

## RIGHT

Whenever you are right  
Don't get into a fright;  
For right is always RIGHT.  
Crime always is a crime  
Although hidden by slime;  
But Time will dissolve slime  
And expose sordid CRIME.

P. V. D. F.

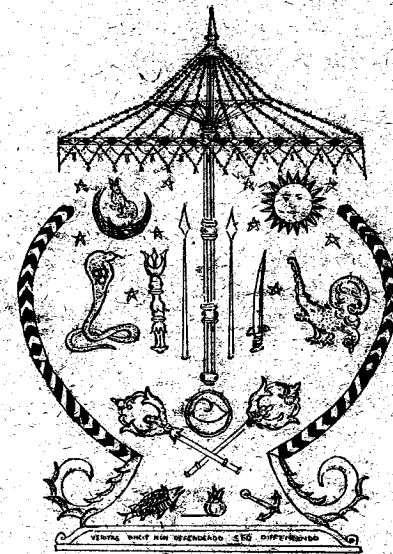
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# THE KARAVE FLAG

by  
Lionel de Fonseka

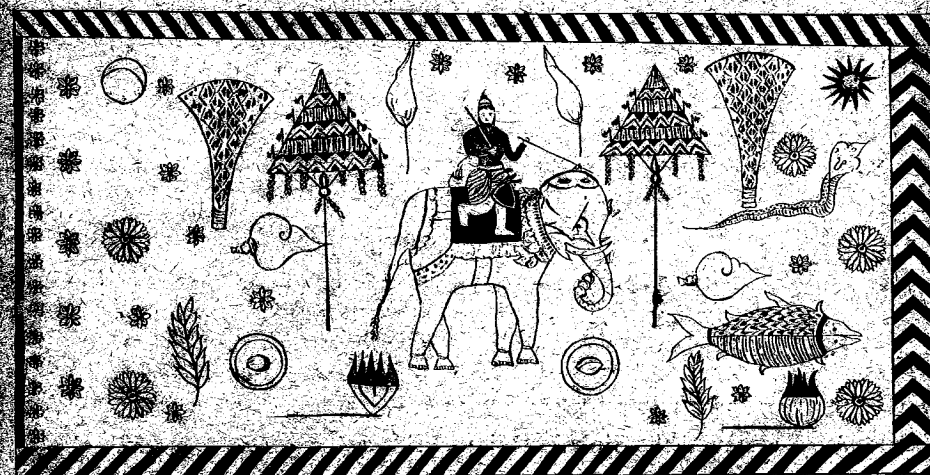
THE Karave Flag is a document well worthy of antiquarian attention. Its provenance has already been indicated by Mr. E. W. Perera in his monograph on *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*.

The flag holds within its borders a unique collection of antique emblems, many of which were highly expressive not only to the Sinhalese but to all the civilized peoples of the ancient world. Some of these symbols are now obsolete, while a few have remained current to our day. The following is an essay to trace the import of each of the symbols on the Karave flag, and to render their collective significance as the emblems of the *Karava Vanso*.

## (1) The Sun, Moon and Stars

The Rajput clans of India adopted the emblems of the sun and the moon, according to their descent from the Solar or Lunar race. The sun and moon were in a special manner the emblems of the Royal house in Ceylon indicating its Kshatriya descent from the Solar and Lunar races. The Ivory Throne in the Brazen Palace at Anuradhapura was adorned with the sun in gold, the moon in silver, and the stars in pearls. The facade of the Old Palace at Kandy was adorned with the same emblems in plaster relief. The sun and moon as emblems of the Royal house of Ceylon figure almost invariably on royal inscriptions and grants. These emblems were not depicted on grants, as is sometimes supposed, as "symbols of perpetuity" - the phrase so common in grants "as long as the sun and moon endure," being derived from the royal emblems, not the emblems from the phrase.

The sun-and-moon flag (*ira-handa kodiya*) has long been specially associated with the Kuarava Vanso. According to one tradition, the *Ira-handa kodiya*, the *Makara kodiya* and the *Ravana kodiya* were presented by the king to certain Karave chieftains who defeated a body of Mukkuvars on the coast of Puttalam.



A facsimile of the Karava Flag the original of which was photographed and reproduced in "The Karava of Ceylon: Society and Culture" by Dr. M. D. Raghavan in 1961. The Flag is in the possession of Mr. Kanapathi Pillai Kadirkamar Tambi, the Kurukulathar of Manampitiya is nearly 500 years old. The Kurukulathars of this outpost are the descendants of the Negombo Kaurawas who fled during the Dutch persecution. They are still Hindus by religion and agriculturists by occupation.

"In Parakrama Bahu Maha Raja," says an old Sinhalese, "was reigning at Cotta, a hostile people of the name of ara landed in Ceylon and got possession of Puttalam. T Parakrama Bahu wrote to the three towns Kanchi-pura, Kaanam and Kilikare, and getting down 7,740 men defeated ukkara and snatched the fort of Puttalam from their hane names of those who led this army were Vaccha-nattu - d'Kurukula - nattu - dhevarir, Manikka-Thalaven, Adhr - alappan, Warnesuriya adappan, Kurukulasuriya mudali, ilaitte Mudali, etc." (See letter by Mudaliyar P. E. G., in the "Ceylon Independent," 11th April, 1921).

Then the same occasion granted them certain villages and s, including Maha-vidiya, and Velle-vidiya in Negombo.

Then moon flag was also the flag of the Four Korales. According to tradition, "when the god-king Rama proceeded Devundata to Alutnuwara in great state, with a four-fold ke unto a festival of the gods, the flag emblazoned with the moon was borne in front. Since then the Four Korales of rank."

Then it is intelligent, but hardly goes far enough. According to Paul Pieris, the people of the Four Korales "were of the most noble of all in Ceylon . . . Some of the families, instance the Kiravelli, were recognised as representing royal stock. The martial prowess of the men of the Korales was always recognized, and their *maha-kodiya*, crested with the sun and moon, was allotted the place of the van of the army." (*Portuguese Era* 1.316).

We are to suspect from this that the sun and moon emblems of the Four Korales were primarily associated with the nobility of the inhabitants, and, if we turn to the *Kadaim* suspicion will be confirmed. There we find that there district in Ceylon known as the Kuru-rata,

conterminous more or less with the region of the Four Korales, and the inhabitants of the Kuru-rata in Ceylon were believed to have come from the Kuru-rata (Delhi district) in India.

According to the Kadaim-pot (*see Bell, Kegalla Report* p 2) "in ancient time . . . there came to this island from the Kuru-rata a queen, a royal prince, a rich nobleman and a learned prime minister with their retinue, and by order of King Rama dwelt in that place, called on that account Kuru-rata. In the year of our great Lord Gautama Buddha, Gaja Bahur who came from Kuru-rata settled people in that district, calling it Parana-Kururata . . ."

Paranakuru is one of the divisions of the Four Korales, and, according to Dr. Pieris, Siyane Korale was also in former times a division of the Four Korales. It is, to say the least, a remarkable coincidence that the Royal family, the men of the Four Korales, and the Kaurava Vars, all of whom, and who alone, authentically used the *Ira-handa Kodiya*, should be reputed to be of Kshatriya descent.

Kuru-rata is the district in India, whence the Kaurava Vause claims its ultimate origin and, if we turn to the list of Karave chieftains who rescued the fort of Puttalam, the names of some are sufficiently indicative of their origin. Kuru-kula-nattu-dhevarir is one chief; Vaccha-nattu-dhevarir is another. Now Vaccha was a town in N. India, called also Kausambi, the capital of Nemi-Sakkaram, King of Hastinapura, who transferred his capital to Vaccha, Vaccha-nattu-thevagay is still the name borne by certain Karave families of Siyane Korale, where some of the oldest Karave families are resident.

If we turn to those flags where the sun and moon occur in conjunction with other emblems, in Mr. E. W. Perera's exhaustive monograph on flags, we find that the Sun and Moon figure on the banners of the kings Dutu-gemunu and Mahasena; on the flags of certain ancient temples of royal foundation, such as Kataragama, on the flags of certain *dissavants* which were at one time ruled by members of the royal family, such as the Seven Korales (ruled by the Prince Vidiya Bandara), and Uva; which in Portuguese times at any rate, was always a royal principality, the only Prince of Uva who was not a member of the reigning

house being Antonio Barretto, or Kuruvita-Rala who was apparently of the Kaurava Vansé, De Queiroz describing him as a *pescador* or fisher.

The sun and moon seem therefore to have been the most jealously guarded emblems in ancient Ceylon, those privileged apparently on the ground of descent rather than merit.

## (2) The Pearl Umbrella

From time immemorial the umbrella has been among Oriental peoples a symbol of dominion. What is probably the earliest representation of the Umbrella in Ceylon is described by Neville in the *Taprobanean* (Dec. 1885). He there describes a stone panel discovered by him among the ruins of a very ancient city, (which he ascribes to the primitive era of pile dwellings), in the district of Puttalam. The panel in question represents a five-headed Naga seated beneath an umbrella, and two hands on either side holding a *chamara*.

Indian monarchs often styled themselves, "Brother of the Sun and Moon, and Lord of the Umbrella."

It is probable that in ancient times the umbrella was primarily thought of as a parasol rather a parapluie. The umbrella figures as an emblem of dominion on Assyrian reliefs and Egyptian wall-paintings. On a relief from Nineveh in the British Museum a conquering monarch sits under the parasol and receives the homage of the vanquished. On another the King sits under a parasol and directs a siege. An Etruscan sepulchre, discovered at Chiusi, depicts a lady witnessing the palaestric games, seated beneath an umbrella, indicative of her rank and dignity." (Dennis. *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*).

The parasol (*skidion*) often figures on Greek vases, generally in the hands of an attendant. It was used, as a token of respect, in religious processions at Athens, the daughters of the *metoics* (or resident aliens) having to hold parasols over the heads of the *Kanephoroi*, the Athenian maidens who carried the baskets of sacted bread. The use of the parasol has survived to this day in the ceremonial processions of the Catholic Church.

Ovid in the *Ars Amatoria*, advises the Roman gallant to be attentive with the parasol, and it is possible that Roman *clientes* flattered their patrons with the parasol, on their way to the Forum. Whoever has seen a village-litigant in Ceylon, leading a train of *clientes*, and deferentially holding the umbrella over the head of an outstation proctor on his way from office to Court-house, will guess that the Sinhalese custom must have had a Roman analogy.

The parasol figures on the paintings at Ajanta (200 B.C.) as an emblem of royalty. It is there represented as decked with streamers and garlands of flowers, from which doubtless were derived the garlands of pearls on the "pearl umbrella," as used in Ceylon. The parasol figures also on the carvings of the stupa of Bharut, on the panels of the East gateway at Sanchi, and on the ancient Buddhist carvings of Java.

An Indian inscription of the 12th century speaks of the king's "white parasol raised on high, like a matchless second moon, overspreading the whole world." During the reign of Rajadhiraja I Cholan (1018-1053 A.D.) the Pandians combining with the Sinhalese and the Cherans, tried to throw off the Cholan yoke, but were defeated. The victor's inscription (*S. Ind. Inscriptions, III, 56*) states that he "drove down to the river Mulaiyar Sundara Pandya of great and undying fame, who lost in the stress of battle his royal white parasol, his fly-whisk of white yak's hair, and his throne." In 1844 when the Amir Abd-el-Cader was worsted by the French arms in Algeria, the loss of his parasol was the token of his defeat.

The pearl umbrella has been one of the most conspicuous emblems of royalty in Ceylon. "The white umbrella of dominion, studded with jewels and fringed with pearls, was borne aloft on a silver pole surmounting the throne," (see the *Mahavamsa*, and E. W. Perera *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*.) In preparation for the arrival of the Relics, Mahinda tells Devanampiyatissa, "Go thou in the evening, mounted on thy state-elephant, bearing the white parasol" (*Mahavamsa*). Just before the enshrining of the Relics, Dutthagamini is seen standing, "holding a golden casket under the white parasol" (*Mahavamsa*).

"The parasol was the emblem most directly associated in the popular mind with duly constituted authority and kingly

rank ... To bring the country 'under one parasol,' signified consolidating the government under one sovereignty." (John M. Seneveratne: *Royalty in Ancient Ceylon*).

According to Ehelapola, the pearl umbrella was in his time an emblem of royalty. It is still used by members of the Kaurava Vansha on ceremonial occasions.

It is probable that the use of pearls on the royal umbrella became *de rigueur* in Ceylon, following the Pandyan precedent. The lost city of *Korkai*, once the capital of the Pandyan kings, was the centre of the pearl fishery, and is spoken of as a noted pearl emporium by Ptolemy. The prestige of the Pandyan kings was based on pearls, as that of the Sinhalese kings was based on gems. The kings of Madura until comparatively recent times styled themselves "Chiefs of Korkai."

### (3) The Chamara

The *chamara* or ceremonial fly-whisk is a royal symbol of great antiquity. A relief of Assur-bani-pal and his queen in the British Museum depicts attendants holding *chamara*. The ancient panel depicting a five-headed Naga discovered by Neville contains this emblem.

In India, the royal *chamara* were made of the white hair of the Tibetan *yak*, (see the Cholan inscription referred to above); and Barbosa (1514) describes the whisks used by the king of Ceylon as made of the "white hair of animals." Vimala Dharma I, offered a gilt-handled whisk as a royal emblem to Pinhao. A specimen of an ivory handled whisk may be seen among the ivory exhibits at the Colombo Museum. At the enshrining of the Relics, Samtusita is said to have held "the yak-tail whisk." (*Mahavamsa*).

The *chamara* appears in the hands of the "daughters of the gods" attending on the higher gods, at Sanchi. It appears also on the paintings at Ajanta. Here, in addition to its use as a whisk, three *chamaras* at the end of a spear, figure as a special symbol, among the paraphernalia of war. This usage appears to have survived in the Turkish army till the 18th century. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in one of her letters describing the departure of a military expedition from Constantinople, speaks of the "pashas of three tails," and of these emblems being displayed in front of their tents as "ensigns of their power."

### (4) The Chanks

The chank or conch-shell was in its origin a martial emblem. As a religious symbol it was particularly associated with Vishnu, who is declared to have used it in war. Its use as a trumpet in war is constantly spoken of in the *Mahabharata*. Chanks as trumpets are depicted in a representation of a royal procession at Buddh-gaya on the occasion of Mahinda's mission with a branch of the bo-tree to Ceylon, carved on the East gateway at Sanchi. Father Barradas, a Jesuit missionary, mentions the use of chanks as trumpets at a Karave wedding procession at Moratuwa in 1613.

As an emblem of royalty, the chank figured on the royal shield, which was white, and bore this device, and was called the *sak paliha* (conch shield). "Not long after the king of the hill country raised a rebellion in the Hatara Kerale, Dharma Prakrama Bahu (1505-1527) having heard of this, committed the army to his younger brother ..... and sent him to seize the hill country ... The king of the hill country came to meet him, and in token of homage sent the pearl umbrella, the conch shield and chain of honour" (C. B. R. A. S. Journal xx, p. 187).

The chank was one of the emblems which adorned the canopy over the Ivory Throne at the Brazen Palace. It figures with the sun and moon and the wheel of empire, on grants made by Sinhalese Kings. It is mentioned as an emblem of royalty in Vimala Dharma's letter to Pinhao offering him a kingdom.

"Dom Joao of Candia to Simao Pinhao, King of the kingdoms below .....

"Your honour will be king of the territories below, of which Raju was the lord ..... I for my part make this promise and there is no uncertainty as to my word ..... For your honour, a collar of Raju, two bracelets for each arm, all of precious stones, the honour of anklets for the feet, one pitcher and basin of gold, with a gilt palanquin; two white parasols, two white banners, a white shield, a chank, and *chamara*, all gilt." (Pieris, *Port. Era I*, 357).

### (5) and (6). The Sword and Trident

"The man represented on the flag as seated on an elephant is probably the chief of the tribe... The elephant has been associated with the caste on tombstones of the seventeenth century." (E. W. Perera *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*.)

The chief bears in his right hand a sword, and in his left hand a trident. These again were emblems of royalty.

Barbosa (1514) describing a progress of the Sinhalese King, says: "when the king goes out of his palace, all his gentlemen are summoned who are in waiting. And one Brahman carries a sword and shield, and another a long sword in his right hand, and in his left hand a weapon which is like a *flour ae lis* (i.e. a trident). And on each side go two men with two fans, very long and round, and two others with two fans made of white tails of animals which are like horses."

The trident appears also on coins and royal inscriptions.

### (7). The Torches

The *dawalapandam* or daylight torches are still used by the Karave people on ceremonial occasions. Barradas observed the custom ("candles lighted in the day-time"), at a Karave wedding procession in 1613.

Barbosa speaks of the torches as part of the royal insignia, though he appears to have been under the impression that they were used only at night, having probably witnessed a royal progress at night-time: "And if the king goes by night, they carry four large chandeliers of iron, full of oil with many lighted wicks."

A specially interesting feature in the torches depicted on the Karave flag is the fact that these are chandeliers with many lighted wicks, and each chandelier carries five distinct lights. Neville (*Tabroonian*, April 1887) makes some interesting observations on these torches with the five lights, which he saw used at a firepassing ceremony in honour of Draupadi and the five Pandavas. The use of the caste-flag appears to have been an essential part of the ceremony, and at Chilaw, where the rite was practised in its purest form, Neville observed that the caste-flag was the *Makara* "representing the Varna-Kula."

This rite in honour of the five Pandavas was specially practised on the Coromandel Coast between Negapatam and Kurnool, (*Indian Antiquary* 1873) presumably by a people who had special traditional reasons for commemorating these heroes of the Mahabharata. Contingents of Karave soldiers reached Ceylon at different times from the Coromandel Coast, for instance, in the time of Parakrama Bahu VI, from Kanchipura, Kaveri-pattanam, and Kilikare, and there is little doubt that the ritual of the five Pandavas was introduced into Ceylon by them, the same clan-names, Varnakula, Kurukula, etc. occurring to this day among Karave people in Ceylon and on the Coromandel Coast, at Negapatam and elsewhere, (Thurston, *Races of South India*.)

With the custom of the five-wicked torch commemorating the five Pandavs, it seems pertinent to compare the Karave custom, which was remarked by the Portuguese Jesuits at Chilaw in 1606, of having five *Patawatams* or chiefs to rule their communities (*Ceylon Antiquary*, July, 1916).

