

"There is nothing that solidifies and strengthens a nation like reading the nation's history, whether that history be recorded in books or embodied in customs, institutions and monuments"

- J. Anderson

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Caste Papers

[Karavé]

Anderson

Title Page - Courtesy National Museum.

Photo - Nihal Fernando, Studio Times, Sri Lanka.

PREFACE

Some years ago an interesting and educative discussion was carried on in the local papers, the subject, "What Knox said", regarding the average Sinhalese. The subject digressed into a very sensitive topic—the caste question. One correspondent in this connection, referred to a three man commission, appointed by the Government to inquire and report on the caste structure, the findings of which he alleged had been suppressed. "If the report of the Commission 'Antiquarian' refers to in the concluding portion of his letter was suppressed by the Government of the time, there is no reason why it cannot be brought to light now." (E. B. Wright - Times of Ceylon 16. 8. 1960). The fact that there was some discrimination during Governor Gordon's tenure of office is borne out by the number of petitions submitted to Government and some even presented to the British Parliament (British Record Office - C.O. 54/583.* Mention of a Commission having been appointed is also made by Advocate G. A. Dharmaratne. (Kara-Goi Contest p. 67.) The members of the Commission were three eminent Orientalists, Messrs Nevill, Lee and Bell. Strangely, this report is not available, probably suppressed as suggested by Antiquarian.

As the truth must see the light of day, the Bell Collection in the National Museum of Colombo, reveals the fact that he had gathered material on the Caste question.

* **Note 1.** I was not able to trace any record pertaining to an appointment of a Commission in the Record Office save a number of petitions on the subject. However, a letter to Mr. H. C. P. Bell written by Mr. L. F. W. Fernando of "Ratnagiri" Moratuwa dated 16th January 1933 regarding the matter was replied as follows:-
Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 16th. You had better address the Government itself, if you wish to pursue the matter.

Yours faithfully,
Sgd: **H. C. P. Bell**

Kandy: 18. 1. 33

It is therefore possible that a Commission had been appointed and Bell had already submitted his report and this manuscript may be either a copy of the report he submitted to the Government, or just a collection of "Caste Papers" compiled for the purpose.

Evidently, then a Commission had been appointed. This manuscript is perhaps a copy of his submission to Governor Gordon. It may even be possible that Bell intended to publish his findings since the papers are arranged and bound up in book form and styled "Caste Papers - Karave". Bell's entire library - collection of books and manuscripts were purchased by the National Museum. These were catalogued and made available to the reading public, but this particular volume lay in obscurity and by sheer accident in November 1966, I had the good fortune to examine it. Comment on this omission is not necessary when we recall to mind the persons in charge of the Museum and Library at the time of cataloguing.

Mr. Bell, as any student of Ceylon history would know is a scholar of no mean repute. It is not my intention, therefore, to introduce him to the reader. There are numerous contributions by him to Journals and Bulletins as well as his Archeological Survey Reports. The conclusions he has arrived at in the present Volume are the outcome of examining manuscripts, books and pamphlets. Among his collections are two volumes entitled "Caste pamphlets" (Index No. 24.F/2 & 3). A list of these with his comments on the cover page are given at the end of the work. Bell's manuscript is not reproduced here in full for want of space, but the portions printed are exact texts. Errors in dates and translations of Sannas extracts are corrected and recast where necessary.

The Manuscript is written on foolscap and could be divided into five parts, viz.,

1. Report or observation including Sannas extracts in Sinhala - four pages with free English translation - seven pages and a list of Chieftains eight pages.
2. The Sudra Nirnaya, English translation forty eight pages including notes (Not reproduced). This work in Sinhala was printed and published by Messrs A. Pieris and S. P. Dias in 1886. It is described as "A Discussion on the Low Castes and an Expose of the Futility of the statement in the "Niti-Niggandu".

3. Rejoinder in English to Vedanta Nirnaya No. II a Tamil Periodical published in Madras, five pages.
4. English translation of ancient document, eleven pages. Not reproduced as it is illegible.
5. A Sinhala petition, two pages, followed by English translation, three pages. It is styled, "Complaint against the Wellala or the Goyigama Caste". No name or date is given.

It would not be mere coincidence that both Nevill and Bell should have been impelled to collect material on the Caste question at the same time unless there was some unrest and urgency to do so. Nevill's monumental work, "The Taprobanian" was published in the same year 1886 as this manuscript was compiled.

I acknowledge with thanks, the kind permission and courtesy extended by the Director of the National Museum, Colombo, to reproduce photographic copies of "Caste Papers" - Karave, on the cover title of Bell's manuscript and "Two Inscribed Swords" from the Guide to the Museum of 1905. I have also to thank him for granting me photocopies of 39 pages of this manuscript published in this volume.

In this connection I must mention the Librarian Miss P.T. Karunayake who spared no pains to have this done. She also showed me two other manuscripts in the same collection relating to the Salagama and Navandana groups.

I would also like to mention that the late Mr. Edmund Reimers former Government Archivist when living in retirement showed a friend of mine and myself a copy of this manuscript in his possession and also handed to us a document pertaining to this subject which is reproduced as a Supplement. It appears to be a summary of the petitions collected by Bell bearing certain numbers. This document is not in the Bell Collection nor is it traceable in the Archives. Pages in this manuscript are either misplaced or missing and I have re-arranged them to make it readable with some sense until the original is finally traced.

Last but not the least my thanks and appreciation to my Guru, the late Mr. A. P. Gomes M.Sc. (Lond) who was "Antiquarian" in the local press for all the encouragement and assistance in my historical studies.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most debatable and sensitive topics of historical interest often alluded to is the Caste Problem of Sri Lanka. It is around this system that Sinhala Society is woven. Foreigners, as well as local scholars have in no small way contributed varied and learned analyses of the origin and working of the system. Towards the end of the last century we witnessed the most bitter period of caste controversy. A spate of books, pamphlets and letters to the press, either defending one's views or attacking the views of others were published in quick succession. The reasons for this outburst was due to the Govi-Vellala claiming precedence of place and securing for its rank and file all the coveted administrative posts under the British Government as their exclusive preserve. Members of the other castes protested against such a claim and exposed the undue influence of this community. The numerous petitions during this period is sufficient proof that there was discrimination and partiality towards the Govi. In the frequent caste discussion that flared up, the history, culture and society of the Karawa was always the subject of heated argument.

According to one school of thought history has to be re-written. But could a fact be re-written? This is only possible when added evidence is unearthed. It then becomes necessary to adjust the earlier concepts and interpretations. New facts does not mean altering ancient manuscripts or deciphering rock inscriptions to suit one's self-concernedness and preconceived ideas. Time may change, as it has, the social and political groups of this country. The historian has a duty to perform, namely, write or re-write the truth without prejudice, however, distasteful. Altering manuscripts or reprinting histories to boost one's own group is vandalism akin to the defacing of the Sigiriya Frescoes or replacing genuine Museum antiques with spurious items. In the past, historical and other research was done by foreigners, mainly members of the Civil Service. Very few of their local successors have emulated them. With University education now within the reach of many, the urge to search for the

Island's Social and Cultural past has in recent times produced a fair number of books on the subject. A good portion of these publications are by the lecturers of the three Universities. This is indeed a very healthy sign. But some of these scholars are really out of step. Strange as it may sound, though they contend that history too changes with time, their views never change. Due either to ignorance or just, die hard vindictiveness certain groups of people turn a blind eye to modern research and publications and derive no benefit from other research scholars.

To quote three examples from the past of Ceylon scholars to show that suppression of facts or assumptions based on prejudice and without investigation, distorted not only their work but mislead other students.

First, Paul E. Peiris, in what he purports to call a full summary of the third book of the Portuguese Thombo, has this to say of the duties payable to the King of Kotte at the Port of Chilaw :-

"On each vessel newly built, 10% calculated on the remuneration promised to the carpenters, was paid, but this levy was only from strangers; the native inhabitants being exempt as they rendered service to the King." ¹

The correct translation of this passage reads, "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.**" ² It is strange that Peiris's summary omits this salient reason for exemption from tax!

It is of this same P. E. Peiris (later Sir Paul E. Peiris) that Rev. Fr. S. G. Perera S. J. comments in his Introduction to the translation of the Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon by Fr. Fernao de Queyroz S.J. a translation undertaken by Fr. Perera at the request of the Ceylon Government. Father Perera states, "a comparison of the two books (Portuguese text of Queyoz's work and Peiris'

1. Peiris, Paul E. - The Ceylon Littoral 1593. The Times of Ceylon Ltd, 1949 p. 7.
2. Raghavan M. D - The Karave of Ceylon Society & Culture (1960) Appendix 2. p. 181.

Portuguese Era) open side by side will soon set all doubts at rest. Accordingly in my review I took occasion to expose the manner in which the Conquista had been used, not so much because of what might be called the plagiarism, but rather to show that Mr. Peris's method of book publication, for not only did he practically deprive Queyroz of the credit of his labours, but he was even more unjust to the Portuguese, whom who depicted in the darkest colours by a judicious mixture of *suppresso veri and suggestio falsi*."

Secondly, let us take a look at the work of Ralph Peiris. He limits his study to the Kandyan period but presumably he has some background knowledge of what went before. He begins with the assumption that "Karawa" and "fisher" are one. He states that "the Karawa in late Kandyan times gained prestige as purveyors of salt and dried fish to the Kings" and in a footnote adds, "But in the late nineteenth century Karave pamphleteers, sheltering beneath the umbrage of Democracy, claimed to be second to none," and "this sort of caste controversy would have been unthinkable in Kandyan times" 4

As far as Ralph Peiris is concerned the South Indian Inscriptions showing the prominence of the Kurukularajas in India and Sri Lanka, the historical evidence of Sinhala records and the inscriptional evidence from Sri Lanka, the Portugues Tombos, the many heraldic banners and insignia still surviving are obviously disregarded in favour of his own assumption based on a distorted edition of the Janavansa that the Karawa ethnic group was reckoned low "because engaged in killing fish they were sinning." 5

Was Ralph Peiris unaware of Nevill's note on the Janavansaya in the British Museum a photo stat copy of which is in my possession too, and reads as follows :-

"This work is sometimes also styled Maha Kalpopattiya.

3. Perera Rev. Fr. S. G. - Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon (translation 1930) Book I. p. 25
4. Peiris Ralph - Sinhalese Social Organisation (1956) p. 176 n. 37
5. Ibid - p. 176 citing his authority Taprobanian 1886. pp 74-93 and 103-114

A translation of it has been published in the Taprobanian Vol. I. The book is a very valuable summary of all that was known to the Sinhalese, regarding the origin of the various races, from which offsets reached Ceylon. It was evidently been compiled in its present form from older works, probably in Sanskrit, and there has of late been a prejudice against it as inciting the others to reject the pretensions of the Govi caste to superiority. This prejudice causes owners of the work to conceal their possession, and it is exceedingly hard to get access to copies, though they are not uncommon. It was compiled in its present form by the Maha Tero Sri Buddha Rakkhita of the Maha Vihara succession, and bears internal evidence in the allusions to Wathmi king, Bahu III. about A.D. 1233, of being later than his reign. When publishing my translation in 1886, I thought that the style referred the work to a period about A.D. 1420. Many new writings have been examined by me since that date, while forming and arranging my library, and I am now disposed to refer it further back, to the early years of the Dambadeniya dynasty, say about A.D. 1240. The writer was certainly educated before the epoch of learning which set in during the reign of Parakrama Bahu of Dambadeniya, and as he was Maha Tero of the Maha Vihara succession he must have had every advantage of his time. No priest in such a position would have written so crudely, after the learned epochs of Dambadeniya and Kurunegala dynasties. It is thus probable that he was the recognised head of the Maha Vihara priests and ordained during the dark period of Magha's invasion and tyranny. Restored to position, when Anuradhapura was restored by the Dambadeniya king, and before the rising scholars had reached his mature age, this is just such a book, and just such a style, as I should expect, after my wider experience in our literature, I now think no writer so late as A. D. 1420 would have described himself as Maha Tero of the Maha Vihara succession. 6

To quote the introduction to the translation, Taprobanian Vol. I p. 75

6. Nevill Hugh - Note on Janavansaya British Museum Vol. I. P. 17323. Reproduced in Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, by M. B. Ariyapala Sinhala Edition (1962) p. 284 and English Edition (1968) Appendix V.

"As will be seen it is a perfect store-house of obsolete names, and otherwise lost information on the origin of the Sinhalese races".

"As regards his often laughable attempts to derive all his names from Sinhalese or else Sanskrit roots, they are not worse than those refined Greeks, who similarly tried to derive every barbarian name their polite lips could be forced to utter, from a Greek source. Like all such efforts, they are encouraging, as showing a deeply-rooted belief that proper names all originally had a distinct sense attached to them, besides the individuality of the person or the identity of a place"

I have a rare version, which contains an authentic passage referring to the Karawa caste, suppressed now from most copies. It is given loc. cit. p. 109 and doubtless comes from the same source as the other traditions regarding Wijaya, found in the Jaffna Chronicles, but now unknown to the Sinhalese.

Was Pieris also ignorant of the fact that Nevill in the Taprobanian has translated the authentic passage? It is important enough to merit reproduction here. The full text is as follows:-

"Mancha marecha Kewatte waguri Wapi jalika Hanna which is torture, jara which is decay, are the roots.

Because those who knew to build oru (boats), Yatra (outrigger junks), nev (ships), humban (sailing boats without outriggers), traversing the great ocean 84,000 yojans in depth in order to trade, gained their livelihood, they were called "Seithi" race. All these are not sudras, it is right to know they are the descendants of the Maha-Sammata.

From that time kings of false religions ruling this and that country many kinds of believers in gods, of about sixty thousand false religions, greatly spread through the world after a long interval of time had passed and gone, because on the journey when the royal prince Wijaya, grandson of the Kalinga Chakravarti, came to Ceylon, the hero belonging

to the Kewatte race, chief of the 700 heroes, came near (kara) the royal prince Wijaya, he gave the rank of Yuva Raja (sub-king) to the Karawanti Kewatte Prince, whilst so living, he was very intimate with the king, who in many ways showed him affection, and gave him 16 villages, and so living, he received, from the city of Kanchipura a wife in marriage; after no long time he had six children, and whilst so living, upon a scheme of the royal prince Wijaya, that Kewatta Yuva Raja with his wife, placing his two elder sons and two elder daughters in charge of King Wijaya, together with his two younger children, becoming chief king of the city Kanchi and Kanchi Rata, according to his acts went to the other world. The manner in which the name Karawa came to those who descended from him, became public. Seeing the fact that they were very savage (krura) having no fear of doing unmeritorious acts, skilled in house building, when the illustrious second Wijaya Narapati, eldest son of prince Sindh Bahu, grandson of Kalinga Chakravarti, was reigning in Lakdiva, fetching twenty four Kewatte Grahapati men possessed of shrewd wise intelligence from the city of Kanchipura, in order that they may settle in Lankadipa, he made a covenant giving them fields, cattle, buffaloes, clothes, ornaments and the like. After time had thus passed, in the 207th year after our Buddha had gone to Nirvana, at the time when Devanampiyatissa Narendraya was reigning over Lakdiva, Dharmasoka Narapati of Dambadiva, sending to Sri Lankadwipa together with the great-in-splendour, all-fear-dispelling, fearless, rendering victorious Maha Bodhi, and with two princes, Mahinda and Sanghamitta, archers employed in bow-craft, and people accustomed to fight with swords (khadga), javelin (kuntha), pikes (tomara), shields (pallis), and the like, saying (holding), the peal umbrellas, white canopies, and chamara are our services, while the princes our kin are going, it is not proper for us to stay, forty-nine in number these also came for the Bo-Mandala business.

Note 1 'Karawa is not from Kara near, but a corruption of Kuru-vasa "Kuru people", changed from Kuruwa to Karawa.

2 We should say 'the prince and princess'

3 Kuruwa becomes in modern Sinhalese Karawa p. 108

Because they came near (kara) the Bodia, because they came near (kara) ³ the princes, they were called Karawa. Giving them many fields, gardens, they made them to stay in this Sri Lanka.

Thus because princes, who attained the kinship from time to time, belonged to this race and attained it, Bhuwanekha Bahu on account of the dangers that arose from foreign enemies, bringing to this Lakdiva from the city Kanchipura ninety five of them in number, showed them royal kindness, and established them there. From that time, keeping everything that was needed, appointing the five doers of service, he protected them."

The Society which Ralph Pieris studied was a society cut off from the stimulating processes of cultural and commercial contact. As Raghavan states, "Kandyan feudalism in its final form was both a development and a departure from Sinhalese institutions of an earlier age."⁷ It is dangerous and misleading to study the Kandyan society without trying to relate it to what went before. Nor can valid conclusions be drawn as to status gradings by Kandyan attempts to fit into hierarchial system groups that were essentially alien in origin and culture to the bulk of the Kandyan population and who only penetrated the Kandyan country in small numbers. The Karawa were not in any real sense an integral part of the Kandyan social order as it developed in the 18th century.

Finally, let us take a look at Tikiri Abeysinghe's Portuguese Rule. The author seeks an explanation for the attraction that Catholicism has had for the "fisher caste" as he terms it. While dismissing some of the conjectures of Tennent on the matter as fanciful, Abeysinghe proceeds to explain a theory no less fanciful than Tennent. "A group of people whose livelihood depended on their ignoring the first precept in Buddhism and ahimsa tradition which figures so prominently in indignant religious thought

7, Raghavan M. D. - Ceylon A Pictorial Survey of the people and Arts (1961) p. XXVII

cannot fit into the traditional society of Ceylon or India..... The fishing classes would be beyond the pale of traditional society..... Hence the appeal to Christianity to those whom the old society, for religious and cultural reasons, was not willing to accommodate within its fold."⁸

Do Abeysinghe's extensive readings in the Tomboos give him an indication of an out caste group of fishermen in Ceylon of the Kotte Kings? What is this "fisher caste" and "fishing communities" he refers to? Does his rich imagination conceive the possibility of a mutually exclusive but coexistent sea faring population where the one was honoured and the other despised? Is there any other society where a fishing population does not nurture and uphold the naval and sea - faring tradition? Is it then only subsequently to the 16th century that fishermen have been accepted into the Hindu and Buddhist fold? If by "fisher caste" he refers to the Karava what has he to say to the following statement of the great historian of South India "..... significantly enough there are many Kurukula rajas found all over the Tamil country and the Karavas are doubtless closely connected with them".⁹

Let us further examine three records as to how these "outcastes" were treated by the kings of India and Sri Lanka - Father Manuel Barrados describing a Karava wedding in Moratuwa in 1613 A.D. says, "The wedded pair come walking on white cloths with which the ground is successively carpeted and covered with others above of the same kind which the nearest relatives hold in their extended hands after the fashion of a canopy, which protect them from the sun, the bride is carried in the arms of the nearest relative, and when this one tires another takes his place. The symbols they carry are white discs and candles lighted in the day time, and certain shells which they keep playing on in place of bag pipes. All these are Royal symbols, which the former kings conceded to this race of people, that being strangers they should inhabit the

8. Abeysinghe Tikiri - Portuguese Rule in Ceylon 1595-1612 (1966) p. 206

9. Nilakanta Sastri K. A. - Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Culture Part I 1961.

the coasts of Ceilao, and none but they or those to whom they give leave can use them."¹⁰

2. The Tirmukkudal Inscription of the Cola King Virarajendra (1062-1067 A.D.) refers to his invasion of Ceylon 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 Cola king) began to wage a war in Ilam which cast a gloom on that army of the Sinhalese wherein Kutukulattaraiyan who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was like that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Colas) with the result that Vijaya Bahu the King (of the Island) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (the Cola king) took his queen captive, conquered carried away immeasurably large family gems along with five crowns and made Lanka with its impregnable walls his own."¹¹ So much for the secular position and honours awarded to these 'outcastes' Indian and Sinhalese Society.

3. There are numerous references to the Kurukularajas in the South Indian Inscriptions,¹² but let me conclude with one more example of how they fitted into Abeyasingh's "old society and the Hindu religion". During the reign of Sundara Pandyan in the 12th and 17th regnal years four inscriptions refer to Gurukulattarayan Tadangannich-Chirru in Tirumallinadu.¹³ He was the King's minister and "He ultimately rose to such an eminence in the State that whenever he visited the temple he enjoyed the honour of a Kalam being sounded proclaiming 'Hail Gurukulattambiran is come.'" The two temples that received his benefactions were the Perumal temple and the Tangal-Isar (Isvara).¹⁴

10. Barrados Fr. Manuel - Monthly Literary Register Pt. IV (1896) p. 134

11. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXI, Part 5, No. 38, pp 220-250 Tirmukkudal Inscription of Virarajendra translated by K. K. Subramaniya Ayvar.

12. Annual Report of the South Indian Epigraphy 1909 - 1923.

13. Ibid - 1922 Nos. 553 & 557, p. 37: 575, p. 39: 578, p. 40.

14. Ibid - 1922 Verses 49 & 50, pp. 109-110

If fishing is the sole occupation of the Karawas and fishing only confined to them, then to equate Karawa as "fisher caste" sounds reasonable. This is definitely not the case. Besides, the sea-board is not exclusively inhabited by the Karawas. Further, all Karawas are not fishermen. Along the coasts of Sri Lanka fishing is not the exclusive right of the Karawas. We observe Duravas in Galkissa and Pitipara; Salagamas in Muthal and Balapitiya; Govis in Pamunugama, Bentara and Dielwella; Muslims in Beruwela, Kalpitiya, Kalmunt, Puttalam and Hambantota. There are Vellalas and Mukkuwas too who are engaged in fishing in some areas. It is obvious then that there is no specific group of people or one single community engaged in fishing to warrant the classification of Karawas alone as "Fisher Caste".¹⁵ There is no such term in use to denote a Salagama fisherman as "Salagama fisher caste" etc., why then "Karawa fisher caste"?

It is strange that with so much new inscriptional and historical knowledge available to them so many of our modern historians keep on repeating their parrot cries. Without a true appreciation of the Sinhalese Naval, Maritime and even Mental tradition much of Ceylon history remains inexplicable and blank. If caste prejudices are to stand in the way of objective writing by our so called scholars then it is time that their dishonesty is shown up and the hollowness of their scholarship exposed.

As Senarath Paranavitana has stated, "The original Sinhalese came to this Island to make it their home, as a result of the sea faring activities in which they were engaged and there is evidence that for some centuries upto their colonisation of Ceylon sea faring was a pursuit held in high honour among them."¹⁶

Those early Sinhalese mariners were sprung from the Paramukas or leaders of the Sinhalese. The earliest Brahmi inscriptions reveal "that among the Sinhalese people in centuries preceding and immediately following the beginning of the

15. Dharmaratne G. A. - Kara-Goi Contest p. 8.

16. Paravithana S. - Ceylon and Malaysia p. 1.

Christian Era there were some who were engaged in maritime activities" 17 In the Puttalam District one of the oldest types of inscription points out to a person called Paramuka Tissa whose title was "Duta Navika" meaning Envoy—ship captain who granted a cave to the Sangha. Paranavitana observes that Paramuka meant chief and they were direct descendants of Vijayan Colonists and Indo-Aryan princes from North India. Sinhala Kings were known as Mahaparamukas upto the 10th century. 18 From the frequent references to navigators and sailors in the early Brahmi Inscriptions it could be justifiable to assert that sea-faring was one of the principal occupations of the early Sinhalese. There is no doubt that trade relations with foreign countries were maintained by these Navikas.

Some writers advance the theory that military and naval enterprises were pursuits dissociated with Buddhism. But we have it on record that "a company of mariners called Adhika—Navika and a company of seven sea-faring Tamil merchants built stupas for the six Hair relics of the Buddha". 19 In the Householders Terrace excavated at Anuradhapura, on the North-West of Abaygiri Dagoda, the chief position was occupied by a person called Karava, the mariner. 20

Sinhalese navigation and sea-faring led to close and frequent contact with the Indian homeland. It was on the naval power that relations were based between Ceylon and Sri Vijayanagara. The overseas achievements of the Sinhalese monarchs particularly in the Anuradapura period and the conquests of Parakrama Bahu the Great, were the results of sea power. The decline of the Sinhala sea power which commenced in the 12th century was not a total eclipse. As late as the 15th century we find reference to "Karunadhipati" (officers guarding the sea

17. Paranavitana S. - Ceylon and Malaysia p. 8.
 18. do - Inscriptions of Ceylon Vol. I, p. lxxxiv
 19. do - Ceylon and Malaysia p. 177
 20. do - Tamil Householders Terrace Anuradhapura" Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology Vol. XIII for the Year 1938. Leyden 194 pp. 13-14.

ports). The true decline of the Sinhalese seamanship coincides with the rise of Vijayanagara Empire. But even later, in the reign of Senarat of Kandy, the Sinhalese under the command of Karava Pedro Barretto, nephew of the great Kuruwita Rata were able to fight the Portuguese at sea (1613 A. D.) 21 It is significant that the most distinguished Order of Sinhala Chivalry in the Middle Ages, the Order of the Hair Relic or Kesa Dhatu is, closely connected with sea-faring. Says Paranavitana, "Connected with the cult of the Hair Relic was an Order of Nobility which as well as the worship of the Relic itself finds mention in the chronicle as a rule in times when the Sinhalese people took a particular interest in the sea or sea-faring. 22

How then, suddenly in the course of the 17th century does a Sinhalese maritime and trading population with continuous fighting, trading and sea-faring tradition become transformed into mere "fishers" and at that "fisher by caste"? How does an Island people with an authentic trading and maritime tradition become a nation of inland cultivators? Was it with ploughshares that Sinhalese mariners ferried Buddhist Missions to China and in alliance with Sri Vijaya more than once broke the power of Chola on the sea? Let our new breed of historians and sociologists bred in the confining atmosphere of inland villages explain these mysteries of their own creation.

Bell has emphatically stated that the Karawas are not fishers. This fact is also corroborated by his contemporary Hugh Nevill. This misinterpretation introduced by less educated Europeans seem to have sunk deep down into the vocabulary of our resurgent historians. Ralph Peiris has asserted that in the 19th century Karave pamphleters,..... claimed to be second to none—not even the 'good people' forgetting for a moment that all this heated discussion was the outcome of that fabrication, of caste superiority and the absence among the Sinhalese of the Hindu model of the two upper divisions "substituted a bipartite scheme in which the cultivators (goyivamsa or goyigama) and

21. Baldeaus Philipus - A True and Exact Description of the Great Island of Ceylon 1960 (a new and unabridged translation from the 1672 Edition p. 65.
 22. Paranavitana - Ceylon and Malaysia. p. 177.

shepherds (nilamakkarayos or pattivalu) corresponded to the vaisyas, while the 'low castes' (adu kula) collectively corresponded to the Sudras".²³ Under the ancient Sinhala Kings, the author of the Nitti-Nagandu, Mudaliyar de Saram (for his misrepresentation in 1832) and these worthy pedlars of a new theory, would have been beheaded.

If they are real Sinhala research students how can they take this meaning directly in the way that Goviya means cultivator. Just as Karawa does not mean "fisher caste" Govi is not "farmer caste" and Salagama is not "Cinnamon Caste". "Farmer Caste" is a new look to the Govi whose Sanskrit equivalent is Sudra, the menial caste and the fourth group according to Manu's Law. From this fourth group (Sudra), springs the rest of the indigenous castes in Ceylon of whom the Govi or Vellala are predominant. This was the Social grouping of ancient Lanka. From the Rock Edicts of Nissanka Malla, it is evident that Govias due to their numerical strength, attempted political emancipation thereby becoming a threat to the throne. It was this faith in the Kshattirya domination that, when no Royal Prince was available, one was imported from the neighbouring mainland. Since the fall of the Sinhala Royalty the Govis successfully pushed their way to high office under the patronage of European rulers, the climax being reached in British times — "Colonial Aristocracy".

It is hoped that future historians would refrain from using a misnomer "fisher" to denote a Karawa, "farmer" to denote a cultivator and "cinnamon peeler" to denote a Salagama. Just as all Karawas are not fishers, all cultivators and cinnamon peelers are not Govis and Salagamas, respectively. It is the duty of the historian to speak the truth without pride, prejudice, fear or favour.

F. B. Jagath Wijayanayaka

23. Pieris Ralph - Sinhalese Social Organization (1956) p. 171.

The original class of people who emigrated from India took their residence in the seaboard of Ceylon and, although they were first of all employed for the purpose of protecting the Island from foreign invasion, in course of time the Island was invaded by foreigners (Europeans) and they were even employed by them, as will be seen by the fact that most of the Chief Headmen being commanders of the Dutch and Portuguese nations — The poorer portion of these had no fixed respectable living and they took to fishing because that was the only easy living near the sea.

