service of the king, sending messages and presents to Pāṇḍi Raṭa, fetching men who understood shaving, appointing them for the beard-service (daeli meheya), they performed the beard service of every one, king, ministers and others. When time has so passed, because they performed beard service as a king’s due (Rājakāraya) for the king, ministers and others, because their leisure was insufficient for other work, when cutting the hair and beard of the rest of the people, the people then said, ‘ we will give hire ’, giving them a certain sum, they got their beards and hair cut. Because of that meaning, because they cut the hairs (roma patrayan, literally hair-leaves), of the head and beard, in the Lanka language where they were

called ‘ Romapattan Khayatiti ’, they were called Panikkiya and Kāranēmiyo. When time had again passed on, placed near the king and being very trusty, they performed beard-service, therefore they were called ‘ Agraaemātta ’, (chief minister) ; the name being so applied, as time went on, some of the ministers said, ‘ we are chiefs, applying our chief name of aemathi to those who cut hair and beards is not suitable ’, with the object of disgracing, not calling them Aematta, they were called Aembaṭṭaya”.¹

The Ambaṭṭans are well known for their practice of medicine, and the Ceylon Ambaṭṭaya in no less a measure than his South Indian counterpart, has a local reputation as a physician, as at Āṇḍimulla, where Georgie Vedarāḷa is a practising physician. In the Tamil country, as also in rural Malabar, the Ambaṭṭan woman has largely been the village midwife.

A derivation of the name is from Sanskrit, amba (near) and stha (to stand), he who stands near. In parts of South Malabar the Barber bears the appellation Aḍuthōn, meaning the man who is close to you. In the Tamilnāḍ he is often the musician, skilled in Nāgaswaram music.

At a Hindu Ambaṭṭan marriage, the Brahmin priest officiates kindling the sacred fire, the hōmam. At funeral ceremonies too, the Brahmin priest officiates. The Ambaṭṭans of South India are either Saivites or Vaishnavites.

By tradition, the Ambaṭṭayas of villages in the Western Province served only the Karāva, to whom they were attached by bonds of service, and in whose retinue they arrived from India. They used to be addressed as Mēstri. The custom of serving only the Karāva was so rigid that any one who served others was forthwith excommunicated by the elders of the Ambaṭṭayan community.

In the terminology of the European administrators of Jaffna, the Kuḍimakkal were freely referred to as “ slaves ”. The groups that came within this category in Jaffna were mainly the Naḷavars the Kōviar and the Paḷḷar. In common with other aspects of customary law, the laws governing the possession of slaves were codified by the Dutch Governor Claas Isaakz and embodied in the Tēsavalamai Code of 1796. After Ceylon came under the rule of

1. Nevill, H. : The Taprobanian, Vol I. 1886, pp. 83-84.

the British the system continued, and in 1806 the Government made the following declaration. "All questions that relate to those rites and privileges which subsist in the said Province between higher castes and the lower, particularly the Kovias, Nalawas and the others shall be decided according to the customs and the ancient usages of the Province." (Enactments, Vol. 4, 1796-1883, p. 107.)

A register of slaves was opened by the British and slaves were registered as such. "Certificates of Enregistration" were issued to the proprietors as authority to own slaves. Certificates of registration thus issued in favour of Bastianpillai Constantine Sathria,¹ of Jaffnapattam, of the Kurukulam of North Ceylon under the date 2nd February, 1819, testify to the services of the Kudimakkals in the social life of the Kurukulam of the North. (Plate VI)

The extent the slave system entered into the domestic life of society in Dutch times, becomes more evident from what are called the "de Andrado Papers", Vol. No. 3210, of the Dutch Records, a collection of legal and administrative documents of the 17th and 18th centuries, dealing with certain matters pertaining to the affairs of the distinguished Karāva family of de Andrado, as stated by J. H. O. Paulusz in his introduction to "The De Andrado and De Fonseka Manuscripts, Text and Translation":—

"Bras de Andrado had promised his future son-in-law Thomas Pieris, Junior Surgeon, a dowry of Rix-dollers 400 and had remitted, in cash, jewellery or in land, the bulk of this amount. But a quarrel seems to have broken out between the two families (a notable feature of the case is the implacable hostility between the Andrados and the Pierises) and Bras refused to pay over the small balance of the dowry money still due, even though threatened with legal penalties.

"Pieris sued him for recovery of the money. But, though he obtained a decree against Bras he still could not force him to pay. Finally, various properties belonging to Bras were seized and auctioned by Disava Schot, in satisfaction of this and certain other claims. Most of the lands confiscated in this way were paraveni properties, a fact well known to Bras who was so sure that they could never be taken from him, whatever the circumstances, that

1. Kshatriya.

he looked upon their sale and transfer to others with indifference, if not sardonic amusement.

"The main interest of the book lies in the action of the Judiciary in declaring null and void the order of Governor de Heere, as carried out by Disava Schot and the extraordinary strictness with which the sanctity of paraveni lands was upheld.

"Other elements of interest are the character of Bras de Andrado, often vilified without justification in the heat of legal exchanges, and the social customs among his kinsmen of the Fonseka family and others."

The cultural interest alluded to in the closing lines of the above summary, is not the least of the value of these Papers to posterity. First among these, is the custom of giving a marriage portion on the marriage of daughters, the institution of dowry, the custom which has grown to be among the greatest of the social evils of today.

A clear insight into the Slave System and its incidence in the domestic and social life of the past ages, is among the side lights we glean from these Papers.

The deed of November 12, 1695, by which Bras de Andrado bestowed certain property on his daughter, provided that she shall inherit all his goods and slaves, except two lads named Kadrian and Joan who have been set free by him.

Slaves formed part of the land, and were bought and sold with the transfer of ownership of land. A slave girl bought by Thomas Pieris from Bras de Andrado, was taken over by the latter "for what she had cost", on the adjudication of the protracted case between Bras de Andrado and his son-in-law, Thomas Pieris; by the Honourable Court of Justice of the Castle of Colombo under date, August 3, 1703, restoring the lands to the former, on the ground that paraveni properties were inalienable and could not be confiscated or sold for the discharge of private debts.

4

The Kinship System

Kinship studies have exercised a profound appeal to anthropologists since Morgan initiated studies in a survey of kinship terminology in different regions of the world (Morgan, Lewis H. :

Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, 1871). Subsequent work in the field has revealed the inner urges in family life, as in the extended social contacts, obtaining among tribal and civilised societies. The attitudes and behavioural pattern of the family constituents to one another, are embodied in the kinship terminology of each people, a vital index to the family motivations, social usages, habits and customs that have evolved over the ages in the life of the society.

The two main classes of relatives are the consanguineal, or persons related by blood, and the affinal, or persons related by marriage. Consanguineal relatives fall into four groups, Primary Relatives, Lineal Ascendants, Lineal Descendants and Collateral Relations.

Kinship functioning in the essentially Sinhalese areas of South Ceylon, as of the Sinhalese dominated island of Dūwa, across the Negombo lagoon, is of the general Sinhalese pattern, with Tamil accultural influences evident in the kinship terminology prevailing in Dūwa. The Buddhist villages of Ratalawāwa in the district of Mātale and Diddēniya in North Western Province, are also of typically Sinhalese kinship terminology. The isolated Hindu Village of Manampitiya, a Tamil linguistic cultural area in the North Central Province, preserves, among the residents who belong to the Kurukulasūriya or the Varunakulasūriya clan, a kinship system essentially Tamil. Subject to this qualification, it may be said that Negombo preserves today much of the representative structure of family life, in the kinship system of the Kurukulasūriya. The present study is limited in its range to an analysis of the relationship system prevailing among the Kurukulasūriya of Negombo, with a comparative study of kinship functioning in the little island of Dūwa on the other side of the Negombo lagoon.

The normal type is the nuclear family of father, mother, and the children, as in general among the other social units of the Sinhalese. The married daughter leaves the parental home to start a new family. The son on marriage does likewise. The lineage-system is patrilineal, and the familial organization, patriarchal. The kinship terminology is generally, of the "Classificatory" type. In this category, the primary relationship terms are extended to certain classes of collateral relatives.

Makan, is the term for own son, brother's or sister's son, husband's brother's or sister's son, and wife's brother's or sister's son.

Makal, is the term for own daughter, brother's or sister's daughter, husband's brother's or sister's daughter, and wife's brother's or sister's daughter.

Tampī, is the term for younger brother, (own brother), father or mother's brother's son.

Tankachchi, is younger sister, own sister, father's or mother's brother's daughter, or mother's sister's daughter.

Aṇṇan, is elder brother, own brother, father's sister's son, mother's brother's or sister's son.

Akkā, is elder sister, own sister, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's or sister's daughter.

Periya Māman is father's or mother's elder brother, father's or mother's elder sister's husband.

Periya Māmi is father's or mother's elder sister.

Chinna Māman is father's younger sister's husband, father's or mother's younger brother.

Chinna Māmi is father's or mother's younger sister, mother's younger brother's wife. An endearing term is *Kunja*, in designating father's brother's wife, a term special to this particular society.

Periya Aṇṇan is the eldest brother.

Periya Akkā is the eldest sister.

Sinna Aṇṇan or *Sinna Akkā* are terms used by a younger brother or sister in addressing his or her elder brother or sister.

Beyond the phenomenon that the "classificatory" terminology is correlated to a certain parallelism in kinship usages, no speculation can be sustained on the origins of the "classificatory" type. Among the Sinhalese in general, it may be a legacy of an earlier stage of the joint-family system of the Hindu ancestry. Collateral relatives living under the same roof, may have promoted a solidarity of kin and kinship feelings approximating to the pattern of behaviour within the group of primary relatives. The

feeling thus generated, may have come to stay, accounting for the same social usage towards the collateral as towards the primary relatives. The concept of parallel functioning cannot nevertheless be carried too far in specific family situations between near kin evoking reciprocal functions and privileges.

Primary Relations

Husband	Purushan
Wife	Pensāti
Father	Appā
Mother	Ammā
Son	Makan
Daughter	Makal
Brother (elder)	Annan
Brother (younger)	Tampi
Sister (elder)	Akkā
Sister (younger)	Tankachchi

Endearing terms are Nōni and Nōna, by mother in addressing children. Little daughters are addressed, Tankam. Corresponding endearing terms used by children in addressing mother are, Tankammā, meaning "Golden Mother", and Nōamma. Other endearing terms are Seeni Aiyar, meaning sweet brother and Akka Nonā, meaning sweet sister.

Lineal Ascendants

Grand father (father's father)	} Pātṭan
Grand father (mother's father)	
Grand mother (father's mother)	} Pātṭi
Grand mother (mother's mother)	

Lineal Descendants

Grand son (son's son)	} Pēran
Grand son (daughter's son)	
Grand daughter (son's daughter)	} Pētti
Grand daughter (daughter's daughter)	

Collateral Relations

Father's Brother (elder)	Periya Tātai
Father's Brother (younger)	Sinna Tātai
Father's Sister (elder)	Periya Māmi

Father's Sister (younger)	Sinna Māmi
Mother's Brother (elder)	Periya Māman
Mother's Brother (younger)	Sinna Māman
Mother's Sister (elder)	Periya Māmi
Mother's Sister (younger)	Sinna Māmi
Father's Brother's Son	Makan (Annan, Tampi)
Father's Brother's Daughter	Makal (Akkā, Tankachchi)
Father's Sister's Son	Makan (Annan, Tampi)
Father's Sister's daughter	Makal (Akkā, Tankachchi)
Mother's Sister's Son	Makan (Annan, Tampi)
Mother's Sister's Daughter	Makal (Akkā, Tankachchi)
Brother's Son	Makan (Annan, Tampi)
Brother's Daughter	Makal (Akkā, Tankachchi)
Sister's Son	Makan (Annan, Tampi)
Sister's Daughter	Makal (Akkā, Tankachchi)

Affineal Relations

Husband's Father	Māmanār
Husband's Mother	Māmiyār
Wife's Father	Māmanār
Wife's Mother	Māmiyār
Son's Wife	Marumakal
Daughter's Husband	Marumakan
Husband's Brother	Annan, Tampi
Husband's Brother's Wife	Matini
Husband's Brother's Son	Makan
Husband's Brother's Daughter	Makal
Husband's Sister	Matini
Husband's Sister's Husband	Annan, Tampi
Husband's Sister's Son	Makan
Husband's Sister's Daughter	Makal
Wife's Brother	Machān
Wife's Brother's Wife	Matini
Wife's Brother's Son	Makan
Wife's Brother's Daughter	Makal
Wife's Sister	Matini
Wife's Sister's Husband	Machchān
Brother's Wife	Matini
Sister's Husband	Machān
Sister's Son	Makan

Sister's Daughter . . . . .	..	..	Makal
Father's Brother's Wife . . . . .	..	..	Kunjā
Father's elder Sister's Husband . . . . .	..	..	Periya Māman
Father's younger Sister's Husband . . . . .	..	..	Sinna Māman
Mother's elder Brother's Wife . . . . .	..	..	Periya Māmi
Mother's younger Brother's Wife . . . . .	..	..	Sinna Māmi
Mother's elder Sister's Husband . . . . .	..	..	Periya Appā
Mother's younger Sister's Husband . . . . .	..	..	Kuṭṭi Appā

In Dūwa, with its essentially Sinhalese cultural set up, kinship terminology of the Karāva, who are here of the Mihiṅdukulasūriya division, is of the Sinhalese pattern, with Tamil accultural influences.

In the Sinhalese kinship terminology¹ the general term for a relation is *nāddāya* from *nāti* in both Pali and Sanskrit. It is usual to refer to relations and friends, by the use of the compound, *nāti mitrayan*, or *bhandu mitrayan*: *nāti*, *nā* and *bhandu* meaning relations, and *mitrayan*, denoting friends. *Sahōdaraya*, is a learned term used to denote a brother. Its older classical forms are *sohoyuru* and *sohovuru* both derived from *sahōdara*. *Sahōdaraya*, is derived from *saha* and *udara* meaning "of the same womb"; but in Ceylon its usage has been extended to the father's brother's son, the father's father's brother's son's son, the mother's sister's son, the mother's mother's daughter's daughter's son, and any one who is *sahodaraya* to one of these; in brief it applies to any collateral male relation of the same generation. The word *sahōdaraya* really means "one's own brother". Its feminine form is *sahodari*, "one's own sister".

The term "*sahodaraya*" occurs frequently in Sinhalese literature, but the terms in vogue in a Sinhalese household in the course of everyday life are *aiya* and *malli* meaning elder brother and younger brother respectively. *Aiya* means not only one's own elder brother, but anyone who is an elder brother in the classificatory system. We also find in Sinhalese literature the use of the word, *bā*, to denote a brother, as in *tun bāyo*, three brothers, derived from the Sanskrit *bhrātar* and Pali *bhātā*, meaning brother. The word *malli* is applied for the younger brother. In literature it is shortened to "*mal*". The compound *mal bāyo* meaning younger brother, is also confined to literary usage.

1. See Hocart, A. M.: "Indo-European Kinship System (1) The Sinhalese System" C. J. Sc., Sect. G, Vol. I, 1924-28.

Sahōdari as the feminine form of *sahōdaraya*, means sister. It includes father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and any collateral female relation of the same generation. Terms in everyday usage are:—*Akkā*, elder sister, used also in addressing an elder brother's wife, and *Nangi*, *nagā* or *nāganīyo*, younger sister. The term is also extended to a younger brother's wife.

Piyā, father, comes from the Sanskrit and Pali *Pitā*, and is used in literature and in polite society. *Piyāno* is the honorific usage. The common terms for father in Sinhalese are *tāttā*, and *appocci*. The elder brothers of the father are *mahappa*, *loku appa*, *loku appocci* or *loku tāttā*, "great father"; and the younger brothers are addressed as *bāppa* and *bāppocci*.

The mother's elder sister's husband is *mahappa* and her younger sister's husband *bāppa*. A step-father is *Kuḍappa*, "small father". *Mav* meaning one's own mother is derived from Sanskrit *mātār*, and Pali *mātā*. *Māniyānda* is a honorific usage. Both *mav* and *Māniyānda*, occur in Sinhalese literary works. The everyday term is *ammā*. *Ammaṇḍi*, is a term of endearment for mother used in the Kandyan Provinces. The mother's elder sister is styled *loku ammā*, great mother, and her younger sister is styled *bālamma*, *punciamma*, or *kuḍamma*, meaning small or little mother. The father's elder brother's wife is also a great mother and his younger brother's wife, a little mother. A step-mother is usually *kuḍamma*. *Muttā*, *Sīya*, and *āta* are all terms used for grandfather and grandfather's "brothers", in fact any relation in the third generation up. *Āttā*, *ācci* and *miti* mean grandmother or grandmother's sister. Generations above grandfather and grandmother are called *mīmutta* and *mīatta*.

It is interesting to note that the Sinhalese in tracing ancestry, refer to *satmutu-paramparāva* or seven generations of ancestors i.e. *attā*, *muttā*, or *mīmuttā*, *nattā*, *panattā*, *kittā*, *kirikittā*, and *sīya* or *kirikāmuttā*. *Putā*, son, originates from the Sanskrit *putra* and Pali *putta*, and also means a man's brother's son, as well as a woman's sister's son. *Putaruvo* is honorific and a term of endearment. *Dū* or *duva*, daughter, is derived from Sanskrit *duhitar* and Pali *duhitā*, and also extends to a man's brother's daughter as well as a woman's sister's daughter. *Duvaniya* and *Doniānda* are both honorific, besides being terms of endearment. *Munuburā*

or *Munupurā* is used for a grandson, brother's grandson, and any male relation in the grandson's generation. Prof. Geiger connects it with the Sanskrit *manōrama*, "pleasing to the mind". Its feminine form is *minibirī* i.e. grand-daughter.

Collateral relationships come under the term *āvāssa nāyo*. Under this category we have *massinā*, *nānā*; *māmā*, *nānda* etc. *Massinā* denotes the mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, and anyone who is their brother. The term is also extended to mean wife's brother and sister's husband. *Nāna* is the feminine form of *massinā*. *Māmā* meaning maternal uncle is derived from *Mātula* in Sanskrit and Pali and is used for mother's brother and anyone who is a brother to him as well as to father's sister's husband. The classical form used in literature is *mayil* or *mayilā*. *Māmaṇḍi* is both respectful and a term of endearment used in Kandyan Provinces.

Nānda, meaning aunt, is derived from Sanskrit and Pali *nandini*. It denotes father's sister and anyone who is a sister to her, as well as mother's brother's wife. *Nendruurva* is both respectful and a term of endearment.

Bānā denotes a man's sister's son, woman's brother's son and daughter's husband. The term is derived from Sanskrit *Bhāginēya* and Pali *Bhāginēyya*.

Lēli is the term used for a man's sister's daughter, woman's brother's daughter, or son's wife. This collateral relationship is based on the rule that a man should marry his cross-cousin, i.e. mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter. The rule is still commonly followed in Ceylon. Such a union makes the maternal uncle, the father-in-law, and the paternal aunt, the mother-in-law.

Primary Relations

Husband	..	..	..	Puruṣaya
Wife	..	..	..	Gāṇi
Father	..	..	..	Appā
Mother	..	..	..	Ammā
Son	..	..	..	Puthā
Daughter	..	..	..	Duva
Brother (elder)	..	..	..	Loku Aiyā

Brother (younger)	..	..	Punchi Aiyā
Sister (elder)	..	..	Loku Akkā
Sister (younger)	..	..	Punci Akkā

Lineal Ascendants

Grandfather (father's father)	..	Siyā
Grandfather (mother's father)	..	Siyā
Grandmother (father's mother)	..	Āccammā
Grandmother (mother's mother)	..	

Lineal Descendants

Grand son (son's son)	..	Putā (Munabura)
Grand son (daughter's son)	..	
Grand daughter (son's daughter)	..	Duva (Munabiri)
Grand daughter (daughter's daughter)	..	

Collateral Relations

Father's Brother (elder)	..	Mahappā
Father's Brother (younger)	..	Bāppā
Father's Sister (elder)	..	Loku Nānda
Father's Sister (younger)	..	Punchi Nānda
Mother's Brother (elder)	..	Loku Māmā
Mother's Brother (younger)	..	Punci Māmā Poḍi Māmā
Mother's Sister (elder)	..		Mahammā
Mother's Sister (younger)	..	Punciammā
Father's Brother's Son	..	Aiya, Malli
Father's Brother's Daughter	..	Akkā, Nangi
Father's Sister's Son	..	Aiya, Malli
Father's Sister's Daughter	..	Duva, Lēli
Mother's Brother's Son	..	Puthā Bānā

Affineal Relations

Husband's Father	..	Māmā
Husband's Mother	..	Nānda
Wife's Father	..	Māmaṇḍiyā Māmā
Wife's Mother	..		Nāndammā Nānda

Son's Wife .. ..	..	Lēli
Daughter's Husband .. ..	..	Bānā
Husband's Brother .. ..	..	Aiyā, Malli
Husband's Brother's Wife .. ..	..	Akkā, Nangi, Nānā
Husband's Brother's Son .. ..	..	Puthā
Husband's Brother .. ..	..	Massinā
Husband's Sister .. ..	..	Nānā
Husband's Sister's Husband .. ..	..	Massinā
Husband's Sister's Son .. ..	..	Puthā
Husband's Sister's Daughter .. ..	..	Duwa
Wife's Brother .. ..	..	Massinā
Wife's Brother's Wife .. ..	..	Nānā
Wife's Brother's Son .. ..	..	Putā
Wife's Brother's Daughter .. ..	..	Duva
Wife's Sister's Husband .. ..	..	Massinā
Brother's Wife .. ..	..	Nānā
Sister's Husband .. ..	..	Massinā
Father's Brother's Wife .. ..	..	Nānā
Father's elder Sister's Husband .. ..	..	Loku Māmā
Father's younger Sister's Husband .. ..	..	Punchi Māmā
Mother's elder Brother's Wife .. ..	..	Mahammā
Mother's younger Brother's Wife .. ..	..	Punci Ammā
Mother's elder Sister's Husband .. ..	..	Mahappā
Mother's younger Sister's Husband .. ..	..	Bāppā

CHAPTER V GĒ NAMES

Gē names are inheritable names in the structure of the personal names of the Sinhalese, corresponding to the surname. How family names that are inheritable arose in human societies is a study of vast implications. In primitive tribal societies such inheritable names were mostly totemistic—derived from the names of trees, plants or animals, which have had a mysterious association in the life of the tribe. A Ceylon example is the *Varugē* names of the Veddas, divided into matrilineal *Varugēs*—*Moṛāna*, *Unapāna*, *Ūru*, *Tāla* and *Mahā Bandāra Varugēs*.

The later development of the Gē names kept pace with the evolution of the Sinhalese social system, reminiscent of State or social services, needs and functions. Locality sentiment and attachment to the soil were among the many ideas that went into the growth of the Gē name. It obviously goes back to the tribal days when a man and his family began to be denoted by his dwelling. This is clear from the alternative name *Vāsagama*, in Sinhalese, literally the “dwelling village”.

Whereas personal names have been subjected to changes under European influences, and have largely changed from the original pattern of Sinhalese personal names, the Gē names remain among the most stable forces in Sinhalese social life.

It is a general observation that the Gē name is an index to a man's traditional status in the caste system. Like all general statements it is not altogether true. A superior or inferior caste status is not necessarily inherent in Gē names.

There are undoubtedly a number of Gē names reflecting the caste of the man. This is mostly so in the case of Functional or Service groups. The significance of Gē names consists not in their being an index to the caste, which they may often be, but in their cultural content. It is not a single cultural trait that is reflected in the Gē names. The Gē name is a cultural tabloid. Many a diverse ingredient enters into its composition.

Within the several social groups, the Gē name is today almost the only indicator of past functions, occupations and services of an institutionalized society. The larger the wealth of Gē names, the more institutionalized generally speaking, is the society. The several institutional patterns of the social organisation of the Karāva finds perpetuation in the Gē names. Yet the unravelling of their meaning, is beset with practical problems. These baffle a full analytical study. With painstaking field studies this is yet possible.

The studies herein presented are of an introductory character, all that could be accomplished within the space and time that could be devoted to this particular aspect.

An analysis of the field reveals that the names fall into a number of broad categories. In alphabetical order the main categories of Gē names of the Karāva, are Ārachchigē, Ārachchirālagē, Badugē, Gurunānselāgē, Henedigē, Hettigē, Hēwāgē, Kankānamagē, Liyanagē, Mandāḍigē, Marakkalagē, Mudiyanseḷāgē, Paṭabāṇḍigē, Saṭṭambigē, Sembukkuttigē, Tantrigē, Telgē, Totagē, Tuppahigē, Vaḍugē, Vaḍumēstrigē, Vidānalāgē, Vitānagē, Vitāranagē and Varuṇagē.

Within each of these categories are a number of names of composite structure. Among the extended forms of Ārachchigē, are Galappatti Ārachchigē, Gunasēkara Ārachchigē, Simān Ārachchigē, Sēna Ārachchigē, Hetti Ārachchigē, Don Domingo Ārachchigē, Jayavīra Ārachchigē, Kastūri Ārachchigē, Kandan Ārachchigē, Kalu Ārachchigē, Kumāra Singha Ārachchigē, Kaṭṭu Karumisa Ārachchigē, Liyana Ārachchigē, Maḍappuli Ārachchigē, Mudankōḍa Ārachchigē, Mīvala Ārachchigē, Mahāmaḍa Ārachchigē, Mahā Mudali Ārachchigē, Pasikku Ārachchigē, Ranasingha Ārachchigē, Sembukkutti Ārachchigē, Vickrama Ārachchigē, Vīra Kōḍa Ārachchigē, Vedena Coḍa Ārachchigē, Vedikkāra Ārachchigē, Ārachchirālagē, Arasakulasūriya Ārachchirālagē, Juvan Ārachchirālagē, and Kurukula Ārachchirālagē. The term Ārachchi is of military origin.

Badugē and its extended forms are a considerable group. Among these are the names Ahangama Badugē, Appu Badugē, Alut Badugē, Amāttia Badugē, Aruma Badugē, Āndra Badugē,

Bodiya Badugē, Boosa Badugē, Daḍayakkāra Badugē, Kande Badugē, Korin Badugē, Jayasuriya Kuḍā Badugē, Lādda Sinha Badugē, Lamā Badugē, Mahā Badugē, Madana Kāma Badugē, Kristōmbu Badugē, Nānāyakkāra Vīra Varunakulasūriya Boosa Badugē, Manamāla Badugē, Nanina Badugē, Paḷiyagala Badugē, Peruma Badugē, Ponnin Badugē, Tēna Badugē, Vīra Konda Badugē, Varuna Kulasūriya Boosa Badugē, and Waṇige Badugē.

Within the Henedigē group are the names Aruma Henedigē, Āndra Henedigē, Appu Henedigē, Bōda Henedigē, Bamina Henedigē, Diyōgu Henedigē, Juwāna Henedigē, Harsha Muni Jayasuriya Patirāja Henedigē, Appu Henedigē, Hewana Henedigē, Kalalu Henedigē, Kalu Henedigē, Kokku Henedigē, Mumārang Henedigē, Kuṇṇi Henedigē,¹ Kuṇṇi Vēndra Vēdi Arsakula Henedigē, Lokku Henedigē, Lewis Henedigē, Pattini Henedigē, Mahā Henedigē, Ponna Henedigē, Sellā Henedigē, Sudrikku Henedigē, Sauanda Henedigē, Tēna Henedigē, Tennuwara Henedigē, Tuiya Henedigē, Tikiri Henedigē, Vachchy Henedigē, Varuṇa Dīptiya Kurukulasūriya Pasikku Henedigē, Varuna Henedigē, Varusa Henedigē and Vīra Henedigē.

Another large category is Hēwāgē. Its extended forms are Bāla Hēwāgē, Bindu Hēwāgē, Balapeṭi Gārdiya Hēwāgē, Bentōṭa Hēwāgē, Galbokku Hēwāgē, Gārdiya Punchi Hēwāgē, Gārdiya Wasam Punchi Hēwāgē, Golu Hēwāgē, Gam Hēwāgē, Goḍa Hēwāgē, Gam Mede Hēwāgē, Juwan Hēwāgē, Hetti Hēwāgē, Henda Hēwāgē, Kanda Uḍa Hēwāgē, Kōṭṭe Hēwāgē, Lamā Hēwāgē, Loku Satu Hēwāgē, Kalu Toṭa Gārdiya Punchi Hēwāgē, Lorenzu Hēwāgē, Kalu Gala Hēwāgē, Kanaka Hēwāgē, Kulasēkera Bindu Hēwāgē, Militōṭa Hēwāgē, Moraṭuwa Hēwāgē, Nalla Hēwāgē, Paulu Hēwāgē, Paraṇa Hēwāgē, Punchi Hēwāgē, Paṭṭiya Gārdiya Hēwāgē, Sellā Hēwāgē, Sembukkutti Hēwāgē, Siman Hēwāgē, Sarangu Hēwāgē, Toṭa Hēwāgē, Tennaide Hēwāgē, Vija Hēwāgē, Uluwis Hēwāgē, Welabada Hēwāgē and Wickrama Kalu Toṭa Hēwāgē.