The torch (*sula*) occurs, often in conjunction with the fish, on a series of royal inscriptions in the Tissamaharama district.

The use of the ceremonial torches was sometimes conceded by the king (e.g. on the Uggalboda *sannas* of the 15th century) to privileged individuals as a mark of high distinction.

### (8) The Fans (*Alawattam*)

The fan as an emblem of honour has a respectable antiquity. It occurs, with the whisk, on the relief of Assurbanipal and his queen referred to above. An Etruscan sarcophagus, now in a museum at Rome, holds a relief depicting a matron, with attendants on either side, one of whom holds a *hydria* on her head and a *cantharus* in her hand, another with a large fan, "exactly like the Indian fans of the present day." (Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*.)

This Etruscan use of the pitcher, beaker, and fan, calls to mind the offer of a pitcher and beaker of gold as royal emblems by a Sinhalese King, and the use of the pitcher and the fan among the emblems on the canopy over the Ivory Throne at the Brazen Palace.

A Gandhara relief, in the Lahore Museum, represents the Buddha attended by a *Vajrapani* holding a fan.

Barbosa's mention of the fans among the insignia of the king of Ceylon in 1514 has already been referred to. Pridham describes their use by the First Adigar at Kandy, the talipots, according to him being "large, triangular fans, ornamented with talc."

The use of the talipots and lion flag were conceded by the king to a chief in the Uggalboda sannas, together with the use of the ceremonial torches.

### (9) The Shields

The shields depicted on the Karave flag are white, and each bears a device in the centre. The "white discs" used at the Karave wedding at Moratuwa in 1613, were either shields (shields in ancient Ceylon being always circular), or they were affixed to a pole and borne as maces, as represented on the Ajanta paintings. Barradeos' account of the wedding is as follows:—

"The wedded pair come walking on white cloths, with which the ground is successively carpeted, and are covered above with others of the same kind, which the nearest relatives hold in their extended hands after the fashion of a canopy. The symbols that they carry are white discs, and candles lighted in the daytime, 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 coasts of Ceylon, and none but they or those to whom they give leave can use them."

Apparently the wedding described here was one of the poorer class of Karave people, the white cloth held as a canopy taking the place of the pearl umbrella.

Barrados goes on to observe, "what causes wonder in this and in other people of this kind, is, that although so wretched, miserable and poor, they have so many points of honour, that they would rather die than go contrary to it."

The royal shield appears to have resembled the Karave shield: "The royal shield was white, with the device of a conch-shell." (E. W. Perera. *Sinhalese Banners and Standards*.)

De Barros speaks of the Crown Prince of Jaffna being conspicuous on a certain occasion by the white shield which he bore. (C. B. R. A. S. Journal Vol. XX.)

A Portuguese general had with him "as a badge of royalty" two Mudaliyars with white shields (C. B. R. A. S. Journal XI. 574). The use of the white cloths, white canopy, and white shields at the Karave wedding described above by Barrados is significant. "White was the royal colour. Its use was limited by sumptuary law to particular privileged individuals and classes." (E. W. Perera: *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*.)

### (10) The Snake

The snake on the Karave flag has every appearance of being a full-blooded Cobra. Mr. E. W. Perera, (*Sinhalese Banners and Standard*), describes the snake as *diya-naya* or water-snake.

A snake and a fish were included among the twenty-one emblems of an Indian King (*Gazetteer of India, Madura District*).

Some authorities omit the snake, and include two river fishes among the emblems of an Indian King. (See *the Diet. of European Mission. Pondicherry*.)

Mr. E. W. Perera has apparently, either from a slight confusion of ideas or a strong sense of economic justice, transferred the river-attribute of one of the fishes to the snake.

### (11) The Fish

The fish was one of the emblems of royalty in India. Among the Hindus, the fish was regarded as a sacred animal. "One of the principal articles of the Hindu faith is that relating to the ten avatars or incarnations of Vishnu. The first and ear-



liest is called the *Matsya-avatar*, that is the incarnation of the god in the form of a fish" (Dubois: *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*.)

"The *Matsya-Purana* opens with an account of the *matsya* or fish... and deals with the creation, the royal dynasties, and the duties of the different orders." (*Dust Civilization in Ancient India*.)

A people called the Matsyas figure prominently in the wars of the *Mahabharata*, and the reigning family of Pandya claimed to be a branch of the *Matsya-vansa*: hence the origin of fish as the special emblem of the Pandyan Kings.

The Dravidian word for fish is *Min*. The Pandyan Kings of Madura took the title of *Minavan* or "He of the Fish or Fisher". The Pandyan tutelary goddess was *Minakshi*, the fish-eyed goddess (of the Roman goddess of wisdom, *Minerva*, and the Etruscan *Minerva*), to whom a temple was built in Ceylon by Vijaya when he married a Pandyan princess. A coin of Devanampiyatissa, found at Tissamaharama, bears the fish, torch and trident. The fish (often in conjunction with the torch) occurs as royal emblem on a series of rock inscriptions in Ceylon, described and deciphered at length by Neville in the *Taprobanian*, and by Parker in *Ancient Ceylon*. On one of these inscriptions, discovered at Lower Bintenne, the fish appears to be particularly complete, being clearly drawn, according to Neville, with "pectoral fin, tail, eye and gill."

"The use of the royal arms," observes Neville, referring to the fish and torch emblems, "is unknown to me to occur anywhere except in grants of the paramount reigning princes" (*Taprobanian*, June 1886).

The famous Stone Lion, from Polonnaruwa, now in the Colombo Museum, which formed part of the Lion Throne at Polonnaruwa, bears an inscription stating that the throne was built for Nissanka Malla, Lankeswara or Overlord of Ceylon, and terminating with the figure of a fish, in token of paramount royalty.

## (12) The Sun-Flowers

"The sun-flower was the badge of the royal house." (E. W. Perera, *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*). The royal line belonged to the *Suriyavansa* "that royal race of the caste of the sun... none could inherit the empire of Ceilao except those that came directly from that caste. Of this caste came directly the prince whom the king of Cotta married to his daughter, though he was poor and without a heritage" (De Couto).

*Surya* (sun) occurs so frequently as a suffix in family names of members of the Kaurava Vanshe, that this suffix is at the present day practically an indication of caste. Karave family names ending in *Suriya* range over the alphabet from *Abasuriya* to *Wickramasuriya*.

## (13) The Sprigs

The significance of the leafed sprig on the Karave flag is a matter for conjecture. I suggest that the sprig stands for the wreath of margosa which Pandyan warriors wore round their heads when they went to war (*Gazetteer of India: Madura District*) or more probably, the allusion is to the tradition preserved in the *Janavansa*, that Karave soldiers accompanied Mahinda and Sanghamitta on their mission to Ceylon with a branch of the bo-tree at Buddh-gaya.

## (14) The Lotus

The emblems on the flag appear on a ground *same* with the lotus. "The lotus was the badge of the nation." (E. W. Perera: *Ancient Sinhalese Heraldry*). The lotus is without doubt the most frequent motif in Eastern decorative art. It appears unceasingly in the art of Egypt, Assyria and India, and was adopted also by the decorative artists of Etruria and Greece. In Egyptian art it was associated with the idea of immortality, in the Buddhist art of India with the idea of miraculous birth. It has been so highly and so variously charged with significance, and so frequently used, that in time it degenerated into cant, became devoid of symbolic meaning altogether, and is employed most often purely for decorative effect.

\* \* \* \* \*

There remains to be considered the collective significance of the insignia of the Kaurava Vansha in the light of the history of this people in India and in Ceylon. One of the oldest traditions is recorded in a version of the *Janavansa* (see the *Tabroanlan*, April 1886).

"After time had thus passed in the 207th year after our Buddha had gone to Nirwana, at the time when Devanipiyatissa Narendraya was reigning over Lakdiva, Dharmasoka Narapati of Dambadiva sending to Sri Lankadivya together with the victorious Maha Bodhi and the prince and princess Mahinda and Sanghamitta, archers employed in bow-craft and people accustomed to fight with swords, javelins, pikes, shields and the like, who said, 'the pearl umbrellas, white canopies and chhatras 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. Thus because princes who attained the kingship from time to time belonged to this race and attained it, Bhuvanekha Bahu on account of the dangers from foreign enemies, bringing to the 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."

This statement in the *Janavansa* explains quite coherently the possession and use of the royal emblems by the Kaurava Vansha, confirmed as that statement is by the assertion of Barrados in 1613 that these were royal symbols "which the former kings conceded to this race of people, that, being strangers, they should inhabit the coast of Ceilao." Pridham represents the "five doers of service" as attached to the Kaurava Vansha, confirming the ancient tradition in this particular.

The *Janavansa* statement that "princes who attained the kingship from time to time belonged to this race and attained it" implies that the Karave people are Kshatriyas, and the concession of the royal symbols, by the former kings, spoken of by Barrados implies, in my opinion, not so much a bestowal of the symbols, as permission, in view of the strict local sumptuary laws, to use in Ceylon symbols to which Karave warriors were already entitled, identical emblems being used by kindred people in India.

I have already stated my reasons for believing that the use of the sun and moon emblems was the privilege of descent rather than the reward of merit. Neville speaks of the *Makara* as the special emblem of the Varnakula which, like the Kurukula, is merely a clan of the Kaurava Vansha, in India as in Ceylon. The probability therefore is that the *Makara* flag, too, which tradition asserts was bestowed with the sun and moon flag by the king on the tribe, was really brought over by the clan to whom it belonged.

Members of the Varnakula, and the Kurkula (a *Varnakula thungen* and a *Kurukula Nath*) appear to have occupied the throne of Madura as late as the 12th century A.D. (Taylor, *Indian Hist. Mss.* I, 201). It would seem that as late as the 17th century Karave chieftains ruled semi-independent principalities in South India (see Hunter, *History of Indian Peoples*, for the independence of the 8 Indian chiefs or nayiks of the 16th century) and some of the Karave chiefs in South India were powerful enough even in the 17th century for the kings of Ceylon to value their assistance in war.

In 1613 when the "pugnacious Carias" (Pieris, *Port. Era*) of Ceylon were harassing Chankili, King of Jaffna, the king applied for assistance to the Naique of Tanjore, who sent to his assistance one of the pugnacious Carias of India, Varna Kulatta (i. e. Varnakula Aditta), "the chief of the Carias, the most warlike race in the Naique's dominions." (De Quieroz). Two years later the same chief reappeared off the coast of Jaffna, again in a pugnacious mood, Paria Y. Sousa referring to him as the "Chem Naique, that king of the Carias who had previously come to Chankili's assistance."

In 1656 while another Varnakula, Aditta, Manoel d'Andarado, one of the pugnacious Carias of Ceylon, (whose full name was Varnakula Aditta Arsa Nilatte - a name borne also by the the Lowes, and the Panels, Karave families of Chulaw), was guarding the pass at Kalutara with his lascareens, for the Dutch against the King's troops, the King Rajasingha, on his side made overtures for assistance to one of the pugnacious Carias of India - the Patangatin of Coquille (Baldaeus). Two years later the same Manuel D'Andarado "signalized himself before Jaffnapatam" (Baldaeus). These incidents of the 17th century symbolize in

epitome the history of the Karave people in previous centuries, from the legendary days of the despatch by a Cholan King of an expedition "under a Kurukula captain" to obtain snake-gems from Ceylon for Kanakai, the bride of Kovalan, to the most recent times. From the 6th to 8th century, when, according to the historian Dharma Kirtti, Ceylon was in the throes of civil war, three rival houses contending for the throne, each importing numbers of soldiers from S. India, Kurukula and Varnakula captains and men must have been in great demand.

By the end of the 8th century, Ceylon was full of these "Demittos" demanding the highest offices in the state and apparently getting them, the Sinhalese being too weak to resist. In the 12th century it was a chief named Aditta, (Bell: *Kegalla Report*, p. 74), a Tamil Commander of high rank in the army, who led a great naval expedition to Burmah, when the coast of Ceylon "was like one great workshop, busied with the constant building of ships". There can be little doubt that it was Karave men who manned this expedition, the Sinhalese, though an island race, being strangely averse to sea-faring.

Two centuries later an expedition led by Karave chieftains from the Coromandel coast rescued the fort of Puttalam for the Sinhalese King. Two centuries later, on the Sinhalese King's conversion to Christianity, he appears to have relied on Karave soldiers for the security of his throne. The *pescadores* or "fishermen" are very prominent in the stirring times of the Portuguese, fighting on one side or other, or on both by turns. One *pescador* by his "skill in war" on the royal side rose to be Prince of Uva and a regent of the kingdom. (See Baldaeus for the text of the royal patent of 1613 appointing Kuruvita-rala, Prince of Uva, a Regent, the King on his death-bed ordering all the estates of the realm to take the oath of the allegiance to the two Regents till the Crown Prince came of age and "to show them the same respect as to our own person").

A number of Karave *ge* names which have come down from these times indicate their owners' military occupation at this period, such as *Totahewage*, *Guardiahewage*, *Guardiawasan*, *Marakkalahewage*, *Hewakodikarage*, etc.

In Dutch times, the Karave people stubbornly remaining Catholic, were not in favour, and their honours and privileges were curtailed. But Dutch governors still instructed their lieutenants that "the Carias ... being the most courageous, are to be employed for all purposes of war," and some descendants of the earlier chieftains, such as the Anderados, the Fonsekas, and the Rowels, continued to remain in power and prominence.

In British times there has been no fighting in Ceylon, but the Karave people continues to give evidence of possessing what Hunter describes as "the inexhaustible vitality of the military races of India."

It will be noticed that most of the Portuguese writers (D: Quirroz, Barraios, etc.) and some Sinhalese writers, speak of the Karave people as a race. And it will be evident that the Kaurava Vase, strictly speaking, is not so much a caste as a tribe, consisting, as we have seen, of a number of clans. Dr Paul Pieris has drawn attention to one of the tribal characteristics of the Karave people - its tendency, even at the present day, "to act as a corporate whole." My view of the Karave flag is that it is a tribal flag, its royal emblems indicating the Kshatriya origin of the tribe. But if, as Mr. E. W. Perera seems to suggest, the flag is indicative of occupation on a caste basis, the only occupation indicated by the emblems on this flag is the occupation of the Kshatriyas or Warriors.



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## THE KURUKULAMS OF SRI LANKA

From ancient times Ceylon or Tamraparni otherwise known as Sinhala or Ila as it is called in ancient Tamil or Sinhalese Inscriptions has been an important Entrepôt. In a special way the northern portion of the Island, specially, Matota or Mantotam as the Tamils call it, Nagadipa or Nakadiva as Jaffna was then called and Karadipa or Karativu were constantly visited by many Indian and other seamen and in a special way by those of the Kurukula. In the North West of India Kauravas were great seamen. They built ships, plied them for trade with Babylon for example where they carried "Karpasa" or the Indian cotton cloth called in Babylonian language "Sipat Kuri" after them. This reminds one of the Kurunadu Patti which Jaffna ladits were fond of. They had ships for sale or hire, and the Pandava section of them from whom the Pandyas come, called on that account Kauriar, are described as those "who made India the leading maritime power in the Indian Ocean."<sup>1</sup> On the North East of India they were equally prominent. The famous Bhallika and Tapussa merchant guild seems to have been Kurus under another name. Bhallika philologically seems to be the same as a Kuru Prince of importance. They went all as Bhallika known to the ancients went all over India for trade in their caravans and Bhallika and Tapussa who were once privileged to receive a blessing and lock of hair from the newly enlightened Buddha. They crossed the Indian Ocean to the Swarna Buhumi or Burma and even to Ceylon where they landed in Trincomalee and left some of their Hair Relics as stated in ancient documents.<sup>2</sup> According to Megasthenes there was an elephant trade between Kalinga and Ceylon,<sup>3</sup> the Ceylon Elephant being considered more valuable for purposes of war than the Indian. The seamen then were Kurukula Folk as an ancient Inscription recently discovered at Anuradhapura

1. Hewitt, J. F. - Primitive Traditional History Vol. I, pp 32 & 367
2. Paranavitane S. - "Tiriyay Rock Inscription" Epigraphia Zeylanica Vol. IV, p. 151. & 312 ff
3. Nilakantha Sastri, K.A. - Foreign Notices of South India from Magasthenes to Ma Huan (1939) pp 86 & 89p.

seems to show. In this interesting Brahmi Inscription believed to be perhaps the most ancient of Ceylon, interesting information is given regarding some Tamil speaking Householdors of Anuradhapura.<sup>4</sup> The Inscription refers to the Assembly Hall built for the Tamil Householdors by the Ceylon Indian Samanas or Buddhist Monks. What is interesting is the fact that the names of the leaders given in short inscriptions are Arya in origin. "Kubira Sujata" and "Karava Navika" are two of them. Kubira seems to be Kuru-Bira or Kuruvira, that is to say Kuru Warrior. This occurs in the Mahabharata and also in one of the ancient Karava inscribed swords in the Colombo Museum, (Kaurawara Aditya Kuruvira). Karava Navika means Kaurava Sea Captain or Navigator. Kaurava becomes Karava in the same way that Gaurava (Honour) becomes Garava in Prakrit. It is this ancient Sinhalese Karava that became Karava in Mediaeval Times, as Kala (Black) becomes Kala and Karayar becomes Karayar among the Tamils. In Tamil, proper names ending in va becomes var as Kaurava becomes Kauriyar and Pandava, Pandiyar.

Kauravas have been expert elephant hunters down the ages. Their great King Udayana of Kausambi was especially so according to Indian Drama and their Tribesmen the Pori or Purus were the people who with their War-Elephants dared to withstand Alexander the Great. There were many Kaurava Princes in Kalinga who were also expert Elephant Hunters who came to Ceylon on more than one occasion. Such were the Mallas, Mallavas or Malalas who came to Ceylon in the 14th century, according to Hendath Herath Bandaravaliya.<sup>5</sup> These Princes came with their retinue of servants from Jambudippa in search of their relations the Alakesvaras. They were made Vanniya Princes and held important office under Government. One with a very suggestive name was Kuravasinghe Kumara

4. Paranavitane S. - "Tamil Householdors Terrace Anuradhapura" Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology Vol. XIII for year 1938, Leyden 1940, pp 13 - 14.
5. The Silumina Literary and Historical Supplement, "Hendath Herat Bandaravaliya  
20th February 1938 - p. 196  
27th February 1938 - p. 198  
13th March 1938 - p. 206  
24th April 1938 - p. 23

Vanni Bandara, thus showing that they were possibly Kurukula Princes. However that might be, Nissanka Malla and his brother Sahasa Malla used the Fish Emblem belonging to both branches of the Kurus.<sup>6</sup> Even Parakrama Bahu VI of Kotte according to Parakumba Sirita was fond of the Makara Flag, possibly because he had Kuru connections.