Claim: The name given to them by the English Government is quite a wrong appellation, that is "fisher" — they should be designated "Karawa". The greater part of them who had means are planters, merchants etc. but are not Menial Servants of anyone — By some of the Kandyan Kings Karawa people were allowed nine servants, amongst whom the fisher is one — as proof of it, if necessary, I have a record of it and can be produced. They have always held high positions under Government and their general claims are as headman which they seek even now but are now denied to them except to those who have influence with Government. There are a few of them who even now hold a position as Chief Headman.

1. කරාවෙ මිනිසුන්ගේ සත්තවස්

1. දිසායු කාලයක් සුවසේ පසු කරන භාවිතය සහ අන්තරාදා වලින් ප්‍රවේශන් වන පිණිස යැයි දේවතන්ගේ කඳවුරු කඩා විලංකාව එකා ආණ්ඩුමක් යටතට ගෙනාවූ උත්තම දුටුගැමුණු රජකෙරුණු රට බිවෙන මහ කතරගම දේවාලය පළමුවෙන් ගොඩ නගා කිවිඳි සමන් බොක්සැල් විවිෂණ අධියා නාමයන් දෙවිවරු හතර දෙනාට කැප කළා ඇත. එම දෙවිවරු හතර දෙනා ලංකාවාසින්ට ප්‍රේම කරමින් ඉසුබු බලයකින් දේවාල තුල වාඩි වීමට ආසනය සැලසීමට සහන, පදිංචියට සරානස, කලා බස් කරන භාලාව යනු මෙවා පිහිටවන ලද්දේය. රූ ආවල් නොකඩවා ප්‍රවේශම් කරන පිණිස ගේවා කාරයන් දහ අට දෙනෙක් ද කපු රාලේ දොළොස් දෙනෙක් ද අල්ලක කිරීමට කන්‍යාවන් 24 දෙනෙක් ද හතර දේවාලයට ඇතු ගොවිවෝ හතර දෙනෙක් ද, දේවාලවල අසබද බලා ගැනීම පිණිස මොහොවිටි ලේකම් කෙනෙක් ද දෙවියන්ට යාවණා කිරීමට සහ වියවුල් ආදිය බෙහිම පිණිස අදිකාමේ නිලමේ එක්කෙනෙක් ද විවි හතරේ පෙරහැර යන විට පිළිවෙලට යැවීමට සහ ආරවුල් නැවත්වීම පිණිස නිලමේ එක්කෙනෙක් ද සියළුම ආවිත්තමෙන් යුක්තව නොකාඩවා නියම වූ කැන් ප්‍රභවාවල දී දෙවියන් වැඩමවීමට බස්නායක නිලමේ එක් කෙනෙක් ද පත්කරන ලද්දේය. තේවය සහ ආභා ප්‍රථම පරිද්දෙන්ම කතරගම දෙවියන්ගේ ආහරණ ඇත්තාමී පිට තබා දහ අට බරක් පස්හෝර යන බැවින් ඇත්තාමීගේ දකුණු අත් දෙපසින් තෙකක් ලඟින් යන පිණිස මහ බෙත්මේ නිලමේ කුමාව පත් කළ ඇත. ලංකා වාසින්ගේ තැඹිලිමත් වූ මගුල් පරතරයේ දී වම ආසනය යන පිණිස දෙවෙනි බෙත්මේ නිලමේ කෙනෙක් ද පත් කළේය. නිලමේවරු පත් කරණ විට දෙන හරු නම්වූවලට වඩා දොලොස් ප්‍රකාරයක් මහබෙත්මේ නිලමේ පත් කරන විට තිබේ. ඒවා නොවරදිනා කාර ගැනීම පිණිස ගොයමක් සමග ප්‍රධාන ආදයමෙන් පහට බෙද දෙපල්වක් මුදල ද ගැණීමට මහුව බලය / දුන්තා ඇත. දුටුගැමුණු රජුගේ ආඥාවේ ප්‍රකාරයට රුහුණු මහ කතරගම දේවාලයේ සහ කිරි වෙහෙර වහන්සේගේ වැඩි දියුණුව පිණිස පහලොස්වක ද බුද්ධ වර්ෂයෙන් එක්දස්සසිය අට පණසේ ශ්‍රව සුයා වංගාභිජාක මහා රාජාධි රාජ ශ්‍රී සංග බෝධි ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු රාජෝත්තමයාණන් වහන්සේ රජ කරණ කල දී එක් හතළිස් වෙනි අවුරුද්දේ දී මහ සමමතුගෙන් බැස මවුන්නා සහ සුසැ ආවිත්තම පැළ්දණ සරසා තිබෙන මාකර මාළිගාවේ ආසනේ පිට වැඩ සිට විකෝනා රජ මන්ත්‍රීවරන් දෙවි ජකෙනක් මෙන් පිරිවරා ගෙන විජය රජ සමග ඇවිත් උත් පෙළ පතින් වින් ගෝරහාර්ද ගම සිටිය බානිය කීස්ස බමුණු කුමාරයාව දෙසියන් වැඩමවීම පිණිස මහ බෙත්මේ කමට ද දෙවි නුවර රම් පටබැදි කිරිචනනාන ඔහුගේ ස්ත්‍රී පෙරහැරේදී පෙරවුව යාමට ද පත් කරණ ලද්දේය. ඔවුන්ගේ රැකීම පිණිස දෙවියන්ට බුදුන්ට හැර දහ

අට අමුණක ගම ද ඇවිරි පන්දමද පරාපක් මානිකා ඔය දේය. සේ යාලේ ගම නින්දගම ද ඔවුන්ට සහ ඔවුන්ගේ දරු පරම්පරාවට පොළොව තිබෙන තුරු අයිති කළා ඇත. ඊට මායිම නැගෙනහිරට කුබොමනම් ඔය සහ කම්බිලික්ත ද බස්නාහිරට ආකාස ගල නොහොක් කතරගම ගල් පාය ද දකුණට මුදු විටිය ද යන මේ අතර එකතු කරණ බඹර සහ මී පැණි වලින් හතරෙන් පඳුවක් ද වෙඩි තිබීමෙන් මස් මැටිමෙන් සහ තවත් වස්තර නොකළාවූ ප්‍රයෝජන වලින් හතරෙන් පඳුවක් ද පහළොස් දවසකට වැඩ ගණනක් ප්‍රමාද වෙනවා නම් ආදයමක් ගැනීමටද බලය දී රාජ ආදයමෙන් නිදහස් කර අබේසිංහ වීර වික්‍රම සුරිය යන පටබැදි නාමයෙන් දේවාලේ දෙවියන්ගේ වැඩ කරුවෙක් මෙන් මහබෙත්මේ නිලය සහ ඊට අඩංගු නිල ආදිය ඉර හඳ පවතිනා තුරු කිරීමට පත් කර පිරි කරන ලද්දේය. මීට ආඥාවේ ප්‍රකාර ලෝකේශ්වරයාදීන් මන්ත්‍රීවරයා විසින් රත් පත්‍රය ලියන ලද්දේය.

පිටපත් කළ ගිරුවා පත්කුමේ දොන් ප්‍රවානිස් ද සිලවා අබේ සිංහ වීර වික්‍රම සුරිය මහ විදනේගේ ඉල්ලීම පිටිය වර්ෂ 1744 ඔක්තෝම්බර් මස 3 වෙනි දින මාකරදී ජේස්වර් කළා ඇත.

2. කඩු සත්තවස් කොපිය

ශ්‍රී බුද්ධ වර්ෂයෙන් එක්දස් නවසිය නව පනසේ ලංකා ශ්‍රී සහ බෝධි ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු මහ රජගෙන් ආදිතා කුරු අකාරවර අරට නිලසිටට රාජසිංහ සේනාධිපතිට කන්‍යා කොට දුන් හ.

3. තබ තස්තවස් කොපිය

ශ්‍රී ලංකා සී පාල දඹදෙනි පුරාණන්ත කලි කාල සාහිත්‍ය සර්ඤ පන්චිත පරාක්‍රමබාහු නරෙන්ද්‍රයානන් විසින් ලියාදෙන රාජ සන්තස නම් ආදිතා කුරු අරස නිලසිටට කුමරා තමෙල්ට සේන යුවකිරිය සහ දොලොස් බත්ගම් නින්ද ගම් කොට හිමි කර දුන්තේ ශ්‍රීබුද්ධ වර්ෂ එක් දහස් පන්සිය දෙයානු වෙනි වෙසග පුර පැලවිය ලක් ගුරු දින වීර පරාක්‍රම වාසල දීය.

4. තබ සත්තවස් කොපිය

ශ්‍රී සක රාජ වර්ෂ එක්දස් එකසිය සම පණස් වන මාහරව් දෙහාග කුජ දින දී ලියා දෙන රාජ ලේඛනය නම් ආදිතා කුරු අරිසනි ලසිටට පොන්නාම රාජ සේනාධිපති නිලය දී බඹර බොටුව යෙල යාල මුන ගම ක්‍රාගි කර හිමි කර දුන්තේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාධිපති ජය වර්ධන පුර ශ්‍රී වීර පරාක්‍රම බාහු මහරජානන් විසින් ලංකෙඤ්චර වාසල දීය.

5. වික්‍රම සකා වම් 1671 කේ ඉල්මස 11 වන සද්ද විසාගන් ප්‍රධාන ප්‍රකාශ රාජසිංහ මහරජානන් විසින් අති රාජ කරුණා දක්ව පුත්තලමේ කල්ලාන විදියේ මගුදු පුළුල් උඩයාගේ පිටව පුළුල් නවරන්ත ඉරනසිංහ රාජ වන්තියානාර්ම දනව සහ ඉහක්කි සිරික ප්‍රකාර පස්සටත් පවතින්ව නියම කර මෙම සන්තස් පත්‍රය දේව විදාරන්ට යෙදුනා ඇත.

වහ, කාලිහ, තෙලිහ, කොච්චි මලයාලම් ඉලම්, එල්ලම් කොල්ලම් ආදී රටවල් ආණ්ඩු කරන රාජසිංහ මහ රජාණන් ගේ කරුණාව පෙරදුරුව රාජපස වාදි කම් නිසා මඩකලපුව යුරුවිල පලාවිය, එක්තලය කන්දවත්ත පත්තුව වෙල්ලස්ස කාර පත්තුව ආන ඔලන්දුව ගල මහමුහුද කුඩා මුහුද තිරණන්කල්ව මුත්තේශ්වරන් පත්තුව මායින් කොට ද කොළඹ වන්තල තොටුපල නගර හා ඉඹි ගාතොට පරණ වැවකෙයිසාව මුදියන්සේ හීනට්කුරුව මායින් කොටද පුත්තලමේ කල්ලාන විදියේ වාසල ඉරනසිංහ රාජ වන්තියානාර්ම රාජසිංහ මහ රජානන් විසින් කරුණාව දක්වා දෙවා වදාරන්ට යෙදුන නම්බු නම් ලන්සද, නවුද, රිදී වැඩ කරපු වෙවැල් එකක් මුතු අල්ලන ලද පගලාන්තු රතු තොපසියක් ද කස්කානිය ද බයිනාන්තුව ඇලුම් හකඩි කුප්පට් ද වාමර 12, කුඩ 7, ආලවට්ටන් 3, වටාපත් 3, මාල 7, පාවඩ 7, උඩුවියන් 7, පයකොඩි, පව්වකොඩි, පවලක් කොඩි නිලකොඩි, වන්තියනාර්ම දෙවාවද රන්ට යෙදුනාය, ඔහුගේ මහල මඩුවට කනු 31 ද, මඩු පන්දල් ඕවද පපරප්පු හතර පැත්තට හාන් වීමට ආසන්ද කනුවලට හුණු හාන්ටද, මුලක් හෙප්පු 31 ද නියම නියම විය, දහ අට ජාතිවල අයට කනු 19 කි, කනුවලට හුණු හාන්ට කනු පවත. වීම වැඩිපුර ගලොත් රිදී පහන් 130 ක් දැබි. දහ අට ජාතියට පන්දලන් දමා මගුල් මඩු සාදගන්ට පුවවන. ඒ ගෙයි මුදුන් නිබා සාදපු අයට රිදී පහන් සියයක් දැබි. මේ අන්දමට නිලය මහරජ විසින් පත්කරන්ට යෙදුන ඇත. වරද ඔප්පුවන හැටියට දුක නාගවිරාගම දෙකාමාර බැගින්ද, කහ මෙලලී පහ බැගින්ද පගවෙල්ල පනහ බැගින් ද මිනි මැරීම හා සමාන වරදවලට තහවෙල්ලී සිය බැගින් ද නියම කරන්ඩ බලය දී වන්තියනාර්මේ ආණ්ඩුවට දහ අට ජාතියේ අතොත් කීකරුව සිටින හැටියට පහ කෝටු මස් පාරවල තැනීමටත් බලේ දී පත්කරන්ට යෙදුනාය. මෙම සන්තසට පුරියප්පුනා මුහු සෝගන පත්‍රයයි නම් තබා දෙන්ව යෙදුනේ දනව නිලය දරන යාපනේ කිරුනාගරේ වෙලෙහි සෙවට් මහ දිසාවගේ පිට මහ වාසල රාජසිංහ මුදියන්සේ විසින් ය.

6. සවසනී ශ්‍රී සුසානි-ශෝක්භුක සුසානී පුත්‍ර පවිත්‍ර ශෝක්‍රාභි ජා පතිස්ස ශ්‍රී මක් ශ්‍රී බෝසසිබර භුවනෙකබාහු වක්‍ර වර්තීන් වහන්සේ මගුදුපුරුදු, වෙසග පුර පහලෙස්වක ලක්විදිනට දෙවා වදල මැදගොඩ ලැබීමට පළමුවෙන් ලැබී තිබුණ ඉඩම් කළුතර තොටමුනේ

අඩුක්කි පයිකාවල යන ගමේ ගල් ලිද වන්තද වගුරබඩ වන්තද අඹගහ වන්ත ද බෝගහ වන්ත ද යන මෙකී වක්‍ර ඉඩන් මැද ගොඩ ලැබීමට පළමුවෙන් දෙවා වාදල ඇත. කෝට්ටේ වැඩ සිටිය උතුන් මු රාජ ද නිය පුතිකාවන් සමග යුද්ධ කර පහලොස් අවුරුද්දක් රට අරවන්ත බැරුව තිබුණ වෙලාවේ දී ඕලන්දක්කාර මහත්තන් සමග කරාවේ වර්තකලසුරිය පටබැදි මුහන්දිරම් ඉලේ නයිදේ යන මෙකුන් දෙගොල්ල විසින් පුතිකාලුන්ට අහුවන්ඩ නොදී රුක්භහ වන්ත ගන්තරින් එතර කර මැදගොඩ යන ඉඩමට වැඩියාය දෙවා වදාල මොවුන් කළ හපන් කමට ලැබුණු ඉඩම් මැදගොඩ යන ගමට ඉන් විමසු තැනේදී නැගනහිරට කාළණි ගහ ද බස්නාඉරින් ලබු බිටි මෝදර විය ද උතුරු දිගින් ඉපිලා ගල ද දකුණු දිගින් එකපෝරුවේ ගල් අන්ද ද මෙම සතර මායිමට අඩුන්කු හරිය මෙහි බද ගස් ලී දල ගවකු ගහ කොළ කුඹුරු ඕට්ටි වල විල් ආදීවා තුන් පටන් ශ්‍රී දන්ත ඉකුන් වහන්සේට වෙන්කො අවුරුදු එකකට පනත් දාසයන් පවුරට දී ප්‍රයෝජනේ විදිනා නියාවෙන් යන එන හේවා හා ලයින් බහු විදනසක් නොකරන නොකියන හැටියට දෙවා වදල පමණක් නොව නම්බු නම් කළුතර තොටමුනේට මහපටබැදි කම් ඇතුලුව මහ මුහන්දිරම් වැඩේ ද මුතුකුඩේ ද දවල් පන්දම් ඇතුළුව ඉරට්ට කලපක ද සක්දරේ පහ සියගාරම් ද මොවුන්ගේ දරු මුතුබුරු පරම්පරාව පවතිනා තෙක් ලැබුණ ඇත. මේ සමග ආ අටගොල්ලගෙන් නිතිය ගෙනා හාමි ද තවත් දන්තා ජගුවෙන් එක් කෙනෙක් ද මාළු අල්ලන පඩවරානේ ද, පොරොව කාරයා ද ඇමබැට්ටියා ද රඳවා ද රඳවා නාපුල්ලන හුන්තා ද බෙරවායා ද ඔලිය ද මේ සමග ගෙනා මකරන් කොඩිය ද පයවර්ධන කෝට්ටේ විසුකුට මන්ඩප්පෙහි මකර තොරන බදව බදවා සිංහා පනගේ ඇමති ගණ දේවෙන්දු වැඩ හිද වදල මෙහෙවරින් මේ සන් තස් තඹ දහ පත්‍රය ලියා දුන් බවට සන්තසම වර්ධන කරගෙනයි. එක වම් එක්වා දහස් පන්සිය හැට ධන්ඩුවේ අවුරුද්දේ වෙසග පුර පහලොස්වක ලක් රිවිදිනට ඉරහද පවතිනා දෙවා වදලා ඇත.

7. සවසනී ශ්‍රී සකල ගුපාල මොලිමණි පරිමුමබිත වරජා රීටි ගම කොප සෝහිත මහ සම්මත පරම්පරානුගත සුඩ සුසානී වංගොදභුත සහන විස්කිරණ අනකවර කීර්ති තේජෝපලස්කි භුවනෙකබාහු වක්‍රවර්තී දේව සවාමීන් වහන්සේ වර්ණවර සිංහාසනාරූඩව ගනු දේවෙන්දු ලීලාවයෙන් වැඩ වසා වදරණ සමයෙහි කාන්ඩිපුරයෙන් සිරිලක පැමිණි කුරු කොරව, පාණ්ඩවෝ පලස්කි අරිමඩිතනම්කාරව කුමාරයානීල විලඹ නම් පට සව්දාවා පුත ප කුල ගොත් සැල කළ තැනේ දී ශ්‍රී මහ දිවස් එලියෙන් වදරා බොහො කරුණාව ලැබේ. මුත්තේසරම් දේවාලෙන් එගොඩ කරෙන් එලිවියෙන් මුතු පන්ති යෙන් මානාවාල නොටින් හලාවතින් මෝදරින් මෙපිට ආන ඕලන් දව කරසාකතලියෙන් අලඹෙන් අයිතිකර මාරුප්පන් කොළඹ ගම අපුඹෙන් ඇතුලත පාලවියෙන් එනු අලන් අයිතිකර පාලවියේ කුමාර

වන්තියාය කියා ශ්‍රී සන්නස් ලැබුණාය. ලිමරවමඩි හුගක් බිම පුටු
කඩප්පු තිරප්පු තුවක්කු ඇත්දත් අලිදත් රාජකාරිය නැති කර දස
අට ජාතිය උහු අකවල්ගුව සිටින නියාවෙන් ඉරසද පවතිනා තුරු
දෙවා වදරන්ට යෙදුනේ සක වම් දහස් තුන්සිය අට අසූවු අපර වී
තුදුස් බාග වුද දින ජයවර්ධන පුර වැලිමළුවේ දීය.

8. සවසන ශ්‍රී සුයවංශොද්භුත අපිරිමිත භුමර පරිහුගෙවිත විමල
වීවිත්‍ර පාද පත්වන් විකා ඉවනෙකබාහු දිපවච්ඡවර්ති වූ අපගේ දේව
සවාවී දරුවානන් වහන්සේ ජයවර්ධන පුරාසන්න සීතාවක නුවර
ශුවවා නම් සභායෙහි ශක්‍ර දේවෙන්ද්‍ර ලීලායෙන් නවරින්න විනාස
සවණමය සිංහාසනා මසාකයෙහි වැඩ වදර සද පුත්තලමේ නල්ල
අඹපපයා පළල සරියන් පට සවචදනා බැහැ දක සිටි තැනේ දී
කරුණකර ශ්‍රී මහ දිවස් ඵලියෙන් බලා වදරා පුත්තලමේ රාජ වන්
තියා සනමකරුම් ඔය කඩයිම් කොට කුරුසේ කෙටු ගල් සිටුවා
තුන්සිය හැටක් ගම්මරිකාර දෙපන්තුවට යා කර තම්මන්ත පිටිය
දිවරුම් ගලෙන් පහළ කැද දිය උහු අතින් පහළ මැරුන්ගොඩ දීස
උණු අතින් පහළ තාත්තේසියේ හුණු ගල් ගොඩින් පහළ මඩු මටේ
ලේක බැඳුන් පහළ දික් කලියෙන් පහළ සබර කන්දෙන් පහළ
ඉවපරපසුවේ වාරිය නුගේකන්දෙන් පහළ පෙරිය වෙල්ලියේ පත්තුව.
පුත්තලම සිරි - විල පත්තුවට කල්ලතිරේ දේවාලෙන් මෝරුගම
ඔයෙන් කොක්කාරන් විලෙන් බොරුපන් විලෙන් මාසින් කොට
කාඩලන් හැට හතරයි. තුතුරු කුරු දස අටයියි. ඇතුලත් කර දී
පලීම රාළ මඩි හුගක් බිම පුටු කඩප්පු තිරප්පු ඇත් දත් අලි දත්
අඟ වැය දිවි රාජකාරිය නැතිසේද හේවාහාලයන් ගෙන් අත්කඩ
මාරුවක් නොවන සේද නියම කොට මුහුද අතට කෙළවර දක්වා
දහඅට ජාතිය වලගුව සිටින නියායට නියෝග දී ඉරහද පවතිනා
තුරුදෙන්ට යයි විදන කරන විජේකෝන් සේනානායක විමල සුඤ්ජර
මුදියාන්සේ විසින් සක වම් දහස් තුන්සිය අසූ වූ ගෝරවී තුන් හාග
වුද දින දී මේ මේ තඹ දග පත්‍රය ලියා දෙන ලදී.

9. සවසන ශ්‍රී අඛිලසුසේධින්න නා දේශ ඒකවක්‍රධර වීරතර වීරවර
ආච්ඤ නේපේපලසෂිත රාජසිංහ වක්‍රවර්ති සවාවීන් වහන්සේ විසින්
පරන්පරාන ගත පක්‍ෂවාදී නිලතල පටිපාටිය ශ්‍රී මහ දිවස් ඵලියෙන්
දන වදාරා කුරුතුලන් අරසන් කුමරප්පෙරුම වන්තිනාර් සැටයාමෙන්
අලාහ වූ මුත්තේශ්වරම් දේවාලයෙහි බස්නායක නිලය එම පරපුරට
හිමි වන මලසට උහු පුන්වූ මුත්තන් වන්තිකාර්ට සීතම කර පෙර
ලෙසක බිම පුටු හුංගං අයබදු සියල්ල ලැබෙනා රහට දෙවා වදරන්ට
යෙදුනේ සතවස දහස් සසිය එක්සැත්තැවෙනි ඉල් මස පුර සතවන ලග්
ගුරු දින පිරිඵවන වාසල දීය.

10. ගෙස්ති ශ්‍රී සමස්ත භූපාල මොලි මනිපුවර පරිවුසිත වරණර
වන්දවන්ද්ප ගොහිත ශ්‍රී සිංහ ලෙකවජ්ත්‍රවර සිරතර වීර වික්‍රම

ප්‍රසස්ත කීර්තිස්සිංහ දිපවක්‍රවර්ති සවාවී වූ උතුම් අපගේ දේව සවාවී
දරුවානන් වහන්සේ සෙංඛන්ඩ ගෛලභිධාන පුර සුවරයෙහි නවර-
න් විනාසන සවණවර සිංහාසන මස්තක ප්‍රාජතව ශුක්‍රදේවෙන්ද්‍ර
ලීලාවයෙන් වැඩ වස වදරන සුබමංභලලා ප්‍රසවාවෙහි දගනමස්සර
විසඬුරිත දන්තාජද නද ලසමලත් කෘති මන්ද හාසා ප්‍රකාස පබකජ
ශ්‍රී විරාජමාන වූ දිව්‍ය ශ්‍රී මුඛ වාකායෙන් දිවස්ලා වදලා වූ පනත
නම් අඩලමේ ගුණරත්න රාජපක්‍ෂවඩන ගොරව සුරිය මුදියන්සේ
විසින් උතුන් වූ වාසලට ආචාර්ය සුදු කිරි දෙනක් දකුන්තියා පක්‍ෂ
පාතව උන් කල්හි ඊට කරුණා සන්තෝස වී වදරමින් මාතලේ
දිසාවේ වගපනත කෝරලේ විලේගමට මයිම නියම කර නැගෙන
හිරින් මිරිස් ගෝනි ඔයේ ගල් ඇන්දේ ගලද ගෝනිකුතභූල සහ
පැපොල් ගස් යායේ වැටේ මහ මීල්ල ගඟ ද දකුණු දිගින් විල්කන්
දේ මුදුන් පිටින් යක් උරා ඇල ද බටහිරින් මිරිස්ගෝනි ඔයේ
දෙගන්තුවුව ද උල්පත් ඔයේ දෙගන්තුවුව සහ මෙකී සතර මායිමට
ඇතුළුව මී ගඟ මුල පිටිය වී හතරමුනක වපුස්රියන් ඊට අයිති ගොඩ
මඩ ඇතුළුව මෙකී ගම්පගුව ගුණරත්න රාජපක්‍ෂ වඩන කොරවසුරිය
මුදියන්සේගේ දරු මුණුබුරු වර්ග පරම්පරාව දක්වා නිරවුල්ව වුක්ති
විදිනා රඟට ගකවම් එක්වා හයසිය හැත්තෑපහට පැමිණි ශ්‍රී මුඛ නම්වූ
මෙම වර්ෂයෙහි මකර රචිතව හො වූ විජේතිය නම් තිටියලත් සදු
දිණ මේ තුඩපත ලියාදෙන්ට යයි වදල පනතින් ඒ පනතමය වදාල
පනතයි.

11. සවසන ශ්‍රී සමුඛි ත්‍රිසිංහලෙක ජත්‍රධරසිරවර වීර වික්‍රම ප්‍රයසා
කීර්තිස්සිංහ වච්ඡවර්ති වූ උතුම් අපගේ දේව සවාවීන් වහන්සේ
සාරවර සුරතර ඇමතිගන නාරකා පරිවාරණය කොට සෙංකන්ඩ
ගෛලාභිධාන පුරාකාසයෙහි පුණ් වැදකාරයෙන් වැඩ ඉද මිගමුව බද
වැල්ලවිදියේ සුරිය අඩපප වර්තතුල ජයතිලක දුම්භුම සෙවු මුදියන්
සේට මුක්කරපුදපත් දෙවු මානික්ක තලවෙන් හුනතුන් සිහිවනු වස්
සැදුපෙරුම්පඹ අයිනාර් කෝවිලේ බස්නායක නිලය පවරා මුත්තේ
ශ්සරම් දේවාලයට බදු සියළු කම්කරුවන් පමුණුවා අයබදු සෙස්සෙන්
අඩක් ගන්න රඟට දේවා වදරන්ට යෙදුනේ සකවස එක්දහස් සසිය
සත් සැත්තැවූ මකර රචි සය හාග දියවක් ලත් කීවි දිනදීය.

12. වන්දබාහු වාකා වීරවිනේ පුරු කුරුකේස්ත්‍ර කොරව කරා ගෝත්‍ර
සොයව්වංග මහාසේනාධිකාර ලෝකාසිපාලක විය. ශ්‍රී බුඩ වම් සනස්
සත්සිය දෙයානුකල ශ්‍රී ලංකාධිපති දඹදෙනි පුරාසන්න කලිකාල සා
හිතාසච්ඤ පණ්ඩිත පරාක්‍රමබාහු මහරජානන්ගෙන් ගොරවතිය වූ රාජ
සෙනාවිදුරය ලත් කොරවර් ආදිත්‍යකුරු අරය නිලයිට කුමරා තමෙ
ල්ට මුදුනා කිරුලසා දිනවරන්ත ක ස්වානාහරණය පළදවා සුවරාජා
හමයට පත් කලේ මෙම වස වෙසඟ පුර පසලොස්වෙනි කුජ
දින දීය.