The pursuit of trade and merchandise has given rise to the group Hettigē. Among these are the names Francisku Hettigē and Hettiyaḱandagē.

1. Kuṇṇi (Kunhi) means, the "little one"; connoting a smaller section of the Henedigē.

A small group is Gurunānselāgē, house of the Guru, the teacher, with the names Maggona Gurunānselāgē, Tuscooray Mohoṭṭi Gurunānselāgē. Related terms are Gurugē, Aldurāliya Gurugē, Maḍuwa Gurugē, Kahawe Gurugē, Maḍuwa Gurusinagē.

Writing, including both clerical and accounting work has originated the gē name Liyanagē, with a number of combinations, Badda Liyanagē, Balapiṭiya Liyanarālagē, Don Pēduru Liyanagē, Donvatta Liyanagē, Jasentu Liyanagē, Jayasūriya Liyanagē, Liyanāchchigē, Loku Liyanagē, Lekamwāsam Hikkaḍuwa Liyanagē, Mahā Liyanagē, and Tusē Perera Liyanarālalāgē.

A small group is constituted of the names ending with the suffix Kankānamagē house of the Kankānama, officer below the Ārachchi, with the extended forms, Koḍituwakku Kankānange, Loku Kankānange, Mudanna Goḍa Kankānangē, Ruhuna Kankānangē, Kōṭṭegoda Kankānangē, Sembukutti Kankānangē and Kiri Kankānangē.

Another group is Mandadigē including, Mahā Mandadigē, Migel Mandadigē, Pāla Mandadigē, Phillippu Mandadigē, Unga Mandadigē, and Vira Mandadigē. The Mandadirāla was an officer connected with the Fishing Industry.

Marakkalagē and its variants are names expressive of navigation, or ownership of sea going vessels and of commercial relations with lands overseas. Among this group, are the names Antinna Marakkalagē, Arasa Marakkalagē, Koḍi Marakkalagē, Mahā Marakkalagē, Loku Marakkalagē, Maṇṇa Marakkalagē, Sandra Marakkalagē, Sanda Marakkalagē, Mahā Marakkala Paṭabendigē and Marakkala Māmagē.

Mēstrigē occurs in the names Vaḍu Mēstrigē, Jayalath Vaḍu Mēstrigē, Varunakulasūriya Vaḍu Mēstrigē, Varunakulasūriya Paṭabendi Mahā Vaḍu Mahā Mēstrigē and Vidāna Mēstrigē. Mēstrigē derives from the term Mēstri, a word which generally means one who oversees or supervises labour or a particular job of work. Vaḍu Mēstrigē is the house of the master carpenter.

A very large category is Paṭabendigē and its combinations. Abeyadira Gunaratne Paṭabendigē, Abeyasuriya Paṭabendigē, Abeyavarna Paṭabendigē, Abeydīra Viravarna Paṭabendigē, Alut Paṭabendigē, Arketṭi Paṭabendigē, Abeydīra Jayawickrama Liyana Paṭabendigē, Bāla Paṭabendigē, Colomba Paṭabendigē, Edirivira

Jayasuriya Liyana Paṭabendigē, Edirivira Jayasēkera Kurundu Paṭabendigē, Edirivira Paṭabendigē, Ediriwickremasuriya Paṭabendigē, Ingiri Mahā Paṭabendigē, Jayasēkera Paṭabendigē, Guna-sēkera Ārachchi Paṭabendigē, Jasentu Paṭabendigē, Jayawardhana Sembukutti Paṭabendigē, Jayawickrema Paṭabendigē, Jayavira Liyana Paṭabendigē, Gintoṭa Sarukkala Paṭabendigē, Hātagala Paṭabendigē, Kahakachchi Paṭabendigē, Kalutara Paṭabendigē, Kāriya Karavana Mahā Paṭabendigē, Kāriyavasam Paṭabendigē, Kosma Paṭabendigē, Koḍippilli Paṭabendigē, Kumāra Paṭabendigē, Kurukulasūriya Paṭabendigē, Kalutantri Paṭabendigē, Mututantri Paṭabendigē, Mahā Paṭabendigē, Loku Paṭabendigē, Lamābadu Varnakulasuriya Paṭabendigē, Manampēri Mahā Paṭabendirālagē, Mahā Marakkala Paṭabendigē, Mōdera Paṭabendigē, Mahā Nātha Paṭabendigē, Paṭabendi Maddummagē, Nīla Vira Paṭabendigē, Nāgasūriya Kumāra Paṭabendigē, Ran Paṭabendigē, Raṇa Paṭabendigē, Rēnda Paṭabendigē, Ratnavira Paṭabendigē, Sūriya Paṭabendigē, Viḷesēkera Paṭabendigē, Varunakulasūriya Paṭabendigē, Varnasūriya Paṭabendigē, Veeraratna Paṭabendigē, Veeraratna Jayasuriya Ārachchi Paṭabendigē, Vitārana Paṭabendigē, Wickremasuriya Paṭabendigē, Wickrema Koḍippilli Paṭabendigē, Wijayanāyaka Paṭabendigē, Wijeweera Paṭabendigē.

An interesting group is Tantri Gē. Associated names are Kāgiwasan Tantrigē, Kalu Tantrigē, Hēwā Tantrigē, Mutu Tantrigē, Kankāni Tantrigē, Tēwara Tantrigē, Vaṭṭōru Tantrigē and Vaḍu Tantrigē.

Sattambi meaning a teacher, has given the gē names Sattambigē, Abaran Sattambigē, Baṇḍi Sattambigē and Sattambirālagē.

A small group is Tuppahigē (house of the interpreter), with names Mānikkan Tuppahigē, Mānikku Tuppahigē, Maiyappa Tuppahigē, Tuppahirālagē and Salpadōro Tuppahigē.

Vidānagē, its variants and combinations account for a number of names. Bentota Vidānagē, Denagama Vitāranagē, Kōṭṭugoda Mahā Vidānagē, Kāriya Vāsan Kelleṭa Vidānagē, Gōnapinuwala Vitānagē, Laksapati Mahā Vidānalāgē, Paraṇa Vitānagē, Henda Vitāranagē, Sembakutti Vidānalāgē, Vijeratna Mahā Vidānagē, Wijeweera Gunaratna Mahā Vidānagē, Vidānarālalāgē, Vaṇiga Vitāranagē. The Vidānē and the Mahāvidānē were civil officers. In Portuguese times, these officers wielded considerable authority.

Vaḍugē occurs frequently in Gē names. Aruma Vaḍugē, Ambalangoda Vaḍugē, Alagiya Vaḍugē, Doḍanduwa Vaḍugē, Loku Vaḍugē, Mahā Vaḍugē, Malluwa Vaḍugē, Malliya Vaḍugē, Kulappuwa Vaḍugē, Māna Vaḍugē, Miṭi Vaḍugē, Pēduru Vaḍugē, Piniya Vaḍugē, Ratna Vaḍugē, Sampathā Vaḍugē, Vijesuriya Mahā Vaḍugē, Yātra Vaḍugē. Vaḍugē signifies “ the house of the carpenter ”.

A small significant group is Kapugē, with its extended forms Mahā Kapugē, Kuḍā Kapurālagē. These Gē names are strongly reminiscent of the role of the cult of the gods in the life of the society, a function which can still be seen in and about Ambalangoda, and which survives among the family names of Catholic Negombo. Kapu Sēgugē, indicates the name of an individual Kapuwa, Sēgu by name, from whom the family has taken its Gē name. Sēgu is short for Sēkhara, one of the many names of Śiva. Another example is, Edirisūriya Kattādigē. Correlated to the cult of the gods, is also the name Telgē, signifying the family which supplies oil for the essential folk cults. The offering of oil at folk cults is an elaborate ceremonial ritual that may be seen today in the cult of the gods.

Other names reflective either of folk cult or the world of the supernatural, are Dēwagē, Mudali Dēwagē and Tēvarisigē (the house of the divine rishi or saint). A name embodying this and other factors, is the long name, Takurartha Dēvāditiya Gārḍiya Vāsam Liṅdamulagē.

Names strongly reminiscent of clans are Edirivarnagē, Varunagē, Vira Varunagē, Kurukulasūriyagē, Mihiṅdukulasūriyawara Pēligē, Vira Varunakula Wagachehigē, Mihiṅdukula Varna Pēligē, Nāma Varna Gabadāgē, Varunakulasūriyagē, Kurukulasūriya Mudiyanseḷagē, Varunakulasuriya Kumārasinha Mudiyanseḷagē, Varunakulasūriya Mudiyanseḷagē.

Two names are Vēdige and Vēdage. The name Vēdi possibly means a wise person, learned in the Vēdas.

There are examples of single names, reminiscent of a number of aspects, including personal, functional or place names sometimes correlated to each other. Among these are Ahangama Merenchigē, Abeyweeragē, Akuralita Gamagē, Abeywarnagē, Antōnigē, Am-

balangoda Gurunānselāgē, Arandaragē, Peti Arambagē, Abraham Galapattigē, Abeydeera Gunaratnagē, Ambanila Patiranagē, Bala-pitiyagē, Tandalagē, Aruma Kankānigē, Dolamunagē, Hamba Kalagē, Batapolagē, Bolonghogē, Bolandagē, Bimbiri Goḍagē, Beragargē, Diwa Dalagē, Ediriviragē, Doḍampahalagē, Doḍan-goda Uḍa Wattagē, Doḿbagaha Patiragē, Daluwattagē, Daḍa-yakkāragē, Daḍayakkāra Uḍa Wattagē, Daluvattumulla Gamagē, Daluwatta Alanwa Deḍigomuwaḡē, Mudaligē, Devundra Mereñ-ṅagē, Ginigē, Galappattigē, Loku Galapattigē, Geegana Badanagē, Egōḍagē, Geeganagē, Goḍagē, Galugamagē, Kāriyavasan Goḍel-lagē, Galhērkandegē, Hinidumagē, Kāriyavasan Martinna Gamagē, Gamalathgē, Gampola Vaḍugē, Hēwā Fonsekāgē, Irippugē, Ille-kuttigē, Jayasinha Manachchigē, Muttumālagē, Kalu Pahanagē, Mahā Madachchigē, Malavigē, Māṅikkugē, Maḍawanagē, Maḍanagē, Nai Kalugē, Niyakulagē, Nicōla Pemadulagē, Nilaviragē, Madduma Eṅḍēragē, Mōderagē, Paraṅamadigē, Paraṅa Mānagē, Pinna Dūwagē, Palliyerallagē, Pathigē, Pathireṅṅa Hēlagē, Pathiraṅagē, Piyadigamagē, Lokugē, Manuel Peirisḷagē, Madana Kandagē, Salpagē, Sembakuttigē, Sēnāpathigē, Rajapaksha Maṅikku Nam-bigē, Rājapaksha Jusen Nambigē, Rājapaksha Maṅimel Nambigē, Tusew Nambigē, Rangē, Wellegē, Weeraratnagē, Watuduragē, Wijesuriyagē.

A rare name is Yeddihigē, and its developed form Lokku Yeddihigē. Yedi, means a *Sanyāsi* of the intensely contemplative type.

Recalling connection with Maḍakalappu or Batticaloa, are the names Maḍakalappuwagē and Mahā Maḍakalappuwagē.

A name which has a good deal of prominence is Henedigē. It is very probably the same as Sennedigē or Sēnādigē from Sēnā, meaning army, Sa and Ha being interchangeable in Sinhalese as in Pali. Sēnādigē, or Hēnādigē, will thus mean the house of the captain or the commanding officer of the army. Sēnādhīpan, is the classical term for the leader, the *adhīpan* of the sēnā or army. This is a more reasonable derivation than the interpretation that has been suggested in certain quarters, of “ the House of the Signaller ”, or “ the House of the Director of Signals ”.

Hēnādi or Sēnādi, and Hēnādigē, or Sēnādigē, may in the course of ages, have taken the form in common usage, of Henedi, or

Sennedi. Thus interpreted, the term is most significant in the context of the intensive military life of the people. In combination with the name Hēwagē, it occurs in "Pala Hennedi Hēwagē", which lends weight to an interpretation oriented to military service. An allied name is Goḍa Hēnagē. Hēnagē, is obviously the same as Sēnagē. Sēna is the general term for the military forces, the army.

The several examples of Paṭabendigē occurring in the Dutch Tombos make it manifest that the title was one almost exclusively bestowed in the Low Country on the Karāva. It is not quite obvious whether the recipient of the title was also honoured by the State, with a distinctive Patabendi name which, as an honorific, largely figures in other Sinhalese personal names of later days. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that some of the Karāva Paṭabendigē personalities figuring in the Ambalangoda and other Tombos have very high sounding prefixes adding lustre to the Gē names, as Wijeweera, Wijayanāyaka, Jayawickrama, Weeraratna, Jayasekera, Abeydeera, Weeravarna. This makes it appear that these honorifics as a rule followed a Paṭabendi title. Such honorific names are scarcely found associated with other Karāva Gē names where stress is laid either on clan or function. This goes to show that either these were conferred by the State, or the dignitaries themselves assumed these highly meaningful terms, by virtue of their dignified social status.¹ The process of giving names however, is one which finds its greatest expression during the later Sinhalese kings, who conferred a Paṭabendi nāma as a form of distinction on whom they thus chose to honour. Literally meaning, "a frontlet tied name", it is a term distinctly of Tamil origin with the Tamil equivalent Paṭṭankattī, the officer holding the rank being distinguished by certain external marks of distinction including the girding of a sword. The title "appears to have been inscribed on a strip of palm leaf and tied round the forehead. Later, thin strips of bronze or gold were used according to the dignity conferred." The Paṭabendi name was not lost with the recipients who perpetuated it, thus becoming an inheritable family name. This in time gave rise to a titled class by descent, distinguished by the Paṭabendi name as part of the family name.

1. In the case of Karāva Paṭabendi names as a whole however, the emphasis is laid more on clan than on high sounding titles.

A considerable proportion of the names are indicative of military rank or functions in the fighting forces of the time, as Hennedigē and Hēwagē, the house of the soldier. In certain villages of Matara, "Hēwagē" leads, pointing to the fact that either these villages provided the fighting personnel or were villages bestowed for military services by the State. The preponderance of "Hēwagē" points to the important part the Karāva soldier played in the fortunes of the day, and to the profession of arms that the Karāva largely pursued in the Middle Ages.

Indicative too of a life dedicated to arms are a series of other Gē names as Koḍikāragē, or the house of the custodian of the flags of the army; Koḍituvakkugē, the house of the gunner; Koḍipilipaṭabendigē; Guārdia Punchi Hēwagē, Guārdia Wasam Punchi Hēwagē, the house of the soldier guard; Kalutoṭa Guārdia Punchi Hēwagē, the house of the soldier guarding the fort or the ferry. Ports and ferries were under close military guard in the Dutch days. Other names illustrative of this particular aspect of active service, are Naratoṭa Hēwagē, Benṭoṭa Hēwagē and Kalutoṭa Hēwagē.

A term with a specialised significance is Tantrigē, literally the house of the Tantri. Its origin goes back to the root "Tantra". Literally "tantra" means injunctions, rules or regulations. In the philosophy of Hinduism, the Tantra is the scripture of the Āgamas, special teachings distinct from the Vēdas. Essentially the science of the Absolute, it is a system of Indian spirituality directed to a systematic exposition of the realisation of high spiritual values. The Tantri in his religious role, is a person skilled in the lore of the Tantras. Nevertheless in its literal sense of injunction or regulation, it is largely used in the sense of learning and knowledge of the arts in general, and of the technical arts in particular. Hēwa Tantrigē, will thus mean the house of the officer skilled in knowledge of military science. Tēwara Tantrigē will very easily signify one specialised in the ceremonial cult of the Dēvas or Gods. Vaḍu Tantrigē on the other hand means the house of the master in carpentry arts.

The several gē names—Tantrigē, Tēwa Tantrigē, Dēwagē, Tēwarishigē, Yedigē, Kapugē, Kapurālagē, Kattadigē, constitute an integrated group with a spiritual background, an eloquent testimony to the strong religious faith that animated the daily life of the people, disclosing a functional set up devoted to the

ceremonial worship of the High Gods, and the cult of the minor deities. To these supernatural powers, the society as a whole looked up for spiritual sustenance as for material prosperity.

A name which calls for some expounding is Nambigē—the house of the Nambi. A term of special association varying in the different social context, it comes from the root, *Nambuka*, “to trust”, “to confide in”.

The Gē names analysed above are prevalent among the Karāva living to the South of Colombo and as far as Tangalle. But along the littoral from Negombo to Chilaw where the density of the Karāva population is at its highest and where probably about half the total Karāva of the Island resides, a different system prevails. That this area was originally populated by people from Negombo is the constant tradition.

In this highly populous Karāva district the group admits of a threefold clan division of Kurukulasūriya, Mihiñdukulasūriya and Varunakulasūriya. These were originally endogamous units. The people use the clan name as a prefix to their personal names and have not adopted the Sinhalese system of Gē names. The Kurukulasūriya are still confined largely to their original settlement of Negombo but the Mihiñdukulasūriya and the Varunakulasūriya in particular have formed settlements both in the hinterland and along the coast as far as Chilaw and beyond. That there were other clans which have now lost their identity is evident from the existence of such names as Arasakulasūriya, and Manukulasūriya still surviving in Karāva Gē names.

Indications are not lacking that the clan system was general to the people but in the districts south of Negombo, under greater Sinhalese acculturation, Gē names seem gradually to have replaced the clan designations but many a Gē name still bears traces of this earlier clan organisation.

The foregoing survey reveals the complex of Gē names as the end product of the range of social situations, functions and deep-seated sentiments that have gone into the making of the institution of the Gē name as we see it today. In a society with a strong undercurrent of traditional culture as the Sinhalese society, the Gē name revives memories of past deeds and achievements and is

treasured as such by most groups. Though devoid of any other social function, it remains a stable factor animating the members of a Sinhalese patrilineal family kin, with the response it stimulates in intimate family situations as births, deaths and marriages. Nevertheless, among modernisation trends is a certain tendency to drop the Gē name altogether, while its emotional appeal has disposed not a few to turn it into a patronymic.

CHAPTER VI OCCUPATIONAL DYNAMICS

1

Environment and Technology

How environment moulds people to different modes of life and develops varying occupational patterns under changing conditions cannot be better illustrated than by the insight into the life of the peoples on the seaboard of the Western littoral. The inexorable realities of the natural environment over the extensive coast line of Ceylon, particularly of the South-West with its deep inlets of the sea, have left their mark on the coastal peoples. The sea indeed bids you to explore the vast wealth of its deep waters. The call has been well nigh irresistible and in time found its response in ever increasing measure.

That it is life by the sea that has led the Karāva to the specialised technology of deep sea fishing in common with other coastal groups, living under the same environment, is abundantly clear today from a study of the economics of the coastal population. Each illustrates the interaction of environment as a basic factor in the life of the people. It is this that has promoted the growth of a varying technology suited to the region, which makes for a perfect adjustment of the environment to the maintenance of life—a balanced equilibrium between the circumstances of life and the technological efficiency conditioned by the natural and cultural environment.

What motivates social life, it follows, "is not so much a product depending on the ideologies or traditions of the group, as of the technologies the group has generated in the particular habitat over the generations past". The physical needs of the changing habitat have stimulated the development of particular techniques of life, different from what they were in the days of yore. Avenues of occupation open to the peoples on the extensive seaboard from Chilaw to Dondra led to far reaching consequences in the life of

peoples occupying the coastal strip, leading to a mode of life different from that of the Middle Ages. Environment, in short, joined hands with the occupational mobility that has been advancing in Ceylon for over a century, breaking down the rigidity of the feudal social pattern.

The tradition of military service and a wide range of associated services have been continuous in the Karāva all through the long course of Ceylon's history from the Sinhalese to the Portuguese, and from the Portuguese to the Dutch, from mediaeval to modern times. The changes in life have kept pace with the course of history. During the martial days of the later Middle Ages, those who rendered military aid to the ruling power and collaborated with the latter, gained social status and state patronage. In the comparatively tranquil times that succeeded the Dutch occupation, the fighting mettle of the Karāva and the particular attributes that contributed to their high social status found no play, with the result that the dynamic Karāva were relegated to the background. The years that followed were decidedly unfavourable to their social advancement. Sociologically expressed as the concept of the "circulation of the elite", the "circulation of individuals into and out of the ruling classes", of which something has already been told, it is one of the important mechanisms of social change, seen in the changes in the constitution of the upper political classes and illustrated in the relative political status of the Karāva ranging from the Middle Ages to later days.

The sociologically relevant factors of the past, which collectively constitute the cultural heritage of the group are of great moment to all societies, and it is to the past cultural history of the Karāva that we have to turn to for an understanding of the modifications that have taken place in the culture of the group in its passage from the Middle Ages to British times.

2

Boats and Methods of Deep Sea Fishing

The economics of a group varies with the environment. Along the extensive seaboard from Dondra to Chilaw the people are largely engaged in deep sea fishing. In the Karāva villages of the hinterland, in the different provinces of Ceylon, they are small scale farmers, "a bold peasantry rooted to the soil". The

economics of these peasant families are largely the same as that of other cultivating groups, and cultivation in Ceylon is not the sole business of a particular agricultural caste group. As all services to State and Society were founded on a system of tenures under the feudal dispensation of the Kandyan Kingdom, lands were held by practically all the several groups of Ceylon society under the various tenurial patterns that governed the holding and cultivation of paddy lands down to the present day. This, the silver lining of the feudal clouds, has been a blessing more obvious than disguised.

The Karāva, as a group, are so much concentrated on the maritime coast lands of the West, that deep sea fishing and the subsidiary occupation of boat building are largely in their hands.

A picture of what the world owes to the fishing industry may best be conveyed in the following words of an English writer:—
 “A history of the world might be written around sea fishing. The industry built Holland the biggest fleet of ships the world had seen up to that time, and made her mistress of the seas. The cod called our daring adventurers to the New World before we dreamed of founding an Empire in the West. It was they who founded Drake’s Navy, thus helping to make the name of England terrible at sea. Out of the convoys of crazy craft that roved the wild Atlantic in search of the New World cod, rose our mercantile marine and our organised fleet of war vessels. With these we sought the wide seas over and founded an Empire such as mankind has never known. We are islanders with the salt sea in our blood. The fish swim at our country’s edge, but there are more fish in the waters beyond. Wherever they live, our men have sought them and in the result have made us a nation incomparable.”

On the sea front of the Western littoral are to be seen navigational crafts ranging from the simple *Caṭamaram* to the highly elaborate *Oru*, the outrigger canoe. In the *Caṭamaram*—an anglicisation of the word *Kaṭṭumaram*—a number of logs are lashed together to form a composite structure. It is the simplest and most primitive form of navigable craft in Ceylon or Indian waters. *Kaṭṭumaram*—literally tied logs—developed south of the delta of the river Krishna on the Coromandel Coast of South India. The smaller type is the *Teppam*, mostly three-logged, 9 to 15 feet in

length. The logs in a *Teppam* are jointed together by means of wooden pegs. The longer type is the *Caṭamaram*, made of five logs. The central log, extending from bow to stern, is the frame to which the other logs are lashed together by ropes. After prolonged use in the sea, they become water-logged, and are therefore dismantled after use and sun dried on the sands. A simple craft cheap to maintain and practically unsinkable, it is greatly favoured in fishing in the coastal waters. Made of *lunumidilla* (*meliya dubia*) logs, they are light and durable. Launched into the sea, the craft is rowed out for a short distance by the hand paddle (the *Chukkān*). Half submerged in the waters, the crew of three, are continually drenched by the waves. Some distance from the shore, the sails are spread out for riding light winds. With short mast and large triangular sails, a number of them sailing in close formation is a picturesque sight viewed from the shore.

Extensively using the gill net, the *Caṭamarams* cover the in-shore fishing area, to a distance of 3 to 4 miles. Reaching a favourable spot, the sails are lowered, and the gill nets are set across the path of the moving fish. The lower edges of the net are heavily weighted with coral stones, so as to stretch the margin and let the net sink deep in the sea. The top edge has wooden floats. These guide the position of the net as it sinks. The entire net drifts along with the current.

When the fish comes up against the net, it pushes its head through the mesh, which gets entangled between the body and the expanded gills of the head. The size of the interspaces, $\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 inches, determine the kind and size of the fish the net can catch. The several names as seer net or mackerel net, indicate the main types of net employed in catching the particular kind of fish.

With the sail down, a *Caṭamaram* can remain close to a set gill net without drifting far. The *Caṭamaram* is the favoured craft over the Northern Coast diminishing in range along the Western Coast. A total of 1346 are known to have been registered in 1957.

In sharp contrast to the simple *Caṭamaram*, is the elaborate *Oru*, the Outrigger Canoe. The most distinctive of the deep sea craft of Negombo, it is conspicuous by its absence on the Indian waters. A simple type of the Outrigger Canoe is a recent intro-

duction on the Konkan Coast of the State of Bombay and further south. The outrigger takes the form of a "balance board", a simple log attachment. The Outrigger Canoe has an elaborate technology, perfected in the long course of its development. That the attaching of a log float parallel to the canoe improves its balancing qualities in rough waters is a shrewd discovery, taken to the zenith of its efficiency at the hands of the boat-building master craftsmen of Negombó.

The body of the canoe and the outrigger attachment are the two main units of an outrigger canoe. The canoe is shaped of the durable trunk of a tree of requisite proportions. The wild bread-fruit tree (*Autocarpus nobilis*) and the Jak (*Autocarpus integrifolia*) are the trees largely favoured, the latter particularly at the present time. The rough shaping, the process called *Kāttu Vettu*, is done at the spot where the tree is felled. This takes three to four days. An elephant helps to bring the tree trunk to the main road from where it is transported by a motor lorry or cart. On reaching the boat-building yard further work follows in all its elaborate sequence. On an average, an outrigger canoe of the bigger dimensions takes three months to completely rig out.

The canoe body is shaped with the stern broader than the bow. The broader half is the *Aniyam*, and the forepart, the *Kadayāl*. The outrigger float—the *Kollā*—is joined to the canoe by the *Viyāl*, an arched attachment. The canoe is steered by three rudders—the *Sukkāns*. Two of these are the *Aniyam Palakai*, and the *Kadayāl Palakai*, at either end, and the *Mā-Palakai*, between these two. To the *Tōni Kattai*—the foundation—are articulated four boards, the *Pattār*, which raise the elevation of the canoe by the height of the boards added, $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches on either side and 14 inches in the middle. Inclined inwards at either end are the *Sarakadai*, 5 feet 6 inches long, with a width at the top of $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Extending over the top margin of the *Pattār*, on either side, is the *Kuttiṭṭēr*, which grips the planks in a strong binding. Fixed to the sloping floor of the canoe are the three joists, the *Vakku Vānku*. Rising upright from each of the *Vakku Vānku* are the three struts—the *Vanku Kāl*—at the *Aniyam*, the *Kadayāl*, and the centre, respectively. These enhance the stability of the boat on the high seas.

Linking the *Vakku Vānku* and the four *Pattār* boards are the wooden pegs, the *Ith Thanḍu*. On the side of the *Aniyam* and the *Kadayāl* are the foot boards, the *Pura Vānku*. These give a good foothold to the helmsman at the stern operating the rudder.

Running through the *Kuttiṭṭēr*, and linking it with the *Palakai* at either end, are the two *Tala Tadi*, horn-shaped wooden pins. These strengthen the structure at both ends.

The method of articulation of the four *Pattār* boards to the canoe is an ingenious piece of technology. The joining medium is a thick band of coconut palm leaf covering, which extends over the whole length. The wash boards and the canoe body are sewn together by coir strings which are passed through a series of holes one below the other. No nails are used. The sewing takes a regular rectangular pattern running over the whole length. This process welds the parts together and keeps the palm-leaf lining in position.

This is the first stage—the process of *Kattupani*. It is followed by the sealing of the holes, for which a composition of resin in coconut oil is prepared. This—the *Sāndu*, literally, the connecting medium—is driven inside the holes by means of a striker, the *Makānam*. This makes the hole water-proof and air tight. After this process is gone through over the whole length, a thin varnish of coconut oil in resin—the composition called *Kisil*—is applied over the entire palm-leaf lining. The application of *Kisil* is renewed every nine months.

The articulation of the *Kollā* to the Canoe is another elaborate technological device. The *Kollā* is a thick log of wood, planned smooth, tapering at either end. The total length is $27\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It has a circumference of 3 feet. From the canoe to the *Kollā* is a distance of $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

The *Kollā* is jointed to the canoe by the arched booms, the *Viyāl*. The latter has two arms, the *Yāl*, made of stout branches of the right curvature of the *Punna* tree (*Calophyllum inophyllum*).