Parakrama Bahu II, grandson of Vijaya Malla, a very learned Prince as his full title shows, calls himself a descendant of King Pandu of the Lunar Race, which means that he was a Kurukula of the Pandava Branch.<sup>7</sup> Who was Parakrama Bahu the Great? Some think he is of Pandava descent, others that he was of the Pandiya line. In either case he was a Kaurava or Kauriar. In Ptolemy's Ancient Geography the only ethnic name that could be identified with a caste now living in Ceylon or South India is "Kareoi."<sup>8</sup> They had a Kingdom of their own worthy to be mentioned with the great Kingdoms of the South, Chera, Chola and Pandya. It seems to be coterminous with modern Tinnevely District. That was a region where born seamen were to be found in mediaeval and even recent times. It is interesting to note that Velyettthurai still carries on that tradition. The Greeks thought that the Karayar were important enough to be mentioned even in 140 A.D. other tribal names seem to have no place in Ptolemy's Geography. About the time of Caesar Augustus a King of Ceylon sent an Embassy to Rome under the leadership of a "Rachias", that is Raja. He tells the Romans that his father before him went over to China for trade.<sup>9</sup> This suggests that Raja's family was a family of navigators and merchants. Perhaps it is one of these ships that carried Fa-Hien to China from some place in Jaffna. At that time Kauravas were the great navigators and Raja was a title confined to certain warrior tribes, according to Kautilyas "Arthasastra" among whom are the Kurus. This helps to identify the "Rachias". Even in the 10th century there was in Ceylon a prince of theirs called Kurukulatta Rajan, the Commander of the Velaikker Forces of Vijayabahu I, professional

6. Nevill Hugh - Taprobanian June 1886.

7. Codrington H. W. - Short History of Ceylon. p. 76

8. Ibid - cf Ptolemy's Taprobane. Map. 1 p. 4

9. Pliny - Natural History, trs McCrindle pp. 50-51

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In the early days of the Kurus in Northern India there were migrations of them southwards as far as Ceylon,<sup>10</sup> from the Cliffs of the Caucasus to the utmost Isle Taprobane. Hericulus and their kinsmen the "Curus" have left indelible traces. According to him Koromandel is named after the Kuru settlements there. Thurston too mentions the fact in his Geography of Madras Presidency. The local Documents also support this statement. In the Kadampot or Sinhalese Topographical works (13th Century) there is a reference to Gaja Bahu coming from the original Kururatta, after pattini worship as mentioned in the Silappadikaram. There was a colony of Kurus who accompanied him from Kurunadu. They were settled in Alutkururatta, now called Alut Kuru Korale after these new Kurus from Koromandel. This further reminds one of the Jaffna tradition of Kurukula Captains coming to Ceylon in search of Naga Gems for Kanneki<sup>11</sup>. Referring to the army of Kurukula Folk of 1415 A.D. from Kanchipura, Kaveripattanam and Keelakarai in Koromandel, the Mukkara Hatana says that they came from Kurukula Desa. Kurumandel becomes Koromandel and that Chora, Chola or Solamandel. This seems to lead us to the possible derivation of Chola from Kuru (Sanskrit), to Kora

9. Pliny - Natural History, trs McCrindle pp. 50-51

10. Tod. Lt-Col James - Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society London 1831 Vol. III pp 157-158

11. Britto C. - Trs of. Yalpana-Vaipava-Malai (1879) "Yalpanachi Chariththum p. XXXII.

(Prakrit or Pali) to Chora, Chola or Sola (Tamil). Moreover according to Havell, Cholas like the Rajputs claimed descent from the Divine Heroes of the Mahabharata.<sup>12</sup> However that might be there is at least one South Indian Inscription which states that there was a Sola Kurukulatta Rajan. One of the Kings of Koromandel who was defeated by the forces of Parakrama Bahu VI was Kuru Udayan Malavayar or Malayar. This means that among the Malavas, Malayas or Mallas there were Kuru Princes. Alut Kuru Rata that is new Kuru country implies the existence of a Parana Kuru Rata or old Kuru Country in Ceylon. There is such a District in the Modern Four Korales. Kadaimpot describes the arrival of this Kuru colony in the hoary past, during the days of Rama, who were settled in that district by Rama's command. Ramayana states that Rama searched for Sita as far as the Kingdom of the Kurus and even to the North Kurus. Tamil Poets bring Rama down to the Kodi or Bridgehead of the Kauriars that is Rameswaram where under a Banian Tree he mustered his men and discussed plans of invasion of Lanka.<sup>13</sup> Even in the Mahabharata there is a reference to Kuru Princes sending messengers to Ceylon after the Great War. The Kuru Colonies of importance in Ceylon will not be complete without reference to Kurunegala which means the Rock of the Kuru Relations named after another Kuru Colony. Kurunegala Vistaraya states the name Kurunegala is derived from the fact of the settlement of the people of the Kuru Ratta who were known as Kuruvitainayo.<sup>14</sup>

There is a Sinhalese work called Janawansa (circa 1240 A.D.) which gives the story of the Sinhalese castes. Hugh Nevill who has read through hundreds of Sinhalese manuscripts states that there is a genuine passage referring to the Karavas in this work which is now suppressed from many manuscripts.

12. Havell E. B. - Short History of India from Earliest Times to the Present Day (1924) p-119
13. Aiyangar S. K. - Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (1923) p. 68
14. Modder F. - "Kurunegala Vistaraya with Notes on Kurunegala, Ancient and Modern" C.B.R.A.S. No. 44 Vol. 13. (1893) pp 35-57.

This passage is briefly translated in Taprobanian.<sup>15</sup> The contents of it ought to be interesting to the Jaffna Folk in a special way, as Nevill says that the information comes from Jaffna Chronicals which are now forgotten by the Sinhalese and as it appears now unknown even to the Jaffna Folk. There is no reference to this passage even in Coomaraswamy's Medieval Sinhalese Art. According to this Vijaya's Uvaraja was a Karava Prince called Machchakonta Karawanta. He married from Kanchipuram and later became the King of that Kingdom. Several Karava House and Town Builders came to Ceylon from Kanchipuram on the invitation of Vijaya to help him in the building operations. The Karavas were relations of the Princess who brought the Bo-Tree and protected the ship in which it was brought with bows and arrows, pikes and Javalins. They had a right to use the Pearl Umbrellas, White Canopies, and the Royal Whisks called Chamara and the like. Bhuvanaka Bahu invited many of them to come from Kanchipuram to protect the country from foreign invasions and stationed them in the maritime belt. As they were the relations of the Kings from whom the Kings are chosen, the King showed them Royal kindness and providing them with all things necessary and appointing the Five Doers of Service to attend on them. They were House Builders, Ship Builders, Navigators and Merchants who crossed deep oceans and amassed a lot of wealth. The story ends by saying that they are of the Mahasammata Race. It is worthy of note that Vijaya and his men married their equals from Southern Madura who were Kauriars. Even as late as the 12 Century there was a Warunakula Tungen on the Pandyan Throne.<sup>16</sup> In the 13th Century there was an important Sola Minister of the Pandyan King called Kurukulattarayan who built and endowed Hindu Temples. He rose to such an eminence in the state that when he visited one of these temples he had the honour of a "Kalam" being sounded proclaiming, "Hail! Kurukulattambiran is come", which seems to mean "Hail! God of the Kurukula race is come!"<sup>17</sup> To aid the Vijayan followers eighteen guilds of workers came with agriculturists with their cows and ploughs. The Bo-Tree landed in Jambukola, famous

15. Nevill Hugh - Taprobanian Vol. II p. 109 n. 9.
16. Taylor W. - Indian Historical Manuscripts (Madras 1835) Vol. II.
17. Nilakantha Sastri K. A. - Pandyan Kingdom (London 1929) p. 154

seaport, somewhere in Jaffna. Karavas possess a Banner which depicts the arrival of the Bo-Tree.<sup>18</sup> The five doers of service referred to above are possibly the same as the Kudimakkal of Jaffna. Among the Princes who brought the Bo-Tree was Arnayashrasta Suriya Gupta Kurukulasuriya Lord of the Sea (Manurajaniya). Parakrama Bahu II who claimed Kuru descent also claimed that his family descended from the Princes who brought the Bo-Tree.<sup>19</sup>

The ancient Kings, of Jaffna Ariyachkravartis, according to Mudaliyar Rasanayagam were of the Gangavamsa related to Magha and Nissankamalla. The Gangayas or Gangavansas or Gangas from the beginning were connected with the Kurus. Perhaps the first Gangaiya was Kandaswamy or Kataragama Devjiyo. "Gangai Karuna Kuru Kulamam Senkai Murugen." (Tamil Skanda Puranam). He is called in South Indian Literature son of Koravai that is Parvati. Then comes Bhishma the Kaurava Prince born of the same Gangaiya Deva of the Chedis who were a branch of the Kurus. It was from his descendants that Gangas seem to have arisen in Kalinga and elsewhere.<sup>20</sup> Those who were employed as army and navy men by the Jaffna Kings were none but Kurukulam; Karava or Karayar as some are called in Jaffna are of similar lineage. In 1415 A.D. a Kurukula army of 7740 men with their Commanders arrived from Vijayanagara Empire to fight the Mukkuwas and Tulukkuwas who invaded Ceylon about that time. The story is told in Sinhalese Mukkara Hatana<sup>21</sup> There is also reference to this in Yalpanach Charittiram (Britto). Third in Command of the Army of 7740 was Manikka Talaivan, the first two being Vachchanattu Devar or the King of the Vachcha Country or Kausambi, and the other Kurukula Nattu Devar or the King of the Kurukula country. The army took the Fort of Puttalam, and finally took Nagapatnam, the old name of Jaffna in Nagadipa. Many fell in the war, among whom was Manikka Talaivan who gave his life fighting for Parakrama Bahu VI in Jaffna. This seems to be the military adventurer of the Royal Caste mentioned by

18. Raghavan M. D. - Karava Society and Culture (1961) pp. 149-165

19. Codrington H. W. - Short History of Ceylon (1929) p. 76

20. Rasanayagam C. - Ancient Jaffna p. 51

21. Nevill Hugh - British Museum Manuscript Collection, Or 6606 (139): Note 408 No. 17323

de Couto as "Panical" (changing M to P as in Tamraparni and Taprobane). Thaliavan is a Kshatriya Title like Mudaliyar or Mudaliar.<sup>22</sup> Manikka Talaivan's death at Jaffna possibly aroused the sympathy of the king who adopted Manikka Talaivan's two sons Sembahap Perumal or Sapumal Kumaraya and Ambulugala Kumaraya or Jayawira as his sons. The final subjugation of Jaffna was made by Sapumal himself. His exploits are described in Sinhalese poems. The king made him the Commander in Chief of the Sinhalese Forces and the Prince was stationed in Jaffna. It was after him that Nagapatnam the capital of Nagadipa was renamed Yapapatuna or Yapaṇa which became Tamilised to Yalpanam. Yapa is Ya-Parumuka, the Chieftan who is at the Van of the Army. Sapumal and his brother were the originators of a Dynasty of Sinhalese Kings.

The Last king of Jaffna was Sankili. Mudaliyar Rasanayagam in his "Ancient Jaffna" says "that the navy of Aryachakravartis were manned and officered by men of the Karava Community."<sup>23</sup> It was the same with the Jaffna armies. In 1618 when the "Pugnacious Carias" of Ceylon were harrasing King Sankili, he applied for assistance to the Na'ique of Tanjore, who sent Warnakulata with his men ("Carias") the most warlike race in his Dominions. When many of his subjects became Christians in large numbers, Careas, Paravas, Mukkuwas and the rest, Sankili was alarmed as he knew that they would thereafter be the followers of the Portuguese. So the Hindu Karayar soldiers of Sankili massacred some 600 such converts, Karayars themselves.<sup>24</sup> This was an occasion for the Portuguese to interfere in the affairs of Jaffna, which was taken by them and Sankili was made prisoner. Then comes Warnakulata the King or Kinglet of the Careas, an arch-enemy of the Portuguese, to Jaffna with some 20,000 men of his tribe and joins hands with the Careas of Jaffna the most warlike race of that Kingdom, with a view to drive out the Portuguese, Warnakulata or Chem Na'ique was sent by the Na'ique of Tanjore appointing him the Viceroy of Jaffna. Na'ique or Nayaka referred to above was

22. Casie Chitty Simon - "The Castes, Customs, Manners & Literature of the Tamils (1934) p. 9

23. Rasanayagam C. Ancient Jaffna p. 212

24. Antoninus Rev. Dr. P.A.J.B. - Maryrs of Mannar (1945)

then a Royal Title equal to a King or Ruling Prince. The first perhaps to have that title in Ceylon was Iranadannayaka, Dakshina Samudradhipati or the Lord of the Southern Ocean, a Commander of the Vijayanagar Empire. South Indian Inscriptions call him Kauriar. Next comes Chemnaique the Viceroy of Jaffna called Warnakulata the Kinglet of the Careas. Finally we have the last four kings of Kandy, who were of the Nayaka Dynasty. There is yet another term of interest associated with the "Careas", that is Pattamkatti. Portuguese Tomboos and other documents make it clear that the Pattamkattis were the Chiefs of the Careas. Taylor in his Tamil Manuscripts translates in a hundred places in that work, the word "Pattamkatti" to mean "crowned". That is a Pattamkatti meant one who was crowned or a King or Prince. Early Portuguese writers mention some five Kings stationed at important Towns by the coast, with ears loaded with jewels claiming relationship with the King of Kotte. These seem to be none other than the important Pattamkattis of the Careas. There was a Pattamkatti who signed the Malvana Convention. Rajasinha II considered worthy enough to invite the Pattamkatti of Coquille to aid him. The Queen of Kandy, Dona Catherina was called Mahabandige Mahadasya.<sup>25</sup> Mahabandige means Maha-pata-bandige. That is she came from a family of a Maha-Patabenda, which is Indo-Aryan for Pattamkatti Major. Parakrama Bahu II married a daughter of a Pattabendirala (R. A. S. J. 1890). The last great Patabenda known to Ceylon History was none other than Sri Wickrema Rajasinghe, the last King of Kandy whose crowning is also referred to in one of the Manuscripts of Taylor's Collection, as Pattamkatti<sup>26</sup>. Many a Kurukula or Karava Prince had to pay the extreme penalty for supporting their Kings. Such was Penkutti Aratchi the Mahapatabehda or Pattamkatti Mor of Colombo. He was suspected of corresponding with King Mayadunna. So the Portuguese had him beheaded and quartered. There were other Kurukula Princes as well who loyally stood by their Kings. Pattamkatti of

25. Baldeaus Philipus - A True and Exact Description of the Great Island of Ceylon. 1960 (A new and unabridged translation from the edition of 1672.) p. 38

26. Taylor W. - Indian Historical Manuscript (Madras 1835) Vol. II.

Coquille or Prince Koilat Vannia whom Knox states was intimate with King Rajasinghe II and who ruled his country even better than the king himself<sup>27</sup>.

About the time of Warnakulata there was yet another Kurukula Prince of importance. He was the Sinhalese Kuruvita Rala or Antonio Baretto. He was the second King of Uva, the first being Prince Thome Appu who was killed by Serarat to become king of Kandy. The third and last King of Uva was the crown Prince Kurumarasinha castar a the eldest son of King Senarat of Kandy. Kuruvita Rala was the Yuvaraja and Commander-in-chief of Kandy. He was unanimously selected by King Senarat, the Royal Princes and a full council of nobles as one of the two Regents of the Kingdom of Kandy. His nephew was the admiral of the Kandyan Fleet.<sup>28</sup>

After the defeat of Warnakulata there followed the conversion of the Jaffna Careas to the Portuguese religion. Being a turbulent lot with ancient Social and Religious Traditions behind them, they had to be tamed. So they were brain-washed and indoctrinated. As a consequence they were displaced from their proper place in Jaffna Society and nearly blotted out their Glorious History. What is true of Jaffna was also true of the rest Ceylon. Coming of the Dutch was again a time of revival. You hear of Warnakuladitta Don Manuel Andrado the Sinhala Mudaliyar called in Yalpana Vaipavamalai, one of the Kurukula Caste. He was fighting for the Dutch with his Sinhalese men and Jaffna Karayars. Andrado became the Chief Officer dealing with Jaffna Folk.<sup>29</sup> It is possible to imagine that some of the Karayars were occupying important office under the new Government. One such person was Warnakuladitta Don Diego Mudaliyar the Respadore of the Dutch a sort of General Manager of all affairs, through whom all had to approach the Dutch. He even functioned during the early days of the British, a Roman Catholic to whom a certain poet Don Philip of Tellippalai, dedicated a religious

27. Peiris P. E. P. - Portuguese Era Vol. II p. 454 ~~454~~ 415

28. Baldeaus Philipus - A True and Exact Description of the Great Island of Ceylon 1960 (A new and unabridged translation from the edition of 1672.) pp. 56, 65, 67, 70

29. Wijayanayaka. F. B. de S. A. Jagath - Don Manuel D'Anderado (Pamphlet 1940)



poem: "Gnananda Puranam" in which appears a few verses eulogising the Respadore. According to them he was, "the Great Ornament of Kurunadu", "Prince of Kurukulam the high caste in this world." They have at least three original certificates of Entregistration of Slaves in 1819 A.D. the usual Kovias and the rest. In these certificates the slave owner was Bastian Pillai Constantine Sarthrian of Jaffnapatam. He was a Kurukulam. Other references to their ownig of slaves is given in Tesavalamai.