13. ප්‍රකූර්ගයක කොරවර් විරාජ සොභාසිධිකාර සෙනවිගුරාඥාන්තම යෙන් රාජසෙනාව වාකා විරමිතේ, ශ්‍රී බුධ වම් එකදාස් එක්සිය හතළිස් තුන්වෙනිම කල ශ්‍රී ලංකා රජකළ කුඩ අග් බෝ නරේඥාන් තමාණන් විසින් යුවරාජ සෙනාව නිලය පත් කරනු කොරවර් ආදිත්‍ය කුරුවේදී අරසනිලධර්ව එලේනාගට රාජමුදකසී ශ්‍රී ලේකනව නියමකර දුන්නේ මෙම වස වෙසහපුර පසලොස් කුපදින ජයවර්ධන පුරදිය.

පුරාණ ලියවිල්ලක්

14. ශ්‍රී ලංකේශර උතුන් අප දෙවියෝමී දරුවානන් වහන්සේ සතු රන් වනසන්ට ආරම්භ කර වදුරමින් සන්වරක් යුධ කරන නෙදන් පල්ල අඩඟු කරමින් නැවතත් යුද්ධයට එන නිසා ඇමති මංඩලේ දක්වා ගනිමින් අසා වදාල තැන මිගොමුවේ මහ බල හමුදාව සතුරන් එක්ව අඩඟුව සිටින නිසාය. කියා සැල කළ තැනේදී බුට්ලෝක පුවන්දර උතුන් මහවාහලට පසුවාදිකම් ඇත්තෝදයි අහ වදල තැනේදී පලතුන් පසුවාදී කම් ඇත්තෝය කියා සැල කළායින් පසු රහසින් සන්නස් ඇර බදල තැන මුදලිවරු අඩප්පවරු ආරච්චි වරු සන්නස් බලා ගනිමින් මස්කක ප්‍රාජ්න සමසකාර බැහැදක ඇල් කොටුව, පිටකොටුව, මිගොමුවේ මාබෝදලේ රාගම් පත්තුයව සිය පත්තුවේ දුනාගහ පත්තුවේ කුම්මල කඩරාවිල මෙකී තැන්වල විසාස බස් දෙමින් ආරච්චිවරු තුන්දෙනෙක් ඊට අඩුත්තු හේවා සමුද වත් සතුරන්ට රහසින් පිටපත් කර එව්වාය. ඒ ආ තුන්දෙන බලනේ වාඩියේ දී මුනපාමින් ඊට ප්‍රසාදා සැලකාම ලොහො කරුණාවන් ලැබී මිගොමුවේ මුදියන්සේට බස් දෙමින් මිගොමුවටම ගොසින් සැම අය වම බස්දෙමින් පාත තට්ටුවේ කොටු අරවන්නාව උතුන් අවසර ලැබුණ හැටියට මිගොමුවේ හමුදව වාහුවෙමින් ගනේතැන්තේ නෝටු- ව අරවා සුද්ධ සුය්වංගොදහුත උතුන් අවසර ලැබී කොකාපැල කොටුව අරවන්ට දලදයන්වෙලට වැඩ වදල තැනේදී රී පුරාජගයංකර උතුන් දෙවියෝ දලද ගත් වෙලේ වැඩ සිටිනවා දැක මිගොමුවේ මුදියන්සේ කසානෙන් පතුල ඉරාගෙන හේවා හමුදාවත් හමුදවත් හරවාගෙන ආපසු යනවා දැක වදරා බොහෝ කරණා ලැබී මෙම මුදියන්සේද හේවා හමුදවද හන් කෝරල්ද, හතර කෝරල්ද පරංශි- කොටුවක නොහිට මිගොමුවටම ගියායින් පසු සැම අයටම බස් දෙමින් මුදලිවරු අඩප්පවරු ආරච්චිවරු ඇතුළු වනවාසිය හැත්තැවක් හමුදව සියළුදේම අත්හැර දමා හිරකඩමක කම්මල් මෝදරින් තෝප්පුවෙන් කෙටේ වත්තෙන් එළබිවී කඩවතෙන් මෙම කඩත්වලින් මෙගොඩ වෙමින් කපු අර ලෝදිමුන පෑ තැන බොහෝ කරණා තානාන්තර දෙවා වදාරමින් නැවතත් හේවාකම් කරමින් පෑතුනේදී අසරණ විනභා මානිකා උතුන් අවසර ලැබී මහවිදියේ අධිකාරි මුදියන්සේටත් ඊට අඩුත්තු හේවා හමුදාවටත් සන්නස් ලැබුන තමන්කඩින් පහුවක් ද, එම විදියේ අඩප්පර උන්තැහේටත් ඊට අඩුත්තු හේවා හමුදාවටත් සන්නස් ලැබුණ ඇලහොමුව ද නැවත් සිටිය මුදියන්සේගේ බැනාටත්

වැලවිදියේ අඩප්පර උන්තැහේටත් ඊට අන්තු හේවා හමුදාවටත් සන්නස් ලැබුණ අඹනද, පෙලක් මුදලිවරුන්ටත් මුල් ආරච්චි දහ අට දෙනකු වත් තුන්සිය පනහක් හේවා හමුදවටත් සන්කෝරලේ මුදින් ගන්ද ලැබුනාහා ඉනුක් ඒකනායක මුදියන්සේට සන්නස් ලැබුණ බෝගොමු වද තුබුගොඩරාළට සන්සන් ලැබුණ ඊව්වාදෙතියද කුරුවෙන්තේරු මුදියන්සේට සන්නස් ලැබුණ හතු පිටියද, මහ විදියේ අදිකාරි මුදියා සන්නස් ලැබුණ තල්ගොඩපිටියද, ගජනායක මුදියන්සේට සන්නස් ලැබුණ බලදොර නලාවෙල පාතයාලද දොන් පිලිප්පු ආරච්චිලටත් කොඩිකාරයාවත් සන්නස් ලැබුණ පිල්ලද බෙහියාවේ අඩප්පු උන්තැහේට සන්නස් ලැබුණ තැත්තෑ පහුවද ජයවර්ධන මුදියන්සේට සන්නස් ලැබුණ පිදව ගොමතරව දෙතියව ගොටු වැව ද කුමාරසිංහ මුදියන්සේට සන්නස් ලැබුණ උනාලේ ද, තිරිසන් ලැබුණ ගල්ගොමුවද, මිදුනත්තුවම් ආරච්චිලටත් හේවායින්ටත් මදවක ආරච්චිලටත් සන්නස් ලැබුණ ගොඩගොමනත්ත ද ගොතරුල්ලෙන් පහුවක් ද පිනලෝකඩවත් තර උතුම් වූ කරුණාව දැනී සිටිටු ලැබුණු ගම්වලින්, රබුක්කනද මුඩ අඩුවද ඉදිහේන ද, පමෙ ද, අඟුරාගලද නැහිනෙන් ගෙදරද, නාකොළ ගොමුවද කරගොමුව ද බාලපුරිය ආ වඩිලට සන්නස් ලැබුණ දික් වෙල ද අදිකාරි අරච්චිලට සන්නස් ලැබුණ කෝන්ගොඩ වෙල දන්මු ලද, මාබෝදලේ විරසිංහ ආරච්චිලට සහක් ඇඟව කිබුණ කොන් ගොඩින් සහුවක් ද වල්පොල වුමුඛානද වල්අරඹා කුමුරුපිටි අස්වද්දු ගත්වලින් සන්දනම් හම ද කච්චිච්ච්ච්, කවුකකන්දෙන් පහුවක් ද හොරතැපලද ලිගොමුවේ වෙද නයිදෙට කිබුණ බලගමි අවල ද කුකුලන් වෙලද, විරබුවද, කම්මල ආරච්චිලට කිබුණ විල ද දෙව්වාද රන ලදී.

Sannas or Records of the History of the Origin of the Karawe Caste

1. The Supreme King Duttugamunu who destroyed the camp of the Sedu Damala (or Tamils) and restored one form of Government in the Island of Ceylon in order to live a long age free of sorrow and to be secure from danger having first built the Kataragama temple at Runarata, dedicated it to the gods Kihirala Samanboksel, Vilhisana and Ayanarayan. The four Gods bearing love for the people of the Island by their unseen acrial power built seats for sitting down, the temple beds for sleeping in and dwelling houses for living, halls for holding meetings, appointed 18 attendants for taking care of the temple day and night, 12 dancers (Kapuralas) 24 Virgins for smearing cowdung on the temple floor and for keeping it clean - 4 elephant keepers for the four temples, Dewales, a Mohotti Lekame to keep an account of the income, an Adikaram Nilame for offering prayers to the Gods and for settling disputes. A Nilame for maintaining order on the occasion of holding processions in the four highways or streets and for settling disputes, a Basnayake Nilame to bear the Image of the Gods in full costume in the foremost of the procession to be held whenever necessary regularly. The necessary work to be done in conformity with the tenure of the office and taking meals accordingly. The procession is performed eighteen times by placing the image of Kataragama on the back of the elephant. Maha Betma Nilame was appointed to walk near the tusk and eye on the right side and on any public procession of the Ceylonese a 2nd Betma Nilame was appointed to walk on the left side of the elephant. There was more pomp and honour displayed on the occasion of an appointment of a Maha Betma Nilame than the grandeur which was shown in the appointment of a Nilame. He (Maha Betma) was allowed to receive 2/5th of the revenue collected at the Dewala and also of paddy. Sudda Suriya Wansabijata Maharajadhi Raja Sri Sangabodhi Sri Prakkrama King in accordance with orders of Duttugamunu in the 14th year of the reign of the former having got down from the elephant dressed in the 64 species of royal

1. Free translation of the Sinhala document in preceding pages — 18-25

attire and decked with a crown sitting on the throne in the palace at Matara with a train as that of a god consisting of King Dikona and Ministers appointed Prince Batiatisse of Gorharangam a descendant of King Wijaya as Maha Betma for bearing the image of the gods in the foremost of the procession and Ranapatabendi Kiri Etna of Dewinuwara (Kataragama) his wife to take the lead in the procession. For their maintenance a village, comprising an extent of 18 amunas was granted to them. A torch of five lights, Yalagama, a village lying on the either banks of Parapatmanik Oya was granted to them as a Nindagam to be possessed by them and their generations until the existence of the earth, bounded on the east by Koimbon Oya and Kambilitte on the West by the Kataragama range of stones - or the Akasagala (means stones as high as rock) and on the South by the road along the sea-beach or Muduweediya and one fourth of the beehoney that are produced within these boundaries and also one fourth of the meat obtained by shooting and one fourth of the fish caught within the boundaries mentioned, and also the right to levy an income on any one who happened to stop there for more than 18 days. They were freed from taxes levied by the Crown and an additional name was given to the family, viz., that of Abayasinha, Weerawikkrama Suriya. He was appointed as Maha Betma Minister to the Gods with other titles attached to the post. In conformity with the order an inscription was made on a golden leaf.

Copied from the original at the request of Don Juanis de Silva Abesinha Weerawikkrama Suriya, Maha Vidane. Registered at Matara on 3rd October 1744.

2. Copy of an inscription on a sword from His Majesty Sri Sangabodhi Sri Prakkrama King of Ceylon reigning at Cotta presented to Aditya Kuru Kaurawira Arsa Nilayitta Raja Sinha Commander of the forces (General) on 1959 in the year Buddha (corresponding to A.D. 1416).

3. Copy of an inscription on a copper leaf. Royal Sannas by His Majesty Sarawagna Pandita Prakkrabahu reigning at Dambedeniya (meaning Kurunegala) at the Royal Palace on the 1st day of Wesak in the year of Buddha 1792 granted Dolosbathgama as Nindagama was made to Aditya Kuru Arsa Nilayitta Kumara

2. Should be Dondara

Tamel. He was appointed as assistant to the Commander of the Fortes (corresponding to A.D. 1249).

4. Copy of an inscription on copper leaf. At the Royal palace at Jayawardanapura (Kotte) on the month of Durutta in the year of Saka 1150, Adittiya Kuru Arsa Nilayitta Ponnaga was appointed Royal Commander of the forces and was granted the villages Bambaracotuwa, Yalagala Mumgama by His Majesty Sri Wira Parakrama (corresponding to A.D. 1230).

5. Royal Mandate by His Majesty Rajasinghe reigning at Kandy. In the year of Wikrama, Saka 1671 on the 11th Monday of the month of Il (November) by His Majesty Wijayabanda Suriapprakasa Rajasinhe who promulgated his royal assent. Majudu Pulle Udaiyar or Pictche Pulle Navaratna Iran Sinha Srenesinha Wanniar of Kalyana Street in Puttlam, according to former custom and a guide for the future was presented with flags, crowns etc. Being a loyal subject and one on whom royal confidence can be relied by His Majesty Rajasinghe, who governs Wanga (Bengal) Kalinga, Telinga, Kosala (Malay Peninsula) Illan Wallan Kollan was appointed Raja Wanniya for the following villages, Madakalapuwa (Batticaloe), Seruwila Eppawala Pattuwa, Khjil Pattuwa, Kandawa Wannipattuwa, Anwa Ulandawagala, Kalukaman Kada Mukuda, Maha Muda. Country lying between Divarujalu Munnesseram Pattuwa, Wattala near Colombo from Hendala or Bridge of Boats including Usweta Keyiyawa, Puttalam Mudda and appointed Mandappu (office under the Kandyan King) in the presence of Kuruwe Mudaliyar - the following insignia of honour was presented to (him) lances, one staff inlaid with silver, a square red cap set with pearls, one sword, two bayonets, 7 suits of clothes, 7 turbans, 12 weapons, 7 umbrellas, 3 insignia of honour, 3 fans, 2 chains, 7 cloths for spreading on the ground, 7 canopies with the design of tender mango leaves on them, flags with the emblem of victory, flags with the monkey or the lion, flags with the likeness of the monkey, flags with the likeness of fish, red flags, blue flags: allowed the Wanniar to construct a shed (on the occasion of a marriage) supported on 3 pillars with a top to be covered with tiles, with a hall on the four sides of the house having smaller rooms in the shape of bungalows on the four sides of the house (one of them being equal to the modern portico) and to have a decoration of

flowers and to use canopies as ceilings to wrap white cloths in the main 9 pillars of the shed. The other persons of his class were allowed to construct a shed with 19 pillars and have one cloth to be drawn as a canopy. Any addition made in the decoration or the enlargement of the shed to incur a penalty by undergoing a fine of 10 Tangawila (gold coins). The lower castes were allowed to put up a temporary place in the open air having for their roof a black cloth and a red cloth, the four sides can be covered with cloth. Any addition made in enlargement in this respect to undergo a fine of 100 Tangawila.

For cases instituted in the Muddra Mandappa similar to the present District Court or Police Court ~~(the)~~ the Wanniar is allowed to impose a fine of 2½ Nagawiragama, S. Tangawilli. For heavy and important cases 50 Tangawilli and for cases of importance such as murder cases 100 Tangawilli. The power of inflicting corporal punishment and hand cuffing prisoners were conferred on the Wanniar. The eighteen (18) castes were subjected to carry all his orders to pay him taxes and customs of the 18 castes to be executed according to his command. This document was issued by Rajasinghe Mudiyanse at the request of Wellangi Chetti Dissawe in the presence of Maha Wasala Nilamalatanwa and Maha Dissawa.

6. When the Portuguese could not have been repulsed for 15 years in the war that took place between them and the Kandyan Kingdom some Dutch officers and Karawe Warnakulasuriya, Patbandi Muhandiram Ilenaide led the King Srimat Bosa Sikam Sri Buvaneka Bahu Chakkrawati across Rukgahawatte ferry without being seen by the Portuguese and arrived at the Village Medagoda. For the brave act they performed the following was granted to them, viz., Medagoda bounded on the East by Kelaniganga on the West by Labupitimodera Oya on the North by Epilagala and on the South, by Kaponuwa stone fence, all trees, timber, leaves, houses, gardens, Kumburu Wel Ovitte etc., therein subject to payment of tax of 10 annas a year to the Maligawa to enjoy and possess all these free from disturbance by any military occupation. He was also appointed Maha Muhandiram and the right to add Patabendi names and the following insignia of honour was accorded to him. An umbrella fraught with pendants of pearls, a torch, a double talipot palm, tom-tom beating, the blowing of conch shell

for generations after him. Of these who accompanied him one was allowed to be there, Silversmith, Parawara or fisherman, Porakaraye, Barber, Washer, Hunnia, Tom-Tom beater, Oliya and the bearer of the flag with a mark of a Shark. This Sannas was given in the presence of the Ministers of the Court of the King at Jayawardanapura in the year of Saka 1561 or A.D. 1640.

7. His Majesty Buwaneka Bahu, who descended from Maha Sammata, a King of great grandeur and to whom other Kings pay obeisance was sitting on the throne of gold when *Prince Kuru Kawwar Pandawopalashita Ari Maradana Karawa Kumara*, having arrived in Ceylon from Canchipura (modern Caronppara) presented a bluish shawl declared his birth and origin. His Majesty having thought of him granted on Sannas the revenues of Munisseram from the village Eliwitiya, Menawelatota, revenue derived from the Salt bed Chilaw, Mutupantiya, Modera, Anolandawa, Karikal from the Oyas called Alaware, Makippan Kolambogam, Kirindigala Pollwiya. He was also allowed the revenue from the first fruits of the land in the villages named. He was presented with tusks etc. The lands to be free from Rajakana and 18 castes to be under his orders. Granted in the year Sakka 1388 or A.D. 1467 at Jayawardanapura at Olinaluwa.

8. At the time when His Majesty Suriyawansa Chuta having under him other Kings, Buwaneka Bahu, Dipatchakkrawasti was holding Council at Seetawaka near Jayawardanapura after the manner of Lakkra Devendra and sitting on the golden throne decked with nine kinds of gems, Nalla Adappaya of Puttalam presented to the King a Silk shawl of six cubits in length. The King having expressed his kindness appointed him Raja Wanniar of Puttalam and unto him 360 villages bordering the two Marikar Pattus, Tammanapitiya below Kanda Udiyanapitiya Pahala Kande Nanneriya, Hunugalagoin Pahala, Mudumullekanden Pahala, Dikkeliyan pahala below Yabarakandu, below Welparapuwawewaeyanagegandu pahala, Peniyawelliepattuwa, Puttalam, Siriwila Pattu, Kallatiriya Dewale Morregama Kokkarawila, Borupannila and other number of villages and presenting and allowing him to receive tax from tolls and also first fruits of the land. Gems and other gifts were presented unto him such as tusks - elephant's tooth. The Wanniar was freed from the ordeal of swearing and to be free from military occupational disturbances and the 18 castes to be subjected to the orders of the Wanniar.

These grants and concessions were to be in force till the sun and moon last. The copper plate was caused to be written by Wijekoon Senanayaka Wimala Sundara Mudianse Rajawasala Vidane in the year 1389 of Saka or corresponding to A.D. 1468 May.

9. His Majesty Rajasinghe Chakkrawati endowed with riches and powers by which he subjugated many Kingdoms under one Government of vast influence and power spread everywhere having seen the order of having held confidential appointments, appointed Muttan Wannar as Basnayake Nilame son of *Kurukulat Arsan Kumarapperuma Wanniar* who died. The son to enjoy all the rights, privileges etc. belonging to his father's post in the year Wikrama Saka 1671 or A.D. November 1750 at Sri Wardahana Wasala.

10. His Majesty Kirtisingha Chakkrawati who brought Maya, Pihiti, Runa under one Government and who exacts homage from all Kings and endowed with grandeur spread everywhere, endowed with all riches sat on the golden throne at Senkadagala and was in good humour having a smile similar to the lotus in bloom when Kadalame Gunaratna, Rajapaksawardena Kaurawasuriya Mudianse offered an extra ordinary white cow as a present to the Royal palace and submitted himself before the King. The King being pleased granted the village Weligama in Wagapuneka Korale unto the said Kaurawa Suriya Mudianse and to his generations in the District of Matale bounded on the East by Mirisgon Oya gala odegala, Gonikuttugala and Mahamilla tree in the fence of Pepolatress, on the South by Yakura Ella at Vilkada of Mirisganoya and on the North by the peninsula of Oilpatoya and four amunas sowing extent of five Migaha mumpala within these boundaries including the high and low land to have quiet of possession, is free of Duty in the year 1671 Saka or 20th May 1750 A.D.

11. His Majesty Kiritisinghe possessed of all riches who brought under one Government the three great Divisions Runa, Maya, Pihiti, full of power, courage, herosim, sat on the throne at Senkadagala as a full moon surrounded by his Ministers like so many stars moving round the lunar system, appointed Suriya Adappa Warnakula Jayatileke (Domingo Suvan) Mudianse who defeated Marikkataluwan as Basnayake Nilame of Ayyanarkovil (Hindu

temple) at Parunpadu erected for the commemoration of the defeat of Marikkatalawan the Chief of the Mukkaras, attendants and servants were allowed to this (Jayatilleke) as at Munnessaran Devale. Out of the revenue derived from the Kovil grant to receive half deducting expenses. By His Majesty's order the year 1675 or A.D. 1754.

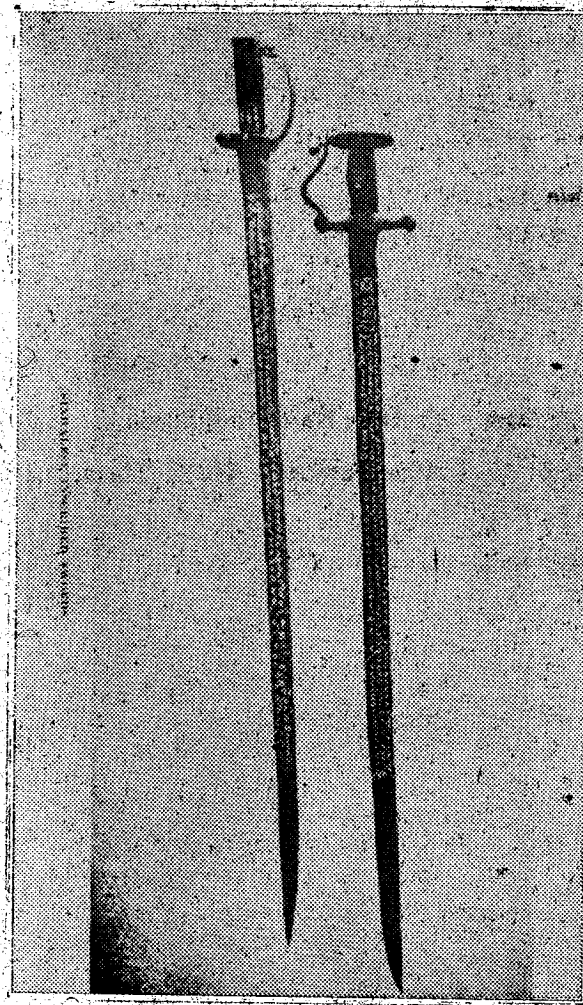
12. According to the sayings of Chandra Bann, a race called Puru Kuruksheba Karawa, Karagothru Suriyawansa Maha Senadikara governed the world. In the year of Buddha 1792 His Majesty Kalikala Sobita Suriyawagnsa Pandita Parakkarama Bahu, King of Ceylon, reigning at Dambadeniya, appointed the Hon'ble Kaurawa Adittya Kuru Arakula Tamel general, having presented him a sword set with nine kinds of gems, to be (Yuwa Raja) or Heir apparent or second to the King (corresponding to May A.D. 1249).

INSCRIPTION ON A SWORD

13. Presented by Kuda Agrabokuda Narendrayan in the year of Buddha 1143 to Karawa Adittya Kuruwedi Arsa Nilayitta Illenaga who was appointed Uywa Raja or second to the King a sword with ~~the~~ the Royal stamp on it and royal inscriptions on it at Jayawardēnapura, corresponding to A.D. 600).

AN ANCIENT WRITING

14. His Majesty having determined to destroy the enemies waged war 7 times and included the country below the Hill and seeing that the enemy is hostile, summoned before him the Ministers of State and consulted them and informed them that the main body of the forces at Negombo have joined the enemy. The Ministers have expressed a wish to know if the Negombo forces are friendly to the King, who stated that they were friendly to him even before letters of State were despatched to them (Negombo forces) without the knowledge of the enemy. The chief of them, namely, Mudaliars, Adappas and Arachchies having read Royal letter and paid great respect with attention to the letter. They sent friendly and confidential letters to the forces at Fort of Negombo, the Fort Mabodalit at Mabola



Pattuwa, Dolaspattuwa, Dunegaha pattuwa, Kammala, Tambara-
wila and despatched three Archchies and the number under
them without knowledge of the enemy to meet the King. The
three Archchies meeting the King at Balane Wadia had interview
with the king who was highly pleased and sent message to the
Mudaliyar of Negombo stating that under the pretence of
partiality to the enemy they should fight for the King. The
forces who were beseiging the city for the (Dutch) retreated (to
join the King) and the forces that beseiged the Fort at Ganatenu
evacuated the seige and under the royal orders of the King,
forces that beseiged the Fort at Kotikapola also gave up, the
whole army with the Mudaliyar of Negombo in order to show
the enemy for whom he at first promised to fight but at last
sided the King, that he did his best with his men to fight against
the Royal forces, cut his leg with the sword. The King seeing
that the Mudaliyar of Negombo by whom the forces are carried
was highly satisfied for the partiality shown to the King.

 - Courtesy National Museum.

Photo - Nihal Fernando, Studio Times, Sri Lanka,

"Line or Tribe of Puru Kurukshetra Kourawa Kara"

In the year 1792 Buddhist era or in the year of our Lord A.D. Kourawar Aditya Kuru Arasa Nilayitta Kumara Tamel minister to Parakrama Bahu King of Kandy was appointed Regent or "Yuwa Raja". This is an inscription on a sword which is in the possession of the descendants of Kumara Tamel.

In the year 1954 Buddhist Era or in the year of our Lord A.D. a sword was presented to Aditya Kuru Kourawar Arasa Nilayitta Rajasinha General and Chief of the army by His Majesty Sri Sangabodi Sri Prakrama Bahu King of Kandy.

This is an inscription on a sword which is still in the possession of Nilayitta Rajasinha's descendants.

The most reliable records noted above conclusively prove that the Karawa caste is a warrior caste and that they claim descent from King Kuru of ancient India. I annex hereto list of the Mudaliyars, who were (most of them) Commanders of the Portuguese and Dutch Forces.

A.D.

1590 Manuel Dias Mudaliyar — See Knox's History of Ceylon.

- 1651 (1) Don Manuel Andradi Mudaliyar and a Commander of the Dutch Forces in Ceylon. He has been paid 20 gilders for services rendered by him in the wars in India waged by the Dutch.
- (2) Lewis Andradi *Mudaliyar and Adikaram* of Kalutara and Walallawita Korale ²
- (3) Don Mitchell Mudaliyar succeeded as Adikaram of Kalutara and Walallawita Korale. ³
- (4) Christopal Silva succeeded as Adikaram of Kalutara and Walallawita Korale.

Note: 1. The omission of the date in the year of our Lord is significant. The same omission is noticed in Bells Kegalle Report of 1892 which has made modern students point a finger on the Chronology of Gaja Bahu Katava.

2. Probable date 1663 - 1665

3. In Jaffna 1658 Succeeded Lewis D'Andradi Don Mitchell or Don Michael de Fonseka.

- (5) Francisco Rodrigo was Mudaliyar and Adikaram.
- (6) Domingo Andradi was Mudaliyar and Adikaram. ⁴
- (7) Samaranyaka was Mudaliyar of Kalutara.

All the above seven offices appear in one Dutch record, a translation of which was made in 1822.

1707 Reynolds Andradi Mudaliyar of Colombo. ⁵

1760 Warnakula Aditya Arasa Nilayitta Don Siman Tamel Mudaliyar. The title of "Kammala Maha Mudalindu" is given to him by the poets of the period who have recorded the bravery displayed by this Sinhalese chief in the wars that took place between the Dutch and the King of Kandy. ⁶

1764

October 26 Don Siman De Mel ⁷ Mudaliyar of Pitigal Korale and Puttalam District.

1765 Warnakula Weerasuriya Jayatilaka Anthoni Rowel Mudaliyar of Alutkuru Korale (North and South)

1785 Abraham Tamel was Mudaliyar of Alutkuru Korale (North & South)

1794 Warnakula Weerasuriya Jaytilaka Joronimous Rowel Mudaliyar of Alutkuru Korale

Probable date

1795 Haramanis De Silva Wirasinghe Maha Vidana Mudaliyar of Galle

1802 Pedro Mendis Gunatilaka Samarasinha Jayasuriya Seneviratna Mudaliyar of Salpiti Korale.

1804 Don Mattes Samarawira Jayawardana Amadore Maha Vidana Mudaliyar of Matara.

1830 Manuel De Fonseka Wijetunga Samaranyaka Maha Vidana Mudaliyar of Moratuwa.

Afterwards Mudaliyar of Kalutara and Panadura and Superintending Officer of the Public Works Department Kalutara.