The *Yāl* in itself is a composite unit. Adhering to the *Yāl*, and extending almost to its whole length, are three thin flexible and rounded sticks of wood, wound tight round the stem of the *Yāl*. This framework of sticks acts like the springs of a wheel, controlling the shocks and strains in rough seas.

One of the *Yāls* ends in a forked structure, the *Kaḍusai*, literally the "last". Through the projecting top arm of the *Kaḍusai*, is an aperture, through which is suspended a slab of stone—the *Kaḍusai Kallu*. At the head of the *Kaḍayāl* is the *Kaḍayāl Kallu*, 7 lbs. heavier than the *Kaḍusai Kallu*. The weighting of the boat with these stones is done only during fishing operations in the fishing season of the North-East Monsoon, September to April.

The sail—the *Kūrappāyi*—is fixed on two masts; the large or *Ūḍu Tanḍai*, and the small or *Pāḍu Tanḍai*. The sail is secured, lifted, and manipulated by three ropes articulated to one another—the *Vāvarai*, the *Attām* and the *Kambam*. The two top corners of the sail are the *Ūḍu Tanḍai Kokki*, and the *Pāḍu Tanḍai Kokki*. The lower ends of the sail are the *Gōsi* and the *Dāma*.

Five fishing lines are operated in long line fishing during the South-West Monsoon—May to September. One, the *Kaḍusai Kavuru*, is inserted and secured through the hole in the *Kaḍusai*. The second, the *Mēl Kavuru*, is tied to the *Vāvarai*. The third line, *Geta Kalai*, is tied to the *Pāḍu Tanḍai*. Another is tied to the *Kolla Kavuru*. Round the waist of the man at the rudder is tied the fifth, the *Madi Kavuru*. The total number of *Orus* in 1957 was reckoned at 6306.

As one watches the outrigger canoe taking huge seas, buffeted by waves and winds, it is not difficult to imagine the ingenious craftsmanship that has gone into its making. Negombo has a few old craftsmen in whom the tradition of boat building has been vested for generations. Among the better known is Kurukulasūriya John Joseph Fernando. Coming of a long line of boat building specialists of the Pātṭa ancestry—a functional division of old—he has been foremost in the boat-building business for over forty years; and at sixty years of age, is today as active as in the prime of his youth.

A well defined system prevails in the crewing of the boat. The owner is also, the chief of the boat, the *Tanḍil*, a name which evidently corresponds to the earlier and traditional designation, *Aḍappan*. He has three assistants, who are free lance men except during their service on the sea. When on duty in the boat they implicitly obey the master. When ashore, they are under no

obligation to him. If they have any cause for complaint they have no hesitation in leaving that particular owner to find work with others.

The catch is generally auctioned and the amount realised divided into five shares. Of the four men in the boat, each gets a share. The boat "gets" one share, which goes to the owner. During the South-West Monsoon season, when fishing in distant and deeper waters, the catch is divided into six shares. Four men get a share each, and two shares "for the boat". The extra share for the boat is only during a period of about three months as the expenses at this season are heavy. The distribution is amicably made, and causes no dissension. Replacing of lines and hooks, maintenance of the boat and its several components, the outrigger, sails and fittings, are all the responsibility of the owner of the craft.

Apart from these two types, the *Caṭamaram*, and the *Oru*, two types of boats seen in the coastal waters are the *paḍavu* and the *pāru*. The *paḍavu* is a larger version of the *Vallam*, the canoe of the Jaffna coast, and has a beam of 8 feet and a length of 45 feet. Called the *Kullatoni*, it is remarkable for its wide interior and large sloping stern. Around Dondra, it is generally spoken of as the *Gandara Toni*, from Gandara, a village in the neighbourhood of Dondra. Two sails are fitted at the stern, and a rudder is fixed to a heavy post.

The *pāru* is a large flat-bottomed boat, 18 to 35 feet long, with a square-type of base on two keels made of logs. The ends of the boat slope at an angle of 45 degrees to the water. Propelled by oars, it has great buoyancy and rides the surf extremely well.

Both these types are used in Beach Seine Fishing. Contributing to a large share in the total fish landings, Beach Seining is an important aspect of Ceylon's fisheries. The average beach seine net consists of a 10 to 15 foot long bag of small meshed netting called the cod end, which can hold $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 tons of fish. This is attached to the body of the net which is a 40 foot long cone with sections of different sized mesh, small near the cod end and bigger towards the free end. Two wide-meshed wings attached to the body, narrow down to mere strips of netting finally attached to hauling ropes. The wings are 25 to 40 feet long and

the ropes about 1,500 feet long. The overall dimensions and the mesh size of the cod end are varied slightly according to operating conditions and the nature of fish shoals to be encircled. Coir is used for making the final part of the wings and hauling rope. The netting of the cod end, body and forepart of the wings, is generally made of cotton or hemp twine.

To set a beach seine net, the end of one hauling rope is fixed on shore and the boat goes out with the net, laying it out along an arched course till the free end of the second rope is brought to the beach at a point over 100 yards from the front end. Then it is a matter of hauling in the net. This takes a tremendous effort. When the current and wind are against the course of the net, the hauling operations require 40 to 50 men on either side.

Some few of the enclosed fish may escape before the cod end is landed. To safeguard against escaping, one or two gill nets are set outside the seine net. Beach seine landings include a great many species of fish, big and small. The small sized fish are the sardines, sprats, small horse mackerel and silver bellies. The large fish include wolf herring, mackerel, tuna, frigate mackerel and the seer.

The seine nets are set out in some areas, as at Marawila, only when a shoal is sighted. In other areas, the net is set "blind", that is, it is set and handled a few times in the early morning. The results determine the prospects of further operations for the day. Beach seine operations are confined to a narrow belt of shallow waters, about three miles wide. These are seasonal operations carried out in relatively calm water on coasts sheltered from the monsoon winds. Well defined stretches of the beach, called *pāḍus* are leased out by the Department of Fisheries. Within the area of the waters confronting each *pāḍu*, beach seining operations are carried out by the lessee with the aid of his labour force.¹

3

Technology and Social Change

From the time that Society and the State began to take more than a passing interest in the Fishing Industry, about two

to three decades ago, much has been said and written of the "lot of the fishermen forced by circumstances beyond their control to earn their risky livelihood with the primitive craft and tackle of their forefathers". Tradition still rules basic human arts of food production, whether of agriculture or fisheries. In the history of the fishing industry, the present is a transitional stage. The past thirty years has been a period of preparation for mechanised fishing. In this stage of preparing the ground for mechanisation, a state of suspense bordering on fear existed, as it was evident that commercial enterprises based on mechanisation, employing modernised craft and gear, would endanger the economics of the fishermen. Aroused by early foreign sponsored trawler fishing concerns, the fear of mechanisation was difficult to overcome. These fears were a natural reaction to what was considered a positive danger to the indigenous fishing industry, and an interference with the freedom of the fishermen to live as they did, in their traditional mode of life. Trawler fishing was rightly concluded to be too capitalist an idea to be seriously thought of, as a right solution to advance the economics of the Ceylon fishermen. It was recognised that the improvement of the fishing industry largely turns on the reorganisation of the existing primitive system of fishing, on scientific and up-to-date lines, without prejudicing or disturbing the economics of the fisherman. Something of a "forward policy" is emerging though it cannot be claimed that an overall plan of progress has yet materialised. In harmony with the lives of the fishermen is the present idea of mechanisation of boats, fitting a fleet of boats with diesel engines, a scheme which the Government is sponsoring for the benefit of the fishermen. The engines give the small fishing boats the extra range needed to reach the areas of the sea where large shoals of fish are known to frequent, and get back in all speed to market the fresh fish, the surplus finding its way to the refrigeration plants, such as those installed in the new fisheries harbour at Mutwal.

The present programme provides for the mechanisation of 200 *caṭamarams* within three years of the initiation of the plan. The mechanisation of the outrigger is a transitional phase, "limited to 1,000 boats within the ten-year period", as an outrigger will in the usual course, not be replaced by a new one, but by a more modern mechanised craft.

1. The account here given of gill netting and beach seining, is adapted from a Guide to the Fisheries of Ceylon, 1958, Bulletin No. 8, of the Dept. of Fisheries, Fisheries Research Station.

The rate and range of mechanisation will depend on a number of factors. A growing awareness of the benefit of mechanisation, the wider area of operations, the higher yields of catch, and the greater sense of security of human life, that follows on mechanisation, are among the implications that in the next few decades may revolutionise the Ceylon deep sea fishing industry. Fishermen battling with the waves in their outrigger canoes may be a vanishing phenomenon in the space of a few years.

Deep sea fishing is essentially a co-operative enterprise. Mechanisation calls forth this spirit of co-operation, as much as the operational methods of deep sea fishing in the non-mechanised boats of today. Given the right guidance and the right training in the use of the mechanised craft, the innate intelligence of the Ceylon fishermen may well make a big success of mechanisation. Over a hundred mechanised boats are now being operated by the local fishermen.

How technological and industrial advancement have influenced society in the West and changed the course of human life all over the West, is well known. Traditions, customs, beliefs and attitudes, all change. Social problems of the intensively industrialised West have their lessons for the East, and the lands of South East Asia in particular. Among research organisations of today, the UNESCO is very much alive to the need for making a study of the pace of industrialisation in S.E. Asia, in relation to the impact of industrialisation over the traditional cultures of these lands. Ways and means of safeguarding and conserving what deserves to be conserved in the traditional cultures of the peoples, are deliberated upon and decisions taken at International Seminars and Conferences such as the Seminar held in the past year by the UNESCO Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialisation in Southern Asia, established in Calcutta.

CHAPTER VII SOCIAL ARTS

1

The Kōlam, the Art of Ambalangoda

Amongst the most vital of the folk arts of Ceylon is the Kōlam. Specifically the art of the maritime south west, it is conspicuous by its absence in the Kandyan hill country. Though there are grounds to believe that it possibly existed more widely than today in the south west coastal lands, it has virtually ceased to exist outside Ambalangoda and its immediate environs. Ambalangoda indeed may rightly be claimed the home of the Kōlam, the centre of dispersal of this highly evolved folk art.

Kōlam is a Tamil word, the meaning of which covers a wide range, varying according to the context in which it is used. Its comprehensive meanings include: colour, form, shape, external or general appearance, costume, appropriate dress, attire as worn by actors, trappings, equipment, habiliment, ornament, adornment, decoration and embellishment. An ensemble of all these ideas is obviously embodied in the art of the Kōlam of South Ceylon. It is interesting that *Cilappadikāram*, the Tamil Classic of the 2nd Century A.D. mentions the name *Kōla-c-cāri*, as "a dance in masquerade by Vēḍar women disguised as Durga (Kali)". (Tamil Lexicon, Madras, Vol. II.) Figures disguised by masks, different for each character, is the essential feature of the art of the Kōlam. The masks strongly recall the cult of the gods, the masked demon cults, which are so much an integral part of the culture of South Ceylon. The Kōlam is obviously a child of the cult of demons. That it comes in direct heritage from the demon cult is what I am led to conclude from my observations of the traditional cult of the Kōlam Tuḷḷal of rural Malabar. Kōlam Tuḷḷal literally means "disguised dances", weird dances by the devil-dancers of rural Malabar, in a ritual ceremony against evil influences. The dancers wear grotesque masks impersonating the

spirits. The masks are crudely made of the broad leaf sheath of the arecanut palm.

Kōlam as an art has passed through several stages until it has evolved into the colourful folk play that it is today, in the hands, largely, of the Karāva of Ambalangoda. A well-known exponent of the art here is J. W. Āryapāla. Ambalangoda has a rich heritage of the art and men of all ages practise it here. Proficient in the technicalities and the finer points of the art is Gurunānse Āryapāla. That he is an accomplished exponent was evident from a demonstration he gave one evening. The dance poses he demonstrated, harmonising with arched neck and eye movements, with hands in *hasta*,¹ were strongly reminiscent of the basic art of Bharata Nāṭya.

The conventional derivation of the art is traced to that mythical entity, King Mahāsammata, who it is obvious, exists more as an impersonal or idealised concept than as a personality. *Doladuka*, the craving of the pregnant queen, is said to be the immediate stimulation of the art, and *doladuka* figures in several folk stories as in the Jataka tales. The queen longed to see a masked dance, which was a spectacle uncommon in that part of the land. Unable to meet the King's commands to provide masks or masked dancers, the King's minister was distracted to the point of desperation, when a miracle occurred, attributed to the intervention of the supernatural Sakra. Masks of all forms were suddenly revealed in a corner of the garden as a gift of the God. Masked dances followed and the queen was pleased.

The commonly accepted origin of the art of the Kōlam, ascribed to the *doladuka* cravings of the queen, finds an interesting counterpart in the traditional ceremony of providing a woman with bangles in the fifth or the seventh month of her pregnancy, a custom which in days past went by the name of Kōlam, as the Tamil Lexicon tells us. The association of Kōlam with pregnancy rites in general becomes more obvious. It may well have been that the masquerade was traditionally performed on the day of the customary ceremony of the wearing of bangles, forming part of the pregnancy rites.

Kōlam is an open air show. The audience sits around, leaving a large arena for the players. A structure of *ailē* may or may not

1. The symbolic language of the hand, employed in Nāṭya.

be a feature of the arena. The *ailē* is a frame work of green leaves and branches hung from a cross beam supported on posts on either side. The *ailē* adds to the charm of the setting, relieving the ground of its otherwise barren look. It is also a convenient screen behind which actors come and go in the course of the play. At the entrance are seated two drummers. A *hōranā*¹ player and a couple of singers form the rest of the Kōlam orchestra.

In more formal performances adapted to the stage, a *Potē Gurunānse* is evident, with the text in hand. He begins a chant of the verses embodying a narration of the origin of the art. Of late introduction evidently is the *Sabhāpati* who now appears, a character corresponding to the *Sūtradhāran* in Sanskrit dramas and Tamil Nāḍagams. In the latter, the *Sūtradhāran* is accompanied by his wife, the *Nadi*. These two join in a dialogue in the course of which the audience is introduced to the purpose of the day's events. The dialogue ends in a song of welcome. This is often done by two children, dressed in the Hindu style wearing cloth (*dhōṭi*) and turban.

The several characters now appear. A variety of actors arriving and departing, each playing his individual part and making his exit, is distinctive of the play. The first to enter in a Kōlam as at present shown in village displays is the King's Crier, the *Anaberakāraya*. He is called the King's Crier, as his ostensible role is to deliver messages, which he is supposed to do beating the drum he carries slung on his shoulder.

He wears a very becoming mask with a flowing white beard, and a striped head-dress of a kerchief, the ends of which hang on either side. Almost on his heels, without his knowledge nevertheless, comes his old and wizened wife, Nonci Akkā. The two make a well matched pair and the audience is highly amused. The appearance of Nonci Akkā is dramatic. She enters and walks with an ambling gait. Her mask is most expressive of her hard lot in life and her advanced age. She is agitated, wondering where her husband is, and why he is late to return home. Her son now appears, and she sends him to look for his father. All join in a quest for the old man. They come upon him flat on the ground, drunk and senseless. He is revived. After a few

1. The short trumpet of Sinhalese orchestra.

words of friendly reprimand, Nonci Akkā and her husband are reconciled. Together they do a dance of exhilaration and make their exit to the cheers or jeers of the spectators.

Though the Anaberakāraya and Nonci Akkā appear first in today's village shows, this does not seem to have been their formal order of appearance as prescribed in the chronicles of the art.

Among the extant Kōlam manuscripts is the one in the Colombo Museum Library, (No. AC/14) "Kōlam Naṭanawa", "The Kōlam Dance Play". The first to appear according to this text, is the Liyana Rāla, the Scribe, walking-stick in hand. Conscious of the authority he gains from the King, he uses strong words. His business is to deliver messages. As a contrast to this serious character, comes a comic figure, the "Baḍajala", literally "one who speaks through the nose". He coughs incessantly and suffers from a severe cold.

With sword in hand now appears the Hēwarāla, the Warrior. Eyeing the assembly keenly, he jumps into the arena, like a veritable demon. At this stage appears the Anaberagurā, the King's Crier, already featured, old with palsied limbs, and trembling continuously. He carries a *davula* (drum) slung on his shoulder. He beats the drum in different villages according to the order of the King. He has a *paccavaḍam* (red cloth) round his waist, and on his head, a "Uramāliya" tied in the form of a turban. His mouth and chin have a sharp pointed aspect. He dances vigorously despite his advanced age and unsteady limbs. Proud of his long beard, he shows it to the assembly. The worse for toddy, the crowd is unkind to him and pursues him; he is assaulted and he departs.

Now enter the important personages of the place. First, "the good gentleman who has just received the rank of Mudaliyar", the man who enquires into what is right and wrong. He is adorned with a sword and wears royal ornaments. Fixed on his head is a shining comb and he wears a glittering coat.

The King now enters wearing a crown that comes from ancient days. He is decked in the sixty-four royal ornaments, in golden garments and armed with a golden sword. The King is Usirāṭa who holds sway over all Daṁbadiva (India). A white parasol

is held over his head. He comes bestowing long life and prosperity. The alternating appearance of comic, ceremonial and serious characters, is a feature of the Kōlam.

In quick succession are now presented a bull led by Yōnās (Muslims) of the Vaḍugu country (Āndhradēsa) followed by leopards. The bull comes loaded with merchandise. It has bells on the forehead, well-set legs, and walks serenely. The bull dances to the music. Leopards come, terrifying the bull. A narration here follows of the description of the leopards. Beautiful to behold, the leopards have bold markings, a strong body and black spots. The bull is ready to perform a dance before the assembly, and the leopards get ready to jump on the bull. The leopards roar and the bull trembles. The leopards dance.

The Museum manuscript concludes with a full dramatisation of the story of King Manamē and his faithless wife. Descriptions of the Kōlam vary with different texts. To conform precisely to traditional pattern, the Kōlam should properly begin in the presence of the King and Queen, the very purpose of the Kōlam being to please the Queen. Actually the King and Queen (Plate VIII, Fig. 1) appear after a number of miscellaneous characters have come and gone. This is the first stage, the prelude to the appearance of royalty. The King and Queen take their allotted seats, and enjoy the rest of the presentation. This follows a two-fold division. In the first part are presented mythological and demoniac characters. Such are the striking Rāksasa personalities, Nāga Rāksasa, Maru Rāksasa, and the Guruḷu Rāksasa. The last is an elaboration of the bird Garuḍa flying with a coiled snake in its beak. Flying with its tail feathers raised in the course of the flight, the mask of Gurulu Rāksasa is a triumph of craftsmanship in mask making. (Plate VIII, Fig. 2)

In a performance elaborate in all its details, one of the mythological stories founded on rural life is staged at the end. Such are the stories of King Manamē and his faithless wife, the Manamē Kathāva and the Saṁda Kiṁduru Kathāva, a Jātaka story. These are stories with a wealth of emotional appeal and dramatic situations, stories which "point a moral and adorn a tale".

The dance in the Kōlam is suited to the particular character. The steps vary with the action conveyed. The old characters,

the Anabera and Nonci Akkā, dance to the drumming with a shuffling, ambling gait, suited to their age and role. The Nāga Rāksasa, as becomes the spirited demon, dances in vigorous strides, all over the arena, in step with the drumming.

The Hēwarālas are entertaining in their mock fight. With drawn sword they stand, facing each other, and engage in a hand to hand combat. They fight with vigour, with many a striking movement. They cut, thrust and pierce. It is all a dramatisation of single combat. At the end of the contest, each dances a triumphant dance. (Plate IX, Figs. 1 and 2)

The actors belong to different walks of life. In a show at Ambalangoda, the Anabera Kōlama was played by S. M. Samuel Silva, a building contractor. The role of his partner Nonci Akkā was enacted by K. M. Agris Silva, truly old, a mason baas of eighty years of age. The two Hēwarālas were S. H. Kulasiri, a student of the H.S.C. class and T. W. Wijesiri, a trader. Maru Rāksasa and Guruḷu Rāksasa were impersonated by G. H. Tillakaratna and J. W. Bandusēna. The Nāga Rāksasa was T. W. Wijesiri. J. W. Āryapāla of Girawatta, Ambalangoda, was the Gurunānse, proficient in the art of dancing, and a very skilled craftsman in mask making. (Plate X)

Mask making is as much an active art today as the art of the Kōlam. Each keeps the other alive. The technology of the mask is such that it inhibits speaking through. Kōlam masks are not made for verbal communication but to impress and convey emotion by the expression stamped on each mask to suit the character. Each mask tells a different tale. Despite the immobility of masks in general, the Kōlam masks convey a sense of mobility heightened by the actions of the player, different movements producing varied expression.

The Kōlam in past ages has been an art altogether in pantomime, an art solely of action, dancing and playing, the idea of each scene being conveyed by the singer, accompanied by the drummer. That this was its true character, we may well conclude from what we gather of the art of the Kōlam as Callaway¹ describes it. According

1. Callaway, John: Yakun Naṭṭanawā and Kolan Naṭṭanawā, p. ix.

to the latter, "a regular masquerade is said to begin with the night, and to end with the dawn. A *tong-tong* beater in the court attached to the house announces that the maskers are come, and that the people must be ready to witness the performance. After reading the prologue, the actors advance, while two chanters, accompanied by torches, stand up, and, as the performers act their respective parts, repeat the legend, chanting alternately two verses each." This statement leaves us in no doubt that the players did no singing, which was done by the two chanters. That its original character as a play solely in pantomime has been steadily changing, is evident from the place of the dialogue in the modern shows, considered against the background of the writings of Pertold,¹ based on what purports to be his personal observation.

The "Anabera-kāraya", the first to appear, begins according to Pertold with a narration of the *doladuka* of the Queen to see a masked dance. The Hēwarāla speaks of his experiences in martial campaigns and has an argument with his wife, who is unable to recognise him. A dialogue ensues, which ends in a quarrel. Generally, Pertold's account would support the idea that the actors talked or sang as they danced.

The enactment of the Jātaka stories, Saṅdakiṅḍuru Jātakaya, or the Manamē Kathāva now featured as the finale of a performance of Kōlam, does not seem to have originally formed part of the scheme of a Kōlam. The staging of a full drama is manifestly outside the fundamentals of the Kōlam, traditionally an art in masquerade, showing individual acts disconnected with each other, short skits with a popular flavour. That staging of Jātaka stories of ethical background is a late introduction, may be presumed from the fact that Callaway, whose account of Kōlam reveals its character as a pantomime, is silent about the enacting of complete stories in the scheme of the Kōlam. These very likely arose independently as rustic plays with strong emotional and ethical values, and in course of time were added as additional features, bringing to a close a long-drawn-out programme of rural entertainment. We may also see in this a steadily growing process of imparting a Buddhistic colouring to traditional folk arts, incorporating Jātaka themes to folk arts which primarily, had little or no root in Buddhism.

1. Pertold, O.: Archiv. Orientalni, Vol. 11, pp. 108-137, 201-248.

Kōlam masks have a range of expression about them suited to each character. This distinguishes the art of the Kōlam masks from masks in demon cults, as Dahāta Sanniya or the numerous Yakka cults of South Ceylon. Polis Kōlama (the Policeman), Hēwa Kōlama (the combatants), Anabera (the King's Crier), his wife Nonci Akkā, Pedi Vidāne (the Dhoby), Lencine, his wife, Mudali (the Mudaliyar), Raja and Biso (The King and Queen), Heṭṭi Muna (the Chetti), and Mahātumya (the Westernized "gentleman") are some of the many comic characters in Kōlama. Each mask highlights the distinctive attributes of the type.

Characters whose part give scope for much comic acting as the Anabera and his wife Nonci Akkā evoke a variety of emotions, strikingly caught in the changing nuances which are reflected in the lively masks throughout the course of the varied movements of these two figures. Though of set features, these masks develop a mobility harmonising with the jocular action of the comic characters. This mobility of expression abundantly manifested in the course of acting and dancing, is the highest testimony to the artistry of the Kōlam mask.

In this respect, the art of the Kōlam mask has something in it which recalls the Noh masks of the masked dance play of Japan, which dates from the early fourteenth century. These Noh masks convey a wide range of expression and delicate shades of feeling. The art of the Noh masks, with the lips carved half open, enables the actor to convey varying emotions by different movements, a subtle quality seen in the masks of such essentially comic parts as the Anabera and Nonci Akkā of the Kōlam.

2

The Nāḍagam

From the Kōlam to the Nāḍagam is to advance from the folk arts to the fine arts. The primary urge to dramatic expression has been religion which to the Karāva, has been, and is, threefold. Hinduism, the ancestral religion; Buddhism, and Christianity in modern times, with its different denominations, mainly Roman Catholicism. Each of these has its own contribution to make to the culture of the Karāva.

The Hindu element is inherent in the foundation of the group, reflected in the traditional psychology mainly symbolised in the

flags and banners. Of Hindu religious festivals, the annual celebration at the Sri Krishna and Draupadi Amman Kovil at Udappu, is most ostentatious. The several episodes in the long-drawn-out contest between the Kauravas and the Pāndavas are presented during the days of the annual celebration in spectacular and highly dramatic scenes.

Dramatic expression was the least of the influences on the Buddhist front. Drama, as such, found little stimulation at the hands of the Saṅgha of the Middle Ages. The taboo on drama and the allied arts of dance and music, enjoined on the monks by the Vinaya Code of conduct, had its reaction and repercussion on the laity. Despite the wealth of dramatic element in the Jātaka stories, their theatrical representation on the stage was not evident until our own day.

To the Karāva nevertheless, the Nāḍagam was part of their ancestral Hindu heritage. It is significant that with the settled life of the Colonial days, the Nāḍagam excelled as a social entertainment over the entire length of the Western littoral from Chilaw to Tangalle. It was really not localised in this coastal strip. Wherever Tamil culture was dominant, as in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, the Nāḍagam flourished. The Sinhalese Nāḍagama arose out of the accultural influences of the original Tamil compositions. Nāḍagam is so much a Tamil phenomenon that a definite place was accorded to what was termed Nāḍagam Tamil in the development of the language, as Casie Chitty points out.

The Portuguese missionaries were not slow to discover the indigenous dramatic element and used the stage to further the propagation of their faith. Baldaeus, the Dutch minister and historian, has testified to this activity in these words:—

"Most of the Churches here have certain scaffolds or theatres near them, especially that of Telipole, where the Jesuits used to represent certain histories of the Bible to the people on holidays."¹

Biblical themes and events of the life of Jesus Christ provided the script for such dramatic compositions. These early productions prepared the ground for the evolution of the Nāḍagam in the Sinhalese language in the early years of the nineteenth century.

1. Baldaeus: A Description of Ceylon, XLV, 800-801.

Thus it came to pass that the early composers of the Nāḍagam in Sinhalese were Roman Catholic. The names of Gabriel Fernando of Chilaw, and of Philippu Singho, stand out among the early writers of the Nāḍagam in Sinhalese. The latter is often referred to as the father of the Sinhalese Nāḍagama. The works attributed to him are, *Āhālapola Nāḍagama*, *Sengappu*, *Juseappu*, *Helēnā*, *Visvakarma*, *Varthagam*, *Sannikula*, *Raja Tunkaṭṭuva*, *Sulamayai*, and *Hunukoṭuwe*. It is possible that there were two plays by the same name, *Raja Tunkaṭṭuva*, one by Philippu Singho, and another, "A Sinhalese Nativity Play", by Gabriel Fernando.

W. A. de Silva speaks of the legend that Philippu Singho, who was a blacksmith by profession, wrote the "Āhālapola Nāḍagama" by scribbling verses in charcoal on the wall of his smithy as the lines occurred to him in the course of his work.¹ Another play ascribed to him is "Esthakki Nāḍagama", the oldest printed Nāḍagam text available.

Among other Nāḍagams that Saratchandra lists,² are Iyujin (Eugene); Balasanta Nāḍagama; and Brampōrd (Brunford); attributed to V. Christian Perera; Dinatra Nāḍagama, attributed to Lindamulage Stephen Perera Wickremasinghe Jayawardene of Moratuwa; The Merchant of Venice or Pōrsiyā (Portia), and Hariccandra, of unknown authorship; and Selestina Nāḍagama by Charles de Abrew. Two other Roman Catholic Nāḍagams are Gnanasaundari and Kātarinā Katāva by Juan Pinto.

The dramatic urge later took a pronounced turn in the direction of the Passion Play movement, which attained its highest standard in the Boralessa Passion Play. At first the sacred personalities were represented by images, mechanically worked so as to produce the effect of natural movement. Subsequently the only images used were those of Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Apostle. The performance was in dumb show but for a reader of the sermons of the Passion, who tunefully described the actions on the stage. At the height of its development living persons

1. Saratchandra, E. R.: *The Sinhalese Folk Play and the Modern Stage*, 1953, Ch. V. Nāḍagam, p. 84.

2. *Ibid.*, 84.

acted all the parts. They spoke and sang. The drama was modelled on the Oberammergau Passion Play. The chants were the traditional *passams* and the well-known hymns.