Education came to them rather later many of them being extreme Roman Catholics would not attend Protestant Schools and the Roman Catholic Schools came later even then they would rather earn for the Church than get educated. Consequently Priests and other leaders were few among them. The coming of the British gave them greater opportunities and today they occupy many important places of office, honour and status. In Mannar, Trincomalee and Batticaloa they are not less important. In Agriculture, Industry and Commerce the Kurukula or the Kauravas of Ceylon have played a very important part from ancient times, wholly out of proportion to their numbers. Some of the Karava or Karayar are deep sea fishermen but they are not all fishermen, nor are all fishermen, Karayars or Karawa. If a census is taken it will possibly prove that there are more fishermen among the rest of the people than the Karayar or the Karawa. They have the best of Carpenters among them but they are not a caste of Caapenteas. They have whole villages of them carrying out farming, they are not a caste of Faamers or cultivators either. They are simply the descendants of ancient warriors of the Kurukula or Kaurava, a Tribe well known in History. According to Hewitt, "They seem to have been the first people in India to employ a permanent Military force" According to the Laws of Manu, among the list of Warrior Tribes to be placed at the Van of an Army, the people of Kurushetra are placed first. They had migrated to South India and Ceylon at various times from various parts of Northern India as Navigators, merchants, missioneries, warriors and Kings. Kshatriyas, Brahmans and Vaishyas had no restrictions in ancient society regarding the subsidiary employments they might occuy themselves in. Buddhist literature make things clear regarding this matter.

The Kurukulams have played an important part in matters religious down the ages. They are mentioned in the Vedas and

some of the Hymns in them have been contributed by them. It was just the same in Buddhism. Buddha found in them a healthy and intelligent people who could understand his deep Doctrine. In Kurudhamma Jataka the Panchaseela is named after them. Some of the Gods have been their ancestors, Surya, Chandra and Varuno. Siva is described as the God of the Kurukula Race. Parvati was their relation and Kandaswamy or Kataragama Deviya was their kinsman. Rama, Krishna, and Buddha were of the same Somasuriya Wanse, or Sun and Moon Lineage. In Tamil Literature Parvati is Korayai or Kaurava. In Northern India she is called Kurukula. Kandaswamy according to Dr. Spittel's "Far Off things" came to Ceylon in the company of the Karavas. His mother is referred to in a German work, Exorcisms and the Art of Healing in Ceylon" by Paul Wirz as of Karava tribe. After the Kurukulams became Roman Catholics they lost contact with Kataragama. But there are Rocks to show that there was a Royal Dynasty there whose emblem was the Fish. As already said the Fish or Makara was the Kaurava Royal Emblem. Vishnu Purana compares Kurunadu to a Fish. "A fish is a good simile for the Mesopotamia or Doab of the Jummna and Ganges, where the Indo-Aryan Kurus were found in Vedic Times." There is an interesting description of a Makara found in Ceylon as recorded in ancient documents perhaps of Onescritus (early 4th century B.C.) Commander of the navy of Alexander the Great. This seems to be the most ancient description of Nakara to be had from any foreign source. He states that in order to create an impression they paint an animal composed of parts of various animals pierced together and wreathed, it has claws or fins.<sup>30</sup> The presence of the Makara means the existence of the Kaurava people in Ceylon at that early time, thus agreeing with the ancient Inscriptions already described. Sulamani Migarcu states that the Karayar came from Kurunadu and their symbol was Fish or Makara. In ancient sculpture Parvati rides the Makara. Varuna's Vehicle was Makara. The Makara caught by Siva was an incarnation of Kandaswamy. Anarga the God of Love carries the Makara Flag. According to Valivisu Puranam many a brave warrior sacrificed his life to win the hand of Somadanti the Kurukula Princess who was none other than

30. Havell E. B. - Short History of India p. 18.

31. Nilakantha Sastri K. P. - Foreign Notices of South India.

Parvati. But Siva was victorious in capturing the Makara and marrying her who was the daughter of Aththi, King of the Kurukula Race. The Makara thus becomes the Symbol of Divine love. "To all who live by the shore of the River Ganges, Holy Mother Ganges, is not this Makara, the Symbol of all our Kurukula Race?" says Valivisu Puranam. Could this be the lost Tamil Epic Valaipathii?<sup>32</sup>

This is not the only emblem the Kurukulams use. They have a number of banners and other emblems like the conch, the war-drums or Hewisi as they are called in Sinhalese, Torches or Lamps lighted in day time, Chamara or Royal Whisks, the Pearl Umbrella, Sun and Moon Banner and many others of the same kind some of which are mentioned in Silapadaiyeram, Sulanzai Nigandu, Janavansa, Mukkara Hatana and the Mahabharata. Chandrakulamalawa used by E. W. Perera in his Sinhalese Banners and Standards, gives a list of twenty one Flags belonging to the Karavas. The fact is there are many more. In the Mahabharata, Karna Parva, the great Sun and Moon Banner is mentioned, where Krishna addresses Arjuna saying, "Oh, Arjuna, see the banners bearing the Suns, Moons and Stars, coloured red, yellow, white and Black of the Kauravas strewn all over the Battle Field". Just as the Makara is the Symbol of the Kurus of the Kuruland, the Sun and Moon and Stars are symbols of the two great warriors or Kshatriya Tribes of Surya and Chandrawanse which went to build up the Kuru Race down the ages. In a book recording the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Ceylon held in connection with the 1815 insurrection a witness in charge of Molligoda Walawwa, Mapage Muhandiram states that in the Kandyan country the Symbols like the Sun and Moon and the Pearl Umbrella could not be kept in private and that they are to be deposited in Temples named by the King or could not be otherwise misused and that the punishment meted out to such offenders may even be decapitation.<sup>33</sup> The surrender of the Sun and Moon Banner to the British by Molligoda Adigar was done with such honour, the Britisher who saw it says that the honours were given to the Banner rather than to the Adigar. Over a hundred years ago about twenty gold coins were found in

32. Ragahavan M. D. - Karava Society and Culture. pp. 165-174  
33. Silumina - Literary and Historical Supplement, 4th March 1934.

a box in the place at Sringapatam at Mysore. The scroll said that they belonged to Parikshit the son of Arjuna<sup>34</sup>. The coins referred to above were deciphered by Sir Walter Elliot as follows: Two Fish under an Umbrella, Flanked on right by lamp and on left by Chowrie, Sun and Moon above.<sup>35</sup> It is strange that these and a host of other emblems are still in use only among the Kurukulathar, Hindu or Buddhist or Christian, Sinhalese or Tamil speaking.

A. P. Gomes

34. Asiatic Researches Bengal Vol. 17. 1832  
35. Elliot Sir Walter - Numismatic Orientalia 1866

## Padmavati the Sinhala Rajput Princess

History and romance link India and Sri Lanka in yet another story. The Epic of Padmavati, though not so famous as the Ramayana, nevertheless worthy of recounting. The bards of the Rajputs never tire in singing the praises of Padmavati the Sinhala Rajput Princess, better known to them as Padmini or Padmini of Chittor. According to some sources her father was king Gandhravasan of Sinhaladeepa and her mother Champawathi.<sup>1</sup>

It would be necessary to trace the origin of the Rajputs of Sri Lanka and for this purpose a cursory glance of the Social Divisions of the Aryans would be relevant. This first among the early Aryan classification was the ruling and warrior class called Kshatriyas, which in Sinhala is called Raja Kula and remains the first out of the four traditional classes even today according to the Island's History.

The Kshatriyas are of three different tribes, arranged in order of antiquity, viz., Suriya Wansa, Chandra Wansa, and Agni Wansa. One of the most celebrated princes of the Suriya Wansa was Rama the King of Ayodha; of the Chandra Wansa was Kuru King of Hastinapura; of the Agni Wansa was the last Hindu Emperor Prithivi Raja, the Chauban, a Kaurava on his mother's side. The Kings of Sri Lanka and their tribesmen were of the Chandra-Suriya or Soma-Suriya Wansa. The "Seesodias" are a clan of the Suriya Wansa and the Ranas of Mewar belong to this clan. The Kaurava Rajputs are of the Chandra Wansa and the Chaubans are Agni Wansa.<sup>2</sup> Padmavati our heroine belonged to the last named family, the Agni Wansa. Among the Kshatriyas are mentioned King Sagara and his 60,000 descendants who were sea-farers, and others who were agricultural people like the Kaurvas of Marwar; they were never considered as otherwise than Kshatriyas or Rajputs.

The Rajputs who came over to Sri Lanka as a result of the raids of Mahmud Ghanzi and the attacks of its feudatories were among the first that set foot here. Among them was Jagat-

1. Sir Edwin Wijeyeratne - Ceylon Daily News of 24th August 1945  
2. James Todd - Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan (1914) Vol. I. p. 75

pala, also known as Vira Salamegha from Ayodha.<sup>3</sup> He ruled as a mighty man for four years in Ruhuna and fell a victim of the Chola Invasion and his wife and daughter Lilavati were carried away to the Chola Country. However, Lilavati returned to Sri Lanka and became the chief Mahesi of Vijaya Bahu I. Budal Navan another famous Rajput was the protector of Vijaya Bahu I as recorded in an unique Sannas.<sup>4</sup> The general Ayasmata, the King-maker in the early 13th century was also a Rajput; his family and personal name is Lolupalakula Budal Navan.<sup>5</sup>

In the year 1237 A. D. the famous Rajput Thakuraka arrived in Sri Lanka during the reign of Kalikala Pandita Parakrama Bahu II. This Rajput married the daughter of Vijaya Bahu III,<sup>6</sup> the sister of the reigning monarch Parakrama Bahu III. Later when Vijaya Bahu IV was assassinated by his general Mitta who usurped the throne in 1270 A. D. Rajput Thakuraka personally slew him and raised to the throne Maha Bhuvaneka Bahu I in 1270 A. D. In the Rajput army lead by Thakuraka there was a warrior named Hamir Sank whose daughter was the beautiful Padmavati. Four years later Padmavati became the queen of Mewar having married Bhima Singh, the Prince Regent of the State. It appears that Bhima Singh who had heard of her charm visited Sri Lanka in the guise of Mendicant and saw for himself a maiden of unsurpassable beauty possessing the poise and grace of a queen. Discarding his guise he revealed his identity married Padmavati and departed to his country with her.

3. Epigraphia Zeylanica Vol. 3 - A chronological Table of Kings, Wickramasinghe Swell - Historical Inscriptions of South India, p. 332  
A. L. Basham - The Ceylon Historical Journal Vol. IV, p. 16
4. Epigraphia Zeylanica Vol. 5. "Panakadva Copper Charter"
5. Ibid - Vol. 2.
6. S. Paranavitane - University of Ceylon, Review, Vol. XXI, No. 2, October 1963  
"Princess Ulakudayas Wedding", pages 103 - 137.  
C. E. Godakumbure - Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Vol. VII p. 14 - 15

Note: "In the 14th Century a descendant of this Rajput Thakura also called Mandalika raja of Jatigrampura (Dedigama) His daughter Swarnamenike (Ran Menike) 'the princess from Kiravela' was the Queen of Parakrama Bahu VI of Kotte. The founder of the Sinhalese Royal House of Kiravela was Rajput Thakura, Mandalika raja of Jatigrampura. Most Queens in the Court of Kotte, Kande Uda Pas Rata and Sitawaka in the 15th and 16th century were from the Sinhalese Royal House of Kiravela.

At this time, Mewar was the most powerful principality among the States of Rajputana. Rana Kakura Singh a boy of very tender age became Sovereign of the Realm, and his uncle Bhima Singh was appointed Regent. Towards the close of 13th century Aluddin, who had taken possession of the throne of the Pathan Emperors at Delhi by treacherously murdering his uncle Julal-un-din, sacked the Hindu cities of Rajaputana and was determined to ruthlessly assault and capture at any cost the almost impregnable fortress of Chittore, the capital of Mewar. During the Pathan invasion, Aluddin had heard of the Beauty of Mewar Padmavati the Queen of Bhima Singh. Fired by greed and lust he pitched his camp on the outskirts of Chittore. He then made a request to see her, but the proud Rajputs refused to comply with his demand. Many battles were fought and the Rajputs finally consented to show their Queen, not directly but through a series of mirrors. Aluddin then entered the Capital of Mewar and to show no treachery in his intentions he came unarmed. Having feasted his eyes on the beautiful Padmavati he determined to capture her by deceit. Bhima Singh the unsuspecting Prince Regent returned the compliment of this visit by accompanying Aluddin outside the City gates. Outside the villan placed an army in ambush. Seizing Bhima Singh they carried him captive to Aluddin's camp. The ransom for his release was the surrender of the Rajput Queen to the Pathan. The perplexed Rajputs were in a quandry; to leave their Prince a prisoner was a shame and to surrender their queen to the lustful Pathan was a greater dishonour. The whole city was plunged in profound sorrow at the thought of the terrible fate that awaited the noble Sinhala Princess.

When the news of the captivity of her husband and the price of the ransom demanded by the lust lorn Pathan was told, she readily expressed her willingness to comply with his demand, in order that she might by her sacrifice of her honour, save the life of her Lord and Master. Taking counsel with her uncle Gorah Singh and cousin Budel who had accompanied her from Sri Lanka, they devised a scheme for the liberation of their brave leader Bhima Singh. She informed the Rajputs and Aluddin himself that she was prepared to meet the Emperor provided he withdrew from the trenches, and she and her ladies - in - waiting accompanying her to the camp were allowed to do so undisturbed as befitting Rajput ladies. Over joyed at the news Alludin very

gladly granted all that she requested, even withdrawing from the trenches around Chittor.

On the following day, seven hundred covered litters proceeded to the Pathan camp. In each litter was placed one of the bravest of the warriors of Chittor and borne by six armed soldiers in disguise. Strict secrecy was observed to prevent prying eyes. The Royal Tents were enclosed in walls of cloth. With proper ceremony and in due time the camouflaged litters arrived at the camp of the Pathan who condescended to give half an hour for farewell between the prisoner and his wife. Alludin had no intention of setting Bhima Singh free and when the parting farewell was taking too much time, he grew very suspicious. In the meantime some of the devoted followers of Bhima Singh took advantage of this respite to place him in one of the litters to be secretly borne away while the greater part of the supposed noble ladies remained behind for the purpose of accompanying their lady to Delhi. Impatient of the delay Alludin entered the enclosure and to his consternation the disguised soldiers emerged from the tents and a fierce battle followed. Some of the finest Rajput warriors fell that day. Bhima Singh escaped to Chittor on the swiftest horse procured by the Rajputs for their beloved Leader. 7

Alludin was writhing with shame and anger for he had been tricked by the Rajput plan. There was a respite to the battle for both sides had lost heavily. The Pathan was determined to take revenge as his heart was set on the hand of Padmini and the capture and conquest of Chittor. The choiest of the heroes of Chittor met the assault of the Puthans. At the head of the Rajputs were Gorah Singh and Budel animated by the noblest feelings of delivering their Chief and defending the honour of their Queen. Budel was a stripling of twelve and even at an early age the Rajput exhibits a wonderful show of chivalry.

Not to be deterred by anything, Alludin renewed his attacks with all the lust and fury. He sent messengers in all directions to the uttermost parts of his Empire and raised the best army he could and marched on Chittor, the City was surrounded and the battet lasted for months. Every day saw the massacre of the

7. Tod - Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan. 1914 Vol. 1 p. 213 ff

Rajputs and it became evident that there was no hope for them. As each defence post fell before the Conqueror, shame and dishonour awaited the noble women folk of Chittor and their beloved Queen Padmini. Once more she determined the course of action to save herself and her ladies. When every hope of defending the sanctity of their homes and honour of their glorious and beautiful Sinhala Rajput Princess Padmini and finally when the Pathan was victorious, she decided to perform the last and sacred act of the Rajputs - Jauher, described by James Tod. "But another awful sacrifice was to precede this act of self-devotion, in that horrible rite, the Johur, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the 'great subterranean retreat' in chambers impervious to the light of day, and the defenders of Chetore beheld in procession the queens, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Pudman closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element."<sup>8</sup>

Thus perished the great and beautiful Sinhala Rajput Princess Padamavati who crossed over to immortality to protect the honour of her Rajput Race and the lustful Pathan could not even set his eyes on her mortal remains - ashes.

Dr. P. V. D. Fernando

8. James Tod - Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I p. 215

## RULERS AND CHIEFTAINS OF THE KURUKULAMS OF SRI LANKA

### Division of the Tamils

"The Tamils are divided into four VARNAS or tribes. The first is called PIRAMA, the second SATTRIYA, the third VAISYA and the fourth SUTRA, corresponding with the Hindu divisions of BRAHMANS, KSHATRIYAS, VAISYA AND SUDRAS."<sup>1</sup> "Some of the synonyms of the Kshatriyas are, AYENDOLVANDORE, those who emanated from the shoulder of Brahma; POORALAR, protectors of the earth, KAVALER, the guardians of the people; PORUNER warriors; KOTTAVER the powerful; IRRAI or IRREIVER, masters; MUDELVER or TALAIVER, chiefs; NARAPATI, lords of men; POOPATI, lords of the earth; TORA RATI lords of the Chank; CHAKKIRI, lords Paramount, and MUN, MUNNAR OF ARASAN Kings."<sup>2</sup>

The Kshatriyas constitute the tribe of warriors and were at one time the exclusive possessors of regal authority. As enumerated in the 12th chapter of the SUTAMANI NIGANDU and in the SADUR AGARADI the ten things (TSANGAM) appertaining to a King in the right of his office, and on which his property rests are, MALEI, mountain, AAR, river, NADU, country, OOR, cities, MALEI, garlands, PARI, horses, KARI, elephants, MURASU, drums, KODI, flags, SHENKOLE, sceptre.<sup>3</sup>

The twenty one distinguishing marks (SINNAM) of a King are, MUDI, crown; KUDAI, umbrella; KAVERI, whisk of Tibet cow's tail; TOTI, hook with which elephants are goaded; MURASU, drum; CHAKKRA, a sort of discus; YANAI, elephant; KODI, flag; TORANAR, triumphal arches; NEER KUDAM, water-pots; MALEI, garlands; CHANK, voluta graves; KADDAL, sea; MAKARA, a sea monster; AMEI, tortoise; ENFIRKAIYEL, two corps; SINGAM, lion; DEEPAM; torches, IDAPAM, bull; and AASANAM, throne.<sup>4</sup>

1. Casie Chitty, Simon - The Castes, Customs, Manners and Literature of the Tamils (Ceylon Printers, 1934) p. 8.

2. Ibid - p. 9.

3. Ibid - p. 27.

4. Ibid - p. 28

"According to the traditions of the Tamils and from what appears in the few fragments of their early history which have been preserved in the several puranical legends, there were formerly three different dynasties of Tamil Kings in South India reigning separately over the three kingdoms of SERA, CHOLA and PANDIYA, from so far back as 1500 years before the birth of Christ until they were overthrown by the Telugu sovereigns of Vijayanagar in the period between A.D. 1400 - and 1515". The Tamil kings of Chera, Chola and Pandiya Kingdoms were Kshatriyas. The Kings who ruled in Jaffna were descended from the Chola Race and called themselves Aria Chakravatis."