Note: 4. Succeeded Don Mitchell De Fonseka

5. Act of Appointment 15. 1. 1787

6. Circa 1715

7. Evidently an error for Tamel. Mudaliyar Pitigal Korale

- 1831 Thomas Andradi Arasakulasuriya Wijeratna Mudaliyar of Colombo.
- 1841 Alexander Dharmaratna Mudaliyar of Salpiti Korale.
- 1848 Joseph Mendis Arasakulasuriya Wijeratna Mudaliyar of Alutkuru Korale, Justice of the Peace for Negombo district.
Acted for the District Judge of Negombo during his absence.
- 1846 Pedro Fernando Arasakulasuriya Wijeratna Mudaliyar Colombo Gravets
Probable date not known
- Date not known Joronimous Mendis Seneviratna Mudaliyar of Negombo.
- " " Philip Mendis Mudaliyar of Salpiti Korale.
- 1865 Warnakula Aditya Arasa Nilayitta Albinu De Lowe or later Mudaliyar of Pitigala Korale and Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate. He died last year.
- Date unknown Don Dines Abeysekera Maha Vidana Mudaliyar of Gandara.
- 1861 Robert Louis Gunewardena Maha Vidana Mudaliyar of Ambalangoda.
- 1863 Christian Samarawira Jayasuriya Mudaliyar of Magam Pattuwa Hambantota.
- 1864 Andris Arnolis Wijesekera Mudaliyar of the Hon'ble the Supreme Court.
- 1866 or 1868 Dyonis Abeysekera Gunawardena Mudaliyar of Giriwa Pattuwa.
- 1870 Abraham Senewiratna Gunawardena Mudaliyar of Kalutara and Panadura Totamuna.
- 1882 Johannes Pieris Disanayake Mudaliyar of Pasdun and Walallawita Korale the above is a list of the chief Headmen of the Korales and Mudaliyars of some consequence. ⁸

● ★ ★ ●

I annex below a list of Gate Mudaliyars.

- 1853 Joronis Soysa Disanayaka Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate.
Samuel Soysa Disanayaka Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate.
- 1868 Don Bastian De Silva Jayasuriya Gunewardena Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate.

8. A fuller list with dates appears at end of these memos cf. Supplement. III

Besides these there have been Interpreters, Shroffs and Clerks who held the rank of Mudaliyars - I have not given their names to this list, the object of which is only to give an idea of the general position of the Karawa Caste.

I have not been able to consult any competent authority to ascertain the origin of this Caste but the best authority upon which I state the origin of this Sect of the Sinhalese Community is the "Itihasa" the only historical record of its origin. I may say it is a reliable record replete with historical facts and events occurred within the recollection of some of the older generation of the Karawa Caste - I refer in particular to the inscription on a stone in the Hambantota District, the truth of which is borne out by the fact that there are still members of the family of "Ran Patabendige" who have the sole control and management of the Kattaragama Devale. By this inscription it is evident that a prince of the Royal family married a respectable lady of the Karawa Caste.

It will be seen from this that the Royal family had intermarriages with this class of people whose aborigines accompanied some great foreign prince for the invasion of Ceylon. From the inscription, a translation of which I have given at the top of my list, it will be seen that members of this Caste were Ministers of the Court of the King of Kandy and Commander-in-Chiefs of the Military Services.

I will briefly state here for the purpose for which this list and memos are intended that the Karawa people are not the aboriginal fishers⁹ of Ceylon of whom there were many living in the interior of Ceylon - I mean the Goyigama people who cultivate their fields and catch fish in the rivers and lakes in the interior of Ceylon.

9. Vide Supplement II B.

III

Gentlemen,

In No. 11 of the Tamil Periodical published in Madras entitled Vedanta Nirnya under the heading Caste, we read that the caste called Kurukulam is put down with Sudra 11th in the list, as if ranking below even dhobies and barbers. The members of that Caste however have from time immemorial, maintained and do upto this time, maintain a high position unsullied and undiminished, both in point of rank, wealth and respectability. That gentlemen of such liberal principles, so well read in Oriental lore, should commit themselves to a course of action, which bespeaks want of acquaintance with history ancient and modern and with the customs of the country seem to us to be very singular. Nor could we understand, that how this caste of Kurukulam could be classed as even lower than barbers unless it be, that in the classification of castes no regard has been had to long existing distinctions as to the relative position of each caste and no general rule or principle laid down whereby each caste may have a proper position assigned. It is according as the members thereof have from time immemorial been accustomed and recognised to maintain. We are prepared to establish by evidence that barbers, dhobies and other castes have from the earliest times being serving the members of the Kurukulam caste, just as they serve the Vellalas and the same custom still prevails. But your classification seems to have been aimed at the Kauravas, so as to degrade them once and for ever, though we could hardly persuade ourselves to suppose that you are capable of acting in that manner. We hope that a case having been entrusted to your hands for inquiry and adjudication you will thoroughly inquire into it and decide impartially between both parties - favouring neither Pift nor Deft. The grievance felt by the members of the Kurukulam caste in your City in having been classed 11th in the list, has reached even this place notwithstanding this is different country. We wonder whether the virtue of impartiality has taken leave of you. Nay you oblige the people of the Kurukula caste to produce the credentials of their caste on such works of history or Shastras as speak the glory of their caste as if you are strangers unacquainted with the history and

quality of their caste. But what evidence did barbers, potters and artificers produce from history or from shastras, so as to satisfy you that you were right in ranking them higher.

We presume some of you are Ushnunnas and Sirtes of such we ask; are not the 4 Vedas the foundation of Sivasim Was not Viyasa Rishi the the author of the 4 Vedas. Are you not aware of his parentage? Are you prepared to question the fact that he was the son of Parasa Rishi by Madeha Kandi? We suppose not. Then what is there that you cannot admit in the fact, that the progeny of the self same Viyasa Rishi were princes called Kurukula Vanter and even since that race continues from generation to generation known and recognised by the same name of Kurukulam upto the present day?

Now we proceed to state what in our opinion appears to be sufficient and conclusive evidence to establish the fact that the Kurukulam race of old those that followed them and those who now bear the name so far from being inferior to barbers, dhobies etc. belong to a high, noble and honourable race and we hope the arguments we would adduce will (prove) themselves to great and learned men as cogent and conclusive.

Firstly, The Barathand alone which owes its authorship to the learned Velliputhurum which is counted amongst the more important of Tamil classics and which on account of its excellence equal that of the 4 Vedas, is considered to be the 5th Veda is itself sufficient to establish the predominant character and high reputation of the Kurukula caste. No other caste can establish its dignity and glory by the authority of such a standard work of great repute. Nor could it be established by the evidence of History that any other caste, not to say of the 12 castes from the Kaurawa down to the Ammathur as classified by the Census Committee, has ever been able to perform any of the Yogans such as Raja Yuga which are said to have been performed by the Dharma Putras.

Secondly, Matchakuti after giving birth to Viyasa Rishi the author of the 4th Vedas named Santham Neala Rajah a king of the lunar race, and their subsequent history is known to every youth acquainted with Barata and Maha Baratha omitting therefore

to reproduce it here we enquire whether her brother Meena who is fabled to have been born of fire pursued the profession or occupation of his father the parathava chief and embraced his caste. We find however the King of Villada being childless got this child from Parathava and by adoption made him heir apparent to the crown of Villada country. This is stated in the Valai Vessu Purana as having been mentioned by Siva to his wife Oma. There is, therefore, no doubt that a Royal race sprung from Meenam otherwise called Madcha Kabanam which also ruled over a country.

It may be argued that the race was exterminated in the war that raged between the two houses of the Kurukula race, viz. the Pancha Panduas or the five, and the one hundred and one including Teruyotua which forms the subject of Baratana and that the so-called Kurukulam of the present day is nothing but a caste of Fishers. But it may be urged in reply that women and children under age did not perish in those wars, and we neither heard it stated nor read in any history that an entire nation has been swept off the face of the earth even in the most destructive of modern or ancient wars. Even the Jews survived the fire and sword of the Romans and the Nations of Europe have not perished in the invasion of Northern Barbarians. Why go in search of any further proof when it is distinctly stated in the Asnawada Parvum that a lad called Visuaketa the son of Kanua Malia Rajah assisted the Charma Putras in the Yoga which he performed called Asnawadayogam after the war recorded in Baratana was over, and that a son of Argum called Papparavakaun was the reigning Monarch of the City called Alagapura. It is further said in the work called Pulantiran Kalai Malai written by poet Pukalanthi that Pulantri is the son of Argona by Athie, the daughter of Pandian named Kalanta married the niece of Thiriottiana when the Pandavas were in the jungle and had a son who was called Argon, the name according to the name of his grandfather. Nor can it be proved that he fell in any of the battles recorded in the Bharata. As he was born during the exile of the Pandavas, he could not have been so far advanced in age, when the war commenced to go to the battlefield. Then it follows that the story of the utter destruction of the ancient and (royal) Kurukula race, is totally incredible and the more probable supposition is that from the aforesaid Meenavan Papparavakaun Vilvakadu and Argon the minor, the race continued to perpetuate itself.

Thirdly, we see that all the several castes from the highest to the lowest, there existed in times of old up to this day and which is there to justify the assumption that the Kurukula Caste alone of the rest has disappeared. Nor is there another caste in existence (except those whom you at present call Karears), who could be pointed out as the Kurukula caste. The conclusion then is inevitable that the Kurukula caste of the present day owes its origin to the ancient Kurukula race and to no other.

Fourthly, one peculiar feature in the history of the Kurukula caste is worthy of consideration as not applicable to the circumstances to any other caste, viz., their exclusiveness wherever they are found in separate communities living in the midst of other castes, but not mixing with them, be they higher or lower and resisting every attempt at amalgamation. This exclusiveness frequently exposes them to jealousy of other castes for their being subject to the taunts and attacks of the rest.

Fifthly, it is rational to conclude that later still after the times of the Pandaras their descendants having been dispossessed of their territories by successive bands of Mohamadans and other invaders having lost their original dignity as the moon's beams are lost into the shade of the greater glory and effulgence of the Sun. We further gather that the very same race of Kings who rules the Velada Country and who held also the Sceptre of the Pandian Kingdom having originally settled in those places did in later times settle in our country during the reign of King Kulanatha Lakaravalti.

Sixthly, it will be admitted by all Tamil Scholars that no better authority could be quoted to prove the antiquity, origin and status of any caste than the Sudamani-Negando or classical dictionary which owes its authorship to the learned Veramandalavar. The twelveth Section of this elaborate and exhaustive work is devoted to the definition of caste; their original land and territories and their respective standards and Malais or garlands. The 230th Stanza of this Section defines these in the following terms:

To the Kurukulam (Country) Kurunadu - (Malai) Kandel (Standard) Shark
 To the Parathavas (Country) Ayodbi - (Malai) Kodampu (Standard) Peacock
 To the Madapali (Country) Devipatam - (Malai) Lotus (Standard) Bull
 To the Artificers (Country) Mantain - (Malai) Palluven (Standard) Monkey

It is evident from this that Kurukula caste is essentially different from and has nothing in common with the Paratharas, Valeyer and other fisher castes and has existed as such from remote antiquity. If they are one and the same with the rest why this distinction and separate mention of them?

It is further to be recollected Veeramandalavar flourished long after the Baratha Era and seeing that he has gone so minutely into the subject and defined each caste as it then existed with its original country and distinctive standard and Malai, what is the authority upon which it is alleged by some that the Kurukula caste alone has become extinct, while all the others exist up to the present day? Nor does the author quoted make any mention in his work of a caste called Karears? Then why call the Kurukulam Karears? It is because they live in the Karai or sea-coast?

Shall we then call the Brahmin Pariahs according to the saying that the Brahmin who immigrates from the North to the South becomes a Pariah? Or is Veeramandalavar in fault in not calling Kurukulas Karears?

Seventhly, there is not any authentic history properly called so giving an account of events that occurred in India and in Ceylon in ancient times with the exception perhaps of some legendary and traditionary stories. We would, therefore, instead of ransacking the regions of folklore, come down to the authentic records of more modern times when the nations of Europe commenced to exercise their sway over the destinies of India and Ceylon.

The Portuguese who were the first known European nation in Ceylon found the members of the Kurukula Caste to be especially honest, intelligent and respectable and advanced them to high offices of state, such as ministers, chiefs, secretaries, headmen etc. Amongst the distinguished personages of the caste in the time of the Portuguese was Don Anderado who held the high and responsible office of first-minister to the Portuguese viceroy of Jaffna (Anthony Ammral) and commander in chief of the forces.

A full account of him can be gathered from the works of Dutch Historians. The Dutch who succeeded the Portuguese in

Government of Ceylon followed in their footsteps and likewise bestowed on the members of the Kurukula caste all offices of honour, trust and distinction. Nor could it be said, that this was in contravention of the then existing customs and rules of the country, for it is a patent fact that both the Portuguese and Dutch Governments cherished the institutions of caste with almost religious care and preserved it quite intact. This was their acknowledged (policy) and it contributed besides to their revenue. It was even then when caste was in all its glory that the members of the Kurukula caste had distinguish honours, courtiers forming a country link as it were between the ruling and the subject classes enjoying peculiar and exceptional privileges not allowed to any but the highest caste. Amongst these may be mentioned some of the accompaniments of a high caste man considered a "Sinner" on occasions of a public procession, viz., the tusk, the palanquin and the tandalassi. These composed their train with a body of their retainers composed of the 18 Kudimakkal viz., the Coppersmiths, Barbers, Potters, the five artificers etc. and usual demonstrations of respect. Now it is well known that not one of these 18 marks of respect and anyone who dared to appropriate them was subject to very severe punishment by the state. Many of these customs existed during the early part of the British Government and some even so late as the time of the late P. A. Dyke, Esq. Government Agent of the Northern Province when they were abolished. As in the older times, so in these enlightened days even the very Kurukula race, occupy throughout Ceylon the same high position and rank which they have held and enjoyed. They are regarded, respected and honoured as the aristocracy of the Island and appointed to high and honourable posts in the Public Service such as Mudaliars, Mohandirams, Adikars, Maniakars, Udayars, Aldhans etc. Some practise as lawyers in our Courts, some as physicians and Surgeons and others are Merchants. And one important trait and lingering sign of bygone generations is that even the poorest would not stoop to any menial employment or serve under any other caste in any private or domestic service.

Gentlemen, you could not have failed to observe from the foregoing arguments, from the records of old which relate to the events that have from time to time occurred and in which the Kaurava Caste have played a conspicuous part and from the National Customs in vogue up to the present day that the

conclusion is irresistible that the Kaurava caste is both a noble and honourable one and that they are one and the same with the Second or Kshatriya Caste of Hindoo classification. Nor is there any other caste in this part of India or Ceylon who venture to aspire to this distinction. It is but very true however, in the overthrow and humiliation of several dynasties and still more especially in the general confusion that followed the Mohamdan conquest, they, the Kurukula people lost their territories and possessions and under allegiance to the conquerors they either remained as subject race or in subordination to their masters, held offices of state and by assisting the governing powers acquired some political estates which remains up to the present day, most notably so in the chief towns of Ceylon. As to degeneracy and deterioration of races the Burghers of Ceylon furnish the most appropriate and conclusive example. Portuguese and Dutch conquerors of Ceylon left some of their descendants behind when the English took possession of the Island. These form the Burghers of the present time. Descended, some of them from Governors (Comandants) Commandants and Disawas. The modern Burghers are almost in a level with the natives holding such subordinate offices under Government as clerks, accountants, Superintendents etc. But mechanism more than any other cause has tended to bring about this degeneracy. The conclusion referred to which it tends to reduce this caste in number, mental and physical furnishes one strange and unquestionable evidence of their superior origin. While Vellala caste mixes and mingles with Chandas, Kovias and other lower castes, and by this process amalgamation extends itself in every direction at the expense of its purity. The Kurukula caste alone remains without marrying without giving in marriage among any others be it even "a low caste." Now why this exclusion, what does it prove but the existence in them of that pride of ancestry of which others have no ground to boast.

We append to this certified copies of Government notices (or orders) relating to certain heraldics of the Kurukula under the Dutch Government.

Note: These certificates are not appended perhaps mixed up with other papers in the Bell Collection.

Complaint, Against the Wellalas or the Goyigama Caste

All men are divided into 4 sects according to the religion of Siva, viz., Brahamans, Shestriya, Vaisya and Sudra and according to Buddhism, viz., The Kings, Brahamans, merchants and cultivators. In all reliable writings it is shown that cultivators or the Wellalas who belong to the Sudra or the 4th Caste, are the servants of the first three castes. The cultivator caste is divided into two sects according to one mode and according to another manner of divisions into three Sects and according to a third division into 18 Sects or more and other lower castes are formed. All the lower castes are sub-divisions of the Goyigama Caste. When anyone is born of two different castes, such a person is classified under the 4th caste, the cultivator caste. Besides persons of the highest caste degraded to the Rodiya or lowest caste by their behaviour. It appears from important writings that Ceylon was governed according to the laws of Manu. It cannot be inferred in any manner that either the Kings of Ceylon or the Kings of India ever conferred high and important offices on persons of the Goyigama as it is forbidden by the laws of Manu to appoint Goyigama people to high offices and as it does not appear in important writings.

According to an inscription * caused to be cut on a rock at Polonnaruwa by a powerful King versed in law, no important or high office was conferred on the Goyigama caste by any of the Kandyan Kings except by the wicked King Maga or some other king of the later period of the Kandyan Kingdom who ruled over Ceylon without consulting law. People of the Goyigama caste began to receive high Government appointment after the advent of European nations who disregarded caste distinctions. Under the Portuguese Government very few of them received appointment. The Dutch conferred more appointments than the Portuguese. Why the Dutch conferred more appointments on them was because the latter professed Christianity more readily than the other inhabitants when the former had compelled the people in general to profess Christianity as their national religion. A large number of

Karawa and Mahabadda people relinquished their appointments without obeying the orders of the Dutch Government and the vacancies created by their going out of office were filled by people of the Govigama caste who, in order to please the Dutch Government, embraced Christianity. Appointments were conferred more by the English Government when the English conquered the Island, people of higher castes evaded the new conquerors whereas the Govigama people were employed as their domestic servants (viz. of English gentlemen) and did such things as are not done by people of a high caste. By these means they soon learnt the language and gradually rose high in the service of Government.

The following facts are note-worthy:

(1) The English Government confers high appointments under Government without noticing caste distinction which is consistent with the principals of English law and amicable to religion. People of the other castes do not grudge the success of the Govigama caste and do not either blame or complain against the Government although they use a caste unworthy and unfit to hold high appointments in an impartial manner, - but this impartial view of the others is mistaken by them for their right and they have fraudulently attempted to show that they are the only caste who are fit and entitled to hold high appointments under Government and that they are the chief caste in the Island and that appointments do not belong to the others.

(2) There are tangible proofs that this showing of the Govigama people, viz. that they are high caste, has been admitted by the English Government as true.

(3) That the publication of a book called the Nitiniganduwa an erroneous production showing that Govigama caste, which is a low caste is a high caste and that the other castes as low.

(4) The book was published at the Government Press.

(5) As a pamphlet was published insulting certain gentlemen who attended a meeting to present a petition to the Governor pointing out the error in having published the Nitiniganduwa.

(6) Without explaining the statements and replying to the publication of a pamphlet called Suddranima compiled in accordance with best authorities showing that the Nitiniganduwa is a false production.

(7) A talk is prevalent amongst the people that high appointments under Government are not conferred on anyone except on those of the Vellala caste.

(8) Out of the Govigama people, a certain section has called themselves as "the First Class Vellalas" and has shown Government that high appointments should be conferred on them only, showing inconsistency with any written authority or practice and thereby has deceived Government.

The foregoing facts (8) are neither amenable to religion, nor in accordance with the English law nor with the old principles of the Kandyan Kings and the people of the other castes are much aggrieved - and beg that one of the two following requests may be granted:

(1) Without paying any attention to the superiority of any caste or tribe appointments may be conferred according to education and according to claim acquired.

(2) After proper enquiry, appointment may be given to those according to the order of caste as appearing in the books of India and Ceylon. If either of these requests is complied with the people will rest contented, but petitions will be often presented by the people of the other castes if the people of the Govigama caste are erroneously acknowledged by Government as a Superior Caste.

It would appear that some people are trying to show that the ministers of the Court of the Kings of Kandy and other high officials of the Kandyan Kingdom belonged to Govigama Caste - It is an erroneous saying - They (ministers) are all descendants of the Royal Caste and Vajaya Caste - of these some generations are entirely extinct and others have assumed the names of extinct generations and some have mixed up with people of the Govigama Caste - It is said that members of the Nuwara Wewa, Bulankulame, Dambawinna, Ulgalla, Amane

Kandakkulama, Punchikulama, Palugaswewa, Mada Atugam Hinguruwelpitiya, Gampolagiribawa, Uduwerya, Attanapo Eriyawa, Ratwatte and Beligamma Walawwas have not mix with the Govigama caste.

I think if private enquiries are made, then it can be ascertained that the past four generations of the Govigama do not hold appointments (under Government). I think it is proved by the Suddramina that Govigama people are Suddras. If it is insufficient this fact may be proved by further authorities. I will point out to Government a good guide to discover how the Govigama caste have fraudulently tried to make themselves high caste, viz. they have altered several important authorities in such places as described them to be Suddras and have published the books. If these people are high in caste they will never alter the books. The notes given in the 11th, 12th and 13th page of Suddramina should be consulted. If this alteration was done in the Kandyan times it is sure they will receive severe punishment. If they are to go on repeating this I think they will alter all ancient records that are against their views and republish the books. It appears that Tamil Wellalas also have altered ancient records that go against their views and have tried to become high caste. I know that in the Tamil Country there was a disturbance created by the alteration of the name Suddra (described in Chundamani Niganduwa) a name for the Vellala into Buwaisya - This sect called the Buwaisya is also Suddra.

*** NOTE :**

This inscription according to the law is impartial. A German author has said that this inscription is one written through jealousy against the Wellalas. This statement is one made through an erroneous impression made on his mind by the Wellalas. It is unnoticed that records in favour of them (Wellalas) have been made by other European authors in their favour - also the result of deception by Wellala. Although these authors who never practised falsehoods or deceptions made these records, it is a matter of ridicule for the natives who know the facts.

ගොයිගම මිනිසුන්ට විරුද්ධව කරණ ලද පාමණිලි

සැම මනුෂ්‍යයන්ට 1. කන්‍යා 2. බ්‍රාහ්මණ 3. වෙළඳ 4. ඉදිකියා ශිවාගමෙ හැටියට 1. රජ 2. බලකු 3. වෙළඳ 4. නෝවිය කියා බුද්ධාගමෙ හැටියට ද හතරකට බෙදී තිබේ. සියළුම වැදගත් ජාතිවලින් මේ හතර වෙනි ජාතියෙහි වූ (ඉ. ද. හෙවත් නිව) ගොයි කුලයෙහි හෙවත් වෙල්ලාල ජාතියෙහි මිනිස්සු මුලින් කී ජාති තුනේ ඇත්තන්ගේ වැඩකාරයන් බව පෙනේ. මේ ගොවිකුලය එක ක්‍රමයකට දෙකට බෙදී ද තව ක්‍රමයකට තුනට බෙදී ද තව ක්‍රම වලින් 18 ව නෝ වට වැඩි ගණනකට බෙදී ද අතින් නිව ජාතියක් සෑදී තිබේ. අඩු ජාති සියල්ල වාගේ ඇති වුනේ ගොවිකුලය හේතුකොට ගෙනය. වෙන ජාති කලවම විමෙන් යමෙක් උපන්නක් හතරවෙනි ජාතිය වූ ගොවිකුලයට ඇතුලත් වේ. ඒ අර උතුම් ජාති ඇත්තෝ බොහෝ නැත. සිංහල දේ කිරීමෙන් ගොඩවන බව කියා තිබේ. මනු ජාතිය ආදී පොත්වලට එකඟව ලංකාව ආණ්ඩු කළ බව පොත්වලින් පෙනෙන නිසා ඒ ගොවිකුල ගොවි කුලයට උතුම් නිල දෙන්ට එපාකර තිබෙන බැවින් ලංකාව කිසි මාගයට එකඟව ආණ්ඩු කළ සිංහල රජුන් හෝ ඉන්දියාවේ රජුන් විසින් ගොවිකුලයට උසස් නිල දෙන්ට ඇතුළු කිරීම අතිශයින් හිතන්ට බැරුවත් ඇර එසේ කිරීමක් බවක් මොනම වැදගත් ලියවිල්ලකින්වත් දකින්නට ලැබුණේත් නැහැ. ඉදිකියාගේ 17 පිටේ දෙනෙතා (පුරාණ පොත්වලට සම්පූර්ණයෙන් එකඟ වූ) නීති දෙක උතුම් රජ කෙනෙක් විසින් ලියවන ලද පොළොන්නරුවේ ශිලා ලේඛනයට විරුද්ධව අධමවුඩාස රජද අන්තීමේදී සිටිය සමහර රජුන් දවස නීතියට විරුම රජෙක් හැර යුදුසු රජ කෙනෙක් ගොවිකුලයට වැදගත් නිල දී ඇතුළු කිරීමෙකුට හිතන්ට අමාරුයි. මේ ඇත්තන්ට උසස් නිල ලැබෙන්නට වුනේ ජාති හේද නොසොයන ඒරෝපා ආණ්ඩු ලංකාවට පැමිණුනායින් පසුවයි. ඉන්‍යුක්ෂම් නොහොත් පාඤ්ඤාල ආණ්ඩුවේදී නිල ලැබුණ නම් ඉතා ස්වල්පයයි. මධ්‍යම කරමට ලැබෙන්නට ඇත්තේ ලංසි ආණ්ඩුවේ අගදීයි. ඊට හේතුව නම් රෙපරමාදු ආගම වැසියන් ලවා අදහවන්නට ඉතාම ඒ ආණ්ඩුව බල කරමින් එම ආගමට නා ඇත්තන්ට නිල නොදී ඉන්නා අතර එවකට බොහෝ සෙයින් නිල කරගෙන හිටිය කොට මහ බද්ද ආදී උසස් ජාතිවල සමහරු ආගම අත්හැර නිලවලින් අගක් වූ කල ඊට ගොයිගම පිරිස පත්වීමයි. වැඩිකොටම නිල ලබා ගත්තේ ඉංග්‍රීසි ආණ්ඩුවේදීයි. එසේ වුනේ ඉංග්‍රීසි මහතන් සෙයිලම ඇල්ල කෝලාහලේදී වංශවත් මිනිස්සු ඇත්වූ විට ගොයිගම මිනිස්සු ඒ ආ මහත්තන්ගේ වැඩකාරයන් වී නම්බුකාරයන් විසින් නොකරණ ලද දේවල් කරමින්

භාෂාව පුරුදු වී පිළිවෙළින් උසස් වී යාමයි. දුන් උපකල්පන වෙන්ව සහ ආණ්ඩුවට කරදරයක් කරන්නට වූ කාරණාව නම් මොන ජාතියේ මනුෂ්‍යයෝ ඉන්ද්‍රිය ආණ්ඩුවට වැඩ කරගෙන ආ පිළිවෙල ද උගත්කම ද බලා ඉංග්‍රීසි ආණ්ඩුව නිල දෙන එක ආගමවල හැටියට සාදරණ බැවින් සහ ඉංග්‍රීසි රාජ නීතියට එකඟ බැවින් ජාතිය වශයෙන් ගොවිකුලය නිල උබන්ට නුසුදුසු නමුත් උන්ට කොපමණ උසස් නිලයක් දුන්නත් අනිත් ඊට උසස් ජාතිවල මිනිස්සු ඒ ගැන විරුද්ධව ආණ්ඩුවට දෙස් පැවරුවේ වත් කදදර කළේවත් නැහැ. අනිත් මිනිසුන්ගේ මේ සාදරණය වෙළඳාල ජාතියේ අය බලයක් කොට ගෙන ඒ ජාතියට මිසක් අනිත් ජාතිවලට නිල අයිති නැතැයි ද ගොවි කුලය ලංකාවේ උතුම් ජාතිය ලෙසද ඉංග්‍රීසි මහකුන්ට ප්‍රයෝගෙන් ඒත්තු දෙන්නට පටන් ගත් එක පළමුවෙනි කාරණාවයි.