The *passam* (from the Portuguese *paixao* meaning passion or suffering) chants deal with the sufferings of Jesus Christ, composed in the form of sermons by Father Gonsalvez. As a companion to the sermons, Fr. Gonsalvez wrote the *Pasam Pota* in verse. Its language and style are reminiscent of the poetry of the Kandyan period, especially the eulogistic poems of the Courtier poets, as the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris observes in the course of a learned paper on the subject.¹

The present is an eventful era in the destiny of traditional arts. Many are the problems that come up for careful planning, if we are to conserve the values of the traditional arts in the interests of the people who are their custodians today. Experts from countries of South East Asia gathered at an International Seminar sponsored by the UNESCO at Madras in November, 1958, and deliberated over the several issues posed by traditional art and culture. The discussions and decisions taken at this international conference of experts are momentous to Ceylon as to other nations of South East Asia, or of Asia as a whole. The impact of extraneous values, social problems following on processes of industrialisation, the scientific study of traditional arts, the *modus operandi* of conserving "adaptable" values of these arts and of revitalising them, are some of the many problems that came within the scope of the conference. Kōlam and Nāḍagam are among the traditional arts vital to the peoples of Ceylon, and their conservation is among the problems that faces administrators and planners of national welfare in Ceylon.

1. Peiris, Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund, O.M.I.: "A Sinhalese Nativity Play" (Catholic Christmas Annual, 1953).

CHAPTER VIII

THE KARĀVA SOCIETY AND BUDDHISM

Among the forces that make for social coherence within the Sinhalese fold, the most vital is Buddhism. The place of the Karāva in the Saṅgha must be seen in relation to the position of the coastal castes in general following the re-establishment in Ceylon of the higher ordination in 1753 with the founding of the Siamese Sect in Kandy. The subsequent development of the Saṅgha was largely fixed by two factors : first, despite some exceptions in the early years, the Siamese Sect soon made it clear that it was not prepared to grant *Upasampadā* ordination to any but Goigama ; and second, by establishing Kandy as the centre of the Siamese Nikāya¹, the marked differences between the political and social traditions of the Kandyan kingdom and the coastal regions created severe obstacles to any lasting arrangement of the Saṅgha that attempted to bridge this gap.

1. The history of the Saṅgha from the early ages to the present times, has been a story of the evolution and growth of the several Nikāyas, a term which literally means, a congregation, a denomination or sect. Originally the term Nikāya was applied to sections of the Tripiṭaka exclusively.

With the march of time, the Nikāyas evolved into different sects or denominations, between which there were sharp and divergent dissensions and rivalry. This has been so much of a feature all through the historical periods, that the subject may best be treated in terms of the historical era within which the Nikāyas took shape and developed into the dynamic force that they have cumulatively been, in the annals of the Saṅgha in Ceylon. A complex of influences and forces developed which have left us a heritage of Nikāyas, each with its own leadership and following.

From the time of King Devānampiya Tissa (247–207 B.C.) to the time of King Vattagāmiṇi Abhaya, the Saṅgha enjoyed a more or less even tenure of service under the disciplinary control and authority of the Mahavihāra fraternity.

In the fifteenth year of his reign, the first dissensions appear to have started. This was the rise of the Abhayagiri sect, otherwise known as the Dharma ruci nikāya. Later in the reign of King Goṭṭābhaya (302–315 A.D.), a third sect came into being, called the Sāgalayās, after Sāgali who headed the secession from the Abhayagiri Vihāra. In time, King Mahāsena (334–362 A.D.) who favoured the

It was these two factors, the reaction of the increasingly wealthy and powerful coastal castes to their exclusion from the Siamese Nikāya and the more generalized tensions between Up-country and Low-country Ceylon, that set the stage for the founding of fresh lines of higher ordination. In rapid succession, five parties of bhikkhūs, supported and encouraged by wealthy laymen, went to Burma in the years between 1800 and 1810, received *Upasampadā*, and returned to Ceylon with authentic and independent lines of ordination. The leaders of all these parties were drawn from the Salāgama, Karāva, and Durāva castes, as were most of the other members of the expeditions, with the exception of a small number

Sāgalayās, built the Jetavana Vihāra, where the Sāgalayās established themselves.

In the time of the successors of Mahanāga (556–568) we come by a number of small sects, or schools generally marked by doctrinal differences or at variance, otherwise—among these, are Mahīśāsakas the Vitanḍavādins, the Sarvāstivādins, Dhammakathika, the Pamsukūlika, the Araññavāsī, and the Gāmantavāsī. (Ariyapala: Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, pp. 229–231)

From the reign of Mahāsena the Mahavihāra largely exerted themselves to recover their earlier status and authority. Nevertheless it was not smooth sailing. Apart from the number of small sects—the *Vajriya-vada* and *Nīlapatā-darśana*, in the reign of Sena I (833–853) and the *pamsakūlikas* in the reign of Sena II (853–887), the most potent force was the followers of Mahāyānism, otherwise known in Ceylon as the Vaitulyakas. The *Nikāya-Saṅgrahaya* chronicles the story of the three Nikāyas of the times and of the activities of King Parakramabahu I to bring about the unification of the Saṅgha. Among the sovereigns who made their best efforts to restore the tranquillity of the Order, King Parakramabahu I is pre-eminent. The rock-inscriptions of his times tell us that “the Community of Theras, headed by the Great Thera Mahākassappa, formulated the code of disciplinary injunctions without deviating from the customary formalities observed in the lineage of preceptors, after due consultation of the *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya* in order that those of negligent conduct may not find an opening” (for transgression). (E. Z. 2.6.276).

Seven Colleges or confraternities, termed *Gaṇas*, are a feature of the Polonnaruwa period. These find mention in the slab-inscription of Queen Kalyānavati (E. Z. 4.5.260). The Seven *gaṇas* are also referred to in the Alutnuvara inscription (E. Z. 4.6.268).

The dawn of the eighteenth century found the Buddhist Church facing a crisis. There was no fully ordained monk in Ceylon for about a hundred years. To revive the Order was the supreme need of the moment, and this was a stupendous task—several delegations are reported to have been sent to Tennaserim, Pegu and Siam. In the reign of King Kirti Sri Raja Sinha (1747–1782) a delegation left Ceylon to the King of Siam. The delegation led to the despatch from Siam of a body of Siamese priests, who arrived in Kandy in 1753 and a number of Sāmaneras were ordained at the Sīmā at Malwatta Vihāra, Kandy. This was the beginning of the Siam Nikāya.

of Goigama. In the approximate order of their departure for Burma, the founders of the new nikāyas were : Aṃbagahapitīyē Nāṇavimala, a Salāgama : Bogahapitīyē Dhammajoti, a Salāgama ; Kapugama Dhammakhandha, a Salāgama ; Kataluwē Gunaratana Tissa, a Karāva ; and Attudawē Dhammarakkhita, a Durāva.

For about the first forty years of the 19th century, the Low-country sects co-operated in a loosely organized confederation. But as the new nikāyās increased in size, various divisive tendencies caused by caste, minor doctrinal differences, and the traditionally non-authoritarian and democratic structure of the Saṅgha, gradually separated the five original lines of ordination into a larger number of independent sects. Although caste was and continues to be a fundamental basis of difference, it never became a rigid principle of exclusion. Representatives of all the major castes are found in most of the sects deriving from Burma, although it remains true that one nikāya usually contains a majority of one caste.

The process of establishing new nikāyās in Ceylon by travelling to Burma to receive the *Upasampadā* ordination was terminated with the founding of the Rāmañña Nikāya in 1862, and all of the present twenty-four nikāyās officially listed by the Registrar-General, other than the six independent Siamese Nikāyās, derive from these six expeditions to Burma in the 19th century.

Among the present sects now commonly included under the loose heading of the "Amarapura Nikāya", there are seven that trace their ordination back to Kataluwē Gunaratana Tissa, the Karāva priest who led a party to Burma in 1808. They are : the Kalyāṇivaṃsa Nikāya ; the Amarapura Nikāya ; the Ariya-vaṃsa Saddhamma Yuttika Nikāya ; the Mramnavamsabindhaja Saddhamma Yuttika Nikāya ; the Kalyāṇivaṃsika Sri Dhammārāma Saddhamma Yuttika Nikāya ; the Sri Saddhamma Yuttika Nikāya ; and the Uḍarāṭa Kalyāṇivaṃsa Nikāya.

These sects are set apart from the others in the "Amarapura Nikāya" by the fact that their founder, Kataluwē Gunaratana Tissa, did not obtain *Upasampadā* at the city of Amarapura in Upper Burma, but at the Kalyāṇi *Sīma* near the city of Haṃsavati (the present city of Pegu) in the Rāmañña Desa, or Lower Burma. This difference in origin has been the source of some controversy.

In the early years of the 19th century, the sects originating from Burma were variously labelled. Most frequently, they were known as the "Amarapura Nikāya", since of the five expeditions, all but that led by Gunaratana Tissa received *Upasampadā* at Amarapura. In addition, as the sects became differentiated, each adopted its own distinctive name. One of the major Karāva sects, the Kalyāṇivaṃsa Nikāya¹ objects to being included under the general heading of the "Amarapura Nikāya", as it holds that this title refers to a particular place in Burma and that since the founder of the Karāva line of ordination, Gunaratana Tissa, received *Upasampadā* at the Kalyāṇi Sīmā, it is not consistent that it should be designated one of the "Amarapura" sects. The Kalyāṇivaṃsa Nikāya has alternatively proposed the general heading of the "Burmese Nikāyas" as an acceptable and accurate title that does not prejudice the question of where in Burma a particular line of ordination originated. However, another Karāva sect has registered its title as the "Amarapura Nikāya" on the ground that the priestly succession founded by Gunaratana Tissa was sometimes known by this name in the 19th century. The issues

1. The name Kalyāṇi Sīma Vaṃsa takes us back to the days of King Dhammacetti, King of Pegu. The Saṅgha in Burma, as in Ceylon, had come under the influence of several forces of degeneration, and King Dhammacetti on his accession in about 1474 made determined efforts to purify and revive the Order. He sent a mission to Ceylon with 44 Sāmaneras of the Talaing Priesthood of Rāmañña desa in two ships. The ships arrived, one at Colombo and the other at Weligama and in June, 1475, all the 44 Sāmaneras received *Upasampadā* at the hands of the Mahāvihāra fraternity, on a Sīmā erected for the occasion on the Kalyāṇi river, the Kelaṇi Gaṅga that flows by the Kelaniya Dagoba. The monks in due time started on their return journey to Burma. All did not survive the perilous voyage. Of those who arrived safe, King Dhammacetti chose 14 of the monks and housed them in a Sīmā specially erected to receive them, in the suburb of Senganaing, West of Pegu. The main purpose in establishing Kalyāṇi Sīmā in Burma was to afford to the priesthood of Rāmaññadesa, a duly consecrated place for the purpose of performing the *Uposatha*, *Upasampadā* and other ecclesiastical ceremonies and indirectly to secure continuity to their apostolic succession from Mahinda. The Ordination given by Ceylon to Rāmañña was brought back to Ceylon in 1808 from Rāmaññadesa, under the leadership of Kataluwe Gunaratana Thero.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Buddhist priests from Burma, Siam and Ceylon, flocked to it to receive their higher ordination.

The King caused the chronicle of the Kalyāṇi Sīmā Vaṃsa to be inscribed in a series of inscriptions since reputedly known as the Kalyāṇi inscriptions at Lainganaing, the Western suburb of Pegu, comprising ten stone slabs inscribed on both sides, all in a row. Political disturbances of the 17th century damaged these stone slabs which have since been in fragments. The language of the first three stones is Pali and of the rest Talaing.

involved are obviously complex, and for the purposes of this account it seems best to simply note this point of difference, and to avoid taking a stand in the dispute.

It should be pointed out that this issue, and the divisions among the "Amarapura" sects generally, do not obstruct their co-operation in the performance of religious ceremonies. To the laymen, the differences among the nikāyas are of small moment, and in Karāva Buddhist areas, as elsewhere among Sinhalese Buddhists, the clean and quiet *pansala* is an island of calm in the buzz of community life. The maintenance of the temple and support of its priests involve the efforts of the entire village, to the end that each man may in his lifetime move towards the final goal of *Nibbāna*, as discovered and elucidated by the Compassionate Buddha.

Bhikkhūs from the Karāva caste have significantly enriched the development of the Saṅgha and of Buddhist scholarship, and eminent priests have traditionally been highly honoured. The abbreviated biographical sketches that follow serve to mark the achievements of some of the more noted Karāva members of the Saṅgha.

Kataluwe Guṇaratana Tissa was born in 1752. As a *sāmaṇera*, he was a pupil of Bovala Dhammānanda who had been ordained in the newly founded Siamese Nikāya. In 1772, a chapter of *bhikkhūs* of the Siamese Sect led by Wagegoda Dhammakusala conferred the *Upasampadā* ordination on Guṇaratana Tissa at the Totagamuva Vihare. As there was some doubt about the validity of the first ordination, he again received *upasampadā* from the Siamese Sect at Tangalle, in 1797. Late in the year 1807, Guṇaratana Tissa organized a party of eight other *bhikkhūs*, with three laymen as attendants and sailed from Dodanduwa. After touching at South India, the expedition was battered by severe storms and was forced ashore below the Arakan coast of Burma. The party was cared for by the Governor of Lower Burma, who urged them to rest in Rangoon and recover from the illness they had developed on their difficult journey. The Nāyaka Thera of the Rāmañña Dēsa dissuaded Guṇaratana Tissa from leading his followers on the long trip north to Amarapura, where they had originally intended to receive ordination. An invitation was then extended, with the consent of the Burmese king at Amarapura, for the Ceylon priests

to take *upasampadā* ordination at the Kalyāṇi *simā* at Pegu. The ceremony was performed on the full-moon day in March, 1808. The party returned to Ceylon the following year, after which Guṇaratana Tissa devoted his efforts to organising and extending the new line of ordination. In 1832, he died while in residence at the Pulinalārāma Vihare in Kalutara North. (Kalyāṇisāsana-vaṃsa, Ambalangoda, 1935, by Polwatte Buddhaddatta Mahānāyaka Thero.)

Born at Weligama on 7.12.1825, Weligama Sri Sumangala Mahā Nāyaka Thero was ordained at the age of 12 years at Sunandārāma Maha Vihāra in Ambalangoda. His early education was under Pereliye Jinaratana Nāyaka Thero and later under Attadassi Maha Thero, incumbent of Bentota Wanavāsa Vihāra.

In his 23rd year he received his higher Ordination. In 1867 he figured prominently at the Buddhist Convocation held at Pelmadulla and earned a great reputation for his scholarship, sagacity, and oratory. In 1868, at the invitation of the leading Buddhists in Kalutara he took up permanent residence at Pulinalārāmaya where he started teaching Sinhalese, Pali and Sanskrit to the many pupils who flocked to him. In 1894 he was made a Nāyaka of his Nikāya.

The Government recognised his scholarship and appointed him to revise the text books used in schools. Other educational bodies in the country such as the Vidyodaya Pirivena sought his assistance in their educational activities. His fame as a scholar spread outside the country. Sir Edwin Arnold, the author of "The Light of Asia", was among his foreign friends. He wrote several books, among the most prominent of which are a Commentary on the Hitōpadeśa, A History of Ceylon and the Siddhānta sēkara. His greatest contribution to fame is the Pirivena called the Saugatha Vidyalaya at Rankoth Vihāre in Panadura. He remained the head of this institution till very close upon his death. Among his many illustrious pupils are Ambalangoda Dēvānanda Upa Saṅgharāja Mahā Nāyaka Thero, Panadure Gnāṇavimalatissa Mahā Nāyaka Thero who also became the head of this institution, and Bēruwala Srinivāsa Thero. In 1904 he retired from active work due to ill health and passed away on 13th March, 1905, at Pulinalārāmaya.

Panadure Sri Gnānavimala Tissa during his boyhood displayed signs of brilliant scholarship. Conscientious and hardworking, he entered the priesthood under Tangalle Gunaratana Nāyaka Thero. After his higher ordination, he studied under Weligama Sri Sumangala Maha Nāyaka Thero and very soon became his foremost pupil.

He succeeded Weligama Sri Sumangala as the head of the Saugatha Pirivena. His reputation as a great scholar spread throughout the Island and he has had a large circle of illustrious pupils who in turn have started several Pirivenas and thus helped in the Buddhist revival.

The most distinguished of the contemporary Karāva bhikkhūs, Polwatte Buddhadatta Maha Nāyaka Thera, was born in 1887. Entering the Saṅgha as a *Sāmaṇera* at the age of twelve, he studied Pali for three years at the Aggārāma in Polwatta, Ambalangoda. He then travelled to Burma for further study and remained there, except for two years in Ceylon recuperating from a serious illness, until 1911. He quickly won recognition in Burma as an extraordinarily gifted student, as evidenced by his achieving the highest grade in a government examination in 1909; of the 600 candidates in the examination, he was the only Sinhalese.

His scholarship quickly won international recognition, and in 1915, his pioneer Pali Edition of *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, or *Summaries of the Abhidhamma*, was published for the Pali Text Society in London, prefaced by an extremely complimentary introduction by the famed English student of Buddhism, C.A.F. Rhys Davids, from which some of this biographical information has been abstracted.

The Venerable Buddhadatta remains in residence at the Aggārāma in Ambalangoda, though he has travelled widely in India and, in 1928, to Switzerland and Germany. His productivity remains undiminished. Among his many publications are: "Concise English-Pali Dictionary"; "English-Pali Dictionary"; "New Pali Course, I and II"; "Higher Pali Course"; and "Corrections of Geiger's Mahāvamsa"; all in English. Some of his Sinhalese works are: "Pali Bhāṣāvataranaya, I, II, and III", a widely used school text; a translation of "The Travels of Hsuān-Tsiang"; "Therāvādi Bhauddhācāriyo"; and a translation of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions from the Pali.

In 1954, in Rangoon, he was given the highest honour bestowed on a member of the Saṅgha by the Burmese Government, the title of Aggamahā Paṇḍita. He was the first Sinhalese to receive this distinction.

CHAPTER IX ANCESTRAL FAITHS

1

The Worship of the High Gods

Dedicated to Vishnu, the protecting deity of the Island, is the Dēvāle at Devi Nuwara, the City of Gods, better known by its modern name of Dondra, the southernmost point of Ceylon. The splendour of the new buildings of the Divya Rāja Bhavanam (Plate XI) is a worthy perpetuation of the glory of this ancient shrine, sung by poets and chronicled by historians.

The array of buildings that once stood on the vast area may be pictured in the mind's eye, as one views the sculptured stone pillars and the moonstones that lie scattered about the premises. Numerous structures housed the several shrines—the temple of the Buddha, the Dēvāle of the Gods, and the quarters of the monks and priests. A feature that has vanished here, as elsewhere, is the Dēvāle dances—the *diggē netuma* by groups of dancers maintained by the temple.

Paravi Sandēsa, one of the sandēsa kāvyas of the fifteenth century, is addressed to God Upulvan of Devi Nuwara. The poem gives a description of the Dēvāle dances at the shrine by the Nāṭaka Stri, "excelling in grace the heavenly nymphs".

Vaikunṭha Alankāraya describes Vishnu's palace in Vaikunṭha and alludes to the God's symbolic birth in Saka Era 712 in the month of Vesak, from the hard wood of a sandalwood tree. This refers to the image of Vishnu washed ashore by the sea off the coast of Dondra. The poem describes the sacred shrine and the ten incarnations of Vishnu.

A graphic picture of the temple has been left us by the famous traveller Ibn Batuta: "From this place we proceeded, and in two days arrived at the city of Dinaur which is large, and inhabited

by merchants. In this is an idol, known by the same name, placed in a large temple; and in which there are about a thousand Brahmins and Jogeas, and five hundred young women, daughters of the nobility of India, who sing and dance all night before the image. The officers of the city revenue attend upon the image. The idol is of gold, and as large as a man. In the place of eyes it has two large rubies; which, as I was told, shine in the night time like two lighted candles".¹

The temple finds conspicuous mention during the reign of King Parakramabahu II (1236–1271). After his victory over the Jāvakas, Prince Virabahu "betook himself to Devanagara and worshipped the lotus-hued god there, and celebrated for him a divine sacrifice".²

The annual festival of the Dēvāle is thought to have been a regular feature, commencing from the momentous reign of the Scholar King. Originally of seven days' duration, the Esala Perahera became in later years a three-day festival, extended by another day in very recent times.

The preliminary perahera sets the stage for the Maha Perahera which proceeds from the Dēvāle with pomp and stateliness, accompanied by dancers and the *hevise* band of drummers and musicians.

The Basnayaka Nilame marches in state arrayed in his gorgeous costume of scarlet and gold, decked in gold chains and escorted on either side by *chāmara* bearers. The leopard flag of the Dēvāle is held aloft in front of the Perahera, accompanied by the Bhārakārayās, nilakārayās and other officials of the temple establishment bearing the sēsath and other ceremonial paraphernalia.

Amid shouts, acclamations and the blowing of conch shells and to the rhythmic beating of the drums, the procession wends its way along the principal streets to the Siri Asana Wella, the landing stage (a distance of about a mile), and then returns to the Maha Dēvāle, where after the usual ceremonies, devotees make their offerings to the God.

The officers originally appointed to the Dēvāle establishment were, the Mahā Bethme, the Nāyaka Pūjaka Tāna, and the Averia

1. The Travels of Ibn Batuta translated by Lee, The Rev. Samuel, p. 191.
2. Cūlavamsa II, 1930, p. 152.

Pandama Bhārakāra Tāna. The different offices were originally hereditary.

Under the Dutch and the British, the Basnāyaka Nilamēs continued to be appointed by the State and they in turn appointed the Kapurālas and other officers of the Dēvāle.¹ Originally the office of Basnāyaka Mahā Bethmē Nilame was conferred on Prince Bhātiya Tissa of Gohardugama. He married Kiri Etana and the office of Averia Pandama Bhārakāra Tāna was conferred on her, decorated with a golden fillet over the forehead, *Nalal Paṭu*, inscribed with the title of Ranpaṭabāñdi Kiri Etanā. She and her retinue formed the vanguard of the three principal processions. Although the office of Basnāyaka used to be hereditary, and there is now no office of Nāyaka Pūjaka Tāna, the right of the Ranpaṭabāñdi family to form the van of the procession has continued without interruption.

The details given here of the annual festival are as narrated by Appusingho Nilavīra of the Viravarṇa Nilavīra Ranpaṭabāñdi family and W. G. M. Charles de Silva of the Wijeweera Guneratne Maha Vidāne Mohandiramgē family.

2

Folk Cults

On the very margin of the sea, within about fifty yards of the Ambalangoda Rest House, is a rock hewn shrine, locally known as the Mōdera Dēvālaya—an unique example of a rock-cut shrine, carved out of a large escarpment of rock, with openings on the landward side. The surface of the rock facing the entrance and the arc to the right, have been cut into, carving a shrine room on either side. In the left enclosure is installed a brightly coloured image of Devul Deviyo, and in the enclosure to the right, an image of the Kataragama god on a peacock. Situated on the bare sands, with the waves beating the rear of these shrine rooms, the entire rock was, if report speaks true, buried in the

1. "This Dēvāle is in charge of Kapurāla (Alumettiya in N.C.P.) Don Carolis Abayasinghe Wickremaratne Kodipil Mahādēvāle Kapurāla, 80 years old, 60 years Kapurāla. His family have been Kapurālas here for 8 generations. There are 8 Kapurālas connected with this Dēvāle under this head Kapurāla." ("Antiquities in the Southern Province", Diary of the late Mr. E. R. Ayrton. The Ruins of Dondra. C. A. & L. R. Vol., Part IV, 1921, p. 191)

sand, and was discovered all on a fine morning, the sea giving up the secret it fostered for years. This happened within the last decade, as villagers tell us. Though no dedication is now to be found to goddess Pattini, the dēvālaya is popularly known as Pattini dēvālaya. Actually Arnolis Kapurāla of the neighbouring Pattini dēvālaya conducts weekly worship at the shrine. From the modern colourful figure of Devul Deviyo, it may well be surmised that this is a recent introduction. The niche may well have been the resting place of the sacred insignia of goddess Pattini.

With the ever present risks inherent in a perpetual struggle to exploit the resources of the sea, it is easy to understand that the fisherfolk should lean, perhaps too strongly, to the propitiation of the gods, and maintain a seasonal cult of the gods, which today is an inseparable part of their culture.

That there has been a separate section whose special function was fishing, would seem evident from the oral accounts of the early migrations, as that recounted by Kurukulath Arasen Aiyan Pillai Kumāra Vēlu Vanniyan, whose ancestors left the shores of India to escape an irate King as narrated elsewhere. The colonists included in his words, a section of the "Valayer", literally "the men with the net". That the Karāva society of the Middle Ages had priests in the cults of the gods, is also evident from the Gē names Kattāḍige prevailing today in Ambalangoda, as also from the Kattāḍiyās of Ambalangoda and Galle who serve the villagers in the cult of the gods. The social structure of the Karāva was strongly institutional, with a number of functional units.

Every year before the onset of the fishing season, ceremonial dances are held invoking blessings of the gods for a productive harvest. The rituals and ceremonies form two parts, the first the Gara Yakkā Nāṭuma by Karāva Kattāḍiyās and the rest by the Kapurālas, accompanied by vigorous drumming. The Kapurāla dances to the rhythm of the drums, with a pot of saffron water in hand. At the conclusion of the dance, the Kapurāla sprinkles the water on the fishermen to protect them from evil spirits.

At the "Gara Nāṭuma" or the Dance of the Gara Yakkā, a hierarchy of gods are propitiated in invocational songs and dances

for a successful season, and for protection against all harm and evil. Gara Yakkā is a benign spirit, propitiated generally at all domestic and communal folk cults of the Sinhalese.

The ceremonial dances and rituals last from dusk to dawn. An annual feature, it is among the most resplendent of the indigenous cults of the gods, dancers impersonating the spirits in gorgeous and colourful costumes, in frenzied steps and dances. The several gods are propitiated in a regular series, invoked in songs and ceremonies special to each. Among the highlights of the ceremonial, is the cult of the Devul Dēviyo, invoked in the Mahā Deviyun Nāṭuma. At dawn, a tray of offerings—the Pidenna—is ceremonially conveyed to the sea in a fishing boat, with the Gara Yakkā sitting at the helm. Removing his Gara Yakkā mask, the Kaṭṭadiyā consigns the offerings to the waters of the sea.

CHAPTER X

TRADITIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

It is difficult to define or concisely express the vast field of spiritual and psychic heritage incorporated in the ancient traditions handed down to posterity. The nature of these traditions is such that they cannot be interpreted in terms of modern formal ratiocination. The contents of these traditions are symbolisms which are a distinctive feature of old cultures; orally transmitted legends sung in ballads, and ceremonial customs, observances and rituals of the ages past. To the extent that traditions animate societies today, or are disregarded and forgotten, societies gain or lose in integration. The comprehensive term "Traditional Psychology" has been given to this vast range of ancestral heritage, and may appropriately be applied to the deeply profound and esoteric language of the symbolisms and the several other cultural facets of the traditions of the Karāva.

With these introductory observations, we may enter upon an investigation of the cultural values of the symbolisms adorning the flags and banners of the Karāva. Much of the orally transmitted traditions remain to be collected. Nevertheless a legend of significance has been included within the scheme of the study.

1

Banners and Standards

The first comprehensive account of ancient Sinhalese Heraldry, is the work of E. W. Perera, in his *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*, (1916).

Karāva flags and banners so far known are briefly summarised below. The first six of these are from Manampitiya :—

1. The principal flag of the group, with the symbols evenly disposed on either side of the central figure of a caparisoned elephant. On the back of the elephant is seated a distinguished person, holding in the right hand a sword resting on his shoulder, and in the left, the elephant goad. (Plate XII)

This banner is illustrated and described by E. W. Perera.

2. A flag displaying the Peacock in flight, with wings and tail feathers outspread. (Plate XIII, Fig. 1)

3. A flag with a central figure of a seated deity on a Vāhanam, a highly stylised figure of a bull, flanked by elephants on either side with trunk raised. The pattern of the flag recalls the Gaja Lakshmi motif with the goddess Lakshmi flanked by elephants. At the bottom, on either side, is a combination of three fish with a common head. (Plate XIII, Fig. 2)

4. A flag bearing the figure of an elephant, gorgeously caparisoned. Riding on its back are a number of personages, crowned and richly costumed. Above the figures are the Chakra and the Shank, with the Sun and the Crescent Moon disposed between them. In front of the elephant is the cross. Three fish are on one side, and two at the bottom. Two stars at the top left hand complete the ensemble. (Plate XIV)

5. A flag depicting a cross, with stars disposed on the top and bottom and flanking the sides. (Plate XV, Fig. 1)

6. The series includes the flag illustrated in Plate XV, Fig. 2, featured by E. W. Perera and illustrated in Plate XI, Fig. 26 of his "Sinhalese Banners and Standards", as Sinha Kodiya, in virtue obviously, of the leonine character of the body and tail. The head, nevertheless, is unlike any example of a lion's head. In this connection E. W. Perera's reference to a "flag from the same collection marked with a Tamil inscription which describes a "garuda with lion's body and tail" (p. 22), brings us closer to what appears to be the right interpretation. The most prominent of the distinctive aspects of the garuda is the beak, elevated and ending in a sharp point. This feature is abundantly clear on the head of the figure. Indeed, this aspect of the figure is highly accentuated, strongly simulating the sharp pointed beak of the garuda. The rounded and sparkling eyes are well in accord with the characterisation of the symbol as a composite figure of garuda and lion.