### The People

In the ancient Tamil works namely KAIYLAJA MALAI, VAIYA-PADAL, PARARASASEKERA NOOL and IRASAMURAI made use of by Mayilvakana Pulavar, the author of YALPANA VAIPAVA MALAI, frequent reference is made to Armies and Colonists being brought to Jaffna from CHOLANAD. One of these early compositions is the VAIYA PADAL by Valiapuri Ariyar, the Court bard of King Sekera singing the traditions of the early colonisation movements.

In verse 61 he mentions the people of VARNA-KULA descent: "Kuchiliyar, Akampadiyar, Kothirathara, Kovalarkal, Kuyar, Kopalaranor, Dancers, people of Naga Nainativu and of Manunai tivu abounding in fish, people of VARNA-KULA descent Malayakathar, Siliar of Achehamai and Arya Vankisa Maraiyar".

The Yalpana Vaipava Malai mentions the coming of Vira Rakavan the blind Poet who ruled Yalpanam and got several Tamil colonists from the Vada-Thesam (Northern Country). Soon after his death, one young Prince Singka-Ariyan from Chola Nadu was invited to rule over Jaffna. "The good wishes of the Pandiyan and a large army raised under his auspices followed the young prince to Jaffna"<sup>7</sup>. He built the city of

5. Ibid - p. 30

6. Thambiah H. W. - Laws and Customs of the Tamils of Ceylon (1954) p. 98

7. Brito C. - The Yalpana-Vaipava-Malai, or The History of The Kingdom of Jaffna translated from the Tamil. Colombo 1879 p. 14.

Nallur with all its ramparts and dwellings for the Brahtiana and warriors.

On the advice of his Minister Puvmeka-Vaku, he wrote to the Kings of Tamil countries asking for colonists. A number of families came over with their retinue, slaves and dependents. Among them the Kshatrian, Nara-Singka-Thevan,\* the eldest son of Puravalanthi Thevan from Kaviri-vur who was settled in Mayiliddi. For the defence of his kingdom, the king placed four veterans heroes to guard the four quarters and the command of the forces was given to a prince of warriors, Virasingkan.

According to the Thirikona-Salapuranam twenty one families were brought from Karai (KARAI - Ptolemy's Taprobane). It is evident that the Cholas were colonising the Northern part of the Island and were in constant touch with its rulers from Puranic times. In the Yalpanach - Chariththiram mention is made of a Kurukula Captain who was despatched by the Cholan to Ceylon to procure snake gems.<sup>8</sup>

The Moor traveller, Ibn Batuta, returning from Tangiers was forced to seek shelter in the port of Jaffna, on his way back from the Maldives in 1344 A.D. Yalpana was a port for foreign vessels and it was here that the Ariya Chakravatis "had considerable forces by the sea. Their great navies would have been collected at this safe anchorage (Pattinaturai) as they were manned and officered by men of the Karave community."<sup>9</sup>

When the Portuguese arrived it was the Karawa people who defended the Kings of Jaffna against all foreign invasions. In his struggle with the Portuguese, Sakkily, King of Jaffna sought reinforcement from the Nayque of Tanjore who at once sent many Badagas and as their Captain the Kinglet of the Careas called VARNA GULATA a great enemy of the Portuguese. Queyroz often describes the ethnic group of Careas as "a warlike people." They had their Mudaliyars "Who joined the Careas a war-like race among them". Again he records that "at that time the

Note: Thevar is a title of the Chola King - Vara Rama-Thevar.

8. Brito C. - Trs Yalpana Vaipava Malai - Yalpanach-Chariththiram p. vxxii

9. Rasanayagam C. - Ancient Jaffna (Madras 1926) pp 214/2

kinglet of the Careas appeared with the whole might of the Kingdom, which exceeded 20,000 and they stood watching to see whether our men were conquered, in order to fall upon them" 10

With the surrender of Jaffna, and the execution of Sankili, the last king of Jaffna, the conversion of the Karavas along with their chiefs took place at a solemn baptism in 1624, with all grandeur and pomp. This took place in the Church of Miracles in the Fort wherein many of the chief men such as three Modallars ..... twenty Cumaras, that is those who have kinship with the Royal House and among them four were Princes as they were nephews of the king, nine PATTANGATIS, chiefs of nine villages, 400 Careas, men and women" 11.

The word Carea used by the Portuguese writers applied to the Karave ethnic group as they could not pronounce the latter word. In a broad sense it meant the shore people and did not mean those who were fishers by occupation. In some instances the Portuguese writer made a distinction in the term by qualifying it as "Carea - pescador" meaning Karave fisherman. Thus proving that others too were by occupation fishers.

Queyroz describes the conversion of the people from Negombo to Chilaw thus; "In the year 1556 more than 70000 CAREAS with their PATANGATIM were converted to our Holy Faith." 12

In a letter dated 20th March 1557 the King of Portugal writing to the Custodian of the Franciscans says; "I am also pleased and rejoice at the information which you convey to me how our Lord has been pleased through the agency of the members of your order to illuminate the NATION OF THE CARIAS, who you say live in the ports of Ceylon, and are said to exceed 70000 souls, whose captain named PATANGATIM accompanied them." 13

10. De Queroyz Fernao - The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon (Translated Fr. S. G. Perera S.J. 6 Vols. Colombo 1930) pages 631, 633, 638, 467 and 468.

11. Ibid - p. 659  
12. Queyroz - p. 327  
13. Ibid - p. 327

The orientalist Hugh Nevill says of the Karawas; "This caste or race is called in Tamil KARAIAR and in modern Sinhalese KARAWA or KARAVA as they are now called - KARAWA is said to have been the former Sinhalese pronunciation - have like their kinsmen, Northern the KAURAVAS of central India (Dalton), maintained their descent to be from the KURU refugees who were (exiled) from KURU-RATA after the defeat of the Kauravas described in the Mahabharata: and there is nothing improbable in the two independent traditions and much in their favour" 14.

There is no greater name in all ancient India than that of the KURUS whose very battle field is considered "sacred" at the present day. The Kurus are mentioned as "one of the powers of North India" as late as 800 A.D. 15

The Kauravas were sub-divided into different clans known as KURU-KULAM, VARUNA KULAM, ARASA-KULAM or MIHINDU-KULAM. The present Karawas of Negombo are KURUKULA SURIYAS in Grand Street and VARNAKULA SURIYAS in Sea Street. In Chilaw the vast majority of the Karawas are of the Mihindukulasuriya clan.

In Jaffna too the Karawas are divided into Varnakulam or Varunakulasuriyas and Kurukulam or Kurukulasuriyas.

At the beginning of the Dutch rule in Jaffna in 1658 after the surrender of the Fort, Baldaeus, the Dutch historian, an eye witness speaks of one Don Manuel Anderado as "a Captain and a Mudaliyar in the service of the noble company." 16 The same person is described by Maylvagana Pulavar as "Manuel Anthirasan, a man of the KURU-KULA caste" who was appointed "Muthali for the writing Branch." 17

A Mootootamby Pillay in his "YALPANA SARITHRAM" speaks of the "appointment of Don Philip Kuru-kula Nayaka Mudali" and also mentions another Kuru-kula Talaivan Punniandan, "for services rendered by the chief guardian of Urnavaturai (Kayts), Kuru-kula Talaivan Punniandian, they (Dutch) gave him a village of Collimpoturai (Colombogam)" 18

14. Nevill Hugh - Oriental Studies, "Ceylon Observer Press" Colombo 1891 p. 11  
15. Smith V. - Oxford Students History of India. 1913 p.  
16. Baldeaus Philipus - Description of Ceylon (Amsterdam 1672) p. 159  
17. Brito C. - Yalpana Vaipava Malai Trs 1879. p. 59  
18. Mootootamby A., - Yalpana Sarithram p. 81

A leading personality in Jaffna during the Dutch Period was Don Diego Warnakulasuriya Mudaliyar mentioned by writers. "When Don Diego Warnakulasuriya Mudaliyar, son of a Kurukula chieftain was Respodore, he took precedence of the other Headmen of the Jaffna District under the Dutch administration. He was highly respected and generally moving in a Palanquin; was looked up to with feelings akin to awe and veneration by the populace." 19

Of this Mudaliyar one Mr. J. H. Wittebron, Sworn Translator of the District Court of Colombo writes; "Don Diego Warnakulasuriya Arasanilayitta, the Poet (Don Philip, Vellaler of Tellipalai) in his charming Epic, 'The Gnananatha Puranam' informs us, and as contemporary records show, was a member of the KURUKULA Caste a branch of the Kshatriya, the second of the four great castes in India. Born at Jaffna in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Mudaliyar son of a Kurukula chieftain, at an early age took, like all his ancestors, a prominent part in the administration of the Government....."

"He was the leader of the Tamils and to him was entrusted the general control and regulation of the customs, manners and privileges of the different castes in Jaffna. He was the final arbitrator of disputes regarding the rights and privileges of the different castes, and without his permission no public ceremony of any could be performed....."

"Don Philip whom, by a happy inspiration, the Mudaliyar selected for this great work, was a member of a caste different to that of the Mudaliyar. Don Philip's community (Vellalasa) occupied the suburbs of Jaffna and always approached the foreigners in power in the town through the members of the Mudaliyar's community, as they at that time practically monopolised all the situations of trust, responsibility and honour under the Government"

In this poem, The Gnanantha Puranam, published circa 1823, the poet speaks of his patron as "the distinguished ornament of Kurunadu ..... the Prince of 'Kurukulam' the high caste in the world." 20

19. Martyn J. H. - Notes on Jaffna. Chronological, Biographical etc. with an Appendix, Tellipalai. 1923, p. 172. No. 62.

20. Wittebron. J. - H. The First Centenary of The Dedication of the Jaffna Cathedral with five Appendices. Colombo. 1906. pp 25 - 32.

In the Dutch times circa 1790. A.D. a Committee was appointed by the Catholic authorities to administer the affairs of St. Mary's Cathedral, Jaffna. On this Committee the first name is Kurukula Suriya Mudaliyar and the eighth is Marku Warnakula Athithan. 21

In some parts of Jaffna the Karawas call themselves SURIYA-KULATHAN. Portions of them in the South of India and in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka are still called KAURAVAR. Thurston, recounts some of the titles they give themselves in and about Madras; ARIYAR, KURU KULA VAMSAM, VARNA KULA MUDALI, KAURAVAR etc. . . . In Jaffna and Mantota names like ARASA NILAYITTA CANAKERAYER MUDALIYAR and MANFAGAR, WARNA KULA SURIYA MUDALIYAR, ARASA NILAYITTA, KURU KULA SURIYA MUDALIYAR, VARNA KULA ADITHA KURU KULA SURIYA MUDALIAR, VARNA KULA ADITYAN often occur among the KURU - KULA people and among them alone.

The Dutch Thombo of Jaffna of Karayur (a photostat copy with me) speaks of one PUVIRAJASINGHE UDAYAR (1822 G.N.). Then one KUKU-KULA-SURIYA MUTHALIYAR mahan (son) Innasi Thiyohu pen (wife) Veronica. "There is also mention of one Don Suvan Markupillai Mudaliyar's daughter, and Nichulavu Marku VARNA - KULA - Losither, Andantarai.

#### **CHIEFTAINS OF THE KURUKULA RACE OF JAFFNAPATANAM.**

According to a letter of Inspector D. James dated 16th March 1931, the following claiming ancestry from the Pandyan kings of South India who are of Kshatriya descent have done Civil and Military duties.

1. Don Diego Vas Puvirajasinghe
2. Don Juan Puvirajasinghe
3. Punnia Puvirajasinghe Mudaliyar
4. Manuelthamby Puvirajasinghe
5. Don Diego Warna-Suriya Arasa Nilayitta Muthaliyar (Respodore)
6. Kathigama Pulavar
7. Don Nicholas Tissavira Singhe Muthaliyar

21. Ibid - p. 5



8. Anthony Sinnathamby Muthaliyar
9. Diego Pillai Muthaliyar
10. Don Philip Muthaliyar
11. Don Gaspar Sathuru-Kula-Singhe Muthaliyar
12. Venasithamby Sithampara-Natha-Muthaliyar
13. Puvimana-Singhe Muthaliyar
14. Edirimana-Singhe Muthaliyar
15. Lazarus Anthonipillai Muthaliyar
17. KanthappaSegara Muthaliyar (who continued as a Saivite, no male issue)
18. Segar-Mana-Singhe Muthaliyar (who had no male issue) Remnants of his temple are lying near the present Catholic Press.
19. Cun-Veera-Singhe Muthaliyar (two brothers both died bachelors)
20. Raja-Nayaga-Muthaliyar

#### KURU KULA CHIEFTAINS OF MANNAR-MANTOTE

1. Don Matias Puvi-Manna-Singhe (Adigar & J, P.)
2. Don Diego Rajakariar Kurukula Suria-Aras-Nilayitta Edirimana Singhe Muthaliyar (called Peria (Great) Muthaliyar)
3. Don David RETNA MUDI KATHA Warna-Kula Singhe Muthaliyar
4. Don Thalathu Retnasinghe Vachi-Natha-Thevar Muthaliyar (Adigar)
5. Manuel Warna-Kula-Singhe (Supervisor, Pearl Fishery)
6. Don Nicholas Puvi-Manna Singhe Muthaliyar
7. Don David Warna-Kula Singhe Lawerance Muthaliyar
8. A. Sathury-Kula Singhe Muthaliyar (was given in charge to guard from Sinhala invasion a long line of boundary from Mantota (North-Eastern) to Tan man-kaduw). His services were required by the British to help put down the Rebellion of the Wariyapola chiefs (near Matale) after the capture of the last King of Kandy.
9. Ethir-Weerasinghe Muthaliyar.

#### HEADMEN OF PORTS

1. Arasa-Nilayitta Muthaliyar Santhiagopillai Maniagar of Kareor.
2. Santhiagopillai Seeman Adapan of Kareor.
3. Kanthan Murugan Patangatti of Colombogan.
4. Kathirgama Thambiah Adappan of Point Pedro.
5. Vairavanatha Velayutham Adappan of Vellivettithurai.

#### Acts of Appointments from the Dutch Records Jaffna

1. Areseratne Don Philip, Modliar - Canneappel to Jaffna Dissava - 23.6.1756 - 2553/29
2. Arresegoelasoeria, Modliar, Don Joan-Canneappel to Commandeur - 10.8.1756 - 2553/49
3. Ameresoeri, Modliar, Don Francisco - Chief H'men of Uliammers - 30.3.1762 - 1553/111
4. Ambelewane, Modeli, Don Joan - Canneappel to Adigar of Maarde - 8.6.1760 - 2553/129
5. Aresekulasuriye Modliar Don Joan - 1st Canneappel to Commandeur - 19.1.1758 - 2553/219
6. Aresesinge Mud. Don Joan Sanderesegera - Titular Arachchi to Jaffna Diss - 19.1.1758 - 2553/220
7. Ameresuri Mud. Don Francisco - Adigar of Jaffna Uliammer etc. 22.9.1758 - 2553/301  
23.10.1760 - 2554/10  
31.3.1762 - 2553/421
8. Areseculasuria Modliar Don Joan - 1st Interpreter - 23.10.1760 - 2554/7
9. Areseekole Ninde Don Philip - 9.7.1763 - 2555/393
10. Chammeresuria Mud Don Inasie - 1st Mudaliyar to Dissave of Jaffna - 23.10.1760 - 2553/142
11. Canagange Mod. Don Juan Tandige - Shroff - 4.10.1761 - 2553/144
12. Colleseger Mud Don Philippu Rajakariar - 2nd Canneappel of Trinco - 30.8.1759 - 2553/537
13. Colleseger Mud. Don Gaspar - Shroff at Jaffna 28.7.1766 - 2553/393

14. Kannagesuria Mud. Don Joan - Titular Archchi to Dissava - 27.2.1756 - 2553/11
15. Kanaganayega Mud. Don Joan Tandige - Canneccappel - 19.1.1758 - 2553/321
16. Warunagollesurie Wariewenaden Mud. Don Joan - Recibe-door over the Karavas - 14.7.1757 - 2553/163

**CHIEFTINS OF THE KURUKULAMS - BRITISH PERIOD 1815 to 1900 CEYLON ALMANAC.**

1. *Arresoonelleitta Modeliar (Arsa Nilayitta)* Manigar and Headman of the fisheries and Pearl Divers at Carrevor (Carayur) in the Parish of Chundi Coely 1815 to 1833. The office of Modeliar and Manigar of the Carrevor for the years 1822 to 1831 is given as Arresoonelleitta Nicolan. Probably same person.
2. *Arresoonilyitte (Arsa Nilaiytta)* Canakarayan Modeliar and Manigar of the Careas of Point Pedro 1815 to 1830.
3. *Welayden Pomer* Manigar of Walewitthory in the Parish of Oodoopty 1815 - 1826.
4. *Don Juan Eddiramanne Singa Rasacaria*, Titular Mudal of Trincomalee 1815 - 1820.
5. *Don Juan Rasakari Retnasinghe*, Modaliar. Adigar of Mannar 1815 - 1816. Modeliar of the Cutchery, Trincomalee 1818 - 1820.
6. *Don Mootoo Rasakari Annatanna Modeliar* - 1st Modeliar of Mannar 1815 - 1816.
7. *Arresonillyitte (Arsa Nilayita) Cooroogal Sooria (Kurukul Suriya)* Modaliar. Modaliar of Poducodirip (Pithu Kudiyirippu) in the Vanny 1815 - 1832.
8. *Warnakoalesoria (Warnakula Suoria)* Modaliar in the Vanny South, of the District Klekimoelli (Kilakumoolai South. 1816 - 1819.
9. *Ponnier Chillemben*, Modaliar of Karikallumoolai North - 1819 - 1826
10. *Welanyudar Pomier*, Manigar of Wellewittytore (Vallewittiturai) 1826 - 1831 also referred to as Weder Velanythan.