2. ගොවිනට මිනිසුන්ගේ ඒ ඒත්තු දීම, එනම්, ගොවි කුලය උසස් කිරීමේ මහකුන් සැබෑගෙන තිබෙයි. සිතන්නට සම්භර කරුණු පෙනෙන එකයි.
3. පහත් වූ ගොවි කුලය උසස් ලෙසද උසස් ජාති පහත් ලෙසද අහවා "නිති නිසන්ඩුව" නම් වැරදි පොතක් ප්‍රසිද්ධ කළ එකයි.
4. ඒ නිති නිසන්ඩුව ආණ්ඩුව ගණනේ අවටු ගැසුණු එකයි.
5. මේ නිති නිසන්ඩුව අවටු ගැසීමේ වරද පෙන්වා උකුමානන් වහන්සේට පෙන්වමින් දීම පිණිස රැස්වූ සභාවේ සම්භර නායකාර මහකුන්ට අපහාස කර පොත් ප්‍රසිද්ධ කළ එකයි.
6. ඒ නිති නිසන්ඩුව බොරුවට පෙන්වා දී ශාස්ත්‍ර මාර්ගයට එකඟව කළ කුමනිකිය නමැති පොතට පිළිතුර දෙන්නට බැරිව අහකු සිටින ඉතා උසස් මහකුන්ව පවා අපහාස කොට පොත් ප්‍රසිද්ධ කළ එකයි.
7. ආණ්ඩුවේ උසස් නිල ගොවි කුලයට මිස අනිත් ජාතිවල පිරිසට දෙන්නේ නැත කියා වැසියෝ අතරේ කථාවක් පවතින එකයි.
8. ගොවි කුලයෙකුත් කොටසක් පළමුවන කැලාසියයි කියා වෙන් කරගෙන උතුම් නිල ඒ කොටසට අයිතියයි (කිසි පොතපතකටවත් ලෝක වාණිජයකටවත් නැතිව) ඒත්තු දියන ආණ්ඩුව රටවන්ට හදන එකයි. මේ කිව් කාරණා අට කිසිම ආගමකටවත් ඉංග්‍රීසි නඩු මාණ්ඩ-යකටවත් වැදගත් පොත්වලටවත් සිංහල රජුන්ගේ නියම ලෙස පැවතුන හැටියටත් එකඟ නැත කියා හිතෙන බැවින් නිවැරදි පමණ වැසියෝ ඉතා වේදනාවට පැමිණ කාරණා දෙකක් නියම කොට ඉන් එකක් ඉස්ම කරණ මෙන් සාදරණ වූ ඉංග්‍රීසි ආණ්ඩුවෙන් ඉල්ලා සිටිති. එනම්

1. කිසිම ජාති ගෝත්‍රයක උස මිටි නොගණායා උගත් කමද ආණ්ඩුවට වැඩ කළ අන්දමද බලා ඉංග්‍රීසි රාජ නීතියේ හැටියට නිල කළ යුතුයි.

2. හරියාකාර විභාගයක් නොව එයින් වංශවල උස් කුඩා කම ඉන්ද්‍රියාව සහ ලංකාවේ පැවතුන පොත්වල පෙනෙන්න අන්දමට බේරා ගෙන නිල උබන්ට නිසස්සන්ට පමණක් නිල දීමයි.

මේ ඉල්ලීම දෙකෙන් එකක් ඉස්ම කළොත් වැසියෝ ඉතා සතුටු වී සිටිනවා ඇති. එසේ නොව ගොවි කුලය උතුම් ලෙස වැරදිව බාරගෙන තිබෙන තුරු ඊට උසස් ජාතිවල උදවියට සැහැසි සිටින්නට බැරි බැවින් ආණ්ඩුවට පෙන්සන් දී කරදර කරනවා ඇති. තවද පුරාණ සිංහල රජුන් ගවුන් නිල තල උත්තමයෝ ගොවි කුලේ යයි ඒත්තු දෙන්නට සම්භර උත්සාහ කරන බව පෙනේ.

එක වැරදි කීමකි. එම උත්තමයෝ සියළු දෙනාට රාජවංශෙන් සහ අවේශ්‍ය කුලයෙන් පැවත එන්නෝයි. ඉන් සමහර පරම්පරාවල් සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම නැතිවී ගොස් වෙන අයවත් ඒ නම් ගෙන සිටිනවාය කියාද සම්භර ගොවි කුලයට කලවන් වී සිටිනවායි කියාද ආරංචියි. ඒ කුසුක් හුවර වැව - බුලන්කුලම - දඹරිත්ත - උලගල්ල - ආමනේ - කන්ඩක්කුලම - පුවකුලම - පවගන්වැව - මඩඅවුගම - හිතුරුවල්පිටිය - ගම්පල හිරුවාව - උඩබේරිය - අත්තනපොලවයිවාටත්වක - බෙලිගම්මන මේ ආදී වලව බොහොමයක් ගොවි කුලයට කලවන් නොවී සිටින බව හැලයි. ඒ ඇත්තන්ගෙන් රහසේ සෝදිසි කළොත් පුරාණ ගොවි කුලයට නිල නොතිබුණු බව දනගන්ට ලැබෙයි සිතමි.

ගොයිගම මිනිස්සු ශුද්‍රයෝ බව ශුද්‍රනිණියෙන් ඔප්පු උනා ඇතැයි සිතමි. ඒත් මදිය කියනවා නම් තවත් ඔප්පු දෙන්නට පුළුවනි. ගොයිගම මිනිස්සු ප්‍රයෝගයෙන් උසස්වන්ට උත්සාහ කරන් බව හරියාකාර ආණ්ඩුව අසුකර ගන්ට පුළුවන් හොඳ සාක්ෂියක් පෙන්වමි. එනම් ගොවි කුලයේ මිනිස්සු ශුද්‍රයෝය හෙවත් නිවයෝය, කියා තිබෙන හැත් වෙනස් කර වැදගත් පොත් කීපයක් අවටු ගස්වා තිබේ. ඒ ඇත්තෝ වංශයෙන් උසස් නම් මේ වෙනස නොකරණ බව සියළු දෙනා වම ඔප්පු වේ. ශුද්‍රනිණියෙහි 11 - 12 - 13 පිටු තුනේ නෝව බැලිය යුතුයි. සිංහල ආණ්ඩුවලදී නම් මේ කළ වරද නිසා තදබල දඩුවම් දෙනවා සත්තකයි. ඔය වැරද්ද කරන්ට ඉඩ දී තිබුනොත් තව කළක් ධන කොට ඒ ඇත්තන්ට අවාසිව කාරණා ධනවා තිබෙන පුරාණ පොත් සියල්ලම වෙනස්කොට අවටු ගස්සනවා ඇතැයි සිතමි. ගොයිගම ජාතියේ දෙමළ මිනිස්සුන් උන්ට අවාසි තුන් පුරාණ පොත්වල වෙනස් කොට උසස් වෙන්ට උත්සාහ ඇති බව පෙනේ. වූඩාමනිතිසන්ඩුවෙහි වෙළඳාලයින්නට ශුද්‍රයෝය කියා තිබුණ නැත ශුවේශ්‍ය කියා සාදරණ අවටුගැසු බැවින් දෙමළ රටෙන් කෝලභල වූ බවද නිමිගුවේශ්‍ය කියන කොටසක් ශුද්‍රයෝමයි.

ඒ ලියවිල්ල නිකියේ හැටියට සියල්ලෙන් සාරණය. ගොවි
 මිනිසුන්ට රිච්චාවෙන් එසේ ලියන ලද්දේ පරමන් මහත් කෙණෙක් කි
 තිබේ. ඒ ගොවිගම ලදවියගේ කිමවලට රචවි කී පසුකි. වෙන පො
 සාදු සමහර පරෝපකාර මහතුන්ව රචවා ලත් ගොවිගමට වාසි දේව
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APPLEMENT I

Caste Petitions

(Nos. 1863, 2084, 2747)

Of the above petitions No. 1863 is by members of the
Karave, Durave, and Salagama Caste, No. 2084 by the **Karave
 Caste**, and No. 2747 signed on behalf of the **Chaliyas** by the **Secre-
 tary of the Halagama Association**. (See Appendix D for precis).

These petitions are but one phase of the most recent of
 the volcanic eruptions, so to speak of Caste feeling which have
 occurred periodically since the British occupation of Ceylon, and
 have, after much controversial splutter invariably ended in
 smoke! Such was the petition from the native Chiefs, headmen
 and people of the **Mahabadda or Salagama (Chaliya) Caste**
 formerly comprising the Cinnamon Department, and resident
 in the Western, and Southern Provinces; (Appendix C); the agitation,
 and counter petitions at the time of the passing of the Jury
 Ordinance in 1843 (see Proceedings, L. C. Sessions 1843, pp. 86 -
 8, 121-145, 152-5); the wordy war between Vellala and Karave
 writers which extended over some months of 1868 in the Columns
 of the Examiner, arising out of the appointment of Don Bastian
 de Silva Gunawardana Maha Vidana Mudaliyar of Galle of the
 Karava Caste as Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate; and the
 ill advised letter to the Press in 1879 relative to the deserved
 recognition of high literary merit by the bestowal of the rank of
 the rank of a Maha Mudaliyar upon a Chaliya - the late L. de
 Zoysa Maha Mudaliyar and Chief Translator to Government.

The cause of the out-break :

Appendix A

No. 1 by E. de Saram Maha Mudlr. 1832.

Enumerates the several castes and their occupations in
 Ceylon. States that the Goyigama Caste formed the aristocracy
 under the Native Kings and had a monopoly of Government
 situations and blames the European Governments for extending
 the privilege to other Castes.

* No. 2 **Janavanse**, by Kehellana
Arachi 1864.

Enumerated the Castes and describes their various occupations.

No. 3 **Nitiya** by Joseph Silva of Negombo 1873.

Enumerates the Castes and gives an account of the origin of the Salagama Caste and alludes to the privileges conferred on it.

No. 4 **Itihasaya**, by Weligama Priest 1876. On the Karave Caste solely: traces its origin to King Kuru of India of the Lunar Dynasty.

* No. 5 **Kewattavanse**, by High Priest Sumangala.

Refutes the statements in No. 4 and contends that the Karavas are descendants of a Malabar Caste of South India and by profession fishers.

No. 6 **Itihasawarnawa**, by Weligama Priest,

Meets arguments of No. 5 and supports the view set out in No. 4 as to the Karave Caste.

* No. 7 **Niti nighanduwa**, edited T. B. Panabokke.

A collection of ancient laws and customs of Ceylon with a classification of the different Castes. The Goyigama is placed first and said to be a mixture of the four original Castes.

* No. 8 **Jativadamardanaya**, by Editor Kavatakatiki.

Alludes to the meeting held by members of the four Castes, Karave, Durave, Salagama, and Navaduna Castes and scoffs at their claim to consideration.

No. 9 **Kulabhidaya and Eula Balu Katawa** by M. de Abrew.

Replies to No. 8, explaining real object of meeting. States there are four distinct Castes - Raja, Bamunu, Velandu and Goyi or Suddra from which all Sinhalese are descended, and shows that Goyi being the 4th caste is the lowest advises the abandonment of Caste prejudices.

No. 10 **Jativadamardanapprahasya**, by Siduwe Gurunnanse.

Comments upon the statements of No. 8 seriatim and enters fully the cause of into the cause of the dis-satisfaction of the Karave Durave Nawadana and Salagama Castes.

* No. 11 **Jativadarnardanavarnanaya**, by Editor "Kavatakatiki"

In answer to No. 10 follows up No. 8. Insults the Members of the Castes who composed the late meeting places the Goyigama first and styles the rest low.

* No. 12 **Chaturvarnavibhaviniya**, by Battaramulle Unnanse.

Replies to No. 9, 10. Supports the claim to superiority of the Goyigama Caste, and attacks scurrilously the Karave and Durave Castes as a whole and Weligama Terunnanse and the Editor of Lakmini Pahana personally.

No. 13 **Suddranirnaya**, by Tambi Appu Gurunnanse.

Dwells on the mischief the publication of the Nitinighanduwa has done as far as it bears on Caste. Reviews the controversy calmly and attempts to prove incontrovertibly that the Goyigama is the Suddra or last of the 4 great Castes.

* No. 14 **Jatimini pahana** by Sedaram Arachchi.

A Goyigama skit contends that the Beravayo (tom tom beaters) came next in rank to Goyigama and that therefore the Salagama must be very low?

No. 15 **A Review of Niti nighanduwa** by N. N. In English.

Criticises the statements made in the Niti nighanduwa as to Castes and attacks the Goyigama somewhat bitterly.

* No. 16 **Itihasamulockchedana**, by Battaramulle Unnanse.

A foully abusive pamphlet in answer to Itihasa (No. 4) and Itihasawarnawa (No. 6).

No. 17 **Suddradarpa maradnaya** (anonymous)

May be taken as reply to No. 12, contends that the Goyigama is a low Caste that has intermarried with other low Castes.

(Probably written by a Karave or Durave Writer).

No. 18 **Suddrappralapa Sanhasaya**, by Siduwe Gurunnanse.

Alludes to Niti nighanduwa supports the action of the members of the meeting and states that the Goyigama is Suddra or last, and a mixed Caste.

No. 19 **Suddravarnaprahasaya** by P. De Abrew

An abusive pamphlet, attacking the Goyigama Caste.

No. 20 **Jatiwadavightanaya**, by a Durave man.

Abuses the Goyigama Caste and represents the Durave and Salagama Castes to be descended from Brahmins.

* No. 21 **Kewatta Dura Durayaga Khandanaya** by Battaramulle Terunnanse.

A personal attack on respectable people of the Karave Durave and Navandanna Castes couched in the filthiest language.

No. 22 **Suddrabandana Sunkhalikaya** by Tambi Appu Gurunnanse.

By the author of No. 13: brings forward further reasons against the claims of the Goyigama Caste.

No. 23 **A Few thoughts on Chaturwarnaya or the four fold social system of Castes**, by N. N.

Written in English and in continuation of the arguments set out in No. 15.

* Pamphlets on the Goyigama Side.

Appendix B

A Review of Niti Nighanduwa and Caste system in Ceylon.

The great difficulty of arriving at a fair and reasonable conclusion, as to the number and order of Castes in Ceylon, arises from the suppression of truth, suggestions of falsehood and the alteration of historical records: So that no two natives will give the same order and classification to all the Castes. Such being the case, all the prominent classes of natives have a hobby of their own. The Gowiya Caste assert now, for the

first time as we learn from Niti Nighanduwa that they are a mixed race of Kshestriyas, Brahmins and Vaisyas, the people called Karave that they are of a Kshestriya descent and the people called Salagama, that they are Brahmins. I shall not enter into a discussion of that subject now. There are no Kshestriyas, Brahmins or Vaisyas properly so called, amongst us at present; for all the Sinhalese are now either Buddhists or Christians. And no sooner had we forsaken the the Vedas and the Shashas then according to the law of Caste we had become Chandalas or Outcasts. Christianity asserts that God made all mankind of one blood which is a physical fact as easy of demonstration as any truth in natural science whilst Buddhism repudiates Caste Buddha declares that "a man becomes a Brahmin by what he does and a Vasalaya (an Out Cast) by what he does."



The publication of Niti Nighanduwa in this enlightened age has, therefore produced a very great dissension among all classes of people as if those concerned in the publication of it have given them word to rail against each other as we find from the native press from different sections of the native community on this subject; so as to unhinge that harmony amongst our people which constitutes our strength.



And it is very much to be regretted that the Government now appears to be under the delusion that the aristocratic class among the Sinhalese is the higher grade of the Goviya Caste, which is indeed a very great mistake, for there is no aristocratic class among the Sinhalese; whilst descendants of high Government officials and others to whom various ascendants have contributed to give an importance among all castes consider themselves as entitled to lead in their respective spheres. Nor does the Government seem to know that landed proprietors and professional gentry are to be found among all the prominent Castes as well as among the Gowiya Caste.



True it is that the claims of Caste are ignored in the administration of the law; but yet, in certain departments they are now guarded with some anxiety which seems both inconsistent and unnecessary, as it is sometimes construed by the Caste men as an authoritative recognition of Caste. There is no necessity at all to interfere with any lawful usage. The Government need not insist on a renunciation of Caste as the condition of public employ; now should the feelings of any public servants be wounded by an unnecessary intrusion on their prejudices. The question is one of private opinion and feeling on which every man may be left to his own judgment, provided that Government extend no advantage to one which is unfair to another. Natives can observe what rules they choose among themselves; but the public service ought to be ordered exclusively on public consideration.



In the public service, it requires Clerks, Accountants, Interpreters and Mudaliyars of Korales; and not Kshestriyas, Brahmins, Vaisyas and Goviyas who are the servants of the above three Castes. Candidates, therefore have a right to encouragement according to official qualifications alone, without inquiries made regarding their parentage or connections. All castes should be equally and impartially admitted and the most qualified will always receive the preference. What is needed therefore is to place the test of superiority in the better discharge of duties, and not in the curiosities of a pedigree. Then no distinction shall be known among individuals but those which arise from talent, ability and integrity of conduct.

A community can make progress only when every member of it has the reward of merit laid open to him; and capacity and talent for the discharge of duties required in the social state are diffused pretty equally among the different orders of the community. It is therefore, a very bad policy, if the officials of a country instead of encouraging mutual good will and reciprocal kind attentions say to the great bulk of the people "Neither talents nor exertions shall avail you: you are born in a degraded Caste: you cannot, therefore, be eligible for Government posts!!" A large part of this evil is to be laid to the account of the high officials, who though not openly, yet tacitly, encourage caste

distinctions in the distribution of prizes left at their disposal according to their own whims and caprices irrespectively of claims and qualifications. It is therefore the duty of a paternal Government to arrest this evil alone by disowning all respect for a folly which is so detrimental to the well-being of a large community such as the Sinhalese, as those in authority in former days did, who are still remembered with the deepest gratitude as greatest benefactors of our country.



According to the present state of our country the union of all classes in one corporate body is most desirable. But can we realise such a consummation so long as there is no peace among all classes? There is in our community a section that has always some cause to grumble, something to be dissatisfied with. They complain that in public schools their children are obliged to sit on the same form with the children of other castes. They grumble that in the railway carriages they have to sit side by side with other castes of people enjoying the comforts and conveniences of the new mode of travelling like themselves. They are dissatisfied with the Christian women of Ialampitiya a village of Paduwas who having acquired habits of decency, has left off their old fashion of going half naked, as if the privilege of covering the bosom were their own peculiar prerogative. Therefore if there is a want which is more strongly felt than another among our community at present it is the want of political cohesion. But how can there be a political cohesion, a public spirit, or true patriotism, in a community like ours, where one section always pulls in another direction?



However, I have already pointed out that there are no Kshestriyas, Brahmins or Vaisyas properly called, in this country.



In this country the Karave people profess themselves to be Kshestriyas; the Salagama people to be Brahmins and the Goyigama people to be Vaisyas.

But the Karave and the Goyigama people, who now assert the primary and tertiary honors, must be informed that all such distinctions have been lost with the Vedas and the sacrifices. And the Salagama people in order to enjoy the secondary honors must abandon their present modes of existence and retire to the sacrifices and austerities prescribed in the Vedas.

The publication of Niti Nighanduwa at this time when our people are not as yet well acquainted with the right use of the liberty of opinion was therefore so impudent and impolite that a series of Sinhala pamphlets of the grosser kind have been thereby pouring forth on all sides, and it is not likely the breach thus made can be healed and peace restored among our community for a considerable time. And the press being now converted into an apparatus for dulling men into self deceit has now given a new and worse direction to the natural vanity and pride of some of our people.

The oriental mind regards the State as pre-eminently the fountain of honor and its service is the most coveted as well as the most profitable profession. The ambition to enter it has, therefore in this country always out-weighed every objection of Caste, rank and religion.

The Portuguese Government freely employed all castes of men in their service; and the Dutch Government never refused the services of men of any Caste for posts of honour. Under the British Government also the same indiscriminate admission to offices as of old, has been tolerated.

Divided as the Sinhalese are into so many Castes and classes there can be no mutual good understanding or reciprocal kind attention towards each other, but jealousy and hatred reign rampant in the hearts of those of one Caste against those of another. And as long as one class gains on the indulgence, which has been lately shown to it, through the singular lenity of certain of the wise and gracious helmsmen of our State as to obtain an ascendancy over the other classes - the result of persistent and clandestine efforts which are being made by the

Goviya upon new colonists and new officials, impressing upon them the idea that it is only in exceptional cases Sinhalese other than they have a right to expect employment in high offices which are conferred on the natives and that to them exclusively belonged all situations of trust and power under the Government, we cannot realize a national unity especially when an oriental people are deprived of much of the official recognition and prestige so dear to them and so totally incompatible with the station which they have hitherto held under the Dutch and British Government.

Therefore it will be long in vain to expect the co-operation of the natives, or even a general appreciation of the other advantages which they enjoy under the British sway as long as such a state of things continues, when it is the undoubted duty of a paternal Government to discourage, every means in their power a system which is proving so great an incubus on the energies of an oriental nation and detrimental to all public interests.

We believe it, therefore, to be the paramount duty of a parental Government towards those whom it has taken under its care and control not to be predisposed towards one class to the disadvantage of another.

We trust, therefore, that the present Government will continue to bear in mind that Magna Charta of the great body of the Sinhalese declaring that it be "fully understood that it is the principal of this Government to recognise no distinction of caste or colour, the only ground of promotion being talents and qualifications." Pinned on the 3rd April 1841, by no less a personage than the Right Hon'ble J. A. Stewart Mackenzie, one of the most distinguished and enlightened British Rulers that ever administered the affairs of this Island.

Appendix C.

To
His Excellency

The Right Honorable James
Alexander Stewart Mackenzie,
Governor and Commander-in-
Chief of the Island of Ceylon
and its Dependencies.

The humble Memorial and Peti-
tion of the undersigned Native
Chiefs, Headmen and people of
the Mahabaade or Chalia Caste
formerly composing the Cinna-
mon Department and resident
in the Western and Southern
Provinces.

Most Humbly Sheweth,

That for a period of about two centuries there has existed in this Colony under the European sway a Department known by the designation of the "Cinnamon Department" or Mahabadde comprising the whole of the Chalia as well as a variety of other Castes and tribes including the Vellala under the immediate superintendence of the Native chiefs and Headmen of the Mahabadde of different grades and ranks such as Mudaliyar, Muhandiram, Vidahn Aratchy-Gamarala and Canganie, all of whom were under the general direction of an European Head styled the "Captain Cannella" or Superintendent of the Cinnamon Department. This Mahabadde is quite distinct from and independent of what is generally termed the "Corle" Headmen composed of Vellalas and others, to them subordinate Castes of various denominations and classes and Superintended by their own chiefs and Headmen of the ranks similar to those already specified under the control of the Dissaves of the several Districts; nor have those two establishments ever been consolidated under the direction of the same Head or the one possessed a right to interfere with the other or curtail their respective privileges.

That notwithstanding the inferiority in point of numbers of the people of the Chalia Caste still they having vied with and surpassed the Vellala in obtaining for their services and merits a body important privileges and immunities which they have long held and enjoyed from the European Government in consequence of their deserts; an inveterate rivalry and jealousy have been engendered and fostered between the two castes productive of frequent strife and contention for precedence among them.

That by the sudden and unexpected abolition of the Cinnamon monopoly (the policy of which measure it is not the province of the Memorialists to enter into) which took place in 1832, the said Department was a separate body of Chalias all but annihilated and the Memorialists were placed under the sole control of the Government Agent of the several Maritime Provinces, by which means your Memorialists have already felt the influence of the Mudaliyars of the Cutcheries (who are of the Vellala Caste) which however they have endured in silence, cherishing the hope that their former claims and services would obtain for them a restitution of their rights and privileges but now that the door or prospect of emulation resulting from the jealousy and misunderstanding and the perfect independence of the one caste from the other which had up to that period subsisted between the two castes, has been closed upon the Memorialists in matters connected with their most important interests and both overt attempts and clandestine subterfuges have been resorted to on the part of the Vellala Headmen to thwart and defeat the Memorialists in their efforts to advance themselves and to intercept their prospects and lower their position in society and thereby plunge them into the gulph of degradation: but fortunately for such of the Memorialists as are resident in the Western Province the authorities at the Head of the Public Department there being Gentlemen of long experience in the Civil Service of the Colony from a due consideration of the universally acknowledged loyalty and faithful services which the Chaliya Caste have rendered to the British Crown have not suffered it to sink at once into insignificance, but have allowed the Headmen thereof to retain their situations and pay, while a contrary course has been pursued by the authorities in the Southern Province in regard to the Headmen of the Memorialists Caste thereby the suppression of almost all their situations

beginning with the most remote of their District "Roone" in the District of Matara of which the offices of Modaliar; Mohandiram Liane, Notary and Police Vidhan have been abolished, and the people of the Memorialists Caste put under the superintendence of the Vellala Headmen notwithstanding your Memorialists have been taught to believe by the present liberal system of the British administration in India that "no person by reason of his birth or caste should be considered ineligible to hold any office or exercise any right" yet your Memorialists have experienced the very reverse of this wise and judicious resolution in the present Mahabadda Modaliar of Daddalla whose District embraces the whole of Wellaboda Pattu in Galle and the situation of Modliar of the latter Pattu having become vacant the two Divisions ought to have been fairly blended together and transferred to the Modaliar of Dadalla, if personal merit economy or the majority of the population of a Caste were of any object in the eyes of Government this latter Modliar being an old and meritorious servant of the Crown of full 36 years standing besides which owing to the paucity of the Vellala inhabitants of this Pattu the Headmen in charge of it having been heretofore styled Corale and not Modliar. But such a salutary arrangement calculated to do justice to the merits of an old Headman and give satisfaction to the majority of the Chaliya inhabitants on the one hand and to make a saving to Government on the other was totally over-looked. Nay what has operated still more to the prejudice of the Modliar of Daddalla, the vacant situation of Modliar of Wellaboda Pattu has been filled up by the appointment of a younger brother of the Atapattu Modliar of Galle an inexperienced youth by which the District of the former was curtailed and transferred to the Pattu of the latter, so that the District of the Dadalla Modliar being now limited to the single village of that name containing no more than 40 or 50 houses his situation has become a mere sinecure and its suppression is consequently anticipated to the great mortification and disappointment of the Memorialists.

That while your Memorialists were thus left to grieve and lament on the loss of public employment, under the British flag, and the consequent deterioration so totally incompatible with the Station which they have hitherto held in society under the system, they have been visited with another appalling calamity

in the death of their much respected and venerable Headman Andrus de Abrew Wijesinha Seneviratna Rajapaksa Maha Vidhan Modliar of the District of Wellittota, a most populous District and the residence of the best, oldest and most noble families among your Memorialists and notwithstanding the filling up of the vacant situation by one of the members of their own Caste was one of the primary objects of their wish and endeavour, and notwithstanding there was a number of candidates for the vacant office and many of them fit for appointment yet to the inexpressible regret and concern of the Memorialists the situation alluded to have been abolished and the District of Wellittota transferred to the Wellala Modliar of Bentota by this step, and your Memorialists are grieved to say the fate of their Caste in the Southern Province has been sealed.

That your Memorialists now turning their view from the Southern to the Western Province where their Caste is somewhat better off as yet, respectfully beg leave to represent that the Mahabadda Modliars and their subordinate Headmen of the Districts of Wellisara Mutual and Calua-modera are still allowed to retain their offices and pay owing perhaps to the proximity to the seat of Government and being thereby placed beyond the exercise of undue influence on the part of the Vellala Headmen whereas in the Southern Province the position of your Memorialists is indeed very unpleasant and disagreeable. The national interest of the Chaliya Caste being undermined and supplanted by the interference of influential Modliars of Vellala Caste.

That pregnant as the change in the condition of your Memorialists is with evil consequences to them, they humbly beg permission to submit that if it had taken place during the existence of the compulsory system in this Colony their fate would have proved worst in the hands of their natural rival, the Vellalas but notwithstanding your memorialists have now nothing to fear in the way of compulsion, yet the Vellala availing themselves of the depressed condition of the Memorialists persevere in their hostile dispositions towards the Memorialists and trample on their feelings by venting their own triumph at the expense of the Memorialists who, under the present circumstances would prefer the compulsory labour system to the degradations they now suffer, their mental pains being much more acute than their bodily sufferings.