These flags are in the custody of Mr. Kadirgama Tampi, Village Committee Chairman of Manampitiya.

The first of these is the main flag of the group. The symbols featured in this flag have been subjected to analytical treatment by Lionel de Fonseka in his paper, "The Karāwe Flag" in the "Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register" Vol. VII, Part 1, pp. 1-11, 1921.

In his study, Mr. de Fonseka expounds with remarkable lucidity the cultural significance and the associated literature bearing on the several symbols—"Sun, Moon, and Stars", "the Pearl Umbrella", "the Shank", and "the Chāmara", as ceremonial emblems of great traditional value.

The other Karāva standards revealed in the course of recent field research are the following:—

1. One large standard from Chilaw. The top-half illustrates the scenes bearing on the story of Mihāman's mission to Vēdi Arasan the Mukkuvar King, for the Nāga ratnam—the Nāga gem in Vēdi Arasan's possession. (Plate XVI)

The lower panel is full of symbolisms, which completely cover the entire field. The Sun and Moon, one below the other, occupy the central location. On one side is an elephant bearing a standard, from which fly a streamer and two flags. On the other side of the Sun and Moon and facing the elephant, is a large fish, through the snout of which passes a standard supporting at the top three ceremonial umbrellas, or *koodoos*, in a series one above the other. The rest of the field is completely covered with a number of objects, including the sacred shank, men in boats, a mythical monster in one corner, and an assortment of marine plants, organisms and fish.

2. Two flags from Ratalavāva, Matale District: One bears two figures of highly stylised elephants, facing each other. Between the two elephants occupying the top central position is the Sun. Above the elephant, on the right, is the Crescent Moon (Plate 1, Fig. 1). The other flag bears a composite figure of the Sinha with a human face, encircled by the lion's mane so disposed as to simulate the rays of the sun. (Plate 1, Fig. 2)

3. A flag belonging to Don Pedro Arsecularatna of Maggona, depicting the arrival of a group of Karāva chiefs and retainers. (Plate XVII)

4. One flag from Diddeniya in Kurunegala District. Its many interesting, rather mysterious symbolisms, make it one of the most significant of the group flags. The stylised elephant dominates the scene. On the right is a big fish with a leafy sprig in its mouth. Below is a series of symbols. On the extreme left is an ark, with a triangular object, the base of which rests on the hold of the vessel. To the right of the ark is the figure of a Yōgi engaged in rituals sitting in *padmāsana*, facing a ceremonial light with spreading rays. There is the sacred chank, the sun and a number of other signs and symbols.

This survey of the vast field of symbolisms paves the way for a fuller treatment both of individual emblems and their significance as a whole. The Manampitiya Flag (Plate XII) will first be considered in some detail.

First to claim our attention is that magnificent animal, the elephant, which symbolises to a greater degree than any other animal, wisdom, stateliness and dignity. King Aditi in the legend of the Makara (Chapter X) rides an elephant, elaborately equipped. The caparisoned elephant, either with a dignified rider on its back, or by itself, is an ever recurring symbol of the Karāva. In flags, banners and standards, among the multitude of symbols, the elephant with elaborate trappings, and carrying a rider, occupies pride of place.

The elephant with the central place it occupies in the caste flags and banners is the most objective of the symbolisms of the group. It is not of the class of animal symbolisms in general but something distinctly different from the "psychological sign posts and spiritual guides" that symbolisms are in general. The representation of the elephant, unlike the psychological symbols such as the Makara or the Nāga, is absolute in itself. The elephant indeed is a reality, much more substantial than other symbols. The elephant in short symbolises the mythical founder, the very progenitor of the tribe.

The field from which the symbols take their form is Nature in its infinite variety, the heavenly bodies, the Sun, Moon, Stars, the Animal and the Plant World. Sun and Moon symbols are inter-related and closely associated. The Moon is the mirror that reflects the light of the Sun. The Sun symbolises life, or consciousness,

the Reality; and the Moon symbolises the creative power of consciousness. The Sun is masculine, and is personified as God, while the Moon is feminine, symbolised as Moon-Goddess. The creative power of consciousness is Sakti or power. Sakti is the "Pure Mother in which Siva reflects Himself". Siva is Reality and Being, the static aspect of God and corresponds to the "Father of Christian tradition". Sakti, his consort, represents the dynamic aspect of God. She is the Great Mother, the Creator.

Sun and Moon—Sūriyavaṃsa and Chandravaṃsa, are closely interlinked in Karāva symbolisms. The Sun and Moon are found in practically all the flags and banners. The Crescent Moon represents the beginning of Creation. The Waxing Moon is symbolic of the development of life,

We now take the rest of the symbols in turn. Flanking the elephant on either side is the Pearl Umbrella, the symbol of sovereignty and the emblem of royalty. In the interpretation of this royal insignia, Lionel de Fonseka has almost covered the entire field, bringing to bear upon the study the vast range of expression of the symbol in art, archaeology and history. The history of ancient lands—Nineveh, Babylon, Greece, Persia, Egypt, China and India—reveals the umbrella as an outstanding symbol of regal office and splendour. A classical illustration from the Hindu epics is the coronation of Sri Rāma, sitting on his throne, with the white umbrella held over his head, symbolising his bringing the empire of Ayodhya under one umbrella, "*Eka-Chatrādhipati*". Immediately above, on either side of the elephant is the *Chāmara*, the ceremonial fly-whisk carried with an occasional flourish by the bearers, in processions of oriental royalty.

To the left of the Umbrella on either side is the distinctive ceremonial fan, the *Ālavattam*. On either side again is the Sacred Chank, one of the four sacred symbols in the hands of Vishnu. In Hindu rituals, the blowing of the sacred conch symbolises the Air-Sound of the Sacred Word—OM, a sound produced at the commencement and culmination of every ritual. The sound is the An-hata-Nāda of Yōgic tradition. 'Conch' is a word derived from Latin and related to *Sankha*. The conch shell has had a wider prevalence than is evident today. It was a symbol of Greek

and Roman Mythology. It represents Budhan (the Mercury of Hindu Astrology), the god connected with the element Air and symbolically expressive of the Air or Spirit.

Lower down is the Shield, one on either side, the emblem of offence and defence, the shield of power and authority. With the emblem of the Chank borne on the white shield, the Sak Paliha, it gains in magical value, and becomes a sacred weapon.

On either side of the shield is the Ear of Corn. It is distinctly an ear of corn the universal symbol of the immortality of tradition of the ancient peoples. The seed coming to life symbolises the immortality of the soul of man. The festival of the Goddess Ceres or Demeter, the Goddess of Harvest, was celebrated in Rome in April, the season for sowing. Autumn is the season for harvesting, when the Mysteries of Eleusis were held in honour of the goddess. The symbolism of the Ear of corn also appears in the New Testament. In the Ethiopian "Apocalypse of Peter", St. Peter is reported as saying "Behold and consider the Ears of Wheat, that are sown in the earth. As things dry and without soul, do men sow them in the earth and they live again and bear fruit and the earth restoreth them as a pledge entrusted unto it. And this that dieth, that is as seed in the earth, and shall become alive and be restored into life, is man." In the scheme of symbolisms of the flag, the Ear of Wheat has a significant role, conferring immortality to the soul of the great progenitor and the race he founded.

The Flaming Flambeau, of which also there is a pair, one on each side, with its tongues of flame, is the *pakal vilakku*, the day time ceremonial light, carried in processions. The lighted naked torch, with its tongues of fire, gives the Element Fire a place in ceremonial symbolisms. Fire, controlled, is creative and not destructive. A symbol of creative intellect, fire represents purity, purifying and liberating the soul from impure thoughts. Fire also represents rites of sacrifice. Spring-time ceremonies of people the world over are preceded by the burning of impurities. It is a complex of all these ideas which is symbolised in the Flaming Flambeau, in the scheme of the ceremonial procession pictured in the flag.

We are now left with the two objects, the Nāga and the Fish, represented by a single specimen each.

The Nāga figured is very much the conventional Nāga, as represented in art and religion. The Nāga of the traditions is a semi-divine serpent. In terms of the snakes of the earth, it is the Cobra. Nāgas in Hindu traditions are the guardians of treasure, whatever the treasure is. In the form of the Nāga pillar, the Nāga is coiled round the Siva linga, guarding the linga stone.

The classical example of serpent power is Ādi Sēsha, Ananta, the Endless, the Principal Serpent, on the coiled up form of which rests Vishnu, Sri Padmanābha in his supernal rest, symbolising complete inner peace, the real treasure which the serpent safeguards. Nāgas guarding treasures or sacred spots, are represented as five hooded which relates to the Five Elements, or Seven-hooded, which refers to the Seven Spheres. The Nāga here is the Dragon, guarding the traditions.

In its role in one of the most representative of the Karāva banners, the Nāga exercises its sacred functions of guarding the traditions embodied in the banner. The Nāga is not idle or listless. The hood is distinct, with the projecting tongue expressive of its effective discharge of the function of guarding the traditions, like a dog watching the property of its master. In itself the serpent symbolises the creative consciousness which it has by virtue of its semi-divine attributes. In Yōga traditions, serpent power is called "Kundalini", after Kundali Chakra, the animal centre in man. It is one of the objects of Yōga to "awaken" the Sleeping Kundalini to make it ascend and cause it to unite in the highest of the centres with its Lord, the Supreme Siva.

The Serpent of Wisdom has his symbolism in the Scriptures. "The snake creeping on his belly in the dust must eventually be transformed into the Serpent of Wisdom." (Genesis 3 : 14) The Serpent is an instrument of punishment. "The Lord sent fiery serpents among the people and they bit the people." (Numbers 21). Much can be written on the Nāga. In speaking of the Nāga in the flag as a "Water Snake", E. W. Perera has not done justice to the subject, missing its real character as Guardian of the Traditions.

And now we come to the Fish, represented swimming placidly in its element, the water. The Fish as a symbol in Karāva banners follows a more or less stylised pattern.

Matsya, the fish has been derived from “*mud*” (soft ‘d’) to delight or exhilarate. The name is presumed to have arisen from the poetic concept of a fish’s delight in its own element, the water. In the Yōga sense, it would be a good metaphoric name for either Agni, who delights in Soma (drink), or Soma himself. The Seer of Rig Veda, VIII-67, is stated to have been either Matsya, the Son of Sa-mada or Manya, Son of Gods Matsu and Varuna; the former meaning the Fish. In Verse 11 the poet prays to Aditi, “Save us in depth and shallow, from the foe, thou mother of strong sons. Let no one of our seed be harmed.” That the root meaning of Matsya is related to exhilaration, is indicated by the patronymic, Sa-mada.¹

In the Mahabhārata, Āraṇya parva, 187, Rishi Markandēya narrates to Yuddhistira, the story of Manu and the Deluge. The Fish here is an incarnation of Brahma. Manu takes into the ship the Seven Rishis and the seeds of all plants. (Vishnu Purana, IV. 2) The story is narrated in full in Satapata Brāhmana. “In the morning they brought water to Manu for washing. While he was washing, a fish (*matsya*) came into his hands and said, keep me and I shall save thee from a flood that will come. So long as we are small, there is much destruction, for fish swallows fish. Keep me therefore first in a jar. When I outgrow that, take me to the sea and there I shall go beyond the reach of destruction. When thou hast built a ship, thou shalt meditate on me. And when the flood has risen, thou shalt enter into the ship and I will save thee from the flood.” Accordingly Manu kept the fish and put him into the sea when he became a large fish (*Jhasha*). In the year foretold, Manu built the ship and entered into it and meditated on the fish as soon as the flood rose. The fish swam towards him, and Manu fastened the rope of the ship to the fish’s horn, and he thus hastened to the Northern Mountain. The fish said, “I have saved thee.” Manu bound the ship to a tree and slid down gradually into the water, and therefore this is called the slope (*avasarpānam*) of Manu on the Northern Mountain.

“All creatures perished in the flood. Manu was left alone and went about singing praises, wishing for offspring. He poured clarified butter, thickened milk, honey and curds into the water

as libations. The libations gave rise to the daughter of the seas. Manu went about with her, toiling while singing a paen of praise and wishing for offspring.” Manu thus became the progenitor of mankind.

The fish in the banner is in the forefront of the parade of symbolisms, on a par with the Sun and the Nāga heading the pageant. The fish that saved Manu and the Seven Sages from the devastating flood, has a divinity about it, which has been glorified in Indian Art and Literature.

The Fish indeed has attributes of Vishnu in disguise, the God whose ten incarnations or *avatārs*, include the Fish, the *Matsyāvatāra*. In Hindu as in Buddhist tradition, the fish stands for love of mankind. The *Matsya Jātaka* narrates the life of the *Bodhisattva* born as a Chief of the fish. In a season of drought, the fish suffered great distress. Moved by compassion, he looked upwards, and addressed the King of the *Dēvas* to send down a shower of rain. The clouds burst and let loose streams of rain. Recovering life, all the fish together with all the living things in the land rejoiced. *Sakra* appeared and praised the lord of the fish, for the benefits he conferred on the world.¹

In the cycle of the Zodiac, is the sign of the Fish, the *Pisces*. Fish here represent the spiritual germs or seeds that are to sprout and blossom. The complex of culture that has grown round the fish is too vast to be adequately covered here. It is a field on which more will be said when we come to deal with the flag from *Diddeniya*, and in the concluding Chapter on the *Makara*.

2

The Sudu Ātu Bāñdi Koḍiya : The Flag of the White Elephant

The flag known as the *Sudu Ātu Bāñdi Koḍiya*, in the possession of *Varunakulasūriya Mudiyañselāgē Sembappu*, a peasant of *Diddeniya*, has been referred to already. In the wide range of its symbolisms, as well as for its cultural content, it is a flag of profound interest.

1. Aiyangar: *Essays in Indo-Aryan Mythology*, Madras, 1901. Manu and the Deluge, His Ship and Fish, pp. 120-22.

1. The *Jātaka Māla*; *Garland of Birth Stories by Aryasura*—Translated by J. S. Speyer, London, 1895, pp. 134-138.

As in the Tamrankaduwa series of flags, the elephant is the central and most conspicuous figure. Here the elephant is something out of the ordinary. It is the white elephant, *Sudu Ātu*, after which the flag takes its name. It is *Irāvata*, the elephant of Indra, the Lord of the heavenly hosts. Indra rescued it from the hands of the *Asurās* and obtained it through the churning of the sea. Radiant with divine dignity, it came striding through the waters of the Ocean of Milk, from where Indra appropriated it as his own. (*Irāvata* is the elephant child of *Ira*, one of the daughters of *Daksha* and Sage *Kasyapa*, who dwelt in the Himalayas.)

The elephant is shown with legs flexed, vigorous in movement. In this respect it is one with the many pictures and sculptures of the sporting elephant, a favoured theme of the art of India, and very much evident in Ceylon. It is gaily caparisoned with decorated trappings. Lotus designs decorate the four legs at the knee joints.

The white elephant in the flag is a conspicuous feature among other objects in the waters of the Deluge, graphically symbolised in the flag, the story of *Manu* and the Deluge. Above the right flank of the elephant is the large fish swimming in the water with a sprig of leaves projecting from its mouth. At the lower corner is a well shaped boat, with the prow and the stern distinctly curved. It is the ark floating in the waters. To the right of the Ark is a man in *Yōgic* pose, seated before a ceremonial lamp, with spreading rays. On the right, below the tail of the fish, are the Sacred Chank and the Sun, the one below the other. A central spot or shaded circle, surrounded by a white outer circle, is symbolic of the Sun.

The flag embodies the story of *Manu* and the Deluge, a story already recounted in dealing with the fish in the symbolisms of the main flag of Tamrankaduwa. It is the story of the havoc caused by the Deluge and the regeneration of life on the earth. It is the little fish that came into the hands of *Manu* during his morning ablutions, the fish which he kept in a small jar and put in the sea, that has now grown to take its place in the waters of the Deluge.

The scene represented in the flag is what followed after the Deluge, with the fish proud of its role as the protector of *Manu* and life in general. Seated before the Ark, *Manu* is engaged in prayer and ritual, pouring clarified butter in the waters of the sea. The libations gave rise to the daughter of the seas, and with her *Manu* entered the land, and became progenitor of mankind, as the *Mahabhārata* narrates.

The boat is the Ark of the legend. In the centre of the boat is represented the sacred mountain, the "Northern Mountain", the Sacred Mountain of the *Uttara Kurus*, symbolised by the triangle, with apex uppermost, suggesting the summit of the hill of the Gods. "Beyond the *Kurus* to the North lies the Northern Ocean, and there the vast *Sōma* Mountain is situated resembling a mass of gold." (*Ramayana*, *Kishkinda Kāṇḍa*, 44-177.) The region has a sun-like splendour, the lustre of the mountain showing "as if the sun were shining".

Manu takes into the Ship the Seven *Rishis* and the seeds of all plants (*Vishnu Purana*, IV-2). As the waters subsided, *Manu* hastened to the Northern Mountain, symbolised in the centre of the boat. The two shaded bands round the triangular-shaped mountain, symbolise the tradition of the sacred river running round the globe.

In the lower margin of the flag are a number of significant objects. At the extreme corner are two figures which look very much like ceremonial *Chāmaras*. On the same level are two elongated figures with linear marks. In the context of the sacredness of the associated symbols, these may be the *Ālavattam*, represented usually as standing linear objects. Between these two groups is the figure of a twining Serpent.

Ahead of the "*ālavattam*" figures are a group of four standing ceremonial lights, symbolic of *Agni*. Between the latter and the *Yogi* is a twisted coil. It is the coil of ropes to link the Fish to the boat fastening the rope round its horn, as the Fish instructed *Manu* to do.

Interspersed throughout the field are numerous symbols; some very small, some big. The bigger ones with an array of petals, are the sun-flower, a symbol of the sun. Among others are the lotus, and the simple four-petalled flower.

The symbolisms in the flag cover a wide field, comprehensive of the most fundamental of the five Elements—Earth, Water, Fire, Air and Ether. Earth symbolises the physical plane and the material world; Water, the Plane of Feeling; Fire, the Mental Plane; Air, the Spiritual; and Ether, the Sphere of Faith and Insight. These various elements are abundantly manifest in the flag from Diddeniya.

It is pervasive of the Element of Water which supports the Vegetable Kingdom. There is a Sprig of leaves in the trunk of the elephant, and a Sprig of leaves projecting from the mouth of the Fish. Flower designs cover the field.

The cultural content of the flag is basically spiritual, spotlighted in the Yōgi engaged in devout and holy rituals and the Sacred Mountain. Of the animal kingdom there are living things, the elephant, the fish and the human figure. The flag breathes the very essence of Faith and Insight into the regeneration of the World after the Deluge.

The legend is narrated in the *Matsya Purāna*, in words uttered by God Vishnu in the form of His *Matsyāvātāra*. The story is told as narrated by sage Suta:—Vaivasvata Manu, the first king of the Solar dynasty, after making over his kingdom to his son, devoted himself to rigid asceticism, crowned with the attainment of transcendent Yōga on a summit of the Malaya mountain. One day in his hermitage when the king was making a libation of water to the manes of his deceased ancestors, a carp, a small fish, fell into his hands along with the water On seeing that tiny fish, the merciful king out of compassion, wanted to preserve it and put it into his water jar. That tiny fish in the course of a day and night, grew into the form of a large fish, measuring sixteen fingers in length and cried for deliverance. The King took it out of the water jar and put it in a large pitcher but there also in the course of a night, it grew three hands in length. “I am at your mercy, come to my succour.” The king again hearing these cries of the fish took it out of the pitcher and deposited it in a well. Later on, the well also proved insufficient. The King then accommodated it in a tank. In the tank again, the fish grew a *yojana* (eight miles) in length, and appealed to the king, in a plaintive tone, to help it out of the tank. Then the king put the fish in the

Gaṅgā, and finding that it increased there too, he placed it in the ocean. The king seeing this, was awe-stricken and said “Are you the chief of the *Asurās*? or are you *Vāsudēva*; who else has such an extraordinary power to assume such a tremendously big form extending to sixteen hundred miles.” “I have come to know you, O, *Kēsava*! You are puzzling me in the form of a fish. I bow down to you. O, *Hrisikēsa*, *Jaganātha*.”

Being thus addressed, *Bhagavan Janardhanan* in the form of a fish, complimented him, and said “O Spotless one. I have truly known you. In a few days time, O King, the Universe shall be deluged with water, along with the mountains and forests. The *Dēvas* have made this boat to rescue the creation from such a calamity. O King! you take charge of this boat and help the distressed at the time of the impending danger. When you find the boat in danger of being blown away by the strong gusts of wind, tie it to my horn. By rescuing the afflicted from such an awful misfortune, you will be rendering a great paternal service to the creation. And, O, blessed sovereign! You shall reign for one *Manavantara*, from the beginning of the *Kreta yuga*, and shall be venerated by the *Devas*.”¹

Apart from these main symbolisms, is the *Lotus* prominently displayed on the fringes of the banner. A universal motif in Hindu and Buddhist Art, the lotus is representative of the plant kingdom in general. It symbolises also the element water and further stands for the Leader or the Ruler, an extension probably of the idea of the lotus feet of the religious “Guru”. The *Lotus* is also associated with the Sun, symbolised by its petals. *Ājna Padma* is the lotus centre of the forehead. It is the blossoming of the lotus centre of the forehead, that is represented in the *Sahasrāra*, on the top of the head, the thousand petalled radiation, corresponding to the *Aureole*, the halo, or the nimbus around the head of holy personages, as Christ or the Buddha.

Among the other banners of *Manampīṭiya* is the Peacock Flag (Plate XIII, Fig. 1). Peacock, the *Vāhana* of *Kārtikēya* or *Kataragama*, symbolises the Element Air. The peacock's out-

1. Major Basu, Editor: Sacred Books of the Hindus, *Matsya Puranam*, Part I, Allahabad, 1916, Ch. I, pp. 4-6.

spread tail feathers symbolises the starry heavens. *Katara-gama's* twelve hands represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

The banner features the bird covering the entire field in the vigorous action of flying. With wings flapping, and tail spread out aloft, it is the highly stylised peacock that is figured in this flag. A very realistic representation, it has something of the aspects of the *Hamsa*.

A banner of intense symbolic value is the one showing a female deity seated in *Sukhāsana* pose (sitting at ease) on a stylised animal, which may be taken for a deer, with two elephants disposed on either side, recalling the *Gaja Lakshmi* motif. The flame-like hair is strongly indicative of the deity being none other than *Durga* or *Kāli*. She has four hands. It is unfortunate that the top part has been destroyed by termites. Flanking either side of the bottom of the flag is the stylised *Pāndyan* motif of the three fishes combined into a single figure with a common head. (Plate XIII, Fig. 2)

Last in the series is the flag in the possession of *Saṭṭambirālāḡē* *Don Pedru Arsekularatna* of *Maggona* (Plate XVII). The central position of this flag is occupied by a large ocean going vessel. From it rises a symbolic tree stem, the core of which is a leaf strongly resembling the *Bo-leaf*. On the top and sides of the leaf are sprays of floral decorations. Below the vessel, under a canopy with a decorative awning, are three persons in ceremonial costumes seated on a peacock.

On either side of the flag are heraldic designs with all the features of a ceremonial procession. On the top right is a three-tiered ceremonial umbrella held aloft. Almost on a line with the latter are a number of persons holding different objects. One of these is the sacred conch. Spearmen and bowmen are evident on either side. In a line are three animals, an elephant, a stag, and a horse, with a rider on each. The man on the back of the elephant has a goad in his hand. In the forefront is the horse on which rides an important personage, obviously a chief, sword in hand and wearing a crown.

Below the canopy is a palanquin borne by bearers on either side. At the head of the palanquin are a number of men carrying different insignia, including the *Ālavattam*, the ceremonial fan.

Occupying a prominent position in the corner is a large elephant in gay trappings. In contrast to the dark shaded elephant higher up, this second elephant seems to be the ceremonial white elephant, holding aloft in its trunk a standard on which flies a series of streamers. In this respect it has a parallelism with the flag from *Chilaw* already described. Surmounting all the heraldic emblems and above the symbolic plant is the *Suriya*, the anthropomorphic sun, symbol of the *Sūryavaṃsa* or the Solar race.

Floral creepers and twigs are among the features of the flag which contribute to a colourful picture. The men's wear is distinctive; striped and coloured bifurcated garments. The headdress, except for the three-cornered crown of the important personages, is the cone-shaped cap of the Middle Ages.

From the two masts of the vessel fly colourful flags. In the boat are a number of persons. Two are on the top planks, at the foot of the symbolic plant. At the helm stands a man and another sits inside, apparently in the act of rowing; within the boat are three figures possibly a family of father, mother and child.

On the left hand corner of the flag is a coil of what appears to be *Nāgas* or hooded serpents. Between the coils of *Nāgas* and the bows of the vessel are a group of human figures in miniature, very possibly representing spirits paying homage to the ceremonial sacred plant.

This flag may well be an emblematic representation of the arrival of a band of *Karāva* colonists, with their chiefs and their insignia, notably the Sun and the Sacred Pipul Tree (*Ficus Religiosa*) which is sacred to the Hindus and the Buddhists.

The occurrence of these flags as heirlooms in ancient families is not accidental. It is a phenomenon eloquent of the traditional value of these symbols to the rank and file of the Community. These symbolisms give life and meaning more vital than the objects of the material world. They are symbolic too, of the balance and harmony of life in the history of the group. These insignia of the past culture exert a real bond of harmony and unity, welding all the group, irrespective of class or wealth, into one integrated whole. The higher orders of the social structure feel a sense of oneness with the peasant, or the retired village *Vidāne* who are

today the proud owners of this priceless heritage of the past. These flags have today an overpowering appeal in the life of the Karāva, in whose social life they are very much a part of the day to day life of the group all over Ceylon.¹

CHAPTER XI THE MAKARA

We now come to the Makara Kodiya (Plate X VIII). So conspicuous is it in the whole range of the group flags, that it has a sacred place of its own in social thinking as in social life. A prominent feature in funeral processions, old specimens are nevertheless very scarce. The specimen figured by E. W. Perera in his "Sinhalese Banners and Standards", was "discovered in a Kandyan Temple". From its place in funerals it may be rightly concluded that such flags would have been so constantly used that the few specimens in old families might easily have perished in the course of ages.

Valentine's words that "the Karawa displayed a white Flag with the device of a particular fish in the centre" (Philalathes : "Ceylon", pp. 327-28) signify the Makara. That the symbol is treasured in the minds of the people is positive testimony of the importance of Makara as sacred to the group. Alone of all symbolisms, Makara is the central theme of one of the folk poetic compositions of the group, the Ammānai. The story narrated in this is of such interest that it is briefly reproduced herein :

The Legend of the Makara

Aditi ruled over his kingdom of Manipura loved by his devoted subjects. Nevertheless grief touched the mind of the queen as despite all their good deeds and charity, they were not blessed with issue. Persuaded by the queen, the king dedicates himself to do penance to God Siva. Moved by the king's austere penance, Umayāl, wife of Siva, pleads with the God to find a means of granting the king's prayers. The intercession in time results in Umayāl herself being transformed into a baby who is placed in an ark and set to flow in the direction of king Aditi doing penance in the holy waters. Siva calls upon the six-faced Muruga and directs him to guide the ark to the destined goal. Muruga takes the form of Makara, guides the ark to the spot where Aditi is doing penance.

1. The art of the hand printed cloth is an Indian industry over 1500 years old. It was an art largely patronised by the Persian Kings. The Caravan traffic of Persia is known to have extended to the Andhra desa in South India, and the *Kalam Kāri* cloth, as the cloth is still known, was largely used in the household of the Persian Kings. From its development in and about Masulipatam on the Andhra coast, it was called the Masula Cloth.

At what period of time in the history of Ceylon the art found its way to Ceylon we have no definite knowledge. As a subject of research it has not received much attention. Nevertheless, from the indigenous designs, displayed on some of the cloths in use in Ceylon such as bedspreads and table-cloths (Ātirili), canopies and shawls (Lansōlu), the ceremonial waist cloth worn by males (Gindangi Tuppoti), the waist drapery worn by brides and bridegrooms, (Ottu Kacci), or as wrappers round the head, it seems obvious that this art of block printing designs on handloom cloth, was one that was well established in Ceylon for some centuries, possibly from the early Middle Ages.