11. *Rasakaria Modeliar*. Cutchery Modeliar and Adikar of Mantota 1826
12. *Edirimansinga Modaliar*. Odear of Western Village (Nanattan) 1837 - 1841
13. *Anthony Pomier*. Odear of Careor (Karayur) 1837 - 1846
14. *Don Talgado Retna Modigatte Coerogolanatoetevan (Kurukulanathutevan)*. Odear of Southern Village Nanattan 1837 - 1845
15. *Wyrawen Welyden*. Odear of Wellivetturai 1837 - 1839
16. *Don Warnacolasooria (Warnakulasuria)* Modeliar and Odear of Southern Mantota 1837 - 1845
17. *Sitokelsinga (Saturukulasinga)* Modeliar Asirwadam - 2nd Modeliar & Interpreter 1844
18. *Komarasinga Modeliar (Acting)* Odear of Nanattan West 1845.
19. *Suppramaniam Saverimcootoo* Modeliar - Odear of Sundiculy and Karayur 1848 - 1850
20. *Arsanilayitta Santiogopulle* Modeliar - Odear and Manigar of Karayur 1851 - 1862
21. *Vastiampullé Santiogopulle* - Addapen of Karayur 1851 - 1853
22. *Seman Santiogopulle* - Adappen of Karayur 1855 - 1862
23. *Sinnatamby Vinasitamby* - Pattangatty of Colombogame (Colombogam) 1862
24. *Katergama Tambayah* - Adappen of Point Pedro 1862-1864
25. *Mootayer Arumogan* - Adappen of Wellivetturai 1862-1864
26. *Santigo Modeliar* - 1st Interpreter Modeliar 1.2.1843
27. *M. S. Poovirajasinghe* - Modeliar, Interpreter Courts - 1845 - 1872
28. *Pedru'illai* - Udaiyar of Karayur 1878 (called Pala Udayar by William Crofton Twynam G. A. of Jaffna as he was appointed to supervise the building of the Bridge at the reclamation).
29. *M. M. Edirimansinga*. - Assistant Interpreter 1880 - 1892

30. *Arsanillayitta Santiago* Mudaliar - Interpreter English and Malabar District Court Colombo 1876.
31. *M. S. Puvimanasinghe* - Translator 1885
32. *J. J. Tissaverasinghe* - Assistant Accountant 1885
33. *S. Sanclospillai* - Adappen of Karayur 1877 - 1895
34. *J. A. Tisserverisinghe* - Sub-Collector, Pesali
35. *J. B. Tisserverisinghe* - Native Writer Courts Point Pedro
36. *A. A. Poovarasinghe* - Medical Practitioner
37. *M. J. Poovarasinghe* - Clerk Fiscal Office
38. *J. G. Poovarasinghe* - Malabar Interpreter, Police Courts Kandy - 1890.

An interesting record is made by Mr. J. C. Van Sanden regarding one Rajah. Mudaliyar Philipupillai John, Justice of the Peace, Unofficial Police Magistrate Maniagar and President, Village Tribunals, Delft; born 1867; gu Mudaliyar Don Nicholas Tissaversinghe, alias Periya Tambar, who was also known as "Dutch Mudaliyar" owing to his familiarity with that language; (2) Mudaliyar Don Manueltamby Puvirajasinghe; g-gf Mudaliyar Don Juan Puvirajasinghe; g-gu Mudaliyar Don Diago Warnasuriya Arasunillaiyittu who held the office of 'Respador'; g-gf Mudaliyar Don Sanchuwanpillai Diego Vaz, alias Don Diego Vas Puvirajasinghe.<sup>22</sup>

It is obvious from the above list of Headmen that the Karawas held high office under the Kings from very early times. Later under the Portuguese, Dutch and through out the British period upto the arrival of Sir Arthur Gordon as Governor in 1883. This as a consequence of his indoctrination by the then Maha-Mudaliyar, whereby he caused to be decreed that "henceforth all chief headmanship shall be among the Goigama or Vellala caste". Ferguson, aptly commented on this as "the most indiscreet minute ever made by a Governor". Fifty years earlier another Maha-Mudaliyar submitted his famous "Description of the Castes of Ceylon". These two acts together saw the birth of "Colonial Aristocrats".

22. Van Sanden J. C. - The Chieftains of Ceylon (Colombo) 1936 p. 53

Let us turn our attention to the names used by the Karawas from the time of our kings to the present day, viz; Arasakulasuriya, Arasanilaitta, Amarasuriya Edirimanasinga, Kanagasuriya, Rasakaria Retasinghe, Kurukulasuriya, Warnakulasuriya, Puvirajasinghe, Tisseverasinghe, Puvimanasinghe, Retnamudikatti, Ayramudikatti, Kurukulanattutevan and Sakkravatty - These were used only by the Karawas or Kurukulams in Jaffna, Trincomalee, Batticaloe, Mantota and by their counterparts the Karawas of the South.

We find numerous references in South Indian Inscriptions to personages who styled themselves as Kurukularayan, which signifies a chieftain. The term is analogous to the name Kurukulataiwan from "Kuru" a prince of the Lunar race, after whom his family was called Kurukulam.<sup>23</sup> The Collection of South Indian Inscriptions will form a separate study. However, of interest to us at the present moment is the Tirumukkudal Inscription of the Chola King Virarajendra (1062-1067 A.D.) which describes his invasion of the Island thus, "(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 Chola King) began to wage a war in Illum which cast a gloom on that army of the Sinhalese wherein KURUKULATTARIYAN, who wore a golden anklet and another feudatory whose anger in war was that of thunder, fell down and were slain. A great tumult then arose and spread through the land which was not able to bear (the charge of the Cholas) with the result that Vijaya Bahu, the king (of the Island) took to flight without knowing even the directions and (the Chola King) took his queen captive, conquered ..... carried away immeasurable large family gems along with five crowns and made Lanka with its impregnable walls his own."<sup>24</sup>

Three unique inscribed swords amply testify to the position and esteem held by the Karawas in times goneby. The inscriptions deciphered and translated reads as follows:—

1. "In the year of Blessed Buddha 1143 the great King of Srie Lanka Kudaakbo appointed Kaurawara Aditte Kuruwede,

23. Tamil Lexicon, Madras, 1932 Vol. II.

24. Subramaniya Ayyar K. V. Translation of Inscription No. 38 of Epigraphia Indica Vol. XXI Part 5 pp 220-250. For Tamil text refer South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. VII, p 53 No. 126. 1933.

Arsenillette Illanga, second King and presented a sword with the royal seal thereon in the said year, full moon, 15th Tuesday in the month of Wesak at the Seneviraja Wasala in Jayawardene."

2. "In the era of the Buddha 1792, the great King of Sri Lanka, Sahittye Pandita Parakkramabahu, appointed Kaurawira Aditte Kuru Arsenillette Cumara Tamel, second king and enthroned him with a sword set with gems, of nine classes. This was done at Sriwardena Wasala on Tuesday, full moon, in the said year."

3. "In the year of the Blessed Buddha 1959 at Jayawardanapura, Sri Sangabodde Sri Parakrama Bahu, great king of the entire Lanka, granted to Kauraweera Arsenillette Maha Nagate Rajasinghe, the office of Chief of the Army and the sword with an inscription, on Wesak, Tuesday, at Sri Wardenan Wasala".<sup>25</sup>

The names inscribed on the three swords given to Karawa Chiefs in Sri Lanka at different times, the recipients names and clans are almost the same. The first sword reads, KAURAVIRA ADITTE KURUWEDE ARSENILLETTE ILLANAGA, the grantee is appointed second king in 600 A.D. The second sword granted to KAURAVAR ADITTE KURU ARSENILLETTE CUMARA TAMEL in 1249 A.D. appointing him second king. The third sword granted in 1416 A.D. to KAURAVIRA ARSENILLETTE MAHA NAGATE RAJASINGHE, appointing him Chief of the Army.<sup>26</sup>

The term "KAURAVARA" or "KAURAVIRA" is the same as Kaurawa, "relating to or belonging to the Kurus, from Kuru descendant of Kuru. "The word ADITTIYA, in Sanskrit means the Sun, Suriya. Aditti is the name of the most ancient Indian goddess and mother of the Adittiyas, commonly thought to correspond to "Quranes" of the Greeks, often regarded as the Supreme Deity being then styled, King of the gods, or king of both men and gods. In later mythology, he has been a kind of Neptune and he is best known in his character as the lord of the

25. Dharmaratna G. A. - Kara-Goi Contest 1890 p 58

26. Fernando C. M. - Two Old Sinhalese Swords - J.L.R. A. S. C. B. Vol. XVIII No. 56 pp. 388-391 & 447-449.

Ocean. He is the regent of the Western Quarter.<sup>27</sup> ARSANILLETTE means endowed with or possessing kingly status.<sup>28</sup>

These titles evidently point to their Kaurava origin. In South India prominent families including the Pandyan Dynasty claimed Kaurava descent. The evidence is not confined to individuals, families and groups, but extends to geographical areas as well and comes down to modern times.

"Arikesari Maravarman (670-710 A.D.) ruined the Paravas who did not submit to him and destroyed the people of the fertile KURUNADU".<sup>29</sup>

In the 13th century, a sub-division of Rajagambhira-velanadu in Trichnopoly District was known as KURUNAGANADU.<sup>30</sup> The inscriptional evidence extends to comparatively modern times. Thus we find that Dodda-Deva Raja (a Mysore Raja 1659-1672 A.D.) claims to have subjugated the Kurus.<sup>31</sup>

Thurston, describing the Pattanavan of the Madras Presidency (1909) states, "Some Pattanavanas give themselves high sounding caste titles e.g. ... VARNAKULA MUDALI ... OF KURUKULA VAMSAM after KURU, the ancestor of the Kauravas."<sup>32</sup>

In considering the Karava tradition of a KURU origin, that is from the Kuru refugees who were exiled from KURU RATA after the defeat of the KAURAVAS described in the Mahabharata, the tradition among them is that they migrated south into the Deccan Plateau along with their Kings and Generals settled down peacefully in Chera, Sola, and Pandyan Kingdoms. Being long domiciled in the south of India these Kshatriya immigrants, in the course of centuries of acclimatisation adopted the Tamil language as their own, just as their descendants in Sri Lanka adopted the Sinhala language and culture.

27. Monier-Williams - A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Oxford 1899

28. Raghavan M. D. - The Karava of Ceylon Society & Culture. 1961 p. 11 n.

29. Nilakanta Sastri K. A. - The Pandyan Kingdom, 1929. p. 52

30. Rangacharya C. A. - Topographical List of the Inscriptions of Madras Presidency. 1919 Vol. 3 p. 1521

31. Rice B. L. - Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions. London 1909. p. 128

32. Thurston Edgar - Castes and Tribes of South India Vol. V. p. 178 (1909)

The MUKKARA HATANA, a manuscript found in the Hugh Nevill Collection of the British Museum, OR. 6606 (53) consisting of four large palm leaves written on both sides contains interesting information about the coming of the Karavas and their subsequent settlement in Sri Lanka in the reign of Sri Parakrama Bahu VI of Kotte (1412-1467 A.D.)

As narrated in this manuscript 7740 soldiers arrived in Sri Lanka at the request of the King. This army was under command of their own chieftains Vaccha-natu-devarir, Kuru-Kula Nattu-Devarir, Manikku-Talaivan, Adiyarasa Adappan Unnahe, Varna Suriya Dombranada Adappa Unnahe, Kurukula Suriya Mudiyanse, Paradakula Suriya Mudiyanasa, Arasakula Suriya Mudiyanasa came from Kanchipuram, Kaveripattanam and Kilakarai. They wrested Puttalam from the Mukkuvas losing 1500 men and after two and a half months fighting, they captured Nagapattanam. Manikku-Talaivan fell fighting in this battle. After the capture of the two Forts, they exhibited two red flags and the heads of the enemy chieftains over the citadels.

The King was so pleased with their feat; he granted them on a copper sannas as their hereditary parveni lands, Madinoruwa in Hatalispae Korale East, Anavulundan Pattu, Munneswararam, Kammala, Tamaravila, Hunupitiya Street, Periyamulla Street, Kammala Street, Kolonpiti Mahavidiya, Vallevidiya Kurana Vidiya and Negombo.

There is a Tamil deed of land sale in Kottapitiya, north of Chilaw. It is written on an old palm leaf dated 15th March 1644 stating that "Palappu, the son of Kuchikommadiyar and Vanniyar of KURUKULA caste, put in auction the village named Kottapitiya, situated in Anavulundan Pattu ..... the selling party gave up all their rights and claims in connection with the land and delivered it over to the buying party in the presence of both the Vanniar and PATTANKATTINAR of Anavulundan Pattu" <sup>33</sup>

The Mukkara Hatana, folio 3 and 4 describe how VARNAS KULASKRIYA ARASA NILAYITTA MUDULIYAR of Sea Street Negombo had slashed the sole of his foot and refused to fight for the Portuguese against Rajasinghe, for "the renowned scion

33. Raghavan M. D. - The Karava of Ceylon Culture and Society 1961 p. 18-20

of the pure Suriyavansa" it would appear "to be disloyalty to the royal house of Kotte on the part of those who had come from Kanchipura at the Royal Command."

When the Dutch arrived, King Rajasinghe sent for the Nilamakarayos of Negombo; they were Kurukulasuriya Mudaliyar Mahavidiya, Semprarasa Arasakula Adappayar of Kurana, Kurukulasuriya Virasinba Aracci of Kurana, Jayasuriya Aracci of Mahahunupitiya, Kattadappa Aracci, the blood relation of the Mudaliyar of Sea Street, Adirasa Adappayar and several others from among the Araccis. On all of them he conferred honours and titles and decorated them with necklaces.

The three towns Kanchipuram Kaveripattanam and Kilakarai were in that period situated within the territories of the Vijayanagar Emperors who levied tribute from Illam" <sup>34</sup>

The Vaccha-Nattu-Thevaragey is still the name borne by certain Karava families in Siyane Korale where some of the oldest Karava families are resident. "Vacca was a town in North India called also Kausambi, the capital of Nemi-Sakshiran, King of Hastinapura (22 miles N. E. of Meerut) who transferred his capital to Vacca" <sup>35</sup>

Kuru-Kula Nattu Devariar, Lord of Kuru Country. The ancient Kuru country may have comprised of Kurukshetra and Thaneswar" <sup>36</sup>

Tradition about the Kshatriya settlers from Kuru rata in Parana-Kuru Korale and Alutkuru Korale were current in Ceylon. <sup>37</sup>

The KADAIM POEA states; "In olden times, after the the Rayana War from Kuru Rata there came to this Island a Queen, a royal prince, a rich nobleman, and a learned prime minister, with their retinue, and by order of King Rama dewit in the place called on that account Kuru-rata. In the year of (?) our

34. Madras Annual Report of Epigraphy, 144 of 1916

35. Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, VII p. 2

36. Mehta - Pre-Buddhist India, p. 382

37. Marambe A. J. M. - Tri Sinhale Kadaim Saha Vitti Part I. p. 14 Kandy 1929 (Sinhala)

Lord Gautama Buddha, Gaja Bahu who came from Kuru-rata, settled people in the (second Kuru-rata) calling it PARANA KURU RATA. Into another place he sent 1000 persons and gave it to them calling it ALUT-KURUYA." 38

The JANAVANSA is another important document giving a valuable record of the Sinhalese castes and their origin. It was compiled by Buddha Rakkhita Thero in 1240 A.D. Interested parties had suppressed from most copies the origin and records relating to the Ethnic Group known as Karava or Karaya. Hugh Nevill who had made a very close study of these manuscripts refers to a genuine copy thus: "It has 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. I have a rare version, which contains an authentic passage referring to the Karava caste, suppressed now from most copies." 39

Hugh Nevill's translation of the text in the Taprobanian is as follow:—

"mancha marocha Kewatte waguri Wapi jalika. Hanna which is torture, jara which is decay; are the roots.

Because those who knew how to build oru (boats), Yatra (outrigger junks), ney (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 'Setthi' 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 Kewatta race, chief of the 700 heroes, came near (kara) the royal prince

Wijaya, he gave the rank of Yuva Raja (sub-king) to the Karava 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 children, and whilst so living, upon a scheme of the royal prince Wijaya, that Kewatta Yuva Raja with his wife, placing two elder sons and two elder daughters in charge of King Wijaya, together with his two younger children, became chief of the city Kanchi and Kanchi Rata, according to his age went to the other world. The manner in which the name Karava 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 Sinhu Mahu, grandson of Kalinga Chakrawarti, was reigning in Lakdiva, calling twenty four Kewatte Grahapati men, possessed of broad wise intelligence from the city of Kanchipura, in order that they may settle in Lankadipa, he made a covenant giving them fields, gardens, 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-staff, and people accustomed to fight with swords (khadga), javelin (kuntha), pikes (tomara), shields (palis), and the like, saying (holding), the pearl 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.

Because they came near (kara) the Bodhi, because they came near (kara) the princes, they were called Karawa. Giving

38. Bell H. C. P. - Report on the Kegalle District 1892 p. 2

39. Nevill Hugh - Notes on the Janavansa, Nevill Collection British Museum 13754

40. Nevill Hugh - Taprobania Vol. 1 pp. 109-110 April 1886

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

them many fields, gardens, and villages, they made them to stay in this Sri Lanka.

Thus because princes, who attained the kingship 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 Karavas of the Northern and Eastern Provinces are commonly known as KURU-KULAMS. In some parts of Jaffna they call themselves SURIYA-KULATH-ARASAR and Raja Kurukulams. They have always considered themselves Kshatriyas. Fr. Gnanaprakasara Vellalan says that the Karavas should be called Kshatriyas following a derivation from KAURAWA.<sup>41</sup> For a long time in the Jaffna Cathedral when the banns of marriage are proclaimed it was always read out thus:- "RASA KURU KULATHUKKU SENTHA .....". But all the Karawas of Jaffna were registered in the Baptismal Register under "Cujus Caste" as KURUKULAM.