That the Vellalas have industriously endeavoured to impress upon the public mind that they are of a higher caste than the rest of the natives who would not feel aggrieved at being put under their authority an assertion which is the invent-full fancy of their own brains and a most absurd hallucination for even under the Dutch administration when distinction of Caste was most rigidly observed in the Colony it was the uniform Policy of the Dutch Government to select and appoint Headmen from the respective Castes and Classes of the natives to exercise control over them with a view to gratify their feelings and preserve due order and subordination amongst them, but now at the present epoch when the trammels of caste are being cut asunder through benign influence of the British Government it is highly prejudicial and galling to the feelings of the rest to find that one single caste alone has obtained an ascendancy over them thereby opening an avenue to the former to monopolize all the important and lucrative situations under Government in a manner inconsistent with spirit and tenor of the Royal Charter issued for the guidance of the insular Govt: and rendering the benefit of education held out by the liberal British Government for the amelioration of the native population of this Colony useless and nugatory to your Memorialists.

That your Memorialists further desire to represent to your Excellency that from time immemorial the people of the Chalia Caste have never been subordinate to the Vellala Headmen but have enjoyed a greater portion of the privileges and immunities which both Castes held and enjoyed from the European Government in this Colony. That the Sinhalese are not Hindoos but partly Christians and partly Buddhists who recognise no Caste or class whatever in their respective Creeds. The rank and grade of the population are known and estimated by the state, and under the circumstances nothing could be more painful to your Memorialists than to be compelled to yield submission to their rival the Vellalas the very idea of it being revolting to their inborn feelings.

That your Memorialists having hitherto served the European Government of the Colony in a very laborious but important branch of the public service under the supervision of their own chiefs it is extremely painful to their feelings that they should now be abandoned to the hard fate of being stripped of Govern-

ment employment and other honoray distinctions and placed under the Headmen of the Vellala Caste who are naturally inimical to them.

That the case of the Memorialists is singular and unprecedented in the annals of the service no doubt can be entertained, for lately the Maha Vidana Mohandram of the Fisher Caste* of Ambalangoda in the Southern Province (a village not more than one English mile in length) departed this life, but the vacant office was not suppressed (as in the instance of the Maha Vadahn Modliarship of the District of Welitotta) but was shortly after filled up by the appointment of a member of the same fisher* Caste, so that if public economy be assigned as the reason for the abolition of the situations held by the natives this last mentioned situation was the first which should have been suppressed instead of the Maha Vidana Modliarship of Wellitote District where there is still a multiplicity of public service of different kinds to be performed. The numerous riots which have since taken place in the District as they understand reported by the District Judge of Ambalangoda is the consequence of the suppression of that situation this District being more densely inhabited by the people of the Chalia Caste than those of any other.

That your Memorialists further beg leave to submit to Your Excellency that under the old system they from an anxiety not to appear themselves secondary to the Wellala either in private or public had the list of the Native Headmen of their caste inserted in the Ceylon Calander quite distinct and apart from the former and had with same view got themselves excluded and exempted from the Regulation and Schedule of dress of the native Headmen of the Sinhalese District dated 19th. August 1809 but since the Memorialists were put under the Government Agents of the Maritime Provinces the Headmen of their Caste in office have been placed both in the Ceylon Calander and in their writings beneath all Castes to their great grief and annoyance but your Memorialists far from presuming to throw reflection on European authorities at the head of the public establishments on the present occasion beg permission to say that the indignity and insult alluded to is entirely attributable in the humble opinion of the memorialists to the Vellala Headmen employed there.

* Mishomer for Karawa

That the Ceylon Government has derived its chief revenue from Cinnamon and which article of Commerce was previous to the cultivation of the gardens entirely collected from the jungle and forests by the unwearied labour of the Chaliya and which was also the case in alternate years even after the cultivation of the Gardens and the incredible hardship and fatigue which they have invariably experienced in collecting the annual Cinnamon investment for Government were such that very many have fallen victims to their unremitting zeal and exertions in the services of Government, but now when their services are no longer required, they have been left to shift for themselves, their past labour being rewarded with a return which they deeply deplore and which they humbly submit they do not deserve.

That Your Memorialists beg leave to state that according to the legislative enactments of this Government they are taught to believe that 10 years quiet possession of a thing does constitute a prescriptive right in favour of the possessors and thus if the privileges held and enjoyed by the Memorialists as well as by their ancestors for a period of upwards of 200 years are now withheld from and denied to them what will be the case with their rising generation; what good can they expect from giving their children an education in the English language the means of which has now been so liberally thrown open by the Colonial Government towards the improvement of the natives in general.

That the Memorialists further beg leave to quote a passage of Your Excellency's answer to the address presented by the Members of the Burgher Community at Queen's House on Monday the 16th. December 1830 being in accordance with the object of their Memorial.

"A Government which knows no other distinction or preference among her Majesty's subject in the Colony but what arises from high Character and talents combined. To advance all ranks in the scale of mental intelligence and to elevate the moral character of its citizens by extending impartial protections to all and counternancing the deserving is among the most pleasing duties which attend the discriminating administration of its affairs by a paternal Government."
(Colombo Observer No. 460 Dec. 18th 1839).

And to show how far the feelings of the natives in general are now conciliated the Memorialists beg leave to quote passages from a memorial which had been lately in circulation for signatures under the superintendence of a Vellala Modliar and most numerous signed by all classes of people on the same subject as the Burghers, except a few who hold higher ranks and still strive to monopolize high and lucrative situations for themselves.

"We the undersigned Native inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon composed of Native Chiefs, residents, free traders, and others of different classes, callings and persuasions with one feeling and sentiment join hand in hand on this auspicious occasion".

"It is true that some time ago we heard it rumoured that the Civil and Judicial Services were thrown open to all classes of the natives of the Island and it is equally true that this gracious concession on the part of a liberal and enlightened British Government was not received by us with any other feeling than thorough confidence in the liberality of that Government and we therefore anxiously looked to the realization of such an event fraught as it appeared to be with incalculable benefit to ourselves, our country and to posterity. One year with another has however gone by without realizing those fond expectations. We were thus led to form in consequence of which as it is the common frailty of human nature we had our mis-givings. Judge then of our feelings and the very agreeable sensation it created throughout the Island when we heard it and saw it confirmed almost at one and the same time that your Excellency had been graciously pleased to elevate Mr. Hillebrand to distinguished office of Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court of Ceylon".

"And it is he who with the spurt of an independent mind at a moment of temporary embarrassment and when surrounded by religious bigotry on the one hand and prejudices on the other threw down the barrier of Caste and colour and welcomed his fellow creatures to an equal participation in the blessings of education and in the rights and privileges of British subjects."

"The blessings of education conducted upon an extensive scale under Your patronage without reference to Caste but upon one general principle that all who desire it should obtain freely

is the precursor of a moral regeneration in the character and habits of our country men."

Your Memorialists therefore most humbly pray that Your Excellency may be graciously pleased to take all the foregoing circumstances into kind consideration and grant 1st. that although the "Rajakaria Service" is now at an end yet the situations of Modliars of their six Divisions viz: (Welisara, Mutuwal, Caluamodera, Wellitota, Dadalla and Roona) or reducing the six Districts into four or at least to two (one in the Western and the other in the Southern) may be kept up as a measure calculated not only to uphold their relative importance but also to represent their Caste before the Cutcheries of the respective Provinces in matters connected with their interest or 2nd. in case Government is determined to retain only the Modliars of pattoos and Corles Your Memorialists further pray that the boon of Modliarships may be open to all properly qualified persons without any distinctions of Caste whatsoever and that such of the Memorialists Caste as are eligible may be allowed to participate in these appointments 3rd. in case neither of the foregoing prayers be granted your Memorialists still further pray that if under the existing system Headmen are no longer considered necessary in the Corles (owing to the introduction of the system of Commutation of tithes, all the processes of the Courts being executed by the Fiscal's Officers and the services attached to the Agent's Departments being performed by contracts temporary Superintendents, overseers etc.) the existing system of Native Headmen in the Colony which bears no analogy to any of those of the vast British Possessions in India may be altogether abolished and replaced by an Establishment of Rural Police composed of trustworthy men of all Castes, which your Memorialists as persons intimately acquainted with the wants of the people, humbly suggest as best suited to the present state of the Country.

And your Memorialists as in duty bound,

Shall Ever Pray

Note — no signatures attached in this copy.

Colonial Secretary's Office

Colombo 3rd. April 1841.

The Right Honorable the Governor having taken into consideration the Memorial of the Native Chiefs, Headmen and people of the Mahabade or Chalia Caste resident in the Western and Southern Provinces, Declares and wishes it to be fully understood that it is the principle of this Government to recognize no distinction of Caste or Colour, the only ground of promotion being talents and qualification, it would therefore, in the Governor's opinion be injurious to the public interest and would repress laudable ambition so desirable to raise up of being duly educated and qualified for such trusts as the Memorialists refer to, were His Excellency to give countenance to the renewal of a system of Headmen for any particular class. The appointment therefore of Corale Headmen can and ought no longer to be given exclusively to Vellalas, but must be conferred on the most fit and qualified without reference to caste. The Governor hopes therefore, that in case of any vacancy candidates from the caste of the Memorialists will be found as qualified in point of education and ability as to justify them being preferred to a Vellala or other Caste. Indeed His Excellency hopes that a system of rural Police will be perfected at no distant date under which it will be desirable in his opinion that the functionaries should be elected by those most immediately interested in and who will be affected by the due and proper performance of their duties.

By His Excellency's Command

Signed / P. ANSTRUTHER

Colonial Secretary

Editorial Challia Petition

The Memorial of the Challia or Cinnamon Peeling Caste,* to the late Governor will be found by no means an uninteresting document to the European reader. The first thing that will strike him as most remarkable is the extraordinary contrast afforded by the Cinnamon trade of the past and present times. Formerly the Challiya and several other Castes were united in the Mahabadde (which signifies Great Revenue) Department for providing the Government with Cinnamon. In those days too the preserved gardens which were kept in a high state of cultivation, did not supply a sufficient quantity of the spice for the demand so that the jungles had all to be searched when, as we have heard elsewhere, each peeler was obliged to bring in a certain quantity or he received corporal punishment. But now Government cannot sell more than half if so much of what they expose at their monthly sales, and private Cinnamon pays little more than the cost of peeling; whilst the preserved Gardens are not of much greater value - and in many places of less - than uncleared jungle land; the "Mahabadde" gives employment to very few natives, and bid fair, unless speedily relieved, to yield the smallest revenue of any staple export of the Island.

Another topic worthy of remark in this Memorial is the acknowledgement that the institution of Caste is opposed both to Christianity and Buddhism to one or other of which religions the Petitioners belong. Nay they even scornfully contrast their own creeds with that of others, and assert that they are not indeed Hindus who acknowledge such distinctions. After such a confession, which by the way is nothing new, it is unquestionably the duty of a paternal Government and all its officials to discountenance in every possible manner this incubus upon the energies of the people. But it appears that the Natives themselves have been so goaded by the effects of Caste - particularly in the Southern Province, where it seems they have not been fairly

* Misnomer for Chaliya or Salagama

dealt with in the appointment of Headmen, that they themselves have become advocates for the abolition of Caste. Though we may feel for the hardships which the Challias have endured, it is gratifying to witness the result upon their feelings so that they themselves now abhor what from time immemorial they have earnestly clung to.

Appendix D

No. of Petition	From	Precis
1863	The members of the Karave Durave and Salagama Castes on behalf of the respective Castes to which they belong.	<p>State that the publication of a book called Niti Nighanduwa by Mr. Tikiri Banda Panabokke in which the Goyigama Caste is spoken of as the highest and Karave Durave and Salagama Castes as low castes Castes has given offence to the Petitioners and the following circumstances have aggravated the excitement which was in their minds by this publication.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The General belief that distinctions of rank and high offices under Government will not in future be bestowed on other caste people than the Goyigama though under the Sinhalese Government members of other Castes held the offices of Prime Minister, Commander in Chief, Prince Regent and Maha Mudaliyar and under the Dutch and English those of Prime Minister, Commander in Chief, Prince Regent in Tuticorin, Disawe, Maha Mudaliyar etc. 2. The refusal by the Director of Public Instruction to train for teachers those not of the Goyi Caste.

No. of Petition	From	Precis
- do -	- do -	<p>3. Unwillingness of certain Govt. Agents to confer some offices on those not of the Goyi Caste.</p> <p>4. Publication of Pamphlets of objectionable nature couched in filthy language directed against influential members of Karawe, Durawe and Salagama Castes. Some of these publications being anonymous. There have been similar publications by the opposite faction purporting to be refutations to those published by Goyigama Caste people. Among them the "Sudra Niranya" is a reply to Niti Nighanduwa.</p> <p>The Petitioners consider the words Fisher, toddy drawers, and Cinnamon Peeler as terms of abuse as they are not the proper rendering in English of the words Karave Durave and Salagama.</p> <p>The Caste disturbances now rife among the Sinhalese have been set on foot by those of the Goyigama Caste actuated by self interested motives with a view to make a monopoly of the present dissatisfactions on the part of the Castes other than the Goyigama are fairly enough set out in petition No. 1863. In plain words, exception is taken, rightly or wrongly, to the priority claimed by the Goyigama or Vellala Caste, and the alleged undue position and influence that Caste has acquired. For a further statement of the supposed grievances under which the Chaliya and other Castes now lie, see</p>

Appendix B

As regards the mere claim to highest rank in the social scale, the smouldering antagonism engendered by the *exparte* statements of E. de Saram Maha Mudaliyar in 1832 and Kehelana Arachchi in 1864 (partially traversed by pamphlets No. 3, 4, 5 and 6) needed but a spark to set all ablaze again: this was furnished by the publication of *Niti Nighanduwa* (No: 7) at the Government Press. In view of the many scurrilous, not to say obscene, pamphlets which have been issued by *Goyigama* Caste Champions no less than by members of other Castes who have entered the arena of controversy, it is certainly to be regretted that the short and extraneous "Historical section" of that very valuable treatise on Kandyan law was not either altogether omitted or at least more carefully rendered into English. The rock on which parties have chosen to split is the following short passage occurring in chapter I Sec: II. As translated by Messrs. C. J. R. Le Mesurier and T. B. Panabokke it runs:—

"Representatives of the Raja, Bamunu Brahmin and Velanda Castes had from time to time come over to live here. They did not however preserve their Castes intact, but intermarried with the Goyi-Caste, and it is for this reason that the Goviya is considered the Chief Caste in this Kingdom."

Mr. Armour's version (MS Record Office) follows the original far more closely —

"But be it known that although persons of the Raja or Kshatriya race, Brahmins and people of the Merchant Tribe came and settled in the Kandyan country from time to time yet they were not so numerous as to maintain their distinctions by forming separate communities — they formed alliances and became incorporated with the Goyi Wansa — which tribe has even held the principal station in the scale of Castes, in this country."

Making it clear that the assumption of the Goyigama Caste, even if well founded applies, *quoad hoc* this particular passage, only to the **Kandyan Kingdom** (Me Sinhale), as distinct from the entire island.

The Niti Nighanduwa appeared in 1880, but 5 years elapsed before it appears to have become sufficiently widely known to induce organised opposition to the claims of the Goyigama Caste, as therein asserted. In July 1885 the following Circular letter was issued and subsequently representatives of the Karave, Durave, Navandana and Salagama Castes met in response to the invitation.

"Sir

Tikiri Banda of Panabokke in the Uda-rata having compiled a book called Niti Nighanduwa (inconsistent with the laws that have existed in this Island of Lanka from ancient times) to the effect that the Karave Salagama and the Durave people are of low Castes and ineligible for Government situations it has been printed both in English and Sinhalese and presented to His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon and other Government Officials as a reliable account. Government Officials have decided to follow its instructions in future in the disposal of Government appointments. On this account great excitement has been created among the general public. What seems best to be done at present is to compose a book disclosing the true facts and to present petitions to Government. You are desired therefore to publish this information among the respectable members of Your Caste in your neighbourhood and having obtained the consent of those willing to join us, to attend the Lakminipahana Press at Colombo on the 12th. July 1885 to consult as to the proper course to adopt. If unable to attend yourself please send a writing under your hand to reach this office before the 12th., binding yourself to abide by any resolutions the meeting may come to.

We remain yours friendly

sgd. M. Dharmaratna
Editor of Lakminipahana

sgd. Tambi Appu Gurunanse
of Galkisse.

Lakminipahana Press,
27th June, 1885.

Nothing definite came of this Meeting the interest of the four Castes not being sufficiently identical it may be presumed to permit of joint unselfish action. As the immediate result, however, there sprung up a crop of controversial Caste pamphlets (No. 8-23) - a few moderate in tone and strong in argument, the majority not worth the paper they are written on affording, save for native "Bellings Gate" too freely indulged in a harmless vent for bitter feelings long pent up. The three petitions under review, succeeding one another within three months were part of the above epidemic which after raging fiercely for some 12 months has apparently died out. No subsequent petitions on the subject have been received.

A brief synopsis is appended of the Caste pamphlets - twenty three in all - issued since Maha Mudaliyar De Saram's Minute of 1832 (Appendix A). The controversy has been carried on mainly between the Goyigama and Karave Castes the Durave, Navandana and Salagama or Mahabadda people taking but little active part.

It is quite unnecessary to enter here at length into the claims of the several Castes: the following short statement regarding the five Castes concerned will serve the present purpose.

Traditionally on the Indian continent caste comprised only the four broad divisions - Brahmins (priests), Kshatriya (kings), Vaisya (merchants) and Suddra (husbandmen). Subsequently Kshatriya gaining predominance the order of the first two was inverted. At this day caste ramifications in India are countless.

Goyigama or Vellala Caste.

Here in Ceylon, the Goyigama or Vellala Caste who claims pre-eminence is, test the Niti Nighanduwa, a conglomerate of all four of the original broad Castes. The term Goyi being given in the Namawalliya etc. as a synonym for Suddra the object of all upholders of the Goyigama Caste is to show that they are not Suddra. With this end other Goyigama writers contend that Goyigama is synonymous with Grahapati or Vaisya the third Caste and alone entitled to the honorific suffix "Wanse". All unite in placing their Caste before the "Wanam" or servant Castes (at least 18) at the head of which they would

put the Karave Caste, and the others in the different order. On the other hand the Karave Castes (the Salagama perhaps excepted) maintain that the Goyigama or Vellala Caste are Suddras pure and simple and therefore the lowest of the four Castes. For full arguments on both sides (besides pamphlets 1 - 23) see the letters to the Examiner in 1868. Vellala is the Tamil equivalent of Goyigama. There are subdivisions of others: it is by far the largest numerically.

KARAVE CASTE

This Caste placed by Goyigama writers immediately below themselves as the first of the 18 "Wanam" or menial Castes, claim to be descendant of the Kshatriya royal or warrior Caste (deriving the word not from Kara = I. Karai "sea shore" but from Pali Kara Sakkyā or Suriyawansa) contend that they came over originally with their own chiefs in aid of Kandyan Kings at war with the Mukkavers and other enemies and that in recognition of their services they were allowed to settle on the sea board, that under the Portuguese and Dutch they held high offices in the army and civil Government and that they have always embarked in other occupations besides fishing equally with other castes similarly situated. They object strongly to the English term "fisher" for the Caste as both incorrect and offensive. The best account of the Caste from its own point of view is given in Ithasa (No. 4). It has produced many able and distinguished men.

SALAGAMA CASTE

They derive the term from Pali Sala, halls (for education), gama, grama ("village"), the name of the place in India whence their Brahmin ancestors emigrated. This assertion of foreign origin is admitted by Maha Mudaliyar De Saram and other Goyigama writers. The story of the arrival of these Brahmins in Ceylon upon the invitation of Vijaya Bahu (see Nitiya No. 3) may be based on fact. They assert that King conferred on them lands, slaves and many honours and they were employed in his Court. Like other castes the Salagama had their noblemen and were employed in the army both by native Sovereigns and Portuguese. The less charitable of Goyigama writers on Caste, would degrade the Chaliyas to a very low status, identifying them with the Hali, a Kandyan Washer Caste.

The Caste acquired the name Mahabadde from being entrusted with the collection of Cinnamon during the Portuguese and Dutch periods - then the chief source of Revenue. Under the Dutch this Caste was in great favor, and later under the English Government continued to enjoy special privileges. Since the abolition of the Cinnamon monopoly the Caste has sunk into comparative insignificance very galling to it, having regard to the honorable position it held previously. There have been many worthy Maha Mudaliyars and Mudaliyars of the Chaliya Caste.

DURAVE or CHANDO CASTE

Beyond the assertion put forward in pamphlet No. 20 it does not seem that this Caste makes any serious claim to rank high. By English writers they are usually designated "Toddy Drawers" from one of their commonest occupations.

NAVANDANNA CASTE

These are goldsmiths. It is said that they are contemplating rushing into print in support of their Claims whatever those may be.



Najachcha vasals hoti
 Najachcha hoti Brahmano
 Kammana vasalohoti
 Kammana hoti Brahmano

(Pali)

"Caste maketh not man wasala low. Nor doth it make him a Brahmin. 'Tis our actions make us wasala or Brahmin."

Signed / H. C. P. Bell

15. 3. 87

CASTE PAMPHLETS

Bell Collection of Caste Pamphlets in the National Museum Colombo. No. 24/F 2-3. His observations on some of the publications are given below the title of the pamphlet in small type.

— * — * — * —

1. A Description of the Castes on the Island of Ceylon, their trade and their services to Government, supplied to Sir Robert Horton on 24th January 1832 by De Saram Maha Mudaliyar. (Ms English)
2. Janawanse — by Kehellana Arachchi 8 Vo. Lakrivikiya Press, Colombo 1864.
3. Nitiya — Edited by Joseph Silva. 8 Vo. Colombo 1873.
4. Ithihasa — or a collection of useful information concerning the natives of Ceylon by Weligama Sumangala Terunanse. 8 Vo. Colombo 1876.
5. Kevatta Vamsaya — or the true history of the Kareiyas and Paravas disproving the statements made in the Ithihasa. Published by Don Arnolis 8 Vo. Colombo 1877.
6. Ithihasa Warnanawa — Refuting the statements of Kewatta Vansaya and corroborating the sound arguments of the Ithihasa — published by John Fernando Weerawana Kurukulasuriya. 8 Vo. Pettah 1879.
7. Niti-Nighanduwa or the vocabulary of Law as it existed in the last days of the Kandyan Kingdom — Translated by C. J. R. Le Mesurier and T. B. Pannabokke — 8 Vo. (Government Printer) 1880 English.
Niti-Nighanduwa by T. B. Pannabokke Colombo.
1879 Sinhala
8. Jati Wada Mardanaya — In Sinhalese verse by H. Soysa - Kavata Katika Press Colombo 1885.
9. Kulabhedaya Saha - Elubalu Katava. Reply to Jati Wada Mardanaya — Published by D. B. M. Colombo 1885.
Manuel de Abrew under non-de-plume D. B. M. Chaliya view, reply to No. 8.

10. Jatiwada Mardana Prahama nohot Jatiwada mardanayanam potata pratyuttara wasayen. Published by F. A. Gavaraja Colombo 1885. Reply to No. 8.

Sidous Gurunanse of Negombo under non-de-plume F. A. Gavaraja. Durava view.

11. Jati Wadamardana — Warnanawa. In Sinhalese verse (Reply to Jatiwada mardana and Elubalu pota) published by D. C. Perera, Colombo 1885.

G. D. Peter Appuhamy under non-de-plume D. C. Perera reply to No. 10 enlarges No. 8. Goyigama view.

12. Caturvarnya Vibhaginiya nohot Karte duralape praharaya in verse by Sri Kalinga Published by D. B. P.

Subhita Therunnansa of Bataramulla under non-de-plume of D. B. P. and Sri Sumangala terunnase. Goyigama view. Reply to No. 9 & 10.

13. Sudra Niranaya — hevat adukula ettange vibhaga saha Niti Nighanduwa wehi nissara kama dakvima. Published by M. A. Pieris and S. B. Dias. Lakmini Pahana Press. 1885.

Tambi Appu Gurunnase of Galkissa and Weligama Therunnase under non-de-plume M. A. Pieris and S. B. Dias. Karava view. Colombo. Combats No. 7.

14. Jati Minipahana. Published by Matara Balieduru 1885.

Sedaran Arachchi of Bentota under the non-de-plume Matara Balieduru.

15. Niti-Nighanduwa — English. A review of the Niti-Nighanduwa and the Caste System in Ceylon. Colombo 1885.

W. Mendis Wickramasinghe of Kurana, Negombo District under non-de-plume "W. M." Chaliya view combats No. 7.

16. Ithihasa mulochediniya — Colombo 1885 by Mahakari Wanigasekera.

Subhita Therunnase of Bataramulla under non-de-plume Mahakari Sri Wanigasekera. Goyigama view Combats No. 4 & 6.

17. Sudradarpa Wardanaya — nohot Kashta - duralapa praharanamu nindita assarapota Kiyamanvalu asstyabawa ha Nise sudrayange edimedi matya. Published by Agampodi Mendis 1886.
By a Karava or Durava author under the non-de-plume "Agampodi Mendis" Nominally neutral but support K & D against Goyigama Caste and No. 12.
18. Sudra-pralapa Sanharaya, hevat Niti-Nighanduwa - Jati - Wada Mardanya saha Jati Vadamardannay Varnawa Yanadi potwala sandhan Karugena Sankshepa Uttara. Published by F. A. Gavaraja 1886.
Siduve Gurunnanse of Negombo under non-de-plume F. A. Gavaraja. Durava view Combats No. 7.
19. Sudra-Varnya Prahasay — nohot heen yanta denapahara-Sakra 1887.
P. de Abrew of Welitara. Chaliya view, attacks Goyigama side.
20. Jativada Vighataniya nohot Kashta danalapa preharayat Uttara. Published by Gajasinhe Wickramaratne 1885.
A Durava author under non-de-plume Gajasinghe Wickramaratne - Attacks Goyigama side.
21. Kevatta dura yaga Khandanyanya, by Catumukha Maha Saraswati.
Subhita Ummanse of Bataramulla, general hear-say this is not proved, under non-de-plume Maha Saraswati. Goyigama view, attacks filthily No. 17 - 20.
22. Sudra Bandana Sankhalikaya - hevat govin dandina vilanguwa by Sri Kulesekhara.
23. Chaturvaranaya or the fourfold social system of Castes. A few thoughts. W. W. 1886 - English.
24. Caste - Its supposed origin; the History; its effects; the duty of Government, Hindus and Christians with respect to it and its prospects and Papers on Indian Reform. The Christian Vernacular Education Society. 2nd Edition
25. Caste. — In Ceylon, a letter by Velivitiya Dharamaratne to Major Keith dated 22nd December 1894 - Vidyodaya College Colombo. English.
26. Kara-Goi Contest by G. A. Dharamaratne. With an appeal to the House of Commons. Independent Press 1890.

SUPPLEMENT II B

Inland Fishing, the tradition in the Kandyan District of Rajarata

In the interior of Sri Lanka there existed a time honoured custom in fishing in the ancient City of Anuradhapura. It is described by the residents of Raja-Rata as that which prevailed in those 3000 or more Wewas, the waters of which were utilized by the paddy cultivators (govias or goigama people) who are known as Pangukarayas in this fishing trade. The term Pangukaraya denotes a shareholder of a plot of paddy land cultivated by a group of persons invariably members of a family. It also applies to those who performed Rajakaraya or service in royal villages.

Fishing in these Wewas took place three times a year by the Pangukarayas and the catch distributed among themselves. The operation is preceded by a ceremony. "A Bola or bundle of leaves (Indikola and Indimal, leaves and flowers of the Date tree fixed on to a stick is set up in the middle of the Wewa to show that no one else has a right to enter it or fish in it. Thereafter the bola or bundle of leaves is removed as a signal for outsiders to fish in it. According to this custom in Rajarata the Miridiya or fresh water fishers, the kevu as baroodel, goda, indimal, tok and tak and other sections have been engaged in killing fish. But it must be noted here that according to the perverted edition of Kellana's Janavansa "they were sinning yet no Buddhist king or Sangha had tried to interfere with an allied life destroying occupation of the Sinhala people in the inland waterways."