A temporary exhibition of specimens of these cloths held at the Colombo National Museum, in 1955, revealed the extensive collection of the cloth in Ceylon and the variety of uses to which it has been put in this Island. Andhra influence over the art in Ceylon, is an aspect that has been increasingly revealed in recent years in the context of an analytical study of the art of fresco painting in Ceylon and the sculptures. In our present state of knowledge of the art in Ceylon we cannot be positive of origins. It is very likely that the Andhra influence has been a main factor in the extension of the industry to Ceylon. In Dutch times a caste of Andhra weavers, named the Chēnia Chettis, were reputed to have been invited to Jaffna, where they now are an important factor in the production of handloom cloth of colourful patterns. The industry in general appears to be one that held a fair sway in the rest of Ceylon in earlier days.

Besides the ornamental and ceremonial handloom printed cloths, the art is one which has witnessed specific development in Ceylon in the direction of heraldry, standards and banners, if we are to judge from the collection of flags and banners extant today.

On the ark reaching the spot, the infant's cries attract the notice of the king. Realising that Siva has answered his prayers the king directs his steps to the banks of the Ganges.

Taking the child in his arms, he hastens to the palace. At seeing the sweet infant, the king and queen are overjoyed. On an auspicious day the child is named Sōmadanti, of the Great Waves. The Makara, his task accomplished, does not remain quiet. He stirs the deep and the waters turn muddy. Boats and ships are shattered and reduced to smithereens. The afflicted subjects in their great distress lay their troubles before the king. Invoking the sacred name of Siva, the king issues a proclamation that he will give his beloved daughter in marriage to any hero who succeeds in ensnaring the Makara. Siva can no longer be indifferent to the sufferings of the king and of humanity, and resolves to claim the hand of Sōmadanti himself. Summoning Nandi, the sacred bull, he travels to the kingdom of Adī'i. Siva takes the form of a mendicant sage with Nandi as his disciple. Singing sacred hymns both wend their way to visit Rāmēswaram, where they worship at the shrine.

Reaching the King's court, Nandi rings the bell. The pilgrims are summoned to the king's presence. The king duly apprises the sage of the havoc Makara has been causing in his country. The Sage consoles the king saying that whatever may be the risks of the enterprise, he is determined to ensnare the sea monster. The king realising the divine presence, declares that the moment the beast is conquered, he will surrender his daughter to the Sage. Siva prepares for the undertaking. The sacred religious texts are transformed and woven into a net. The four Vēdas are the ropes. The six Sāstras form the weights of the net. The millions of deities come down to earth to see that no harm befalls the great Lord. The shining crescent moon is transformed into a golden vessel and rigged out, and with "Onkāram" the mystic sound, as the sail, the devotees launch the boat. Nandi, the disciple, gathers the net and the Lord lets the golden vessel dance in the waves of the sea, with a crew of twelve, Nandi at the helm. All sing hymns of invocation, the heavens rain showers of flowers, chanting prayers for the success of the day while sages intone hymns of praise.

The vessel, glorious to behold, approaches the Makara. Shining like a lustrous pearl, the Makara feels a thrill of joy as it contemplates its release from the curse. Drawing the water into its huge jaws, it spouts it out so high that the heavens are bathed in the fountain. As Nandi deftly guides the vessel to the side of the Makara, Siva at the chosen moment casts the net. The Makara, feeling the sacred net on its frame, tamely submits without any resistance. With Makara inside the net, the boat is guided to the shore. Lord Siva invites Nandi to assist him in landing the Makara. Helped by Bali and other heroic beings, all tug at the ropes calling aloud "Vēla", "Vēla". Makara comes floating with ease to the shore, releasing itself of the curse and conferring prosperity and plenty on the kingdom of Maṇinagar.

People gazing in wonder and amazement address the king, "O ruler of mighty hosts, tell us the secret of today's deeds." The King assembles his subjects and proclaims, "To all living on the lands girded by the sacred Ganges, the holy mother Ganga, is this not Makara, the symbol of all our Race? I vouchsafe to work for the prosperity of my race Kurukula Vamsam, a name glorious and unsullied through the length and breadth of the world." At the successful culmination of the great adventure the king decides to give his daughter in marriage to the Sage.

The king's subjects are horror-struck at the idea of the king bestowing his daughter on the old mendicant. All assembled meet queen Arunavally in a body to express their grief and resentment. The queen mother, distracted with sadness, puts an end to her life. The daughter, at the news of the death of her mother, falls unconscious, to all appearance dead; maids in waiting bewail the death of the queen and her daughter.

The king, summoned by Nandi to the presence of the Sage, expresses his regret that the sad turn of events has prevented him keeping his word to the Sage. The Sage consoles the king with words of wisdom and prevails on him to proceed with the preparations for the wedding. Every one is amazed at these proceedings. The Sage advises the king to observe the customs of his race, and the king bestows on Sōmadanti one *panam* as dowry. Other gifts appear miraculously—new nets and boats glistening with riggings of gold. These are duly conferred on Sōmadanti

and an inscription written on the rock surface in order to strictly observe the Sāstras. The nuptial knot is duly tied around the bride's neck, as soul-stirring music is played by the eighteen musical instruments. Sōmadanti revives from her trance; her body more lustrous than ever. At this miracle all the citizens praise the deity and lift up their hands in adoration of Siva. Orders are given for the small Makara to be produced tenderly at the feet of the Lord. When the latter dispels the curse hanging over the Makara, there appears immediately a peacock with the God Muruga, accompanied by Tēvayānai and Valli on either side. Ganesh appears on his Vāhanam—a great rat. A little way removed from it all is God Siva. To the rejoicing of all, Siva reveals himself and discloses his true nature. He has his partner on his left. All join in invocation to the great Lord.

Queen Arunavally too is raised to life. She feasts her eyes on the glorious scene and sings praises to Siva, who has come to honour and raise up a princess of the illustrious race to be worthy of living with himself as spouse, God of the Kurukula Race. Hymns of praise are sung and God's grace invoked so that the Kurukula Race may progress and worship Siva with due reverence and devotion, carrying banners and led by chiefs of the illustrious race. All praise the Lord who came seeking the princess of Kurukula and wedded her by capturing and vanquishing the Makara to accomplish his purpose. Hymns are sung to Umayāl who has conferred lustre to Maninagar. Aditi joins in singing hymns to Umayāl, ending with hymns of praise.

Calling the king, the Lord in the presence of all the people of Maninagar hands over to him the boat and net used in the capture of the Makara on the stormy sea. The Lord enjoins the king to conduct the great pūja from that day forward to the greater glory of the land, to cause the boat to be launched in the waters most dutifully, and commence the first Mayusura pūja after capturing the first fish breeding near the hill Kakana. After beaching the boat the king should observe the Sāstras and see that religion lives and thrives in his land. He is enjoined to carry out scrupulously the obligations and duties to gurus and neighbours, dispensing justice and service to fellowmen, and distributing alms. There is great rejoicing, singing and dancing, and songs of praise rise to heaven. Beautiful banners flutter in the breeze. Music from a

divine heart and Nagamani greets the ears. *Amarer* (gods) form a circle around Lord Siva who assumes his divine form, with his spouse Umayāl, Muruga and Vināyaga, all mounting upwards to Kailasa, their abode.

Mañinagar

King Aditi of the Kurukula Race rules without faltering in the kingly duties, with due thought and consideration to all. Under his sway and the goodwill of other kings, the country is transformed into a golden city. All and sundry launch their vessels, ensnaring the Makaras, and other fish and leading a contented life. The king reigns in regal splendour, eulogising the dignity of the Kurukulam, Lord of all the land round about the Ganges. It is a land known for the great beauty of the women, gifted with voices as sweet as the cuckoo, with eyes as sharp as the arrow, with the poise and dignity of the peacock. Bebies of women sing hymns of praise and invocation that their sovereign lord shall prosper and every one walk the path of justice. This is a land where pūjās are performed morning, noon and night, a land where gurus and priests never swerve from the path of righteousness and truth.

Mañinagar is unique, famed for its beautiful rivulets, for women of beauty and virtue, a land filled with the sweetest scent of blossoms and works of art, a city where aliens gain refuge, shelter, and food, under the protection of the king crowned with the horned moon. Heralded with flags and trophies, the king goes out mounted on a caparisoned elephant. All the vassal kings come with tributes to the sovereign lord of the seven great kingdoms. May God Siva, the great source of all things, and Umayāl be praised. Blessed be the Vēdas.

The story is popularly sung in the verse form of the Ammānai. King Aditi is described as the scion of Kurukula, a branch of Chandrakula, the most illustrious of the Chandra races, whose praises are sung by the ancient bards—distinguished for their individuality—accommodating and hospitable to all; their temperance shining like the sun amidst all the 18 well known races. The king is referred to with the epithet "*dhenan*" regarded as an epithet applied in early Tamil literature to the Pāndyan Kings.

Ammānai describes the king as carrying "*Sivamañi*", the holy

The story is highly symbolic. If there be any social group rich in symbolisms, it is the Karāva, with their wealth of symbolisms in traditional psychology.

The central theme of the story is the glorification of the Makara as the symbol of the Kurukula race. Makara is a composite animal. The composite animal is a concept of early cultures, a symbol of creative power, symbol of "Sakti". The curious mythical combination that the Makara is, demonstrates in its structure the composite nature of the Dragon, and of the House of Capricorn in the symbolisms of the Zodiac, to which it has given its name, Makara. It has the head of a crocodile, the horns of a goat, the body of an antelope or deer, a curved tail like that of a snake, with the tail of a fish, and feet like those of a panther or a dog. With two horns on its forehead, its sides and bloated belly covered with leopard-like spots, it is like nothing on earth.

The Makara embodies in its combination the fundamental symbolisms of Traditional Psychology. It is Symbolic of the Five Elements. "In so far as it belongs to the Element *Earth*, it is like a creeping snake. In so far as it belongs to the Element *Water*, it is like the fish. In so far as it belongs to the Element *Fire*, it is Panther-like. In so far as it belongs to the Element *Air*, it is like a deer or mountain goat." Extending thus to the Four Elements of Manifestation, the nature of the Makara is of a Composite Dragon.

Varuna alone has properly subjected it, and Makara is the Vehicle of Varuna the Heavenly Father and the Spiritual Ruler of the world. That Kāma has the Makara in his banner is a fact with two interpretations, depending on the application of the symbolism alternately to the desire which works its way in the world of Samsāra; or to the desire which animates the soul to walk in the path of return to God-reality.

An Egyptian parallel to the Makara is the monster Ammit, "the devourer of the wicked with the head and forequarters of a crocodile, the body of a lioness, and the hind quarters of a hippopotamus".

Another Egyptian parallel is the crocodile monster, an embodiment of Seth, slain by Horus. A Greek parallel is the Puthion, the monster slain by the Sun-God Apollo. The Makara corresponds

too to the Fish-Monster Kar, the name of which is etymologically related. It guards the Tree of Life in the Primordial Ocean in the Zoroastrian tradition. It also corresponds to the Sumerian "Goat-Fish". The Monster of the Deep is found in Babylonian tradition. In Isaiah, (51 : 9) we read "Awake, Awake, put on strength O, arm of the Lord; awake as in ancient days, in the generation of the old, Art thou not it that cut out Rahab, and wounded the Dragon." Symbolically identified with "Pharoah" and "Egypt" (Psalms 87 : 4 and 89 : 10), Rahab the Dragon is one with Rāhu the Dragon of Hindu tradition, who was cut into two by Vishnu in a myth. The Monster is found in the form of the Leviathan of the Book of Job (ch.41). Another of its forms is the Whale of the prophet Jonah.

The Makara in the Chronicle of the Ammānai allows itself to be caught in the net formed of the "sacred religious texts transformed and woven into a net". The symbolism of the Net of Sacrifice is one that is prominent in the Rig Veda X (130). Rishi Kyāvana allows himself to be caught in the net of sacrifice, the net being sacrifice in disguise. According to the Yajña Sukta, sacrifice is extended and spread all about by means of its threads (*Yo Yajño Visvatas tantubhis tatah*).

The ensnaring of the Makara in the story of King Aditi finds a close parallel to the story of Rishi Kyāvana,¹ recounted in the Mahabhārata, Anusāsana parva, 50 and 51.

Rishi Kyāvana, the Bhārgava, having the accomplishment of a *Vrata* in his mind, immersed himself in water at the confluence of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna for 12 years. He remained unmoved like a post giving fearlessness to all the water-living creatures, the fish, etc., so that they moved freely about him, and he became so dear to them that they would smell his lips. But in course of time fishermen came and cast a *su-vitata jāla*, or very extensive sieve, made of strong new threads and drew it in great glee by the combined effort of all, for the great weight of the draught portended a rich harvest of fish. But to their horror they saw among the fish in the net, the great Rishi Kyāvana whose body was covered with river moss and studded with shells and

1. Quoted by Narayana Iyengar, *Essays in Indo-Aryan Mythology*, Madras, 1901. Part II pp. 157-159.

pearl oysters and who was sighing very much at the sad sight of the dying fish when they were brought out of the water. The fishermen said to him "O, Great Rishi forgive us the wrong done to you unintentionally and tell us what we should do that might please you." He replied, "Hear Ye all, my great wish, I would rather die with these companions, than leave them." The fishermen not knowing what to do, ran to the King Nahushà, who arrived at once with his ministers and priests, saluted the Rishi and begged him to tell his wish. The Rishi said "These fishermen are very poor people, buy me from them." The King said, "Let one thousand (nishkas) be paid." The Rishi said, "Is that all my price? Consider well your mind." The King and Ministers very much perplexed, the King said, "Oh, do tell the price. Be pleased to fix the proper price and thereby become a boat to me who am sinking in an unfathomable water." Gavijata said, "A Brahmin and a cow are alike, they are invaluable (*anargheya*), and so give a cow. There is no wealth on earth like cows. They are the ladder to heaven." The fishermen said to Kyāvana, "Great Rishi, we have exchanged looks and words. The friendship of the good, noble-minded souls is obtained by Saptapāda, the advance of only seven steps towards them. So do us a great act, as only the sacrificial fire is competent to eat all the oblations, so are you, the righteous, the mighty fire in man form (*purushāgri*). Be gracious to accept this cow." Kyāvana accepted the cow and as soon as he did so the fishermen went to Heaven together with all the fish, to the wonder of the King. The King asking for boons, said, "May I be always in dharma (righteousness). Be it so." Then they and the King parted, the *diksha* or vow of Kyāvana being completed.

Kyāvana of this story is the Supreme Self, symbolised by Agni. The Supreme Self Agni, is not obtainable except through righteousness. He therefore allows himself to be caught in the net of Sacrifice. The Net of the Story, is Sacrifice in disguise.¹

¹ The story of the Fishermen and the Fish going up to heaven in the legend of Rishi Kyāvana and the Fish, recalls to mind, the ceremonial of fishing forming part of the marriage ceremonials of the Nambūdiries, the Vedic Brahmins of Kerala. In a flat bell-metal basin (the *Kinṇam*) are brought a few fresh water fish. The bride and bridegroom simulate catching fish with a piece of cloth, symbolising the net. The custom is one that has given rise to much speculation. The tendency has been to place too literal an interpretation on this custom. The

The symbolism of the Net is one that is emphasized in the Rig Veda as already indicated. The "Sacred Texts", in the Story of the Makara, are transformed and woven into the Net of Sacrifice. The symbolism is kept up in the rest of the story. The four Vēdas are the ropes. The Six Sāstras form the weights of the Net. The shining crescent moon is transformed into the golden boat. "Ōnkāram" the Sacred Chant, the mystic sound "Om" symbolising cosmic harmony, is the sail.

The name of the King "Aditi" is symbolic. Aditi means "what is beyond the limited life", beyond the view of mortals. Its opposite signification is "Diti", "what is within the view of

story grew that Parasu Rama caught some of the coastal fishermen, and transformed them into Nambūdiri Brahmins and the strands of the fishing net were made into the sacred thread, the distinctive badge of the Brahmin. Reasoning *a posteriori*, the custom of catching fish in the marriage ceremonials, is attributed to this original cause, a "hang-over" of the story of the fishermen origin of the group. Another more plausible explanation is that the act is "suggestive of progeny, fish being emblematic of fertility". (Thurston: Castes and Tribes of S. India, Vol. V, pp. 202-204.)

It is understandable that efforts to interpret the custom should find different expressions. A custom as such is a reflection of the traditional culture of a group. An interpretation which does not harmonise with the traditional culture of a group is subject to suspicion. The suggestion of a fertility rite has a sense of reasonableness about it. Nevertheless fishing as a fertility symbol in marriage customs does not prevail outside the Nambūdiries. If it were a simple fertility rite, it might well have found its way to Hindus in general, in common practically with every other Brahmin marriage custom, today followed by almost all Hindu society, Brahmin or Non-Brahmin. It is noteworthy that the fish in the symbolism is a particular little fish called "mānath kaṇṇi", "eyes looking skyward". If it were merely an echo of fishing as such, there is no need to define a particular type of fish—the fish "looking skyward". This attitude of the fish gives a different character to the symbolism.

The story of Rishi Kyāvana, and the Fishermen and the Fish recounted above would seem to entitle us to view the Nambūdiri custom in a new light altogether—the mysticism of the net of sacrifice and the sacredness of the role of fish elaborated in the sacred literature of the Hindus. The fish in the marriage ceremonial is not any fish. It is the fish "mānath kaṇṇi", "looking skyward" literally, "looking heavenward" to put it in the appropriate language of spirituality. As an ideography of Vedic mysticism, of their traditional Vedic culture, oriented to the most sacred of the Hindu social institutions, the sacrament of marriage, the symbolism of netting fish in the marriage custom of the Nambūdiris acquires a real mystic meaning and value. The *mānath kaṇṇi* featured in the ceremonial, may easily be a reflection of the mystic story of the fish and fishermen going heavenward. It may well be that the allusion to Parasu Rama making Nambūdiries of the Fishermen, may have found its germ in the account of the Fish and the Fishermen in the legend of Rishi Kyāvana, going to heaven.

the mortals". Though Aditi in Rig Veda is a Goddess, the mother of all Gods generally, the prevailing sense of Aditi is A-diti, the "Unbounded, Infinite". Earth is "Aditi"; "Prithir", the wide earth, who nourishes in her lap, the Bird Agni, attended by her sons. Agni, the bird, is the rising sun.

The Sage in the story of King Aditi is God Siva, and Goddess Umayāl is born as the King's daughter, Sōmadanti. The marriage of the Sage and Sōmadanti symbolises the mystic marriage of Siva and Goddess Umayāl, the perfect couple. Sōmadanti here is the divine wife, the Sakti of Siva. Siva and Umayāl are the divine father and mother. The Hindu tradition teaches that the wife should be looked upon by the husband as an incarnation of the divine mother.

Sōmadanti symbolises the spheres of both Moon and Water. The Seven Spheres of Hindu tradition are the Sun, Moon, Ether or Light, Air, Fire, Water and Earth. Sōmadanti, "of the Great Waves" is the daughter born of the holy waters. The heavenly bodies have become the expression of the most exalted spiritual symbolisms. Moon is the Great Mother, the ruler of the night and of the stars. The symbol of the Great Goddess is Moon, and the goddess is re-created in Sōmadanti, the Moon Goddess who rules the waves and controls the tides. She is thus rightly called Sōmadanti "of the Great Waves". The ruler of the waters, she is reflected in the waters below. Above, she is the ruler of the night sky, ruling over the multiplicity of the stars.

Mañinagar indeed is the land of righteousness, where pūjās are performed day and night, a land famed for its natural magnificence, a land of sweet blossoms and beautiful women, a city ruled by a righteous King who carries the symbolic holy bell, the Siva-maṇi in his hands. Mañinagar symbolises the land of the Kurūs.

APPENDIX 1

ස්වස්තී සිද්ධම් - කොච්චෙ නුවර ශ්‍රී ප්‍රාක්‍රමබාහු මහවාසල රාජ්ජ ශ්‍රී විදවදාරණ ප්‍රස්ථාවට මේ ලක්දිව අල්ලන හැටියට පුත්තලමට නාගපට්ටනමට පුත්තලදෙසෙ සිටි මුක්කරු ඇවිත් පදිංචි උනු ප්‍රස්ථාව එවගට රදලවරු දක්කවාගන යුද්ධ කරනට කවුරු පොහොසද්ද වදාලනෙතදී මුක්කරු හමුදාව සමග යුද්ධකරනොත් කාංචිපුර කාවේරි පට්ටනම් කිලක්කරෙ මෙම රට තුනේ හමුදාව ගෙන්නාගත්තොත් සුදුස්සයයි කියා සැලකල තුනේදී ඒ හැටි හොඳයි කියා දිවස්ල වදාල තුනේදී රදලවරු විසින් දිවස්ල වදාල හැටියට ඒ රට තුනට ඇරියය. එකැඬපත් තුන රට තුනේ නිල මක්කාරයෝ බලාගන එරට තුනේ හමුදාවන් සමග කාංචිපුර දේ සෙට එකතු වෙමින් වෙච්චි පණිවුඩ පනතෙ හැටියට කතා කරගණ සනකෙලි කෙලිමින් ලංකාවට ගොඩබසිනට එන නිලමක්කාරයෝ නම් වච්චුනාවටු දෙවරෙද කැරුකැලනාවටු දෙවරෙද මානික්ක තල වන්ද අදිඅරසඅඩප්ප උන්නාහෙද වර්ණ සූරියා දොම්බුනාද අඩප්ප උන්නාහෙද කැරුකැල සූරියා මුදියන්සේද පරදි කැල සූරියා මුදියන්සේද අරසකැල සූරියා මුදියන්සේද මෙම නිලමක්කාරයෝ නම දෙනා සමග ආරච්චිවරු දහඅට දෙනෙක් ඇතුළුව හේවා හමුදාව ගෙන් සන්දහස් සන්සිය හතලිහකුත් ඇඹැට්ටයා ඇතුළුව තොවිල් කාරයෝ පස් දෙනෙකුත් සමග හඹාත්තුනකට රුවල් ඇද පදිනා වේලාවට එක්වාදහස් එකසිය පණස් නවයට පැමිණි මෙම වර්ෂ යෙහි මින රවි පසලොස් හාගවු පංචමිලන් රවිදින රෙහෙනේ නැක නින් සිංහ ලග්නයෙන් ගැරු හෝරාවෙන් පිටත්ව කැලනි මෝදරට ගොඩ බැස්සාහ. ඒ වගහැටි. දිස්වර්ණ වර සිංහාසනාරුස්චි වදාර මින් ඒ ආ නිලමක්කාරයෝ සහ හේවා හමුදාව දක්කවා ගැන වදාර මින් නම් ගොත් සහ ආගිය තොරතුරුද අසා වදාරමින් නැවත කරුණාව සහ තානාත්තරවල් ඇතුළුව පඩි ප්‍රසාධ ලැබෙමින් දේසක්කාර සමුහයා දසාව බලා වදාරමින් රවි මඩලේට නික්මෙන්නාවූ අසුර විලාසයෙන් සොහොව දැක වදාරමින් හේවා පන්නේට සමර්ථ යෝයයි සිතා වදාරමිං පුත්තලමට ඇවිත් පදිංචිව සිටින මුක්කරුන් සමග යුද්ධයට යන්ඩ පුළුවන්දැයි කියා අසා වදාල තුනේදී ඉට යහ පති කියා යුද්ධකරණ සැටියට දුනු කඩු කිරිච්චි ජමජාඩි කෙවේරි වලඵ හෙල්ල මුඟුරු යන මෙකි ආයුද සන්නද්ධව පුත්තලමට ගොස් යුද්ධයට පටන් ගෙන තුන් මාසේකින් කොටුව ඇරෙච්චිය.

ඒ යුද්ධයට මෙ අතින් වැටිවීම හේවා හමුදාව එක්දහස් පන්සියයක් වැටුණාය. ඊටත් බයපත් නොවී නාගපටිටනමට යුද්ධයට ගොහිත් යුද්ධ හතලිස් දවසක් යුද්ධ කරන වේලාවට මානික්ක තැලවත් කියන නිලමක්කාරයා සේවා කමෙ වැටුණාය. ඉන්පසු දෙමස් පසලොස් දවසක් යුද්ධකොට නාගපටිටනම ඇල්ලුවාය. මේ යුද්ධ දෙකේදී දෙදහස් අටසියයක් සේනාව මෙ අතින් වැටුණාය. කොටු දෙක අල්ලා කොටු දෙකෙ නිබුනු රතු කොඩි දෙකත් කොටු දෙකෙ නිලමක්කාරයෝ දෙන්නාගේ තරම් දෙකත් ගෙනවිත් දක්කවාපු තැනෙදී බොහොසේ කරුණා සන්නොසවී වදාරමින් මැදින්නොරුව ආනම්ලන්දාව මුත්තෙස්සරමද කම්මල තඹරාවිලද හුනුපිටියේවිදියෙද පෙරියාමුල්ලේ විදියෙද කම්මල විදියෙද කොළොම් පිටි මහ විදියද වැල්ලේවිදියෙද කුරුණ විදියද මිගොමුව සහද ප්‍රවේනි සැලැස්මට තඹෙන් ශ්‍රී සන් පිහිටුවා ලැබුණාය.

ඒ ඇර රාවණ කොඩියද ඉරහද කොඩියද මකරයා කොඩියද මාල දෙපිසන්ද වට්ට පේරස් මුදද රත්‍රං කස්ථාන රිදි කස්ථාන රංභවසි රිදි හවසිද රංඛන්දි රිදි බන්දිද රංඛස්තං රිදි බස්ථං ද කර්ණ කුංඛලා ද වඩන තල අතද ඇලි සවරං දෙක දෙකද රිදි තැටි රිදි කුසලාංද රිදි අඹු රිදි සුලංද රිදි හැදිද රිදි කොතලාද රිදි වලන්ද මෙකී තානාන්ත්‍ර ලැබෙමින් දහඅට තොටමුනේට වෙළ දාමට යනවාට එනවාට තිරුව සුභං මුද්දර මිල නැති සැටියට මහ වාසලින් පනිවුඩ උණාය. නැවත ප්‍රජාංගපවතිනා තෙකට මිගොමුව ප්‍රවේනි වසමට ලැබී මිගොමුවේ පදිංචි කලාය. නැවත රාජ්ජ ශ්‍රී විද වදාරණ ප්‍රස්ථාවට ගේව ප්‍රතිකාල පරණිකාර ගෝල්ල සිල්වාරමක් නොයෙක් පඬුරු පාක්කඩම් ගෙනවිත් දක්කවා මුන පාපු තැනේදී ආගිය තොරතුරු අසා වදාරමින් කුමක් පිණිස ආවාදැයි කියා අසා වදාල තැනේදී අපගේ දෙසේ යුද්ධ බෝ නිසාත් වෙළදාම් නවාම් දුර් ලභ නිසාත් ඔබවහන්සේගේ ශ්‍රී පාද පත්මයට යටගත් වෙමින් කොළොම් තොටමුනේ ගෝ සමක් අතරගත්තා විතරවත් බිත්වාසියක් ලබාගණ තලාසි බැදගණ පදිංචිව වෙළදාම් කරගෙන රක්ෂා වෙමින් මහවාසලටත් වැඩ රාජකාරිය ක්‍රමින් හිටින්ඩ ඕනෑ නිසා ආවාය කියා ඔප්පු කල තැනේදී එපමන බිංවසිය තරමෙ ශ්‍රී සන් පිහිටුවා දෙවාවදාලාය. එලෙසින්ම ගෝසම තැනී ක්‍ර සින් ක්‍ර ඉරා වටට ඇද බැද මැදිවු බිමෙ කොටුව බැදවමින් කළගල් තාප්පෙ බැද මුර සමත්නාගන පදිංචි උණාය. මෙතන වැඩ සිටිනට නපුරුයි කියා සිතාවක නුවරට වැඩියාය. නැවතත් සිතාවකින් එගොඩ ප්‍රතිකාර ගෝල්ල අත්දායන් ගනිමින් හිටගත්තාය.