It is of some significance that the term "KARAYUR" was given to the present town of Jaffna. "KARAYUR" means KARALAND or KARA CITY. Delhi was the original home of the Kauravas or Kurus. This is confirmed in the Soolamani Nigandu which states that the "original country of the Karayars was Kuru-Land, which is the land of the ancient Kshatriyas and as Casie Chitty admitted even as far back as 1828 that "in his day portions of them were still called KURU-KULAM in Jaffna."<sup>42</sup>

The Kurukulams of Jaffna and elsewhere had held important posts under the ancient kings and continued to do so under the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British.

41. Gnanaprakasara Fr. S. - History of the Catholic Church in Ceylon 1924 p. 116 n.

42. Casie Chitty Simon - Ceylon Gazetteer 1828 p. 235

#### POSTS HELD BY THE KURUKULAMS

1. Adigars - in Mannar and Mantota. These came next to the Kings or Governors.
2. Maningars - in Jaffna and Trincomalee. These were of equal rank to the Adigars.
3. Mudaliyars - in Jaffna, Mantota and Mannar of the same rank as Adigars.
4. Kinglets of the Careas - or sub kings when the Portuguese arrived.
5. PATTANAGATTIES :- from Tamil Pattankatti, one on whom a title (pattam) is conferred (literally bound, whence in Sinhala "Patabenda".<sup>43</sup> This is a designation generally applied to the Karawa Chiefs. From Portuguese sources we know that there were numerous Pattangatties in the Maritime Districts. The principal chiefs were Mahapatabandas, designated by the Portuguese as PATANGATIM MAJOR and in Negombo 1613 A. D. two Maha-Patabandas were Don Gasper de Cruz Kurukulamiya and Alphonso Perera Varnakulasuriya.<sup>44</sup> Also Pencuti Arachi, the the Patangatim-Mor of Colombo was "ordered to be beheaded and quartered"<sup>45</sup> "Patabanda Mor", very often an accretion of honour-giving names as the family advanced in official status, was the name symbolical of worth or courage, conferred on elevation to office".<sup>46</sup> This term is used among the Karawas of the North and South.

6. ADAPPAN - (Tamil) Chieftain or Headman, a title given to minor chiefs among the Karawas both in Jaffna and Colombo.<sup>47</sup>
7. Odeyar - Headman of a smaller division. This term appears in the Ceylon Almanac of 1837 when Anthony Swanden was appointed "Odear of Careore".

In the time of the Portuguese the king had a Council of Mudaliyars and Arachchis. These were equal to the Udayars in the North.<sup>48</sup>

43. De Queyroz Ferno Temporal and Spirituai Conquest of Ceylon trs. Fr. S. G. Perera p. 326 note

44. Peris Paul - Ceylon Litoral p. 26

45. Peris Paul - Portuguese Era Vol. 1 p. 424 (1914)

46. Reimers Edmund - "Some Sinhalese Names and Surnames", R.A.S.C.B. Vol. XXXI Xo. 83, p. 440

47. Nevill Hugh - Mukkaru-Yuddha Katha - British Museum No. P. 117325 p. 408

48. Peris Paul - Portuguese Era Vol. 1 p. 81

8. VIDANE - Groups of villages were placed in charge of *Vidanes* and *Atukoralas*, while the affairs of the individual village were divided into *DISAWANI*. In charge of each *Disawani* was an high official named *Disawa*, (corresponding to the *Maniagar*). In each *Korale* was an *Adigar*, an officer regarding whose functions there is much doubt, though they appear to have been chiefly of a judicial nature. The word *Adigar* comes from the Sanskrit *Adikarin*, one possessing authority. It was a title employed for headmen in the Madras State. <sup>49</sup>

Groups of villages were placed in charge of *Vidanes* and *Atukorales*, while affairs of the individual villages attended by a body of headmen or *Mayorals*, varying in number from four to ten, in accordance with the extent of each. These headmen were subordinate to the *Vidanes*, and they in turn to the *Dissawa* or *Maniagar*, who was also the chief judicial officer within his territorial jurisdiction.

#### SLAVES OWNED BY KARAWAS

The *Karawas* or *Kurukulams* owned slaves from ancient times as recorded in the *Thesawalamni*, "the *Karayar* of *Jaffna* owned Slaves". <sup>50</sup> In 1819 *Bastiampillai Constantine SASTHRIA* of *Jaffnapattam*, held slaves according to three certificates of *Enregistration of Slaves* <sup>51</sup>

Among the *Karawas* in the South "Slaves formed part of the land. A slave girl bought by *Thomas Pieris* from *Bras D'Anderado* was taken over by the latter for what she had cost. <sup>52</sup>

The *Thesawalamni* code states that "slaves of *Jaffnapattam* were divided into four castes, *Koviyas*, *Chandas*, *Pallas* and *Nallawas*". In this connection *Mudaliyar Rasanayagam*, states,

49. *Ibid* - 313

50. *Muttukrishna C.* - *Thesawalamni*, p. 271

51. *Raghavan M. D.* - *The Karava of Ceylon, Society and Culture* 1961 pp. 91-92

52. *Paulusz J. H. O.* - *Dutch Records, De Anderado & De Fonseka Papers*, Vol. No. 3210

"Those who were unable to do so (leave *Jaffna*) became slaves of the *Tamil Chieftains* and are known as '*Kovia*', a caste peculiar to *Jaffna* alone. The term is no doubt a corruption of the *Sinhalese* word '*Goviya*' or '*Goiya*' and that their original status was equal to that of the *Vellalas* as can be inferred from certain customs which are still in vogue in *Jaffna*." <sup>53</sup>

Slavery originate under the *Thesawalami*, either by birth or purchase. During the period of the *Tamil Kings*, capture in war was a recognised method of enslavement. Once a person became a slave, he was treated as the master's property. The master had the right to the slave's services.

The Laws governing Slavery were codified by *Clasz Inkez* 1707 during the *Dutch Regime*. When *Ceylon* became a *Crown Colony* under the *British* it was not possible to abolish Slavery. By *Proclamation* dated 15th *January* 1799 it was announced that those who were slaves shall continue to be slaves. In 1806 the *British Government* made the following declaration: - "All questions that relate to those rights and privileges which exist in the said *Province* between the higher and lower castes, particularly the *KOVIAS*, *NALAWAS* and *PALLAS* and the others shall be decided according to the custom and ancient usages of the *Province*." <sup>54</sup>

The first attempt to free the slaves began in the *Maritime areas*. *Regulation No. 9* of 1811 states that certain proprietors of slaves in the *Maritime Provinces* have voluntarily freed their slaves and that the *Prince Regent* has accepted the generous offer. Such liberated slaves should be deemed to be free from the 12th *August* 1816.

But most of the owners were not willing to free their slaves. By *Regulation No. 8* of 1821 an attempt was made to purchase and free the children of the *Koviyar*, *Nallayar* and *Pallar* castes and masters were to be given compensation for such loss. This was no easy task. It was by gradual process this social reform was effected. Finally by *Regulation No. 20* of 1844 Slavery was abolished in *Ceylon*.

53. *Rasanayagam C.* - *Ancient Jaffna (Madras 1926)* p. 383

54. *Enactments Vol. I* 1796 - 1833 p. 107.



### The Karawas and Kudimakkals

Though slavery was abolished, the services of the Kudimakkals continued till very recent times. Kudimakkals are those who perform services to a person or to a village. In Jaffna the Kurukulams had the following Kudimakkals.

(1) Barber, (2) Dhoby, (3) Marayar, (4) Koviars, (5) Nattuvars

The services rendered by these are very aptly described in a wedding which took place in 1922 when the grand-daughter of Pedropillai, Pala Udaiyar one of the descendants of Punnia Puvu Raja Singhé a Kurukula chief, married the son of John Vidane, the great grandson of Nicholas Mark Varunakulathane. Pandal or booths were erected in the Court yards of the respective houses. Each Pandal was hung with white cloth inside and tastefully decorated with bunches of ripe arecanuts, coconut blossoms, leaves, lanterns and flowers made of coloured paper. When every necessary preparation was completed an invitation was sent out to all their relations and friends presenting each of them with betel. On the day of the marriage the *Nattuvars* herald the day with their Nagasingam. As the guest assemble the bridegroom proceeded in a decorated carriage to the church and waited the arrival of the bride in a similar decorated carriage. The religious ceremony was gone through and the closest relations of the bridegroom helped to bind the Thali round the bride's neck. The bridegroom placed a ring on the finger of the bride and the bride in turn placed another ring on the bridegroom's finger.

After signing the Register before the priest and two witnesses, the couple went in a decorated carriage drawn by four horses. At the junction of the Paludaiyar Road, the couple alighted and were led in procession under a "POOMPANDAL" canopy of flowers held by four KOVIAS, while the DHOBY spread the white cloth along the road, two others fanned with Chamarams or Whisks and the NATTUVAR played the THANGA NAGASAKAM. Two MARAYARS blew chanks and eight dancing girls sang songs. The bride had four THOLIES or bride's maids who strew flowers on the path of the couple.

Having arrived at the bride's residence the party was conducted into the decorated Pandal and the bridal couple sat on a SINGASANAM with the Kurukula and Makara flags behind

them. When the guests had been served with cake and wine after the cutting of the Nuptial cake, the "COORAI" ceremony began. A MARAYAR brought the COORAI CLOTH and the AMBATTAN or Barber sang the song— "Aar pol thalaithu, aruhupol veroondi..." meaning, "You shall flourish like the Banyan tree, take root like the Kusa grass, you shall shoot up like bamboo and live without end." The COORAI is taken round and all present touch it with both hands. Then the bride was taken into the bridal chamber and dressed in the COORAI cloth.

Then the VIRUNTHU or Wedding Meal took place. All the relations sit on long mats spread along the verandha. Then when everything was ready the father of the bride asked: "Can we eat?" The Dhoby looks round to ascertain if there were any outsiders. If there was one person, the dhoby would say, "There is one person". Then that person is taken out to a separate place and given food. The custom is so strict that no one else except the relations could sit at the SABAI or VIRUNTHU.

The Kudimakkals are then paid in kind and cash. The wedding rejoicings continue for a week. There was first the "NALAM CHADANGU" or the fourth wedding on the fourth day, and the "ELDAM CHADANGU" or the eight wedding on the eighth day. During these days processions take place from the bride's place to the bridegroom's house on the fourth day and back to the bride's house on the eighth day. The Kurukulams of Jaffna, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mannar, Mantote and Mullativu Districts have retained most of these rites and ceremonies.

William H. Gilbert has also recorded that "on great festive occasions the Karawas could spread a white cloth on which they could dine and could cover their stools with white cloth also. Their dwellings could be decorated likewise and they could carry a torch in their processions. They display a white flag with the device of a fish or elephant in the centre. In addition they could carry an umbrella of tailpot palm and in their own lands could have white cloth spread beneath their feet. They possessed military officers and some were appointed to the office of Adigar by the King. They might be carried in Palanquins with beat of drums before them on the road in ceremonial parades." 55

55. Gilbert Jr. William H.: "The Sinhalese Caste System of Central and Southern Ceylon", The Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. 35, No. 3 (March, 1945) p. 85.

The following verse sung by the Kurukula people of Mantote from very ancient times will further go to prove that they belonged to the Kshatriya Varuna Kulam known as "Yuar Kulam" of High Caste.

"For all ages the generations of the high caste Kshatriyas Varunakulathar have been the highest caste.

To prove this the fearless one born of the Divine caste was Kurukula King.

For twenty one generations, victory, praise was due to them. Ayodha was the land of the Ariyas.

The round Umbrella was in their victory Flag.

Held over the gods whenever they pass.

While Peacock Flag, the white Chanks, Chewaries held in the hand,

Their greatness shall we proclaim with ceaseless blowing of Chanks."

"In ancient times when the Pandiyan King came to Ceylon He got the help of the Kurukula King, he was crowned.

This Lord of the Sea, Duroyodaran, who for twelve years

Made the Pancha Pandavar wonder through the forest

Was subdued by the Kurukula King."

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE KAURAWAS

In the Northern and Eastern Provinces the Kaurawas or Kurukulams are distributed in the following towns and villages.

*Jaffna District:* Karayur (Kurunagar), Passayur, Madagal, Uram, Myliddy, Vallvettithurai, Thondammanar, Point Pedro, Chembianpattu, Nagarkovil, Chundikuly, Sillalai, (St. James), Pandatruppu (St. Anthony's), Illayalai (St. Rita's), Marisankudal, Potty, Vallthundal, Pattavatai (St. Philip Neri's), Palali, Alvai, Thumpalai, Pallai, Thalaidy, Vethilakerny, Kaddaikadu - Delft, Eluvaitivu.

*Vavuniya District:* Mullaitivu, Matalan, Kokilai, Puthukudiyiruppu, Valayanmadam, Komarasankulam, Manaiklaru.

*Mannar District:* Mannar Town and the Islands. But in the interior in the Mantote area there are 24 villages belonging to the Kurukulams around Giant's Tank. Most of these people lived in the Giant's Tank area till the earlier part of the British period when they were shifted to other villages when the Tank

was deepened. These villages include Parappankandal, Kallikattakadu, Murunkan, Ootuvayankulam, Uyilankulam, Sirukandal, Pariarikandal, Sundikuly, Pichaikulam, Kannaddy, Kallakanam, Periyakunchikulam, Periyamurippu, Vanchiankulam, Naruvilikulam, Puthukamam, Palaikuly, Muthalaikuthi, Soorlatevakaddaikadu, Sirunavatkulam.

*Trincomalee District:* Panchiankulam, Vaharai and Muttur. Besides Trincomalee, China Bay, Sinnaikadu, Uppuvelly, they are found in the towns at Periaoppodal, Puliadikude, Pattjantvu, Kinniya, Upparu, Illankaturai, Valachenai, Santhively, Korakalimadu, Chenkatady.

*Batticaloa District:* Vechukalmunai, Kavatkuda, Araiputhai, Thalankuda, Kalkuda, Sorikalmunai, Tenhativu, Kallar, Tirukovil, Pottuvil, Vanthuru, Moolai, Commanthurai, Kathirankerny, Thanamunai, Thandanavelly, Sinhalaivadi, Kalladi, Ilonampilly, Sorikalmunai, Manmunai, Veeracholai, Akkaraipattu.

In the Eastern Province the Rasa Kurukulams are found in Tammankadu, Manampitiya, Punnanai and Velikandar.

Rev. Dr. P. A. J. B. Antonius



කම්මල මුදියන්සේට කියන ලද ප්‍රබන්ධ

1. පොරණ මුදලි මගමුවේ අලුත්ගම-සාපනේ අන්ද රාදී  
දරණ එයින් නම කරාවෙ වලියෙන්-සටන් යුදට මැතිදෙක් සැදී  
තරණ සියලු සැම අයවත් වැඩියෙන් - නනතුරු ලැල සිටියේ රැදී  
පරණ පොරණදී මුදලිපුගේ ගති - අසනුය මිතුරෙහි සවන් දී
2. ඇට මොඩ මෙන් කස්තාන ලමින් ගෙන-රට සැම කෝරලෙ නිලම වරු  
වට කර සිංහලෙ කොටුකර තත් ඇත - ලංස පටිස්තානද කුරිරු  
මිට මොනවත් විට එයින් එකක්වත් - නොකිබෙයි ගෙය ලෙස පීදුරු  
රට හැම යුද කර රටතොට අරවති - කරාවෙ නම් දරු මුදලි වරු
3. සිංහල අදිකාරම්වරු එලවා - දුමුවයි මා කදුරට මුරුවේ  
නන්රටවල සිටි සිංහල සෙනගද එලවා වෙඩි තබමින් මැරුවේ  
යන්රුව මෙන් ආ උභවෙ දියාවට කෙටුවයි කස්තානෙන් ඔලුවේ  
පින්කල කම්මල මහමුදලිපු ඇර කවුදයි හේවාකම කෙරුවේ
4. සරාකැලේ යන සිංහල සතුරන් - මරා දමන්නට නිලම වරු  
දරා අතින් කඟ පත්තන් අරගෙන - ලුහුබැඳ ඇරියාවද කුරිරු  
විරාජිත්ව මලයකුත් කරලා - කොළඹට වැඩ සිටි සවාම් දරු  
කරාවෙ කම්මල මහ මුදලිපු ඇර - කවුදයි මේ රට මුදලි වරු
5. පාත රටේ වෙන මුදලි කෙනෙක් නැත - මේ උතුමා මිස වෙන කවුරු  
මැන්වමේ සිටිනා ලන්දේසින් - සුද්දකරපු සැටි දක රුදුරු  
දුන වටේ බැදී රන් කස්තානත් ඇදගෙන යුදයට ගියෙ කවුරු  
පාත රටේ පවතින්නට ආවේ - මේ මැති කරපු වික්‍රමය ගරු
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7. මෙවන් දසක් සිංහවලින්ද ගැටබෙර ගසන්ද මර්දන නාල මිනේ  
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සුදු

පොන්සේකා මුදලි ගැන

8. කොළඹ මගමු පදිත්වියෙදී - ප්‍රාක්‍රම රජු පණත ගත්තු  
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එලඹ එදෙසින් ආලු පුරවර අගොස්තුනු මුදලිපු සම තතු  
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(පුරාණ කවි)

සැලකිය යුතුයි :

පුරාපාද වැලිගම ශ්‍රී සුමංගල මහා නායක මා හිමිපාණන් විසින් රචිත පුරාණ අන්ටපතකින්, ජිජ. බී. ද එස්. ඒ. ජගත් විජයනායක මහතාගේ ඉල්ලීම පරිදි, පුරා පාද බී. ශ්‍රීනිවාස මහා නායක මා හිමිපාණන් විසින් උපුටාගන්නා ලද්දකි.

## Poem in praise of Kammala Maha Mudaliyar

### Sheet I

Listen, ye friends, give ear to the exploits of the ancient Mudaliyar Andradi, who held command over Negombo, Alutgama and Jaffna renowned on that account as a minister of war, sprung from Karava ancestry. He received honours more numerous and secure than all other mortals.

### Sheet II

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

### Sheet III

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

### Sheet IV

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

### Sheet V

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

### Sheet VI

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

### Sheet VII

There is no other Mudaliyar in the Low Country, but this exalted person who saw, in recent times, the way the Dutch around here fought with vigour. Who is it that went to battle, armed with gilt daggers, fastened to the two hands? The reputation of the exploits of this Minister has come to stay in the low Country.