1. Jayawardene Gustavus - "The Custom Prevailing in Rajarata" The Searchlight Vol. 49. No. 5. - 15th March 1972.

Robert Knox, that noted diarist famous for his "Historical Relations of Ceylon" relating mainly to the Kande Uda Rata, mentions that the people in this district had a peculiar manner in fishing. They used a cone like trap to catch fish² called karagediya. The other contraptions used in inland fishing are kemina and attangu or hand nets. If a census of the population engaged in fishing in these 3000 odd Wewas, ponds, rivers, canals, fields, wells and bogs be taken these keval will probably exceed the Island's Seafarers or Sagarikayo in number. These peculiar methods of fishing are never to be seen across a sea coast either round about their tanks or along inland waterways. The definition of karai which means Coast in Tamil is not applicable to Inland Fishers who are none other than the keval or kafu, subdivisions of the largest ethnic group called the Sudra, as mentioned in such ancient books as the Anuguttara Nikaya, Pujavaliya and Purana Namavaliya. However, in fabricated versions of the Janavansa, so readily quoted by writers who refuse to see the truth, the kevalas are identified as Karawas. Professor Otakar Bertold very correctly states, "that among the goyi are the Kevula, fresh water fishermen, who are fishing only in rivers and ponds (miridiya, mirijja the whole work being done by their women kevali". He further remarks, "the identification of Karawas with Kevulas is certainly an entirely wrong opinion"³

2. Knox Robert - An Historical Relation of Ceylon - 2nd Edition, Tisara Prakasakayo, 1966. pp. 53, 54
3. Bertold, Professor Otakar - Archiv Orientalni Vol. 7. 1935.

SUPPLEMENT III

Offices Held by the Sinhala Kurukulams*

I. Sub Kings & Princes

- a. 543 B.C. Prince Karavanti, First Minister of King Vijaya and King of Kanchipura.
- b. 306 B.C. Prince Aranava Shrestra Suriya Gupta Kurukulasuriya
- c. 564 A.D. Kaurava Additiya Kuruvada Arsanilaitta Illelaga, sub king to King Aggrabodi I
- d. 1047 A.D. Jagatipala of the "Race of Rama" - Additta
- e. 1249 A.D. Kaufawa Additta Kuru Arsanilaitta Tamel
- f. 1416 A.D. Kurukula Natu Singa Suriya Devarira Sub king under Parakrama Bahu VI. 1412-1467 A.D.)
- g. 1613 A.D. Kuruvita Rala Prince of Uva and later Vice Regent of King Senarat of Kandy (1605-1635 A.D.) "he was a relation of Dona Catherina" (Dona Catherina, by John M. Seneviratne)

II. Karava Maha Adigars

- a. 1402 A.D. Kurugamadivasi Kuruvarabhijath Amaradivakara Vikramasinghe Rajapaksa Mahanabukara Maha Adikaram appointed by King Vira Bahu II (1398 - 1410 A.D.)
- b. 1590 A.D. Varnakula Addittya Arasanilaitta Manuel Dias Andradi, under King Wimaladharama Suriya (1560 - 1604 A.D.)

* This is the second part of the Kurukula Chieftains of Sri Lanka dealing with those personalities outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces. (Vide Kurukshetra Vol. 2 pp 37-63) Many of the early records have been gathered from family tradition, manuscripts and ancient records. Sections I-XIV and XVII-XVIII were obtained from Mr. J. S. A. Fernando's manuscripts. Mr. Fernando had collected these particulars during a long period of time mainly by personal contact with members of old families throughout the Island. He was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and a Teacher by profession. A native of Moratuwa, but spent the greater part of his life at "Kaurava Griha", Veyangoea.

- c. 1635 A.D. Varnakula Addittiya Arasanilaitta Vettasingha Paradakulasuriya Maha Goranda under King Rajasingha II (1629 - 1687 A.D.)

III. Kaurawa Dissawas

- a. Kurukula Arasansuriya Vellakara (Velleke) of Walawgodella in Matale under Rajasinha II (1629 - 1687 A.D.)
- b. Varuna Varusapperumala Siyana Korale, in addition to his other duties of Adikarama.
- c. Don Manuel D'Andrado, Dissawa of Matara circa 1715 A.D.

IV. Karava Vanniya Chieftains

- a. Raja Vanni Unnehi of Navathaduwa
- b. Kumara Vanni Unnehi of Kachchakulama
- c. Kurukula Arasan Vanni Unnehi
- d. Kumara Perumal Vanni Unnehi
- e. Aiyam Pullé Vanni Unnehi of Katupiti, Madampe

V. Kaurawa Chieftain Princes

- a. Timirapulle Prince of Gandara appointed Chieftain of part of Tammankaduwa by King Duthu Gamani (161 - 137 B.C.) A descendant of his was Karavanti-Pulle Vanni Unnehi of Pubbiliya
- b. Kanatharapulle, Prince of Gandara, appointed Chieftain of other parts of Tammankaduwa by the same king. A descendant of his was Amara Mudiyanse Vanni Unnehi of Ambana Kalagomuva.
- c. Mahinda Subhato Vasattā Kuru, Nanda Kuru, Gaja Kuru, Punga Kuru, and Vessabhā Kuru in 1500 A.D.
- e. Varnakulaitta Chem Naikē, Kinglet of the Caeras, Captain of the Army that came to the help of Sankili, King of Jaffna against the Portuguese in 1619 A.D. (Queyroz p. 635.)

VI. Kaurawa Commanders-In-Chief and Generals

- a. Thakura the warrior who slew Mitta in 1303 A.D.

- b. Kaurawa Addittiya Kuruvira Arasanilaitta Maha Nagate under Rajasinha I.
- c. Arsa Illenga Addittiya under same king
- d. Thevarir Manukulasuriya
- e. Arasakulasuriya Senasampat
- f. Kurukula Suriya Varananamapen in the reign of Dharma Parakrama Bahu II.
- g. Thakuratha Devaddittiya Gardia Lindamullage Pedro de Silva under Portuguese.

VII. Kaurawa Officers In The Army

In the Reign of Duthu Gamani (161-137 B.C.)

- a. Chandrakula Suriya Sedigalla, sent to Panadura
- b. Jayasiri Addittiya of the Jayavarnakulasuriya clan sent to Moratuwa with 360 soldiers to protect the place.

In the reign of Vijaya Bahu I (1055-1110 A.D.)

- a. Ponna Sannadhā, at Panadura Totamune

In the reign of Parakrama Bahu (1153-1186 A.D.)

- a. Kurukularaya Appan Thantri
- b. Kurukularaya Thevan Thantri
- c. Lak Vijaya Singh Kith or Lankanatha
- d. Kurukula Addittiya Jagad Vijaya Nayaka

In the days of Alakesvara of Kotte 1390 A.D.)

- a. Varusa Vipula Sannadha
- b. Muttu Thantri Nilame

VIII. Kaurawa Mudaliyars

- a. Mudaliyars Dharamasuriya, Kurukulasuriya, Vickramasuriya and Balasuriya - who received the village of Balabewa in the reign of Parakrama Bahu II (1236 - 1270 A.D.)
- b. Mihindukula Virasinghe Mudaliyar (1292 A.D.)
- c. Varnasuriya Mudiyanse of Suriyagoda Walauwa, Katugampola. (1292 A.D.)
- d. Jayaraja Jayavarnasuriya Mudiyanse (1292 A.D.)
- e. Arasakulasuriya Mudiyanse, Varnasuriya Mudiyanse, Kurukulasuriya Mudiyanse, Arasanilaitta Mudiyanse, Mihindukulasuriya Mudiyanse under Parakrama Bahu VI (1415 A.D.)

- f. Edirisuriya Mudiyanse of Hatanapitiya, Gampola and afterwards at Kalagedihena in Siyane Korale (1415-1467 A.D.)
- g. Varnakulasuriya Kumarasinghe Mudiyanse of Dideniya, Siyambalangomuwa in reign of Rajasinghe I (1554-1593 A.D.)
- h. Mahaveediya Mudiyanse alias Elagomuwa Mudiyanse under Rajasinha I
- i. Vellaveediya Mudiyanse alias Ambana Mudiyanse under Rajasinghe I
- j. Arasakulasekera Mudiyanse, Kanampelle in the reign of Rajadhiraja Singha (1785 A.D.)

IX. Kaurawa Maha Muhandirams

- a. Additiya Varnakulasuriya Arasanilayitta of Kammala
- b. Varnakulasuriya Illenaide, appointed by King Rajasinghe II to Kalutara Totamuna circa 1639 A.D.

X. Kaurawa nobility of the closing period of Kotte Kings

- a. Pataseela Surivrupakse Muttikudavadana Tantila Rala
- b. Arasamuni Jayasuriya Patiraja Patirannehe
- c. Thakuratha Devaditiya Gardia Vasam Lindamullage Pedro de Silva
- d. Rasamanakula Varnakuladi Manukulasuriya
- e. Rasamanukula Varnakuladhi Kurukulasuriya Maha Patabendi Rala

XI. Kaurawa Vanni Bandaras

- a. Rajapakse Rajakaruna Demalala Vanni Bandara in the reign of Bhuvaneka Bahu V. (1372-1408 A.D.)
- b. Rajakaruna Ratran Kumarasinghe Vanni Bandara
- c. Sri Vikkrama Vanni Bandara
- d. Ratran Irukk Vanni Bandara
- e. Sinhappu Mudiyanse
- f. Sastri Guru Sohana Senarat Vanni Mudiyanse
- g. Semasinghe Kumara Vanni Mudiyanse.

XII. Kaurawa Muhandirams

- a. Arsa Navaratna Korale Muhandiram of Virapperiya Kulam Korale
- b. Varnakulasuriya Kumarappu Madige Muhandiram, Thammankaduwa
- c. Kurukulasuriya Samaratunga Kanampelle in the reign of Rajadhiraja Singhe (1780-1796 A.D.)
- d. Kekulaketive Rala of the same reign
- e. Varnakulasuriya Manavala Radala Rala of Othuwela, Kurunegala

XIII Offices of Hindu Temples

- a. Batisaka Kumara, Officer Kataragama Devale (husband of Ranapatabende Kiri Etna)
- b. Munivira Vikramasuriya, Kataragama
- c. Nila Varnasuriya, Devundra Devale
- d. Abhayasuriya Vikramasuriya in the reign of King Parakrama Bahu VI (1412-1467)
He was Maha Beta Mudali. Two of his descendants held office viz.,
Don Louis de Silva Abeysinghe, Viravikramasuriya Maha Betma Mudaliyar and Don Adrian Abeysinghe Vira-Vikramasuriya Maha Betma Muhandiram.
- e. Kurukula Nattu Sinha Suriya Devarir Maha Nilame whose sons were also officers for three generations. Some descendants were Telgabade Nilames. One section in Uva (came to be known as Katugaha Nilame clan).

XIV. Miscellaneous List

- a. Palihavadana Perumal Aratchi of Niramulla
- b. Jayasinghe Palihavadana Rala
- c. Pattamperuma Aratchila
- d. Tevara Tantri Additiya Jayasekera of Tangalle
- e. Kurukula Navaratnasuriya Vanaku Nilame
- f. Andra Vas Patabende Rala
- g. Virasandhe Virabala Jayasuriya Arthveda Gunaratne
- h. Mahamarakala Kurukulasuriya Arthdeva Jayasuriya Kuru-Utumpala Patabendi Rala
- i. Varnakulasuriya Adappanaar of Dambadeniya
- j. Varnakulasuriya Adappanar Dissava of Batticaloe

XV. Portuguese Period

According to The Ceylon Littoral, 1593 the offices at the Port from Chilaw to Matara were mainly Pattamgatims. Portuguese writers have referred to them as Lords of the Port. The term Pattamgatim, Pattankati and Patabandi was a title of honour among the Kaurawas. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the offices who held these appointments at the Ports unless so named were Kaurawas.

The Port of Chillao - CHILAW

- a. Sepala Mutiar, Canacapoli of the Port
- b. Dom Siman, Pattangatim Major of the Port
- c. Dom Manuel, Pattangatim of the Port
- d. Dom Joao, Pattangatim

The Port of Caimel - KAMMALA

- a. Simao Correa, Pattangatim, heathen name Naini dapu
- b. Paulo Fernando, Pattangatim, alias Patan
- c. Antonio Fernando alias Cutie Peruma
- d. Simao Pra, Pattangatim, alias Ahiam Peruma
- e. Antonio Fernando, Pattangatim, alias Abca
- f. Durate de Miranda, Pattangatim, alias Togan
- g. Joao de Cruz, alias Arabalata, Pattangatim

The Port of Negumbo - NEGOMBO

- a. Dom Gaspar da Cruz, Pattangatim Major, Rua Grande
- b. Don Jheronymo, Mayoral, Rua Grande
- c. Siman Fernando, Rua Grande?
- d. Afonso Pereira, Pattangatim Major, Rua da Praia
- e. Ventura Fernando, Mayoral, Rua da Praia
- f. Luiz Fernando, Rua da Praia?

The Port of Calliture - KALUTARA

- a. The Pattangatims at this Port were, Joao Teixeira, Joao Fernando, Lourenco Fernando, son of the deceased Patangatin Manoel Fernando, and Salvador Fernando.

The Port of Allicao - ALUTGAMA

- a. Franco Voguado Pattangatim, Mayoral, alias Aruma Peruma

The Port of Belligao - WELIGAMA

- a. Estevao Correa, Pattangatim of the Port
- b. Manoel Fernando Varnacully, Pattangatim Mirissa, his father Apua

Note: It is significant that in the Thombo the Karava fisherman are referred to as Careas Pescadores just as the Portuguese historians had termed them. Thus it is evident that all Careas were not fisherman and Karavas are not fisher caste.

XVI. Dutch Acts of Appointments.

- Abesurige Pattebenda Joan Abeyedire Sarensurie Pattebenda
Pattangatyn of Dickwelle 18. 6. 1763 2555/353
- Abeyasuriya, Siman de Silva Maha Vidhan Talpe Pattu Galle
9. 7. 1763 2555 / 411
- Abeywickrema Bastian Bartholomuesz Mahavidana Dickwella
and Bambarende 20. 7. 1763 2555 / 455
- Andrado Thome de Auctioneer Mutuwal 18. 6. 1764 2556/61
- Abeysinghe Wickremaratne Don Simon. Mudaliyar 9.8.1764
2556 / 99
- Anderado, Reynaldus de Auctioneer 18. 6. 1765 2556 / 267
- Badduge Siman Wijesundere Samerewira Mahavidana Weligama.
18. 6. 1763 2555 / 321
- Bodiabaduge Gabriel Perera Wijeratne First Mahavidana,
Kalutara 22. 9. 1763 2555/572
- Coerre, Mahamarakalage Simon Mahavidana of Moratuwa
22. 3. 1758 2553 / 429
- Coerre Sameresinge Sakkelesurie Mahamarakelege Daniel 2nd
Mahavidana Moratuwa 6. 5. 1763 2555 / 261
- Class Wiresuriya Aberatne Galapattipattebendige Mahavidana
Tangalle 4. 7. 1764 2556 / 79
- Dias, Gunasekere, Constantino Muhandiram & Pattangatyn
Four Gravets Galle 28. 8. 1763 2555 / 5
- Dias, Bastian Pattangatyn Talpe Pattu 14. 1. 1763 2555 / 27
- Dirksz, Samerasuriarachige Don. Muhandiram & Mahavidana
Matara 4. 8. 1763 2555 / 469
- Fernando Kurukula Jayasuriya, Mahabaduge Jasientu Pattangatyn
Beruwela 7. 12. 1759 2553 / 54
- Fernando, Jayasuri, Selaperumage Abraham Pattangatyn
Galkissa 20. 10. 1760 2554 / 150
- Fernando, Franisco Addopponaar, Grand Street Negombo
4. 6. 1762 2554 / 231
- Fernando Warnakulasuriya, Salomon Muhandiram Sea Street
Negombo 4. 6. 1762 2554 / 232
- Fernando, Franisco Arachchi of the "Zeestrand" at Negombo
4. 6. 1762 2554 / 232
- Fernando, Isteeven Arachchi of the "Zeestrand" at Negombo
4. 6. 1762 2554 / 232
- Fernando, Adriaan Addopponaar of the "Zeestrand" at
Negombo 4. 6. 1762 2554 / 232

Fernando, Kurukulasuriya Wirawarne Steeven Pattangatyn
Rua Grande Negombo 8. 2. 1763 2555/73

Fernando, Kurukulasuriya, Joan Mahavidana Moratuwa
4. 3. 1763 2555/191

Fonseka, Wiresinga Jayasuriya, Joan 2nd Mahavidana Panadura,
6. 5. 1763 2555/259

Ferdinandus Kurukulasuriya Wiresinge Augustinus. Muhandiram
and 1st Tamil Interpreter to the Secretary of the Police
Court and Court of Justice Galle 21. 5. 1763 2555/279

Fernando, Warnakulewitten, Francisco Adoppnaar of Kammala
31. 5. 1763 2555/305

Fernando Karune Balasuriya, Anthony Pattangatyn, Colombo
25. 6. 1763 2555/367

Fernando, Allees Muhandiram of Chilaw 19. 11. 1763. 2555/539

Fernando, Kurukulasuriya Warnakuladiye Adoppenaar, Louis
Pattangatyn 27. 6. 1764 2555/74

Fernando, Joan Arachchi at Kammala 25. 7. 1764 2556/89

Fernando Wiresuri Jayasekere Gunawardene Lourens Mahavidana
Four Gravets Galle 31. 10. 1764 2556/168

Fonseka Wiresinge Jayasuriya Joan 2nd Mahavidana Panadura
7. 1. 1765 2566/217

Fernando Kurukulasuriya Konstantino Lascarin Muhandiram
Negombo 8. 11. 1764 2556/174

Fernando, Philip Muhandiram Chilaw 25. 8. 1766 2556/401

Fernando, Pedro Adeponnar Chilaw 25. 8. 1766 2558/402

Fernando, Johan Arachchi Chilaw 25. 8. 1766 2556/403

Fernando, Warnekulat, Adoppenaar Louis Pattangatyn and Jt.
Chief 16. 9. 1769 2556/607

Galapattipattebendige Class Wiresuriya Aberatne Mahavidana
Tangalle 4. 7. 1764 2556/79

Guneratne, Don Samuel Abewickkreme Vidane Muhandiram
Four Gravets Matara 27. 2. 1769 2556/579

Jayasinge Wijesuri Pattebendige Adriaan Pattangatyn Tangalle
18. 6. 1763 2555/349

Kurukulasuriya, Joan Fernando Mahavidana Moratuwa
4. 3. 1763 2555/191

Kanweddige Gammage Siriweddeke Sammeresurie Kodipille
Pattebenda Tangalle 18. 6. 1763 2555/355

Kurukulasuriya Constantino Fernando Lascarian Muhandiram
Negombo 8. 11. 1764 2556/174

Kurukulasuriya, Don Philip Pieris 3rd Pattangatyn Rua Grande
Negombo 29. 11. 1764 2556/196

Kurukulasuriya Wiresinge Adoppenaar, Francisco Zilva Pattangatyn
and Chief 3. 9. 1767 2556/511

Lokukankanage Paulo Pieris Kurukula Jayewire Pattangatyn
Aluthgama 7. 12. 1759 2553/547

Lokuge Joan Perera Kurukulataresere 2nd Mahavidana Kalu-
tara 21. 1. 1750 2554/15 1st Mahavidana Kalutara
22. 9. 1761 2554/211

Lowe, Francisco Korala Pitigala Korale 15. 8. 1763 2555/491

Maha Marakalege Simon Coerre. Mahavidana Moratuwa
2. 3. 1759 2553/373

Mahabadduge Jasientu Fernando Kurukula Jayasuriya Jt. Pat-
tangatyn Beruwela 7. 12. 1759 2553/543

Melho Warune Kuladite Wiresuriya Arass Nille Itte, Don Simon
de Mudaliyar Pitigala Korale 24. 12. 1762 2555/11

Mahamarakalege Daniel Coerre Samersinge Sakkelesuriya 2nd
Mahavidana Moratuwa 6. 5. 1763 2555/261

Mahamarakege Cangaan Arachchi Moratuwa 27. 10. 1763
2555/535

Mahabaduge Francisco Perera Wijesuriya Gunewardena 3rd
Pattangatyn Panadura 22. 9. 1764 2556/142

Melho Warunekuladite Wiresuriya Arase Nilleita Don Simon de
Mudaliyar Pitigala Korale 10. 1. 1764 2556/159

Melho Warunekuladite Wiresuriya Arasse Nilleita Don Francisco
Mudaliyar Pitigala Korale 26. 6. 1765 2556/273

Mel, Joseph de Vidana Moratuwa 5. 4. 1771 2839/18

Perera, Wireratne, Michiel Mahavidana Weligama 24. 11. 1757
2553/197

Perera Wireratne, Arachchi, Joanis Joint Pattangatyn and
Chief Weligama 24. 11. 1757 2553/201

Pieris Kurukula Jayewire, Lokukankanage Paulo. Pattangatyn
Aluthgama 7. 12. 1759 2553/547

Perera Kurukulat Aresere Wijesegre Lokuge Juan 2nd Maha-
vidana Kalutara 21. 1. 1760 2554/15 and 2554/16

Pieris Rasmanugere Warnekula Ditadipadiaar, Bastian Jt. Pot-
tangatyn Colombo. 15. 1. 1761 2554/91

Perera, Kurukulat Aresere Wiesegre Lokuge Juan 2nd Maha-
vidana Kalutara 22. 9. 1761 2554/211

Perera Wiresekere Guneratne, Magnus. Mahavidana Belligama
1. 2. 1763 2555/43

Perera Arrese Nile Itte, Don Joan. Muhandiram at Pituanakare. 29. 12. 1762 2555/13

Perera Wirewarne Jayesuriye, Michiel Muhandiram and 2nd Mahavidana of Weligama and Mirissa. 19.6.1763 2555/319

Perera Arresunilethie Don Joan. Maha Muhandiram. Negombo 18. 6. 1763. 2555/350

Perera Wiresuri Pattebende, Samuel: Pattangatyn Galle. 14. 9. 1763 2555/509

Perera Wijeratne, Bodiabaduge Gabriel. 1st Mahavidana Kalutara 22. 12. 1763 2555/572

Perera Warnekule Jayasuriye Silvester Joint Pattangatyn Kalutara 7. 4. 1764 2556/19

Pieris Kurukulesurie, Don Philip. 3rd Pattangatyn of Ruwa Grande Negombo 29. 11. 1764 2556/196

Pieris, Bastian. Pattangatyn and Joint chief 3. 9. 1767 2556/511

Rasamanogere, Warunekuladite Patabende Christoffel de Silva. Pattangatyn and Chief at Mutuwal. 15. 5. 1757 2553/91

Rodrigo, Gunewardene, Mahamarkalege-Pattabendige Domingo 2nd Mahavidana Kalutara. 26. 8. 1761 2554/164

Rowel, Warenkulasuriya, Anthony Mahavidana Lascarin Muhandiram of Alutkuru Korale. 10. 1. 1763 2555/15

Rowel, Warnekuladitte Wiresurie Aresinileitte, Anthony. Mudaliyar and Mahavidana Alutkuru Korale 20.6.1765 2556/269

Rowel, Warnekuladitte Wiresurie Aresinileitte, Anthony. Mahavidana and Mudaliyar. Acc 20. 6. 1765 2839/64

Silva, Kurukulasuriya, Chikku Pattebendige Thome. Pattangatyn Kalutara. 23. 2. 1760 2553/120

Silva, Janapati Wijeratne Witanepattiralege Domingo de. 1st Mahavidana Kalutara. 21. 1. 1760 2554/13 & 14

Silleperumege, Abraham, Fernando Jeyasuriya. Pattangatyn of Galkissa. 20. 10. 1760 2554/23

Silva, Wijayanayaka Appuhamy, Salomon de. Interpreter to the Galle Landraad 21. 2. 1763 2555/31

Silva Aberatne, Daniel de. Mahavidana at Mirissa. 1. 2. 1763 2555/47

Samerwire Don Amadoor. Arachchi Matara. 25.7.1763. 2555/451

Sameresuriachige Don Dirksz. Muhandiram and Mahavidana Matara 4. 8. 1763 2555/469

Dismissed Muhandiram Tangalle 4. 7. 1764 2556/77

Sameresinge Jayasekare Muhandiram Tangalle 4. 7. 1764 2556/79

Suri Arasekularatne Warneg Pedro Fonseka Muhandiram Interpreter Kalutara 21. 1. 1760 2839/10

Tissera Warnekuladitte Wiersurige Arresnil itte Don Gerrit. Mudaliyar Negombo 18. 9. 1761 2554/195

Welligamme Michiel Sammarewire Pattabende and Chief Weligama 15. 8. 1757 2553/175

Wireratne Michel Perera. Mahavidana Weligama 24. 11. 1757 2553/197

Wirewarne Jayasurie, Adrian de Zaa Jt. Pattangatyn 24. 11. 1757 2553/203

Wireratne Arachchi, Joanis Perera Jt. Pattangatyn Weligama 24. 11. 1757 2553/201

Warnekulasuriya Mahapatabendi Lindemullage Anthony Silva. Mahavidana Moratuwa 2. 3. 1759 2553/373

Wijayanayaka Appuhamy, Salomon de Silva. Interpreter Galle Landraad. 21. 1. 1763 2555/31

Watu Bastiange Susew Wirewarune Arachchi and Pattangatyn of Koongalla, Kattaluwa and Weligama 19.3.1763 2555/215

Wirewarne Pattabendi Alonse Wijewire. Guneratne. Mahavidana Dondra. 27. 5. 1763 2555/299

Warnakalesuriya Arasanileitte Anderado Modilaar Don Joan. Recodedoor Jaffna 27. 8. 1763 2555/502

Warenhendige Pedru Soysa Wirasinge Kurukula Warnesuriya 2nd Mahavidana Panadura 7. 1. 1765 2556/217

Warunekuladitte Weerasuriya Aresanileitte Anthony Rowel. Mudaliyar and Mahavidana Alutkuru Korale 20. 6. 1765 2556/269

Warnekuladitte Weerasurie Arasse Nilleaitte Don Francisco. Mudaliyar Pitigal Korale 26. 6. 1765 2556/273

Warneg Francisco Fonseka Warnesuriya Wijesundere Mahavidana Kalutara. 10. 11. 1766 2556/433 & 2838/9

Wiersing Adopenaar Francisco Silva Kurukulasurie. Pattangatyn and Chief Colombo 3. 9. 1767 2556/511

Warnekurukulat Adopenaar, Louis Fernando Pattangatyn and Chief Colombo 16. 9. 1769 2556/607

Warneg Pedro Fedro Fonseka Surie Aresekularatne Muhandiram and Interpreter Kalutara 21. 1. 1760 2839/10

Silva-Christoffel de Pattangatyn and Chief Mutuwal 1757 2553/91

Saa Wierewarne Jayesurie, Adrian de. Jt. Pattangatyn & Chief Welligam 24. 11. 1757 2553/203

Silva Warnekulesuriye Mahahattabendi Lindemullege Anthony Mahavidana Moratuwa 2. 3. 1759 2553/373

Soysa Kurukulasurie Abraham de. Muhandiram & Pattangatyn Ruwa Grande Negombo 4. 6. 1762 2554/231

Silva Kurukulasurie Wiersingé Francisco Adeponaar. Pattangatyn and Joint Chief Colombo. 3. 9. 1767 2556/511

Samerecoon Appuhamy, Don Constintino Simon, Kodituwakku Muhandiram and Maha Vidhana Tangalla. 11. 2. 1763. 2555/115 & 125

Suripettebendige Andries Sameresurie Pattebenda, Pattangatyn Okewelle and Nahnulegama. 18. 6. 1763. 2555/347

Silva, Abeyesuriya Simon de. Mahavidana, Talpe Pattu, Galle Korale. 9. 7. 1763. 2555/411

Wickremaratne, Don Simon Abeysinghe, Mudaliyar and Chief Tangalla. 6. 7. 1763 2555/393*

XVII. Dutch Period Mudaliyars, Mahavidans Etc.

- a. Anthony Rowel Varnakula Addittiya Virsuriya Arasa Nilaiytta (Alut-Kuru Korale 1765)
- b. Don Juan de Silva Abhasingha Vira Wickrama Suriya, Kalutara 1744
- c. Kulavarnasuriya Vijayasinghe Pedru de Soysa, Panadura
- d. Warnamana Dissanayake Sapramadu Nanayakkara Lakshapati, Moratuwa
- e. Viravarna Busabadu Nanayakkara Kurukulasuriya Reindis Fernando, Beruwela
- f. Kariakaravana Patabendi Don Francisco Fernando Samarasinghe
- g. Sakalasuriya Daniel, Moratuwa
- h. Don Siman Samarasuriya Kurukula Arasa, Kalutara
- i. Andreas Vas Patabendi Don Siman Goonewardene, Pasdun Korale
- j. Magris Perera Wirasekera Gunaratne, Weligama
- k. Don Siman Abeysinghe Wickremaratne, Mudaliyar, Giruwa Pattu (1764)
- l. Don Bastian de Silva Abhayawickrama Wijayanayaka, Maha Vidana Mohandiram

XVIII. British Period = Gate Mudaliyars

- a. Augustine Mudali, Galle
- b. Jeronis Perera Seneviratne, Dandugama
- c. Ambrosius de Rowel Virasuriya Jayatileke, Waikcal 1900
- d. Jeronis de Soysa, Mora, uwa - 1854 - 1862
- e. Susew de Soysa, Colombo 1870
- f. Siman Richard de Fonseka, Colombo 1911.