ඒ නිසා මෙතන සිටිනට දුසුසු නැත කියා සෙංකඩගලට වැඩ මවා වදාලාය. එනුවර වැඩවදාරණ ප්‍රස්ථාවට පරණි ගෝල්ල කොරා

වහල්කඩින් මෙපිට කඩසින් ලාගත්තාය. මුරතුල් විසිඑකක් තනා ඒවායේ සිට රට කැබෙල්ල රාජකාරිය ගත්තාය. බොහ සංඛපරික් ඡිප්ත සලිලාකාර අහිත්ත මනුවංසොත්භූතෙස්විර ශ්‍රී ලංකාදීපති වූ උතුම් අපගෙ රාජසිංහ දේවස්වාමීදරුවාත්වහන්සේ සිංහාසනමස් ටකයෙහි වැඩවදාරණ ප්‍රස්ථාවට බදුල්ලෙ නුවරට වැඩ වදාරමින් ඒ නුවර වැඩ සිට උච මහ බල සේනාව සමග මහ අතපත්තුවේ එක් ලක්ෂ පනස් දහසක් පමණ අප්පුහුරු සමග නොයෙක් ආවුද ඊයං වෙඩිබේත් සමුර්ධ කොට පිටත්ව උනු වග නම්: වතුරහිතීසේනාව පිරිවරාගනිමින් අසුර යුද්ධයට නික්මුනු සක්‍ර දේවේන්ද්‍රයන් මෙන් ඒ ඒ තැන පරණි එක්ක යුද්ධකරමින් කේසර සිංහරාජ විලාසයෙන් ජයගෙන නැවතත් දලදාගන් වෙලේ හේවාකමට වැඩ වදාරන්ට සිතා වදාරමිං නොයෙක් අමාප්ත මඩලේ රදලවරාං පිරිවරාගනිමිං ශත්‍රු කැඤ්ඤුර විදාරණ තරකේසරින්දු වූ උතුම් රාජසිංහ දේවස්වාමීදරු වානත්වහන්සේ දලගම් වෙලේ හේවාකමට නික්මෙමින් රණ දෙරණ වැඩ සිටින ප්‍රස්ථාවට සතුරු සේනාව ලංචී එන වෙලාවට නොයෙක් කොඩි කුඩ ප්‍රසාධ ලැබී උතුම් මහවාසලට පක්ෂවාදිකන් පිණිස සිටි නොයෙක් අමාප්තයෝ බිංදු පැහැ දිවාය. එවෙලාවට මහ කුඹුරෙ පලියවඩනරාල අපගෙ රාජසිංහ දේවස්වාමීදරුවානත් වහන්සේ වැඩ සිටින කැටුව සිටිය. නැවතත් සතුරු සෙන් ලත්වෙන් වෙන් එම පලියවඩනරාලත් පලිය දමා දුවන වේලාවට නොදුවයි යෙදී දෙනුන් විටක් දිවස්ලා වදාලාය. ඒත් දුවන නිසා අන ඇත් නම් නොදුවයි කියා යෙදුනු පනතට බොවා කාලයක් ආයු ශ්‍රී බොවඩ අන ඇත්තෙ පන ඇති කොටවද කියා දුවන කල මහ කුඹුරෙ බත් නිත්ත ක්‍රමි කියා යෙදුනු විට මහ කුඹුරෙ බත් නිත්ත වෙවිචී නම් පිභාංඔයෙ අලකොල මියන කොල නිත්ත වේදයි කියා දුවපු නිසා ශ්‍රීහස්තෙ තිබුනු යකඩ පලිභ බිමට දමා පලිභ පිට වැඩ සිටිමිං උඩින් ඉහිලෙන මානෑවියා දක වදාරමින් ශ්‍රී හස්තෙ හිටිය වඩන කුරුල්ලා ඇර වදාරමින් රාසිංහ මැසිල්ල මෙතනයි කියා වැඩ සිටින ප්‍රස්තාවට ගල්දුනු ගල්පටි කිරිවිචි කෙවේරි ජමජාඩි බල තඩ වානා තඩ වානත් වක්‍රාවලඵ හදි තුවක්කු අත්තුවක්කු බිරිභි බොන්දික්කලා සුස ලංස පිරිස්ථාන මෙකී ආවුද ගත්තාවූ පන්සියක් හේවා හමුදාවන් ඉසකෝපිති කියන පරණි කප්පිතතාවූ මහගොරෙන්ද කියන අප ගේ මිගොමුවේ මුදියන්සේත් සැදී පැහැදී හේවාකමට එන වෙලාවට ප්‍රවර සුර්ථය මඩලයක් මෙං වැඩ සිටිනා බව මිගොමුවේ මුදියන්සේ දකිමින් සුද්ධ සුර්ථය වංසොත්භූත වූ දේවස්වාමීදරුවානත් වහන්සේට සතුරු සේනාව යුද්ධ කරපු නම් කොට්ටෙ මහවාසලිං යෙදුනු පනතට කාංචිපුර දෙසේ සිට ආ පක්ෂවාදිකං නැතිවෙයි කියා අතේ තිබූ කිරිවිචියෙන් යටිපල්ල ඉරා සතුරු සේනාවට ලේ

පෙන්නා සිංහලේ ඇත්තො හදිකරපුවයි කියා පරභිකාර ගොල්ල රචවා ආපසු කරණවාගෙන ගොස් පළමු සිටිය තැන පොරොත්තු උනාය.

අපගෙ රාජසිංහ දෙවස්වාමිදරුවානත්වහන්සේ අමාප්ත මඩලෙ රදලවරුන් දක්කවාගෙන පරභිකාර ගොල්ල ආබව මොකද නැවත ගිය කාරිය මොකද අහ වදාල තැනෝදි මාතලේ දිසාව ලැබී තිබෙන වැල්ලකෝ දිසා මහත්මයා විසින් රාජසිංහ දේවස්වාමිදරු වානත්වහන්සේට ඔප්පු කුණ සැටි නම් කොටටෙ මහවාසල වේලා වෙදි පුන්තලමේ මුක්කරුන් එක්ක හේවාකමට කැරුකැල දෙසෙ කාංචිපුර දෙසෙ කිලක්කරෙ කාවේපි පට්ටලමේ මෙකී දේසවල් වලට කැඩපත් ඇර ගෙන්වා වදාරා හේවාපත්තෙට ඇරපු තැනෙදි මුක්කරුන් හා යුද්ද කොට ජයගත් නිසා තාත්ත මාත්ත ලැබී මිගමුව සහජ පුවේනියට ලැබී ඒ පක්ෂවාදීකමට අදත් අපේ රාජ සිංහ මහවාසලට දෙවස්කන නපුරු සේනාව යුද්ධ කුපු නං නපුරුයි කියා මිගමු වැල්ල විදියෙ වර්ණකැලසුරිය අපිසිතිලඉටට මුදලියා දයාවෙන් පක්ෂවාදිවෙමින් යටිපල්ල ඉරාගෙන පක්ෂවාදිකමට ගිය බව මුත් පැරද ගියා නොවෙයි කියා ඔප්පුකල තැනෙදි ඒ මුදලියාට කැරුණව ලැබී වඩන තල අත්තෙන් තල ඇඟිල්ලක් ඉරාගෙන රන් පන්හිදෙන් මෙ පක්ෂවාදිකං ඇති ඔහු මාගෙ සිංහලේට ආවොත් බොහො තාත්ත මාත්ත ගමිවර ලැබී ආදරවෙමි යෙදි කැඩ පතක් ලියා රන්දුනු සාම හැර ගැන වදාරමින් ඊය අග පත්‍රය බැද විද වදාලාය. ඒ ලියමන මිගමුවේ මුදලියාගේ තලවාඩි ලගමු නිසා පත්‍රය බලා කළු හමුදාව නිලමක්කාරයො සතර දෙනත් පරභි කාරයින්ට කියන වගනම් අපි ආ නැකනමුවාත් සුද්ද නැත ඊයන් වෙඩිබෙහෙන් නැත සෙවාපන්නත් බල මද කියා කොටුවට ගොස් සියළු කටයුතු සමුද්ධකොට එමැයි කියා කොටුවට ගියාය. ගියතැනේ දි 'වැල්ල විදියෙ මුදලියා මහවාසලට පක්ෂවාදිකංවූ සැටි පරභිකාර ගොල්ල විමසමින්' එම මුදලියා අවහිරකොට කළු සමුදාවත් අතික් නිලමක්කාරයින්ටත් කොල්ලැටක් පමනවත් ඇත මුහුදෙ යන්ටත් එපාය කියා ගිය කෙනෙක් ඇත්නම් කටට වෙඩි බෙහෙන් දමා ගිනි දෙනවා ඇත කියා අඩ බෙර ලැව්වාය. නැවත රාජසිංහ දේවස්වාමිත් වහන්සේ ඔලන්දට කැඩපං ඇර වදාලා ඇත. ඒ පනතින් ඔලන් දක්කාරයො හේවාපත්තෙට කටයුතු සාදාගෙන ඇවිත් මුහුදෙ සිටි බව අසා පරභිකාරගොල්ල එන්ට නෙදි රැක්කාය. ඒ වග රාජසිංහ දේවස්වාමිදරුවානත්වහන්සේට ඒත්තු වෙමි. ඔලන්දක්කාර යින්ට අති කඩනමට ගොඩ බහින සැටියට ලියමං ලියා මිගමුවේ මුද ලියාට දෙන්ටෙයි යෙදි පනිවිඩ කාරයින් ඇපියාය. ඔහු ගොස් මිග මුවේ කැරුකැල සුරියා මුදලියා අතට දුන්නාය. ඒ ලියමන සිංහලේට

අතිවිස්වාසවූ මුදලිවරු සතරදෙන බලා අපි නැතිවෙතත් මහවාසලට පක්ෂවාදිකං ඇතිනිසා කැඩපත ලංසි ගොල්ලට දෙන්ට ඕනැයි කියා වැල්ලවිදියෙ මුදලියාගෙ යළු නැකං දරණ ඉලේනයිදේට නියොගකර එවලෙහිම ඉලෙනෙදෙ ජීවිකාවාත්තිය නොසලකා මුහුද පිනාගොස් පසුවදා පාන්වූ තුන් පැය වේලාවට කැඩපත දුන්නාය. ඒ කැඩපත බලා ලංසිගොල්ල මුහුදෙන් ගොඩ ආවාය. නැවත රාජ සිංහ දේවස්වාමිදරුවානත්වහන්සේ සවිරණ සතග ටල්ලහූ වූ සේනාවත් වස්තුවත් ඔලන්දකාරයින්ට බාර දෙමි. කපුවරල වාඩි යේ වැඩ සිට මිගමුවේ නිලමක්කාරයින්ඩ එන්ට යෙදි මහවිදියේ කැරුකැල සුරියා මුදලියාද සෙමිප අපිස කැරන අරසකැල අඩප්පයාද ආරච්චනං අරසකැලසුරිය විරසිංහ කැරන ආරච්චිලද ජයසුරියා ආරච්චිලද මහ හුනු 'පිටියෙ රණසිංහ ආරච්චිලද කට්ටප්පය ආරච් චිලද වැල්ල විදියේ' මුදලියාගේ ඇවැස්ස නැකං දරපු අයත් අදිඅරස අඩප්පයත් ඒ ඇර ආරච්චිනංවලින් තවත් කිප අයටත් තාත්ත මාත්ත ලැබෙමි. මාලන් කර ලැවාය.

APPENDIX 2

**Fl. 12. The Tombo or Register of the Royal
Revenues of the Port of Chillao**

On the second day of the month of September, One thousand Six hundred and Thirteen, there met at the Residence of Antao Vaz Fereira, His Majesty's Vedor da Fazenda in Colombo, the Pattangatti Mores, the Canacapulle and the Headmen of the Port of Chilao, who by the order of the Vedor da Fazenda, were called to verify the archives (records) of the said Port and to declare all the rights, dues and other custom duties which belong to the said Lord, which were paid (by) to the gentile Kings of this Island.

The following are the names of those persons:—

Sepala Mutiar, Canacapulle of the Port, aged fifty-five; Dom Simao, Patamgati, Chief (Major) of the Port, aged forty; Dom Manuel, Patamgati of the Port, aged forty; Dom Joao, Patamgati, aged thirty-five; Nania Marca, Head of the Moors of the Port mentioned, aged forty-five.

Each one of these persons, and all in general were asked by the said lord of the Vedor da Fazenda, to declare under the oath given to all (to the Christians on the Holy Gospel and to the gentiles and Muslims according to their custom), to say the truth about all the things which were to be asked from them. And all of them said that they were willing to say the truth about the things they knew

First of all the said Vedor da Fazenda asked them to declare whether they possessed any Ōla Registers old or recent of the said Port, and they declared that the ancient Ōla Registers were burnt in the Rebellion of Camgra Arachche and from that time they had only books (records), more or less ten or twelve years old and that each year there are fresh ones.

They declared that in the limits of the said Port there are two "Juncois" (custom houses or Passes: Sin. Totupola), that is to

say one on the East called "Caraveti" and the other on the South called "Valechena".

And in each of these Juncois the following (duties were levied):—

Each bull loaded with areca (it was) paid 150 arecas.

Each Elephant loaded (with areca) (it was) paid 2,200 arecas.

Each bull loaded with Nelle (paddy) paid four measures and these must be understood, by strangers, because the local people were paying not more than two measures. And these dues were paid also for dry grains (legumes).

And if the load was an Elephant load they had to pay double of the above.

For each "Sumai", head load, of Nelle (paddy) and grains they had to pay one measure.

For the same load of Rice they paid half the quantity above stated, as above.

For Betle they paid ten leaves for every 100, that is the same as 100 leaves for every 1,000.

For Pepper they were paying ten per cent.

And all the duties declared above were paid in the "Alpanthi" (Custom house) of the Port by the owners and by those persons who brought the above mentioned goods.

The persons who were not registered had to pay double the amount declared above.

For each male or female slave, bought at the said Port, the purchaser had to pay two Larins to the King. For each vessel sold in the said Port, whether old or new (they) had to pay ten per cent. due to a tax called "Melvari", and it is paid according to the arrangement between the purchaser and the seller. And for each vessel newly built in the said Port, was paid ten per cent of what was paid to the Carpenters, so that if they were paying 200 pardaos to the carpenter for labour only to the King should be given 20. And this duty was paid (only) by the foreigners and not by the

local people ; because the local people render service to the King, and because of the importance of their offices.

For a cacha five per cent was paid, and for each "Cotta" (heap) of salt, (it) was paid a silver fanam worth six bazarucos, and for each heap of paddy it was paid two silver fanams and for each heap of rice three fanams.

For Opium (it) was paid one out of ten arratels or one out of ten calanjias.

For Spices and other small (similar) articles (it) was paid ten per cent.

For each heap of arcca (it) was paid from that time till now one larin, and for the other duties was paid one larin from that time till the present as was done in all other Ports.

The Patangatis of the said Port were obliged to pay to His Majesty, six cachas (I say so). Every year they had to pay twenty cachas, because of a duty called "Āṇḍu Cacha", which means the Duty of the Year, and it was paid in two instalments and its value was four larins for each cacha.

The Muslims and Chetties, dwellers of the said Port were obliged to pay each year six cachas for the said duty, and in the above-mentioned way and for the same price, that is to say the Muslims four cachas and the Chetties two.

All the handicraftsmen, dwellers of the said Port were obliged to pay, by virtue of their profession, each year in two instalments, one and a half calanja of gold of the touch of nine mates worth more or less four Xerafims.

And for each tone (boat) fishing in the deep sea, they should pay one fish for every ten. For the small nets used for fishing in the river, employed in the sea, they should pay for the same reason one fish for every ten.

The Patangatis of this Port are bound to pay 20 pingoes of dried fish every year in two instalments, when they get the cachas, that is each Pingo is worth two fanams.

There is a field which in the Malabaric tongue is called "Maravar Vely" which requires sixty amunams of seed. From this (field),

a duty called "Aema" is paid to the King, which consists of an amunam for each amunam sown.

There is another field whose name is "Temila Vely", which requires forty amunams of seed. From this the same duty is paid for the same reason.

And it is paid, for it

It is a custom in the said Port to give a cacha for any champana (boat) coming from another coast, because of a Duty called "Vaita Cacha", which means cacha of the entering vessel.

Annexed to this Port is a village called "Anaivilundana" which requires about 40 amunams of seed (sowing), of which only 20 amunams are sown because of lack of labour, and out of all that is sown two amunams for each amunam sown is paid.

There is a lot called "Aracavaly", which requires 20 amunams of seed and which has not been sown (cultivated) because it is abandoned (sic), and when it is cultivated, duty is paid in the same way.

There is another lot called "Bogama" which requires sixty amunams of seed, of which only 20 are sown because of lack of labour, and duty is paid according to the same conditions.

There is another lot called "Aripale" which requires 20 amunams of seed, of which only four are sown because of lack of labour.

There is another lot called "Valevally" which requires 30 amunams of seed, and which is rented (leased) for 15 amunams of paddy for the value of 30 larins.

There are five lots of fields annexed to this Port and which are abandoned and is overgrown (with weeds), because there are no people at all. The names of these fields are :—Atamganai, Tendemgatta, Candal, Carampulim, Cotagai, and all of them require 57 amunams of paddy, and when they are sown the old duty is paid.

There are in the said Port, five Milkmen, who pay each year 48 measures of Ghee according to the ancient custom : and this is done in two instalments for the value of 8 larins.

There is another lot called "Caripamulle" annexed to this Port, which is owned by the Canacapulle of the said Port of Chilao, because of the power given to him by the Captain of the Port, in order that he may own it as was in the time of the Kings.

This requires 20 amunams of seed, of which duty is paid in the said way.

The above mentioned Patangatis declared that in the said Port and in its limits there are no other Royal dues pertaining to His Majesty, and that all the inhabitants and Patangatis paid to the "Vidane" of the said Port 17 larins every year in two instalments, and more over each vessel coming from outside pays one catcha.

To the Captain of the said Port is paid for each passport, (document) for the vessels coming in, four Xerafins at three larins per xerafin, and to the Clerk who issues the passport two larins.

As a guarantee that everything they declared above is in the aforesaid way, they have placed their signatures together with the signature of the Vedor da Fazenda on the said day and said date aforesaid (above).

I, Baltezar Marinho, clerk of the Fazenda of His Majesty, have ordered this to be written in the presence of the said Vedor da Fazenda, and they have signed in their languages.

Dom Francisco.

Antao Vaz Fereire.

Dom Francisco Sepala Mutiar, Canacapulle.

Dom Joao.

Dom Simao.

Dom Manoel.

Nina Marca, Moor.

**Register or Tombo, in Order to Collect Through
This the Royal Dues in the Port of Negombo
According to the Ancient Duties and Customs**

Ditto. of The Duties of the Custom House (Alpanthi)

First of all, for all goods coming from outside and entering the said Port of Negombo the person who is bringing them is subjected to the payment of Royal duties in the Custom House of

the said Port; if the above-mentioned goods are not declared by the persons who bring them from outside, they (the goods) will be seized and confiscated on behalf of the Royal Revenue.

The vessels coming from India—from places in which they are not obliged to pay custom duties—from Goa, and those which come from St. Thome, Negapatam, and from the coast of Choramandel and of Gargalim, and from Bengale, Malacca, China and from all the South, will pay the duties according to the way in which they are paid in the Custom House of Goa, which is six per cent and one per cent for the works connected with the Fort which is being built in the said Port; and the same percentage of the salaries of the officers are paid in the same way in the Custom House of the City of Colombo by its regiment (regency).

Every vessel bringing goods from the Fishery Coast into the City will pay for them only five per cent of Royal duties. As it is right and customary, it will pay in the said Custom House of Negombo, and in addition it will pay one per cent for the garrisoning of the Fort and half per cent of the salaries of the officers because they are experts (skilled).

Opium which is imported from outside, must pay the duty according to existing custom which is one for every arratel or one calamja for ten. And that (opium) which comes from India, not paying any duty in Goa should pay an additional six per cent, which is the Royal Revenue that should have been paid in the said Custom House of Goa; so that the very Opium sent from India has to pay 16 per cent in the above mentioned way.

If goods come from Urmuz or from any other Fort of the North, without paying any duty in any Custom House in India, they have to pay double (here), which is; the 12 per cent of Royal Revenue, and 2 per cent for the Strengthening of the Fort and one per cent as salaries (or fees) of the officials.

For the shipping of foodstuffs and salt, which might enter or leave the said Port the custom presently valid and which was observed in the time of the Kings, must be observed.

For each amuna of areca one larin of Royal revenue should be paid, which the natives call "Contratu" (contract).

Each vessel newly built in the said Port—or within its limits—should pay duties just as the other goods, that is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent distributed in the way declared above, until another order of the Lord Viceroy comes (imposing higher duties as paid in India). And the said Vessels after being made and completed to their perfection, must be guaranteed by the persons who directed the said work. And their guarantee

For any Chaya, Resin, Coir, Cotton, Timber and other goods which are brought from “ Veniaqua ” (come water) for the sake of sale, duties must be paid according to the said rate, the six per cent of Royal Revenue and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the fortifications and for salaries.

Register of the Royal Revenues of the Port of Negombo

On the 20th of August, 1613, there appeared (met) in this City of Colombo in the Residence of the Vedor da Fazenda of His Majesty, Antao Vaz Fereire, the Patangati Mors and the other Chiefs and Mayorals of the Port of Negombo.

They were called there by the order of the said Vedor da Fazenda in order to verify the Register and to declare all the Royal revenues and the duties pertaining to His Majesty, which paid to the gentile Kings of this Island. Their names are as follows:—

Dom Gaspar da Cruz, Patamgati Mor of Grand Street, aged 46; Dom Jheronymo, Majoral of the said street, aged 75; Simao Fernando Patangati Mor of the said Street, aged 50; Alfonso Pereira, Patangati Mor, Major (or Chief) of Sea Street, aged 52; Ventura Fernando Majoral, inhabitant of the said Street (Sea Street), aged 60, Luiz Fernando, inhabitant of the same Street, aged 78, and Pero da Costa, Headman of the people of Pitivamcare, on this side of the River, aged 50, and Culamdia, Headman of the Chetties (Chatims) aged 30, and Arambata Chetty, aged 50, and Coija Naina Marcar, Moor and headman of the Muslims and Mudeliar Macar, Moor, Majoral, aged 45.

And all these in general and each one in particular were asked by the said Vedor da Fazenda to declare under Oath given to all—to the Christians on the Holy Gospel, and the gentiles and Muslims

according to their custom—to declare the truth about the things that were to be asked from them; and all of them said that they were ready to say the truth about the things they knew.

First of all the said Vedor da Fazenda asked them to declare whether they had any Ōla Registers ancient or new, of the said Port, and they declared that they did not possess any because the Canacapulles in the time of the gentile king were dead.

They declared that in the said Port there were four (collecting) centres, three inland called Juncois, one of them called Dunugaha, the other Dagonna and the other Andiambalama; the fourth called Kattana which is situated on that side of the River of Caimel.

For each bull load of areca, 700 arecas are paid as entrance (fee) in the said Port, by the person who enters through the two Passes, whether he does it through one or through all. And they carry passports issued by the persons in charge of one of the Passes, in order to prevent paying the same duty in the other Passes; and this is the way in which duties were paid in the time of the Kings.

For each Elephant load of areca 1,400 arecas were paid; for each head load of areca 100 arecas were paid if the load is untouched, and when it is not paid according to the load.

For each bull load of paddy or nacheri, $1\frac{1}{2}$ silver fanam that is 9 Brazos were paid. If the load is of rice the duty is 3 fanams.

For each Elephant load of Paddy or Nacheri the duty is 3 fanams. If the elephant load is of Rice, the duty is 6 silver fanams.

For each Head load of Paddy or Nacheri (the duty) is one measure. If the said load is of Rice the duty is $\frac{1}{2}$ measure. And for the other grains, duty is paid in the same way as for Paddy or Nacheri.

For each garden or Slave, or dwelling place that might be bought in the said Port a larin is paid to the King for a duty called in the Sinhalese language “ Meluazi ”; and if the rent of the purchaser and even if the article bought was of great value, it is paid for these as much as for articles of little value and this is never more than one larin.

The said Patangatis declared that at present there were 25 (feet) nets are used for fishing in the said Port and in its shore, only two of which belong to the Patangati of the "Careas", the remaining 23 paid each year 5 larins each and in one instalment at the end of summer which is in May, and that this calculation of nets is not accurate as they can be increased or decreased according to the number of fishermen.

There are more than 30 small nets which are (used) for fishing in the River of Negombo small fishes in winter, of which only two belong to the Patangatis of the "Careas", because this is an ancient custom and the remaining 28 pay 28 larins at the rate of one larin for each net; and they pay at the end of winter which is in the month of October, in one instalment; and also here again there is no evidence about the actual number of the nets, because at times they diminish and at times they increase according to the number of fishermen. Moreover there are at present in the said Port, 40 nets for prawn fishing which are used in the said River; only two of which belong to the Patangatis, and there remain 38 and each one of them paid to the King $\frac{1}{2}$ larin which is 10 silver fanams each year. And in the same way the number of these nets may increase or decrease, and this revenue is paid in the month of October in one instalment.

There are present in the said Port 8 fishing Thonies (boats), which go fishing in the high sea, and presently they pay to the king one fish for each ten and this duty was not paid in the time of the Rajas. Unless it was done according to the catch and according to the decision of the Captain of Negombo, Laurenco Teixeira de Macedo. And out of these 8 boats there are two belonging to the Patangatis for which no duty is paid to the King and furthermore the number of these boats is not certain because they also increase or diminish.

In this side of "Pitevamcare", presently there are 10 boats which also in the same manner go fishing in the high sea and they pay in the same way for the catch they bring, one fish for every ten, and of these ten boats one belonging to the Patangati pays no duty to the King and the other nine—or those which are present in the said Port, because they increase or diminish like the others—pay 25 fanams each one for each year to the King; as they paid

in the time of the Rajas and they were not giving fish, and this fish tax has been imposed by the said Captain Laurenco Teixeira.

The Patangatis and the other people of "Grand Street" of the said Port were paying to the King 20 cachas each year and 20 pingos of dried fish for the total value of 21 Xerafins and 5 larins for the pingos; and they declared that this revenue was paid in two instalments, one in November and the other in April which was called in the malabar tongue "Katigei", giving 10 cachas and 10 pingos for each instalment; and that the gentile kings were being paid this duty and this custom as an acknowledgement of vassalage, and that they went to give it twice each year.

The Patangatis of Sea Street were paying the same quantity of cachas and Pingos each year in the said times at the said rate, according to the said custom.

The Moors, Paravas and Chetties were paying each year to the King 20 cachas, for the value of 20 Xerafins, as a like token of vassalage, in the said times and at the said rate.

The Patangatis and the inhabitants of the bank of Pitivancare were paying each year 3 cachas and ten pingos of fish for the total value of 3 Xerafins and 2 larins. To this same group, a Milkman and a Chanda are to be added; they pay according to the rate of the others at the said times, and for the said custom.

This same people in the time of the Rajas were paying these same duties because of their expenditures which are called in the Sinhalese language "Gabara" (Gabadava); that is for each month of the year 10 muttis or baskets of salt fish; each pingo of these is worth five fanams, for an yearly total of 4 Xerafins at 3 larins per Xerafin.

The Chandas were paying each year to the King 16 pingos of jaggery worth 32 fanams; and were paying in two instalments, 8 pingos per instalment in the said times and for the said custom.

The Chandas of "Ilheo" were paying 4 pingos of Jaggery each year for the value of 8 fanams, in the same way and at the said times.

The Workmen, Carpenters, Blacksmiths and all other labourers, were paying altogether each year to the King—in respect of the

trade each one is engaged—one and a half golded Calania worth nine mates or toque, whose value is at the rate of 8 larins per Calania, which is 4 Xerafins ; and they have reduced their duties of small quantities ; and whatever they gave was given by each one according to their calculation in the time of this said Captain Laurenco de Teixeira de Macedo, and they were paying this duty in two instalments like the others ; and this which they were paying is the duty called “ Cotelbada ”.

The said Majorals and Patangatis and other chiefs declared that all mechanic labourers had the obligation to serve the Rajah each one in his trade, when it was needed, in any of his undertakings ; and as soon as they entered his services, he (Rajah) ordered that they may be provided with his own rice for their food, and for each month more or less he was giving them something as a fee which is more or less one larin according to the importance of the person and trade ; and if the work undertaken lasted two or three days (only), nothing was given to them ; and this custom of sustaining is called “ Bichao ” (Sing. Padi Vecham).

All the dhobies were paying to the King two cachas worth 3 larins, each in two instalments every six months, and at present there are 4 dhobies in the said Port, who besides the said cachas, their chief called “ Peri ”, pays one larin and the others half larin each, every year ; and this is paid in one instalment.

There are in the said Port 12 or 15 Careas who are the descendants of those who had the obligation to carry fresh fish in loaded carts every day to the kitchen and Galbare of the King, and these at present bound to serve in whatever he was commanding. And when they were bringing this fish, meals were given to them.

There are two Chandas in the said Port and six native chetties.

For each house in which liquor was distilled and Pot-arack made, it was paid each year some at the rate of 10 fanams and others at the rate of 5 fanams ; and it is not known at present the number of (such) houses situated in the said Port.

By means of an oath given to them they declared that there are no other rights, or dues in the said Port, except those they had declared ; and that they were glad to pay the said cachas and

pingos to which they were bound in the way above-mentioned ; the cachas at the rate of 3 larins each, no matter the value was greater or smaller ; and the pingos at the rate of 5 fanams each.

And in this way the said Vedor da Fazenda settled the above mentioned agreement in order to avoid all the inconveniences which were customary, and all other vexations inflicted by the Tax collectors to the said Patangatis and to the rest of the people. In order to guarantee this, together with the said Vedor da Fazenda and in the language used by the Fazenda all affixed their signatures here :

Dom Francisco Belguao and I, Jacome Calaco, made this in Colombo in the said day and date above mentioned, and I, Baltazar Marinho, clerk of His Majesty's Fazenda, ordered this to be written.

Antao Vaz Freire, Dom Francisco (in his language), of Dom Francisco I say (sic), of Dom Gaspar da Cruz Canacapulle, of Alfonso Ferreira, Dom Jeronymo, Pero da Costa, of Arambolata the Chetty, of Ventura Fernando, of Coia Naina Macar, Muslim, of Simao Fernando, of Louis Fernando, of Mudaliya Macar, Muslim.

Register of the Gardens and Properties (Estates), which are situated in this Port and within its limits and boundaries ; which are bound to the payment of the Custom and Duty “ Polaia ”—(Coconut-Duty), According to the Ancient Custom, that is one Silver Fanam for each 10 Coconut-palms.

The said Majorals declared in like manner that in the district of the said Port there are a certain number of gardens owned by them and by the other residents, which are as follows :—

The grounds occupied by the new Fort and its surroundings, which belong to His Majesty.

The Grounds occupied by the Church of the Mother of God, with a garden reaching the River, belong to the Fathers.

Two gardens belonging to the Captain of the said Port, Lourenco Teixeira de Mecedo, situated between the River and the Sea Shore, in which are thorny bushes.

One ground (lot) situated between the River and the Sea, given to Iheronimo Texeira da Cunha, with a bridge, joining the mentioned bushy ground, with the River and the sea shore.

A garden belonging to Gaspa Pereira, clerk of the said Port, bearing 10 fruitful coconut-palms. The said garden has common boundary with that of Lorenzo Texeira de Mechedo, and is adjoining the said River and Grand Street, in which there are some fruit trees.

And a ground belonging to Francisco Gil, Inspector of the said Port, adjoining the said River and Grand Street, and does not have ipezies—I say (sic)—fruit trees.

And a small plot of ground adjoining the one above-mentioned, and the said River and Grand Street, belonging to an Inspector named Gaspar Velozo; whose former owner was Samara Vira Sandar.

And a ground belonging to *Domingo D'Andrade*, Canacapulle of the said Port, adjoining the River and Grand Street.

And a garden belonging to the said Domingo D'Andrade, (situated) in "Goreari", having thirty fruitful coconut palms, for 500 nuts, worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ larins.

And a ground belonging to "Madapuly Arachi", together with his own house, adjoining the said River and Grand Street, in which there are no fruit trees.

And a ground belonging to Francisco Fernando who was a gentile was called "Quilipuraviria Cutti", adjoining the said River and Grand Street.

And a ground and houses belonging to Thome who as a gentile was called "Nani Marca" adjoining the above mentioned garden and with the same points of reference (the River and the Street).

And a ground belonging to Joao da Costa "Manda Mandi", adjoining the abovementioned ground at the same points of reference.

And a ground and houses belonging to the Patangati, Dom Gaspar da Cruz, having two Coconut Palms and adjoining the above-mentioned ground.

And a ground and houses belonging to Francisco Fernando who as a gentile was called "Anuna", having three coconut palms and adjoining the above-mentioned ground.

And a ground and houses belonging to Simao Fernando, "Paguala", I say (sic) "Pallaga Peruma", having one coconut-palm, and adjoining the ground and houses of Dom Gaspar da Cruz.

And a ground and houses belonging to Lourenco Fernando, who as a gentile was called "Ilean", adjoining the ground and houses of Simao Fernando mentioned above.

And a ground and houses belonging to Thome Fernando, who as a gentile was called "Nilan", having one coconut palm, and adjoining the ground and houses of Lorenzo Fernando mentioned above.

And a ground and houses belonging to Simao Fernando "Arma Quirily" (Aruma Kicily) having four coconut-palms and adjoining the above-mentioned ground.

And a ground and houses belonging to Joao Fernando, "Viria Cuti", adjoining the River and the Grand Street.

And a ground and houses belonging to Maria Fernando, widowed wife of Anthonio Fernando adjoining the above mentioned River, and Grand Street.

And a ground and houses belonging to Manoel Fernando, who as a gentile was called "Parama Cuti Maraca", having a coconut palm and adjoining the said Street and River.

And a ground and houses belonging to Paullo Fernando who as a gentile was called "Viria Cuti", adjoining the said River and Grand Street.

And a ground and houses belonging to a resident in Colombo, whose name is "Nao Perca" and as a gentile was called "Patene Cuti", adjoining the said River and Grand Street.

And a ground belonging to Domingo Fernando "Xembaga Peruma", having three coconut palms and adjoining the said River and Grand Street.

And a ground and houses, belonging to Manoel Fernando "Viria Curia" (Viria Sooria) having a coconut palm and adjoining the River and Grand Street and the ground and houses of Domingo Fernando.

And a ground and houses belonging to Lourenco Fernando having two coconut palms, and adjoining the River and Grand Street and the houses and ground of the above-mentioned Manoel Fernando.

And a ground and houses belonging to Joao Fernando "Vira", adjoining the said River and Grand Street.

And a ground and houses belonging to Pero Fernando "Semdai", having two coconut palms and adjoining the said River and Grand Street and the houses and garden of Joao Fernando Vira.

And a ground and houses belonging to Manoel Fernando, who as a gentile was called "Vira Cuti", having three coconut palms and adjoining the said River and Grand Street and with the houses and ground of the above mentioned Pero Fernando.

And a ground and houses belonging to Paulo Fernando who as a gentile was called "Pateni Cuti", adjoining the said River and Grand Street and the houses and ground of Manoel Fernando.

And a ground and houses belonging to Francisco Nogado, Christian of a (land) having three coconut palms and adjoining the said River and Grand Street and the houses and ground of the above-mentioned Paulo Fernando.

And a ground and houses belonging to Francisco Fernando—as a gentile "Pateni Cuti" having two coconut palms and adjoining the said River and Grand Street.

And a ground and houses belonging to Maria Fernando, the widowed wife of "Xemba" and adjoining the said River and Grand Street and the houses and ground of Francisco Fernando.

And the ground and houses of Thome Fernando, a native of Colombo, having eight coconut palms and adjoining the said River and Grand Street and the houses and ground of Marta Fernando. (It should be Maria Fernando mentioned above.)

And a ground and house belonging to Maria Fernando, once wife and widow of Antonio Fernando, adjoining the said River and Grand Street and with the houses and ground of Thome Fernando.

And a ground and houses belonging to Antonio Fernando, who as a gentile was called "Semdis", adjoining the said River and Grand Street and the houses and ground of Maria Fernando.

And a ground and houses, belonging to Marcal de Morais—as a gentile (was called) "Crita Male Chati"—having 6 coconut palms, and adjoining the said River and Grand Street.

And a ground and houses belonging to Francisco Gil, Inspector of the Port of Negombo, in which there are 6 coconut palms and which adjoins the said River and Grand Street.

And a garden, belonging to the above mentioned Francisco Gil, situated in the street of the Moors in (from) its beginning, and in which there are 240 coconut Palms, which bear each year fruits for 3,600 nuts, worth 18 larins.

Moreover he has got in the said garden 400 new coconut plants bearing as yearly produce 6,000 nuts worth 30 larins.

And another garden situated in the said street, and belonging to the said Francisco Gil, in which there are 220 coconut-palms, bearing an annual produce of 3,300 nuts worth 16½ larins.

And another garden, belonging to the said Francisco Gil, and situated at the Sea Shore in a place where the boats are beached, and in which there are 400 coconut palms bearing an annual produce of 6,000 nuts worth 30 larins.

And a garden, I say (sic) and another garden situated in the Street of the Mother of God, belonging to "Pate Peruma Ramanca" (or "Ramavea"?) gentile, a worthy "Viria Cuti" gentile and in which there are 15 coconut-palms.

APPENDIX 3

**Genealogy of the families of de Fonseka, d'Anderado, de Rowel,
Lowe, Tāmel and Tissera of the Varuṇakula Āditiya
Arasanilayitte clan.**

The three ancestral clans of the Karāva, are the Kurukula-sūriya, the Mihiṅdukulasūriya and the Varuṇakulasūriya. The Mihiṅdukulasūriya bears the alternate name, Arasakulasūriya. Mihiṅdu and Arasa are synonymous terms, both meaning the King. Varuṇakula Āditiya and Varuṇakulasūriya are also synonymous, Āditiya, meaning Suriya, the Sun.

“Arasanilayitte” signifies one endowed with or possessing status of Arasa, or King. The distinguishing term Arasanilayitte attached to the six families, whose genealogy is appended, emphasizes their distinctive rank and status as chieftains of the clan, with something of a royal ancestry inherent in the name Arasani.

The six families linked together by matrimonial alliances, as borne out by the genealogical table, form a lineage and a kinship group.

DON
Mudaliyar, 1856
Sabandar and

DON MICHAEL De FONSEKA
M. Dominga d'Anderado. In Jaffna, 1658.
Later succeeded Don Louis de Anderado as
Adigar of Kalutara and Walalawita Korale.

DOMINGA D'ANDERADO
Married Don Michael de Fonseka.

MANUEL De FONSEKA
Vidahn of Colombo, 1687.

MANICO De FONSEKA
M. Pavistina de Tissera, 1720.
Coraal of Salpiti Korale and
Maha Vidahn of Kalutara.

PEDURU De FONSEKA
Mohandiram of Kalutara & Interpreter
to the Opporhoofd, 1720.

BASTIAN De FONSEKA
1770. Appointed to act as
Mohandiram.

SOLOMON De FONSEKA
M. A daughter of Renaldus de
Anderado, Mudaliyar.

DAVID De FONSEKA
Mohandiram of Kalutara,
1819.

HARMANIS De FONSEKA
M. Justina, daughter of Bastian
de Anderado, Mudaliyar.

CAROLIS De FONSEKA
Mohandiram, 1848.
M. Louisa, daughter of Bas-
tian de Anderado, Mudaliyar.

JOSEPH De FONSEKA

LOUIS De FONSEKA

LOUISA
M. D. de Silva Abhaywickrama
Wijayanayaka, 1871.

CAROLIS De FONSEKA

SIMON RICHARD De FONSEKA
Mudaliyar of Salpiti Korale and
Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate.
M. Louisa, daughter of Juan de
Silva, Mudaliyar.

WHILHELMINA

JACOB De FONSEKA
Mohandiram, 1841.

RICHARD De FONSEKA

JAMES FRET

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE VARUNAKULA ADITIYA ARASANILAYITTE CLANS

MANUEL D'ANDERADO
 Matara. 1658 Expedition to Jaffna.
 Member of the Dutch Council.

DON LOUIS D'ANDERADO

Adigar of Kalutara and Walalawita Korale. Cousin and brother-in-law of Don Manuel d'Anderado. Presented with a silver sword by the Dutch in 1665 for distinguished conduct in the 1665 campaign against the rebel subjects of Raja Sinha II. Presented with a gold chain by the Dutch for his services at the siege and capture of Cochin, 1663.

BRAZ D'ANDERADO
 Chief of Lascarins, Kalutara.
 Died 1709.

DOMINGO D'ANDERADO
 Adigar of Kalutara & Walalawita
 Korale. Succeeded his brother-
 in-law, Don Michael de Fonseka.

SINCO D'ANDERADO
 1659. Acted for his uncle Don
 Manuel d'Anderado at Jaffna.

MANUEL D'ANDERADO
 Mohandiram of Colombo.

BARBARA D'ANDERADO
 Married Thomas Pieris, Junior
 Surgeon.

MANUEL D'ANDERADO
 Maha Vidane of Salpiti Korale
 circa, 1707. Dissawa of Matara,
 circa, 1720.

MANUEL D'ANDERADO
 Left Kalutara and settled in
 Colombo, 1721.

RENALDUS D'ANDERADO
 Mudaliyar, 1787.

FRANCISCU De FONSEKA
 Maha Vidahn Mohandiram, 1766.
 Mudaliyar of Kalutara, 1797.

PHILIP D'ANDERADO
 Mohandiram of Colombo, 1814.

BASTIAN D'ANDERADO
 Mohandiram, 1817. Mudaliyar,
 1820. Married Isabella, daughter
 of Francisco de Fonseka, Muda-
 liyar of Kalutara.

JANES De FONSEKA
 Mudaliyar of Kalutara, 1819.

ROSITA
 M. Simon de Fonseka, Maha
 Vidahn of Kalutara.

ISABELLA
 M. Bastian de Anderado,
 Mudaliyar.

Married

SELESTINU De FONSEKA
 Mudaliyar of Kalutara, 1825.
 Appointed Maha Vidahn of
 Panadura, 1834

MANUEL De FONSEKA
 Mudaliyar of Kalutara, 1869

MIGUEL D'ANDERADO
 Married Louisa, daughter of
 Selestinu de Fonseka, Mudaliyar
 of Kalutara.

SIMON De FONSEKA FREDERICK De FONSEKA

HENRY De FONSEKA
 Mohandiram.

DAVID HARMANIS De FONSEKA
 Mohandiram.

PHILIP D'ANDERADO

De FONSEKA

HENRY FREDERICK De FONSEKA
 Mudaliyar, 1911.

EDMOND CLARKE De FONSEKA

ANTHONY De ROWEL
Maha Vidahn and Mohandiram
of Alutkuru Korale, 1763.
Mudaliyar, 1765.

MICHAEL De ROWEL
Mudaliyar. Married Anna Maria,
daughter of Renaldus
d'Anderado, Mudaliyar.

JUSEY De ROWEL
Mohandiram of Alutkuru
Korale, 1826.

CAROLIS De ROWEL

AMBROSIUS De ROWEL
Mudaliyar of Pitigal Korale and
the Governor's Gate. Married
Anna Maria Lowe, daughter of Robert
Lowe of Marawila. Died 1906.

THOMAS D'ANDERADO
Mohandiram of Colombo and
Mohandiram of the 5th Company
of Lascarins, 1818. Mudaliyar,
1827.

MIGUEL LOWE
Coraal of Kammal Pattu, 1825.

ALVINOE LOWE
Mudaliyar of Kammal Pattu,
1859. Mudaliyar of Pitigal
Korale, 1871. Mudaliyar of the
Governor's Gate. Married a
daughter of Manuel de Fonseca,
Mudaliyar of Kalutara.

SIMON TAMEL
Known as Kammala Maha Mudaliyar
(Circa, 1715).

DON SIMON MELHO VARUNAKU-
LA ADITTIYA WEERASURIYA
ARASANALLAITTE
Mudaliyar, Pitigal Korale, 1782.

DON FRANCISCO MELHO WEE-
RASURIYA ARASANALLAITTE
Mudaliyar, Pitigal Korale, 1765.

JOAN TEXIRO
circa 1663 (Van Goens).

JAN TISSERA
circa 1707 (Bolscho)

DON GERRIT TISSERA
VARUNAKULA ADITTIYA WEERASINGHE
ARASANILLAITTE
Mudaliyar, 1761.

SELESTINA
Married Solomon de Fonseca.

JUSTINA
Manis de Fonseca.

LOUISA
Married Carolis de Fonseca
Mohandiram.

RENALDUS D'ANDERADO
Mohandiram of Kalutara, 1844.
Married Isabella, daughter of
Selestinu de Fonseca, Mudaliyar
of Kalutara.

THOMAS D'ANDERADO

CAMEL D'ANDERADO

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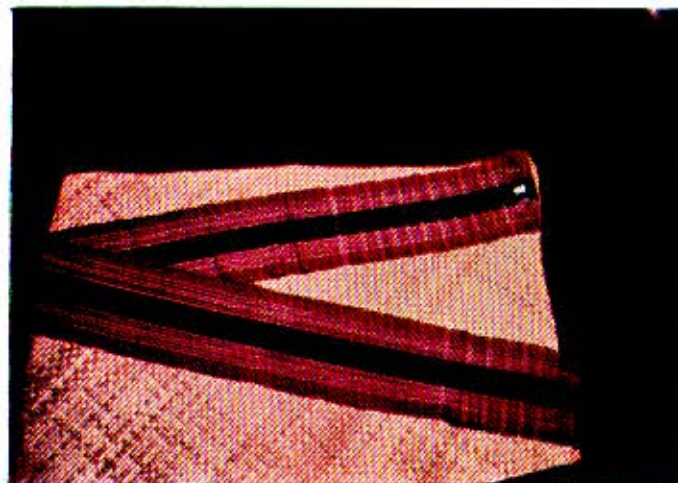
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Worship of the High Gods, *the*,
144-148.
Yakkās, 2.



1. IRA HANDA KODIYA



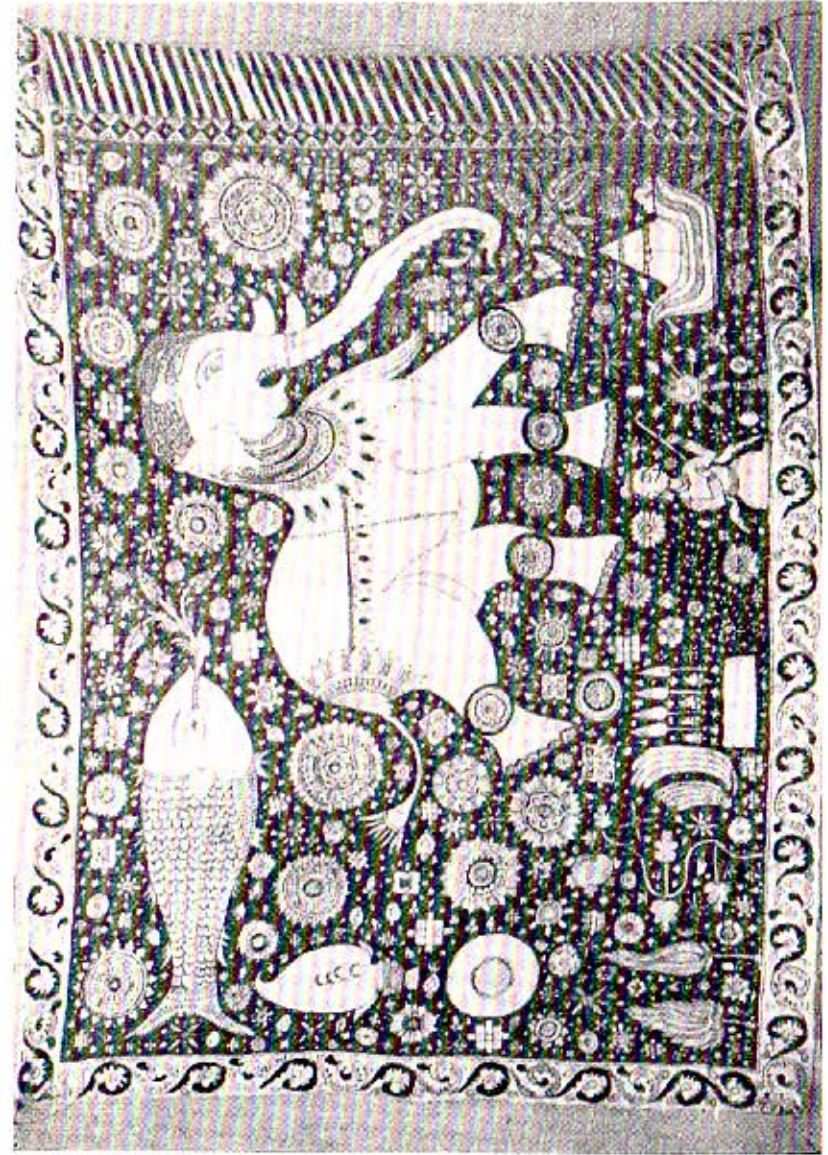
2. SINHA KODIYA



1. PĀVĀDA CLOTH



2. MASKED DANCERS, RATALAWEWA



SUDU ATU BĀNDI KODIYA



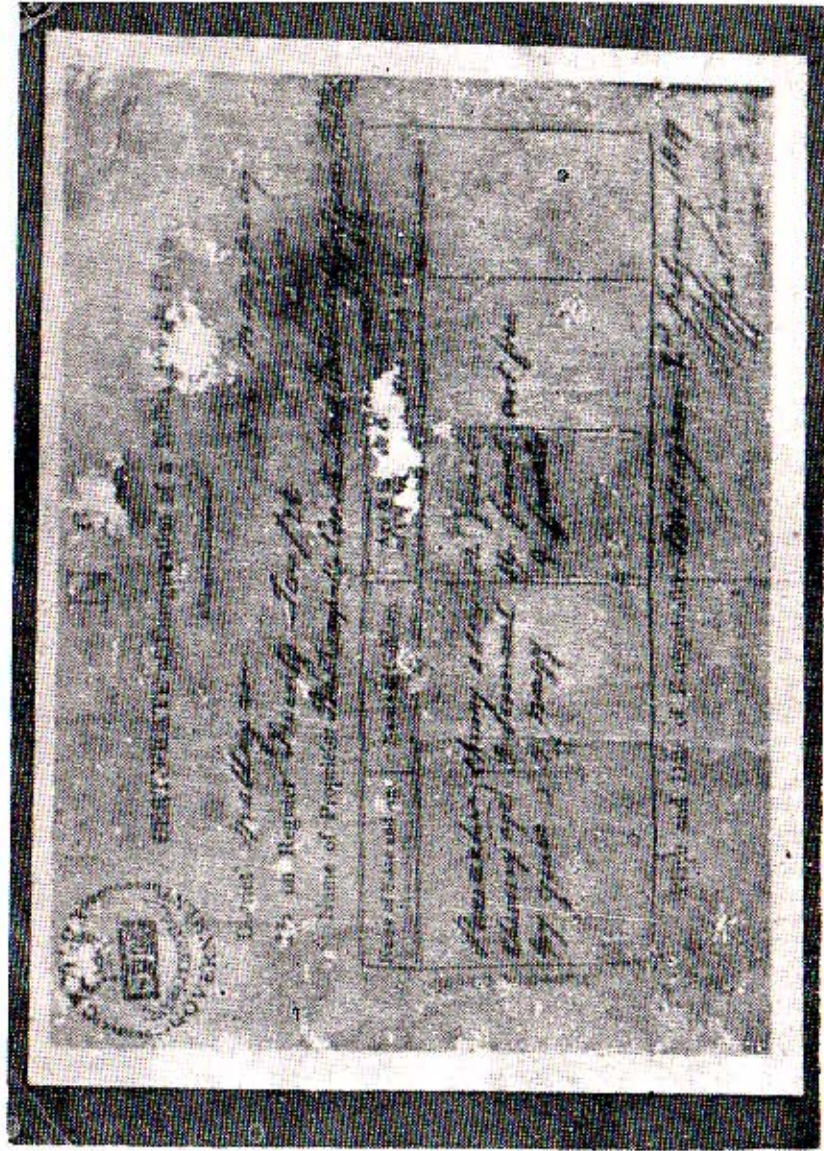
1. VIMĀNA, UDAPPU KOVIL



2. SHRINE ROOM, UDAPPU KOVIL



TRIUMPHANT MARCH OF YUDHISTRAR



CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF A SLAVE



OUTRIGGER CANOES



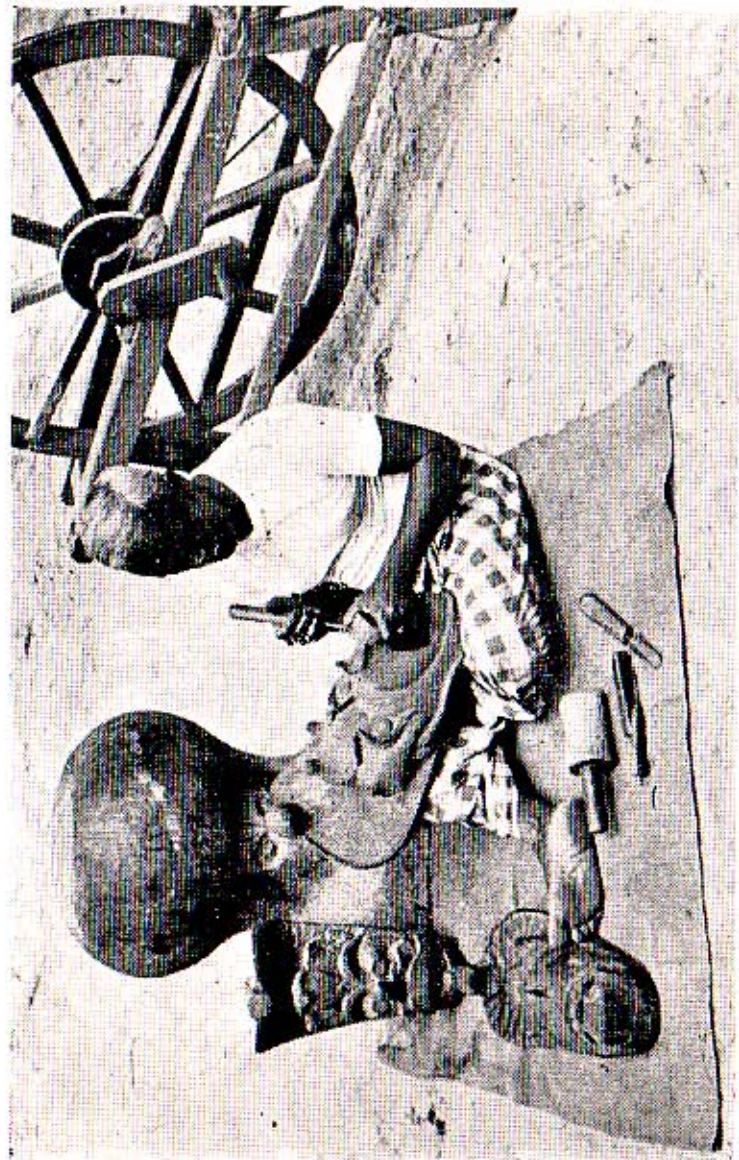
1. KING AND QUEEN



2. MASKS



MASKED DANCERS



MASK MAKING, AMBALANGODA



VISHNU DEVĀLE, DEVI NUWARA



BANNER, MANAMPITTYA



1. PEACOCK FLAG.



2. FLAG WITH A DEITY.



BANNER, MANAMPITTYA.



1. CHRISTIAN BANNER.



2. FLAG WITH A COMPOSITE FIGURE.



FLAG FROM CHILAW



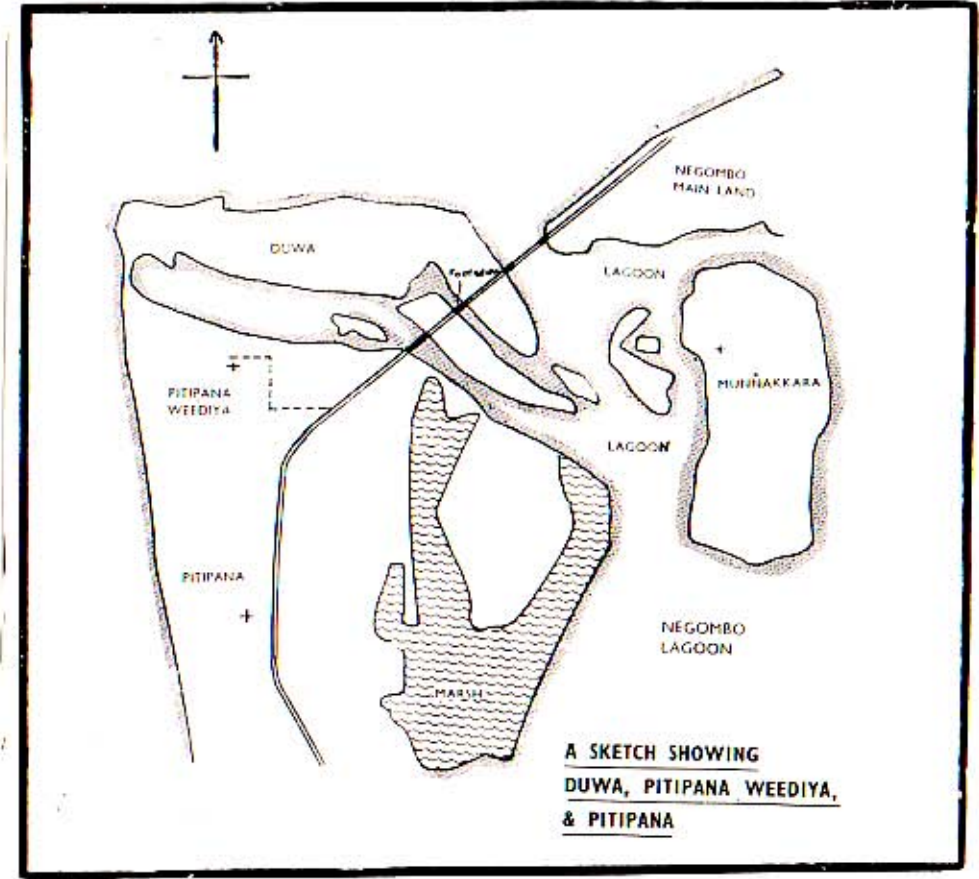
FLAG FROM
MAGGOXA



MAKARA KODIYA



IRA HANDA KODIYA, HATARA KÖRALĒ



A SKETCH SHOWING
DUWA, PITIPANA WEEDIYA,
& PITIPANA