* Taken from the Dutch Acts of Appointments of Ceylonese Chieftains-National Archives, Sri Lanka.

Kaurawa Headmen During the British Period

Ceylon Almanac 1814 - 1860

Colombo

1. Soose Fernando Warnakule Arsakula Suriya - Modaliar Colombo and Mutuwal 1814 - 16
2. Philip De Anderado Arasakula Wijeyeratne - 1st Pattangety Muhandiram Colombo and Mutwal 1814 - 16
3. Istewal Fernando Weerawarne Kurukulasuriya-Muhandiram Colombo and Mutuwal 1814 - 16
4. Francis Fernando Arasakularatne Kurukulasuriya - Muhandiram Colombo and Mutuwal 1814
5. Francis Rodrigo - Muhandiram of the Guides Colombo. 1814 - 16
6. Bastian De Anderado Arasakularatne - Titular Pattangatyn Mutuwal 1814
7. Johannes de Silva Wijewickrema Jayawardene - Titular Muhandiram Colombo 1814 - 20
8. Warnekulasuriya Wijeyeratne Pedroe Fernando-Pattangatyn Muhandiram 1846 - 55 Mudliar of Colombo 1846 - 62
9. Carolis de Fonseka Warnesuria Wijeratne Samaranayke Mahavidane Mohandiram 1846 - 62
10. Lindamullegey Pedroe de Silva Warnesoriya Coorcokula Wijeyeratne 2nd Pattangatyn Muhandiram 1849 - 57
11. Andrew Fernando Weerasoriya Abaywickreme Wijegoontilleke Caronaratne 3rd Pattangatyn Mohandiram 1849-57 Mudaliyar 1858
12. Don Samuel Perera Wijeyeratne - Mohandiram 1858-62
13. Andrew Fernando Weerasoriya Rajakarunaratne Mudaliar Colombo 1858-62
14. Daniel Fernando Arasakulasuriya Rajekaruna Seneviratne Mohandiram 1862
15. Istoaboe Fernando Abeygoonewardene Jayasuriyage - Modaliar 1824 - 25
16. Thomas De Anderado Arsakulasuriya Wijeyeratne - 1st Pattebenda Mohandiram 1824-25 Modaliar 1831
17. Francis Fernando Arsakularatne Kurukulasuriyage 2nd Pattebenda Mohandiram 1824-30 1st Pattebenda Mohandiram 1831 - 34 Modaliar 1835 - 46

18. Selestin Fernando Kurukulasuriyage 3rd Pattabende Mohandiram 1824 - 25
19. Alexander Dharmaratne - 4th Pattabende Mohandiram 1824 - 25
20. Johannes de Silva Wijewickrema Jayewardene - Titular Pattangatyn Mohandiram 1824 - 46
21. Johannes De Fonseka Warnesooriya Wijetoenge Samaranayaka Modilar of the Commissariat Department 1824-25
22. Francisco Fernando Warnekulasuriya 3rd Pattabendi Mohandiram 1831
23. Gregory Fernanbo - 1st Pattebendi Mohandiram 1835-44
24. Don Cornelius Perera Jayasooriya Seneviratne - 2nd Pattebendi Mohandiram 1835 - 39

Moratuwa and Galkissa

25. Pedro Mendis Goonetilleke Samarasinhe Jayaewardene Seneviratne Maha Vidane Mudaliyar - 1825
26. Anthony Perera - Titular Pattebendi Muhandiram-1814-25
27. Domingo Mendis Seneviratne. Pattebendi Muhandiram - 1817 - 25
28. Alexander Dharmaratne Mahavidana 1831 - 54 Mahavidana Mohandiram 1855 - 58. Rank of Modaliar of Morotto, Galkissa Panadura 1860
29. Adrian Mendis Wijewickrema Manukulasuriya Senanayake - Mohandiram 1849 - 55 Mudaliyar 1856 - 62
30. Jerominus De Mendis Seneviratne Pattebendi Mohandiram 1826
31. Mahamarakale Kurukulasuriya Pattebendige Anthony Perera Jayasinghe Titular Mohandiram 1826
32. Manuel de Fonseka Wijeyeratne Samarasinghe Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1831 - 38

Negombo

33. Bernadus de Silva Arasakularatne Goonetilleke Maha Vidana 1814 - 16
34. Jerominus De Mendis Seneviratne Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1831 - 58 Rank of Modaliar of Negombo 1859
35. William Arnold Mendis Wijewardene Wickremasinghe - Modaliar of the Customs Department 1858

36. Don Joseph Mendis Arasakulasuriya Wijeratne Mudaliyar and Justice of the Peace 1860
37. Jenesius Pieris Samarewickreme Soorrie Goonetilleke Jayawardene 1st Maha Vidana 1814
38. Warnekulasooria Mathies Fernando Pattangatyn Muhandiram Sea Street 1814 - 31
39. Johannes Fernando Pattangatyn Mohandiram Duwa 1814
40. David Mendis Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1824
41. Warnekulasooriya Mathes Fernando Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1832 - 39
42. Joseph Mendis Korale Mudaliyar 1871
43. Jereminus De Mendis Maha Vidana Mudaliyar 1871

Kalutara & Panadura

44. Celestinu de Fonseka Wijetunge Arasakularatne - Maha Vidana Modaliar 1814 - 31
45. Manuel De Fonseka Wijetunge Samaranayaka Maha Vidana Modaliar Kalutara and Panadura 1849 - 54 Modaliar 1855 - 62
46. David de Fonseka Warnesuria Arasakularatne Vidana Mohandiram 1824 - 30 Muhandiram 1831 - 51
47. Jacob Francisco de Fonseka Samarawickrame Arasakularatne Maha Vidana 1851 - 62
48. Renaldus De Anderado Arasakularatne Wijeyeratne Mohandiram 1849 - 62
50. Jeronis Rodrigo Warnekula Suriya Goonewardene Jayasinghe Mahavidana Panadura 1854 - 61 Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1864 - 71
51. Warnecoola Pattenhendagey Gregory Rodrigo, Pattebendi Muhandiram 1861 - 71.

Maggon

52. Warnecoola Pattenhendagey Curruwe Canganyeny Don Philipoo Vidana 1814 - 51 Vidana Mohandiram 1852/62

Alutkuru Korale

53. Michael Rowel Warnekula Wiresurie Jayatilleke - Maha Vidana Mohandiram of two bands of Lascorins 1814 - 16
54. Suse Perera Warnekulasurie Wijesinghe Goonetilleke Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1814 - 62

55. Joseph Mendis Arasakulasurie Modaliar 1851 - 71
56. Warnekulasuriya Jusey Rowel Maha Vidana Mohandiram of two bands of Lascarins 1821 - 44

Hapitigama Corale

57. Silvester Perera Arasakula Wijeyesooria Tillekeratne Mohandiram of the Guides 1816 - 58.

Galle

58. Harmanis de Silva Wickremasuriya Goonewardene Maha Vidana Modaliar 1814 - 25
59. Don Adrian De Silva Amadoru Jayawardene Pattebenda Mohandiram 1814 - 30 Modaliar 1831 - 32
60. Bastian de Silva Jayasooriya Goonewardene Mohandiram 1851 - 53 Maha Vidana Modilair 1854 - 62
61. Daniel de Silva Jayasooriya Acting Modaliar 1835 - 38 Mohandiram 1844 - 49

Talpe Pattu

62. Simon De Silva Wickremesuriya Rajapakse Maha Vidana 1814 - 41
63. Dallowattegy Don Adrian de Silva Wickremasooriya Maha Vidana 1842 - 54

Ambalangoda

64. Johannes De Silva Abeyegoonewardena Maha Vidana 1814 - 16
65. Kerikankanagey Louis Perera Maha Vidana 1820
66. Janis de Silva Abeysekera Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1842-52
67. Robert Louis Goonewardena Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1854 - 62 Interpreter Mudaliyar 1870
68. Agostinu de Silva Wijesekera Goonewardene Maha Vidana 1821 - 35

Matara

69. Kahakatye Pattebendige Joseph Abeywickreme Wireratne 1st Maha Vidana 1814 - 16
70. Wijayanayaka Aratchy Pattebendigey Don Louis Wijayanayaka 2nd Maha Vidana 1814 - 21. 1st Mahavidana 1824-25

71. Nambokare Abraham De Silva Wirekoon Titular Mohandiram 1814 - 25

72. Don Louis Wireratne Maha Vidana 1824 - 53. Maha Vidana Modilar, Town, Fort and Gravets 1851 - 62

73. Don Christian de Silva Titular Mohandiram 1835

Welleboda Pattu

74. Haddooge Siman Wijeyesooria Pattangatyn Muhandiram 1814 - 25
75. Janis de Silva Warnesooriya Jayawardena Pattebandi Mohandiram 1851 - 62
76. Don Dininis Abeysekera Goonewardene Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1846 - 60 Maha Vidana Modaliar of Gandara 1861 - 70

Giruwa Pattu

77. Abenso Wijeweera Gooneratne Maha Vidana 1814 - 21 Mahavidana Mohandiram 1824 - 32
78. Don Thomis De Silva Abeysinghe Koddippillege Maha Vidana Mohandiram 1815 - 25
79. Mahamado Callepoowegey Juan de Silva Wickremaratne Mohandiram 1824 - 57
80. Don Chrtstjan de Silva Maha Maha Vidana 1846
81. Samareweera. Amadoor Jayawardene Don Samuel Maha Vidana 1831

Hambantota

82. Andries Perera Abeysiriwardena Maha Vidana 1815 - 21

Weligama and Mirissa

83. Wijaya Weera Mahavidanagy Don Daniel de Silva Maha Vidana 1815 - 25
84. Don Louis de Silva Maha Vidana Muhandiram Weligam Korale and Totamune 1844 - 58
85. Don Bastian Perera Abeygunawardena Maha Vidana 1826 - 46
86. Don David de Silva Abeywardena Jayaweeratne Pattabendi Arachchi Mirissa 1861 - 70

Magam Pattu

87. D. D. de Silva Wickremasinha Vidahn Mohandiram 1851-60
88. Hettihewagey Don Christian Maha Vidana 1831

Puttalam District

89. Warnekula Adette Arsanilaitte Alwino Lowe Muhandiram 1855 - 60 Mudaliyar Pitigal Korale South 1861 - 70 Deputy Coroner and Registrar of Marriages, Deaths and Births Marawila.

Ceylon Almanac List Continued from Ferguson's Directory 1862 - 1942

90. 1862 Jeronis De Soysa Dharma Goonewardene Wipoolajaysuriya Karunaratne Dissanayake Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate.
91. 1869 Warnakula Aditta Arsanilaitte Alwino Lowe Mudaliyar of Pitigal Korale North and Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate 1880
92. 1872 Don Bastian de Silva Jayasuriya Gunawardena Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate.
93. 1876 Warnakulasuriya Addittiya Arsanilaitte Ambrosious de Rowel, Muhandiram of Pitigal Korale South, Titular Mudaliyar 1887, Mudaliyar 1898 and Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate 1903. He was also Justice of the Peace and Notary Public Waikkal.
94. 1871 Susew de Soysa, Justice of the Peace and Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate.
95. 1872 P. G. Fernando Mudaliyar and Interpreter Police Court, Kegalle
96. 1877 Christian Jayasuriya Mudaliyar Magam Pattu, Tangalla
97. 1876 Adrian de Silva Government Teacher, Mudaliyar Weligama
98. 1878 Don Adrian Goonewardena Mudaliyar Kalutara and Panadura
99. 1874 Don Dines Goonewardena Maha Vidhana Muhandiram, Gandara, Matara
100. 1875 Johannes Pieris Muhandiram Pasdun Korale, Kalutara.
101. J. H. de Fonseka Muhandiram Division Officer Kalutara

102. 1887 Don Andris de Silva, Justice of the Peace, Pattedenda Arachchi Maha Vidhana Mudaliyar, Matara
103. 1878 Kurukulasuriya Philip Gabriel Fernando Kirithesinghe Mudaliyar Alut Kuru Korale North, Negombo
104. 1880 A Pieris Mudaliyar, Kalutara - Panadura Totamune
105. 1885 Don David Fernando Jayasuriya Mudaliyar Raiygam Korale, Kalutara
106. 1885 Samuel Haramanis Jayawickrama, Mudaliyar, Shroff Kachcheri Kurunegala
107. 1885 J. Mendis Muhandiram Moratuwa
108. 1886 Don David Samaraweera Maha Vidana Muhandiram Weligama
109. 1887 J. W. C. De Soysa Justice of the Peace and Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate
110. 1887 R. S. Wijeysekera Muhandiram Pasdun Korale, Mudaliyar Raiygam Korale 1903
111. 1887 J. K. Kirithesinghe Interpreter Mudaliyar Puttalam
112. 1890 N. de Soysa Mudaliyar Kandy
113. 1890 K. A. Goonesekera Muhandiram Magam Pattu Hambantota
114. 1890 D. B. P. W. Gunasekera Maha Vidhana Muhandiram, Matara
115. 1890 J. L. Peiris Mudaliyar, District Court Alut Kuru Korale North
116. 1890 Don Jamis de Silva Wickremasinghe Maha Vidane Tangalla
117. 1892 Simon Richard de Fonseka Wijetunga Samaranyake, Head Clerk, Provincial Road Committee, Mudaliyar
118. 1893 D. D. Abeyaweera Muhandiram, Weligama
119. 1893 W. F. Gunawardena, Interpreter Muhandiram Police Court Matale, Interpreter Mudaliyar D.P.J. Office Colombo
120. 1893 D. A. Goonesekera Mudaliyar Kachcheri Matara
121. 1893 S. T. Gunawardena Muhandiram Kachcheri Kalutara, Mudaliyar 1903
122. 1893 Romanis Peiris Mudaliyar Panadura
123. 1893 A. M. Perera Muhandiram Salpiti Korale, Dehiwela
124. 1893 C. de S. Senathipathy, Muhandiram Katukurunda Kalutara
125. 1897 Don Andris de Silva Guneratne Maha Vidhana Mudaliyar

126. 1903 Simon F. Goonewardena Interpreter Mudaliyar, Panadura
127. 1903 L. J. P. de Fonseka Mudaliyar, Kalutara & Panadura Totamuna
128. 1908 W. M. Dabarera Mudaliyar Pitigala Korale South
129. „ B. S. Abayasuriya Mudaliyar District Court Matara
130. „ T. O. de Fonseka Muhandiram Kachacheri Matara
131. „ R. C. de Silva Mudaliyar Puttalam District
132. „ T. A. Goonewardena Mudaliyar Galle
133. „ T. F. W. Goonewardena Mudaliyar Panadura
134. „ D. A. Goonewardena Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate Matara
135. „ C. P. W. Gunasekera Mudaliyar District Court Kegalle
136. „ D. B. P. W. Gunasekera Maha Vidana Muhandiram Gandara, Matara
137. „ S. T. Goonewardena Pasdun Korale
138. „ W. F. Goonewardena Interpreter Mudaliyar Public Information Department
139. „ A. Jayawardena Mudaliyar Tangalla
140. „ J. V. G. Jayawardena Mudaliyar Kalutara & Panadura
141. „ R. H. Jayawardena Mudaliyar Giriwa Pattu
142. „ A. M. Jayawardena Muhandiram Moratuwa
143. „ C. F. S. Jayawickrama Interpreter Mudaliyar District District Court Kegalle
144. „ Richard Peiris Muhandiram Panadura.
145. „ J. A. G. Rodrigo Muhandiram Manager Government Dairy Farm
146. 1913-15 H. F. de Fonseka Mudaliyar
147. „ Simon Richard de Fonseka Mudaliyar Salpiti Korale Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate
148. „ A. W. N. Jayasuriya Mudaliyar District Court Galle
149. „ M. J. A. Jayasuriya Muhandiram Kachacheri Kalutara
150. „ Arthur Perera Muhandiram Moratuwa
151. „ Jos S. Pieris Muhandiram Kachacheri Chilaw
152. „ M. Andrias Peiris Muhandiram and Vidan Arachchi Panadura
153. „ D. M. Samaraweera Muhandiram Weligama
154. „ H. E. Wickramaratne Mudaliyar Morawaka Korale Matara
155. „ N. A. Wickramasuriya Interpreter Mudaliyar District Court Tangalla
157. „ Dunstan Edwin Wijeyasekera Salpiti Korale and Colombo Mudaliyar 1922

158. 1917 James J. de Mel Interpreter Muhandiram Land Settlement Department Pasdun Korale Mudaliyar 1922 and Gate Muhandiram 1930
159. „ Pintheruralage Don Emilian Interpreter Mudaliyar Land Settlement Department. Mudaliyar Raigama Korale Kalutara 1920
160. „ David Abraham Gooneratne Gate Mudaliyar Matara.
161. 1920 Edmund Pieris Mudaliyar Kalutara and Panadura Totamunes; Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate 1933.
162. „ Samson Perera Wijetunge Mudaliyar East Giriwa Pattu, Wellabodda Pattu 1930
163. „ Charles de Silva Wijeratne Interpreter Police Courts Panadura.
164. 1922 Godwin J. de Fonseka Kachacheri Muhandiram
165. „ K. T. A. de Silva, Kachacheri Muhandiram, Mudaliyar Salpiti Korale 1936
166. 1932 B. P. de Silva Warnakulasuriya Mudaliyar Galle
167. „ Arnold Goonewardena Muhandiram Kalutara
168. „ R. S. Goonasekera Kachacheri Mudaliyar Hambantota
169. „ Don Francis Abeysinghe Wickremasuriya Wira Wickremasuriya Mudaliyar Magam Pattu
170. „ Don Adrian Abeysinghe Wickremasuriya Maha Betme Muhandiram
171. „ Don Louis de Silva Abeysinghe Wickremasuriya Mudaliyar
172. „ H. E. Wickremaratne Mudaliyar Weligama Korale
173. „ J. de S. Jayawardena Mudaliyar Moratuwa
174. „ J. de S. Wickremasuriya Maha Vidana Muhandiram Magam Pattu
175. „ S. T. Rodrigo Fisher Mudaliyar Colombo
176. „ Thomas Rodrigo Mudaliyar Panadura

177. „ S. P. Rodrigo Mudaliyar Panadura
 178. 1934 F. A. Wickremasuriya Mudaliyar Magam Pattu
 179. 1936 Frank W. Gunasekera Mudaliyar Morawaka Korale Matara
 180. 1941 M. A. P. Wijesuriya Kachacheri Mudaliyar Kalutara
 181. „ G. Ediriweera Mudaliyar Pasdun Korale East Kalutara
 182. „ A. de S. G. Punchihewa Mudaliyar Kataluwa Ahangama
 183. „ R. S. Dalpathado Interpreter Mudaliyar Courts Negombo.

Note This list taken from the Ferguson Directory is not a complete one, and we regret any omissions and commissions in it. Names, without any District, Korale or Pattu, are those of persons who have been invested with the title or rank. The office of Korale Mudaliyar etc., ceased with the introduction of the Divisional Revenue Officers around 1939. However, the investiture of persons for services rendered to Government continued till 1956.

SUPPLEMENT IV

EPILOGUE

A Description of the Castes on the Island of Ceylon, their trade and their services to Government, supplied to Sir Robert Norton in 1832 was indeed an entirely misleading and mischievous one given to a Colonial Head of State. The motive was obvious and had its desired effects. However, other groups who were offended by this Goigama description went into action as we have observed in the foregoing pages.

Among the papers in the Public Record Office London there is evidence of the reaction. This document, a petition by the Karawas is one such example:—

Petition of the Karawas from Tangalle, Matara, Weligama, Galle, Panadura, Alut-kuru-Korale and Negombo. Colombo. 10th November 1833 translated by G. Mendis.

“That the chief situations peculiar to the petitioners caste, such as offices of Modliars, Mohandirams, Pattebendy Mohandirams and Aratches, in both the above stations and others were always held by the people of their own caste but never by the people of the Vellala caste, as may be proved by adverting to the following catalogue of such deceased Headmen of their caste as reach their recollection and knowledge, viz:—

1. Arsekoole Itte Wijeyesooria Don Salvador Modiliar of Cammela.
2. Jerominus de Rowel Warnecolesooria Maha Vidhna Modiliar of Alooctour Corle.
3. Manuel de Silva Modiliar of Negombo.
4. Renaldus de Silva Arsekooleratne Goonetilleke Maha Vidhna Modiliar Negombo.
5. Harmanis De Silva Weerasooria Goonewardhena Maha Vidhna Modiliar of Galle.
6. Don Mattes Samerawira Jayawardhena Amadore Modiliar of Matara.

7. Johannes De Fonseka Warnesooria Wijeytoonge Samaranayake, Modiliar of Deputy Commissariat Department Colombo.
8. Siman Fonseka Samarasinghe Warnesooria Maha Vidhana of Panadura.
9. Pedroe Fonseka Warnesooria Arsekooleratne Interpreter Muhandiram of Calutara.
10. Don Andries de Silva Goonesekera Maha Vidhana of Galle.
11. Don Siman de Abeysinghe Wikramaratne Maha Vidhana Muhandiram of Duwoondara.
12. Don Dinays Abeywardene Weerasooria Interpreter Muhandiram of the Resthouse Jayelle".

C. O. 54/131 page 472

Since this time, and again during the Governorship of Sir Arthur Gordon (1883-1890) who roused more agitation among the various groups, it became a period of bitter caste controversies. The newspapers too spotlighted this:—

Caste Re-Established in Ceylon

"This may be news to some readers of the Observer. Others have already known and felt this. The Portuguese and Dutch with all their old world ideas and crude notions of things never stooped to the measures of upholding the senseless, absurd system of caste. But it has been left to the British Government and to enlightened statesmen of the Liberal school to re-establish caste in Ceylon. It is said that a brochure on caste, as it existed amongst the Sinhalese was got up under well known local auspices, printed in England and distributed amongst influential members of the Civil Service. But the absurd part of the story is that Sir Arthur Gordon regards it in the light of the Englishman's Bible, an authority beyond question like Dod or Debratte. According to this authority appointments as well as preferments, to honorary rank and title are to be confined to few families, the rest are to be discarded. The Clerical Examination Scheme

is to be done away with. Go on, Sir Arthur! go on in the same style, and we shall have cause to thank you as one of Ceylon's benefactors! Com"

Ceylon Observer 27th July 1885

In the Public Record Office, London we also note that a petition by the Salagama group had been presented.

Petition by E. M. Amerasekera of "Mendis Waluwa" Mutuwal - Salagama allegation against Sir Arthur Gordon Governor - that he showed preferential treatment to the Goiyas in general and Dias family in particular. The petition itself is not attached to this dispatch. The Governor's minute is interesting - "Goiyas being the largest group larger than all the others should be treated favourably". This statement alone shows that the petitioners' allegation was correct. The petition also seems to have had references to personal relations of the Governor and Maha Mudaliyar Dias. This may account for this petition not being attached to the record.

C. O. 54/83 Dispatch No. 312 3rd August 1889

Petition presented in House of Commons after much delay due to procedure on 21. 2. 1890. Dispatch No. 376 is sequel to 312.

In 1894 the Government published a "Glossary of Native Names" which caused much indignation among the castes in Ceylon. The Moratuwa Association, in reality the Kaurawa Association of Moratuwa, protested to Government that meanings of caste terms in its Glossary were incorrect and derogatory. In response to the protest, the Colonial Secretary despatched the following letter:—

No. 10905

Colonial Secretary's Office
Colombo, 14th September 1900

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated the 22nd July last, I am directed by the Governor to inform you that the glossary of native, foreign, and anglicized words, published by Government in 1894, will be revised with a view of eliminating therefrom terms calculated to give offence.

2. I am also to inform you that His Excellency has caused a circular to be issued to Heads of Departments, instructing them to abstain and cause their subordinates, including their native subordinates, to abstain from using any, but the vernacular term when indicating a caste.

I am Sir, Your, obedient Servant

The Honorary Secretary Sgd: A. G. Clayton
Moratuwa Association for Colonial Secretary

Ceylon Government Circulars

No. 150 - September 21, 1900.
(To Heads of Departments)
English equivalents for Caste Names.

It has been brought to the notice of His Excellency the Governor that the feelings of certain classes of the community are sometimes wounded by the use of English equivalents for their caste names, which convey a derogatory and often incorrect meaning and I am to instruct you, with a view to obviate such ground for offence in future, to abstain and cause your subordinates, to abstain from using any but the vernacular term to indicate a caste.

I am to add that the "Glossary of Native Names" published by the Government in 1894, which contains several inaccurate translations of caste names, will be duly revised.

Sgd: W. T. Taylor
Acting Colonial Secretary

It is common knowledge that the term "fisher" was coined by the European rulers in their ignorance and inability to pronounce the correct ethnic name Kaurawa or Karawa. They simply fixed the caste group as fisher as a matter of course due to the manipulation of the goi officials whom they believed not

having studied the origins of the Caste System, from ancient times and accepted by all scholars, viz.: Raja, Bamunu, Velandu and Govi. The origin of the Kaurawas (in modern Sinhala Karawa) is not mythical or taken from distorted sources. The Sanskrit equivalent of the Fourfold Aryan System reads thus, Kshatriya, Brahmina, Vaisya and Sudra.

The gross ignorance or the unjust misinterpretation by interested parties who mislead foreign students is exemplified by this tabulation.¹

Caste Name	Other designation		Traditional Occupation
	Aryan	Dravidian	
Vellalar ^a	Sudra	Marutan	Landowner
Koviar ^a	Idaiyar, Mullai		Herder, Domestic servant
Pallar ^c			Agricultural Labourer
Nallayar ^c			Agricultural Labourer Fishing Labourer, Toddy Tapper
Savia Chetty ^a	Vaisya		Merchant
Kaikular ^b	Vaisya Cenkuntar, Mutaliyar		Silk Weaver
Karaiyar ^b	Kshatriya	Neytal	Traders, Fishermen Landowner

We leave it to the intelligence of the reader to assess the way in which foreign writers have been guided by the wrong type of persons on so delicate a subject as Caste. The "scholar" who produced this grand table has been misled in his grouping of the castes. It is patently clear that he is ignorant of the classification. Vellalar and Koviar who are classed Sudras are reckoned as "high caste; Saiva Chetty is a "high caste".

1. David Kenneth - "Spatial Organization and Normative Schemes in Jaffna, Northern Sir Lanka" - Modern Ceylon Studies Vol. 4 p 36

Notes (a) Uyimha cati -- high caste
(b) Nalla cati -- good caste
(c) Korenja cati -- low caste

and Kaikular is a "good caste" but these are Vaisyas, whilst the only group of Kshatriyas, the Karaiyar is a "good caste". Again it is common knowledge that Kovia, Pallar, Nallavars are considered "depressed classes", but according to our "scholar" one is "high" and the other is "low".

It is accepted that the Kovia functioned as a household servant, but this is the first instance that he has been described as "high caste". For slaves owned by Kshatriyas (Karawas) refer to M. D. Raghavan for a photograph of certificate of one such registration. ²

The Agriculturists occupied a lower status even in Pre-Vijayan Society of Sri Lanka as pointed out by Mohotti Mudaliyar of Galle in his classification of the Naga Society which he describes as follows:—

"The Upper Class consisted of the (1) Royal Family and connections (2) the Priesthood (3) the Situs or miliners and merchants, (4) Ministers of State and warriors. The lower class consisted of (1) Agriculturist (2) Traders (3) Mechanics (4) Labourers and others"³ From this classification it may be surmised that the lower class is an equivalent for the fourth group (Sudra) in the Aryan Caste System. In this case the third and fourth of the Upper Class together among the Nagas would correspond to Vaisyas.

F. B. Jagath Wijayanayaka

2. Raghavan Dr. M. D. - Karawas of Ceylon Society and Culture, 1961 Plate VI

3. Gooneratne Mohotti Mudaliyar, F.E. - Ceylon Independent 11th June 1919.

KURUKSHETRA

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M. D. Raghavan

The Karawa of Ceylon analysed by world scholars

The Varnakula Addittiya Arasanilayitta Clan.

Few copies of these two volumes are still available at the Bookshops and the Managing Editor