### Sheet VIII

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

## Dr. M. D. Raghavan

With the passing away of Dr. M. D. Raghavan on 8th June 1976 in Madras at the ripe old age of 85 years, Sri Lanka has lost an eminent and distinguished citizen who has made a distinctive contribution to research into the culture and traditions of this country. As a member of the Department of National Museums his voluminous contribution was that of a pioneer in the field of anthropological research. His studies in this field are marked by a width of range and perspective and distinguished for their careful, scholarly and systematic treatment.

Born in Kerala he had his academic education in the Universities of Madras and Oxford. He saw field work with the Anthropological Expedition to India by the Saxon State Institute, Germany, led by Professor Egon von Eickstedt in 1928. He was the first Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras. He was also President of the Ethnology and Folklore Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, XIth Session, Hyderabad. It was during this period that he was able to compile his first major work, **Folk Plays and Dances of Kerala**, which was published in 1947.

On his retirement from Indian Service he was appointed in 1946 by the Government of Ceylon to the post of Ethnologist and later Assistant Director in the Department of National Museums. During his tenure of office he organised and conducted the Ethnological Survey of the island and the results of his studies were published in the form of monographs in the Departmental Journal, the *Spolia Zeylanica*. His work includes the first comprehensive studies of the cultural traditions of lesser known social groups such as the Rodiyas, Kinnarayas and Ahikuntakayas. These accounts show that he had penetrated into the remotest parts of the country making patient, careful and painstaking investigations into the manifold aspects of life of these people. His monograph on the **Pattini Cult as a Socio - Religious institution** is another penetrating analysis of a complex group of practices prevalent throughout the island, but hitherto unnoticed by any scientific observer.

Supplementary to these he also made a series of contributions to **Ceylon Today**, the Journal of the Department of Information, **New Lanka** and other journals. Besides these he contributed profusely articles of a more popular flavour based on these themes to the Ceylon and Indian Press.

Since his retirement in 1955, being free from the burdens of tiresome administrative duties of office, he was able to devote the entirety of his time to the work that he cherished so dearly. The substantial nature of the publications that flowed from him show that these were equally productive years of his life. First came another important pioneering work - a full scale study of a major ethnic group in the island - **The Karava of Ceylon: Society and Culture** which was hailed by informed critics as a notable advance in anthropological research in Ceylon. This was followed by **Ceylon: A Pictorial Survey of the Peoples and Arts** which, as its title indicates, was a kaleidoscopic review of the distinctive arts and customs of the people, some of them little known outside the confines of the island. In his next work **India in Ceylonese History, Society and Culture**, which was sponsored by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations, he attempted to go beyond the scope of a mere social and cultural analysis to an investigation into the fundamental connections in the lives of the peoples of the two lands. His exhaustive study of Sinhalese dances, a theme dear to him from his very early days, and made possible by an award of the Hilda Obeyesekere Research Scholarship from the University of Ceylon, found expression in **Sinhala Netum**. His last published work is an introductory sketch of the social and cultural content of the Tamils of Ceylon entitled **Tamil Culture in Ceylon: an Introduction**. Another pioneering study of the Mukkuwas, a comparatively unknown ethnic group, is still in manuscript form awaiting publication.

He was always closely associated with the many social and cultural activities of the land and served in various capacities in several governmental projects connected with these objectives. He was a member of the Advisory Board for the Development of the Backward Communities from its inception

in 1951. He also served, in the Arts Council of Ceylon in the Panel of Folk Songs and Dances.

With advancing years preferring to be with his own people he betook himself to his native soil and spent the better part of this period in Kerala. Subsequently on account of mounting health problems he took up residence in Madras where he spent the last days of his life.

This tribute to a great scholar would be fully appreciated on reading the Forward, and the numerous reviews of his work "The Karava of Ceylon Society and Culture" in foreign countries. In conclusion, I take the liberty to append a few of these as a final salute.

R. C. de S. M.



## Foreword

Ceylon's diverse and colourful population pattern has only lately attracted the attention of anthropologists. Earlier investigators, such as C. G. Seligman, concentrated on the Veddas, the most primitive and archaic of the Island's numerous ethnic groups, and though A. M. Hocart and more recently Bryce Ryan gave an account of the general outline of the Sinhalese caste-system, there have been few intensive studies of the more advanced sections of either the Sinhalese or the Tamil populations. The work of E. R. Leach, Nur Yalman and M. Y. Banks will in time no doubt provide data on some of the individual caste-groups, but Dr. M. D. Raghavan is the first to produce a full scale monograph describing a community of considerable numerical importance - The Karavas, who form the subject of the present book, are a population of remarkable vigour and versatility. Their contribution to the development of Ceylon's economy cannot be easily overestimated. Originally a group who played an active part in the fighting forces of the medieval days at a time of intense political activity in the history of the Island and in maritime pursuits, they have grown into a trading community of great wealth and enterprise, and today hold a key position in the modern urban economy of Ceylon. In their adaptation to a style of life based on Western Standards, they have perhaps moved furtheron than any other Sinhalese Social group, deeply conscious nevertheless of their traditional culture. Their contribution to the various facets of national life deserves special mention, and many Karavas now stand in the forefront of national life.

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

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

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

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

intertwined, they are clearly distinguished in ritual practice, and many of the ceremonies performed by Karavas for the sake of gaining temporal aims have very little connection with orthodox Theravada Buddhism.

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

**Christoph von FurerHaimendorf**

School of Oriental and African Studies,  
University of London.  
July, 1960

# JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

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THE KARAVA OF CEYLON: SOCIETY AND CULTURE,  
by M. D. Raghavan, with a foreword by Christopher von  
Furer Haimendorf, K. V. G. De Silva and Sons, Colombo,  
1961, pages xx and 216, Twenty plates (nine in colour),  
Bibliography, Index Rs. 20/- Postage =/55 cts

Dr. M. D. Raghavan conducted the Ethnological survey of Ceylon from 1946 till recently. His work, like that of others, was then generally confined to the study of minor and tribal groups and their cultures. Now he has brought his developed powers of observation, analysis and description, to the study of a major community which plays a prominent role in the economy and polity of Ceylon—the Karava. Dr. Raghavan has made use of several written sources, Portuguese, Dutch and Sinhalese and the appendices and bibliography give the reader a very good idea of these. We have thus before us an authoritative study which seeks to describe the essentials of Karava culture before they change out of recognition under the impact of the rapidly changing conditions created by modern science and technology.

Karava tradition, true to their name, claims that they are descendants of the Kurus who dispersed after the Great Battle of Kurukshetra between the Pandavas and Kauravas. But the many references to Kurukularajas or Kurukulattaraiyan in the mediaeval Tamil inscriptions of South India, and the prevalence of the title pattabandige (Cf pattangatti of Tamil records) give us the real clue to their true origin from S India. The opening chapter in Dr. Raghavan's book is the longest and traces the history of the community with the aid of the documents mentioned above from mediaeval to modern times. Living mostly in the coastal districts they came early into contact with the Portuguese and the Dutch, some of them accepting the Catholic faith, and after the establishment of British power rose to great prosperity by developing the coconut industry and a wide field of wholesale and retail activities. From the beginning fishing was one of their chief occupations and they made good use of the outrigger canoe (the oru) for deep sea fishing, and Dr. Raghavan discussed the technique of these boats and their use in chapter VI; he does not seem to have noticed the earlier study of the subject by Hornell.

The caste group of the Karavas has an extraordinarily wide range and includes speakers of Sinhalese and Tamil, Buddhists as well as Roman Catholics, simple fishermen and

eminent intellectuals. Side by side with sections of the largely westernised in style of living are others that have retained extremely ancient ideas and folkways. The average Karava villager may be said to profess simultaneously two distinct religions, namely Theravada Buddhism and the cult of Yakka and local deities. He is evidently not conscious of any inconsistency in his practising the two different creeds together; Buddhist worship concerns the fate of man in his next life, whereas the far more elaborate propitiation of dieties and demons aims at securing immediate benefits in this life.

The Karava caste has somehow escaped the pronounced feature of the Indian caste system viz a tendency to divide into endogamous sub-castes. Both Dr. Raghavan and Prof. Haimendorf discuss this noteworthy feature. Raghavan ascribes it to the fact that different sections came to Ceylon at different times and developed 'nuclear' cultures in different centres and as these cultures lacked a religious basis the tendency to sub-divide on a hierarchical basis did not arise. This seems hardly to explain much, and Haimendorf puts forward the suggestion that the fundamentally egalitarian nature of Theravada Buddhism furnishes the real explanation.

All the chapters in the book bear ample evidence of South Indian influences at work among the Karava through the centuries. The discussion of the Ge names roughly corresponding to surnames of European society and the psychological significance of the symbols and flags in use forms a striking contribution to our understanding the Karava outlook and social organization. Of special interest is the collection of caste flags cherished in the remote Hindu Tamil village of Manampitiya near Polonnaruwa; 'whatever be the circumstances that led to the establishment of this far flung outpost of Karava culture', says Dr. Raghavan, 'here today is seen the traditional Hindu Culture of the Karava, preserved for posterity, with the flags and banners of the group in the hands of these humble peasants and cultivators'. (p. 6)

At p. 581, 3 from the foot of the page, the word 'prototype' is used where 'replica' seems to be meant.

The book is exceedingly well produced and forms a welcome addition to the ethnological literature on Ceylon.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI



# Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Culture, Madras

PART I, 1961

THE KARAVA OF CEYLON: Society and Culture, by M. D. Raghavan, with a foreword by Christoph von Furer Haimendorf, K. V. G. De Silva and Sons, Colombo, 1961, pages xx and 216. Twenty plates (nine in colour). Bibliography, Index. Rs. 20/-.

This is the first full length study of a major constituent of the Sinhalese Social System and marks a notable advance in anthropological research in Ceylon which has so far been confined to the study almost exclusively of the minor and tribal groups. It is the work of Dr. M. D. Raghavan who is well known by his series of studies previously published by the Ethnological Survey of Ceylon and marked by careful scholarship and deep insight. The Karavas are an important and wide-spread community in modern Ceylon and their culture and habits are, like everything else about us, changing rapidly under the impact of modern conditions of life. By tracing the history of this people from mediaeval to modern times and by an authoritative analysis of their social organization religious beliefs and practices, and traditional institutions such as their Ge names, their flags and symbols, Dr. Raghavan has enabled students to gain a comprehensive understanding of this notable community.

The name of Karava links up with Kaurava of Mahabharata fame, and the community claim to be descendants of Kuru refugees who dispersed after the Great Battle; significantly enough there are many Kurukula rajas found all over the Tamil country and the Karavas are doubtless closely connected with them. The title Pattabendige, one of their chief ge titles, recalls the well known Tamil expression Pattangatti occurring in mediaeval S. Indian records. Occupying mainly the coastal districts in the west of the island the Karava came into early contact with the Portuguese and later the Dutch, and their records have much to say about the Karava and their ways and these have been used by the author, besides Sinhalese sources like the **Mukkara Hatana**. Fishing was one of the main occupations of the early Karavas, and this

leads Dr. Raghavan to a study of the design and construction of the design and construction of the outrigger canoes used in deep sea fishing. Dr. Raghavan, however, gives no evidence of his acquaintance with the earlier study of the subject by Hornall, published in the *Memories of the A. S. B.* some decades ago. In religion the Karavas follow Buddhism, in the main though there are also Catholics; but all follow the primitive Yakka cult and its rituals to assure themselves of their immediate temporal needs. The Karava share most the features of an Indian caste, but somehow maintain their caste unity without showing any tendency to break up into endogamous sub-castes as in India. Dr. Raghavan discusses this feature and accounts for it by saying that caste in Ceylon has no religious basis as in India but is a product of the 'nuclear' local culture of immigrants who settled in different areas and at different times; this seems not quite convincing an explanation, and Haimendorf seeks to supplement it, in the foreword, by drawing attention to the egalitarian nature of Theravada Buddhism which prevented the growth of a hierarchy of castes. The analysis of flags and their psychological import in the last two chapters is very interesting and instructive. Both author and publisher deserve to be congratulated on the excellence of their respective performances.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

KARAVA OF CEYLON: Society of Culture M. D. Raghavan. Forward by Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf. Colombo, Ceylon: K. V. G. de Silva & Sons, 1961. xxi, 216 pp., appendices, Bibliography, footnotes, genealogical table, index, 20 plates, \$ 5.00

The Karava are one of the largest and most important castes in Ceylon. They inhabit mainly the littoral from Trincomalee in the Northwest to Tangalle in the South and are generally engaged in fishing. Whether fishing is their "traditional" occupation as well is a much disputed point which bears on the status of the caste. The Karava are extremely enterprising in business and much of the trade of the interior of the Island is in their hands. The high Karava families, wealthy and educated have also formed the elite of Ceylon. Moreover, the caste is of particular interest since its members are divided between different religions: there are Catholics, Buddhists and some among them.

In this volume, Dr. Raghavan (Emeritus Ethnologist, National Museum of Colombo, Ceylon) who is well known for his numerous ethnographic studies, and who for a time conducted the Ethnological Survey of Ceylon, presents a general and very useful account of the Karava. The author begins with the history of the caste where the available evidence for the origins of the Karava in Ceylon is meagre. Part of the argument is clearly directed towards the status dispute between the dominant caste of the Sinhalese the Goyigama (Cultivator). Dr. Raghavan suggests that the Karava have been relegated to second rank late in their history and that the systematic use of term "fishers" is of Portuguese origin (p.40). He presents strong evidence to document this point that the Karava are more likely to have settled in Ceylon as professional soldiers, together with their own attendant castes.

As usual in questions of caste status the position of the Karava too is a volatile subject of passionate interest in Ceylon regarding which the various castes hold different opinions. Dr. Raghavan's point will tend to strengthen the Karava claims though the full documentation of the origin awaits a monographic treatment.

One of the useful aspects of the historical section is the presentation of documentary evidence. Thus we are provided with a full text translation of the Mukkara Hatana (The Mukkuva War) a traditional epic describing the arrival of the Karava in Ceylon. The great problems which arise in quarrying historical evidence from such old leaf manuscripts is clearly demonstrated. This particular manuscript is internally dated Saka 1159 (ie A.D. 1237) but it describes the arrival of the Suriya clans (according to the author around 1412-1467). But these dates are also unsatisfactory since the narrative includes an account of the arrival of the Portuguese (ie. 1505). It appears as if of about four centuries have been compressed into one epic and it seems clear that even in the context of exceedingly sophisticated literature traditions, the unusual patterns of myths and telescoped genealogies remain operative.

Chapters II to V are concerned with questions of caste, kingship and social organization. The account is uneven, subject of great interest such as the relations between the two communities of Karava in Negombo, who speak Sinhalese on one side of the lagoon and Tamil on the other do not receive sufficient attention (particularly in view of the unsettled language dispute which has caused much havoc in Ceylon in recent years) whereas the attempt to reconstruct past occupations from Karava names merits an entire chapter.

Dr. Raghavan raises important issues in connection with caste in Ceylon. He rightly rejects the application of the four-fold Hindu varna system and suggests that in this context castes are better regarded as autonomous units which do not readily fit into any hierarchy. There is little doubt that a tendency in this direction is now observable in the urban areas, but local caste hierarchies are still very strong in rural Ceylon. A more doubtful part of the argument is that the Sinhalese caste system has no "religious sustenance". While this view is widely held of even by those familiar with the high Buddhism of Ceylon, it should be observed that first the so-called Hindu deities continue to play an extremely important role in the religious life of the villagers (well-

described by the author himself); and second that the Buddhist priests do not condemn caste as such on the contrary the "feudal temple estates" (viharagam) remain closely intergrated into the caste service tenure system.

Certain sections of Chapter III where we are provided with a geographical survey of the customs, origin myths, and general organisation of various types of Karava communities will be very useful for future work on the island. There are accounts of the few Hindu Karava villages as well as of some Buddhist Karava of the Kandyan region. It is to be hoped the author will discuss the Catholic Karava in another context. The last two chapters are the most rewarding sections of the book. Chapter X (misleadingly entitled "Traditional Psychology" is in fact a valuable analysis of symbols used in Karava banners. Dr. Raghavan's examination of the symbolism of the Fish deserves particular attention. The association between the Fish on the banners and the significant "Manu and the Deluge" story from the Mahabharata is noted. The fish appears as the saviour of Manu, and Manu in turn having survived the flood in his ark with the assistance of the Fish becomes the progenitor of mankind. We should observe here that whatever the arguments regarding the origins of the Karava caste, it is clear in these sections of the book that their Myths are quite different from the origin myths of other castes and that the attention given to the Fish, to boats and flood, and the boatman Manu being the original ancestor, all obviously reflect the great preoccupation of the Karava with their fishing activities.

In Chapter XI Dr. Raghavan concentrates his attention on the symbolism of the Makara: a mythological cross between a fish and a water dragon. He describes the striking and beautiful folk epic Ammanai where the story of the capture of the Makara with nets woven from sacred texts is related. The myth has suggestive parallels to Oedipus and would merit close study for its own sake. The author also draws attention to the Myths of Rishi Kyavana who lives with fishes, but allows himself to be caught by fishermen. At the end of the story the fishermen are given a cow, whereon all the fish and fishermen rise up to heaven!

Dr. Raghavan has once again clearly done a service to students of Ceylon and South India. Much material that has never been brought together, or indeed published will now be conveniently accessible. There are weaknesses in the book, and the focus of attention moves with disconcerting rapidity from one area or community to the next, but on the other hand, Dr. Raghavan writes with erudition and we should look forward to his further work on myths and symbolism.

The volume carries a foreword by Prof. von Furer-Haimendorf. The bibliography is excellent. A good index, 20 plates, and three useful appendices are provided.

NUR YALMAN  
University of Chicago

American Anthropologist, Volume 64 No. 2, April 1962



THE KARAVA OF CEYLON: Society and Culture, by M. D. Raghavan, with a Foreword by Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf. Colombo (de Silva), 1961. pp. xxii, 216, 20 plates, bibliog. Price Rs. 20/-

The most notable of Raghavan's previous contributions to the Ethnography of Ceylon have been concerned with very small low-caste groups (Rodiya, Ahikuntakaya, Kin-naraya) existing on the fringe of Sinhalese society; the present work is much more ambitious. The Karava, ("Fishermen") are one of the largest, and most influential caste communities in Ceylon. Their members include Tamil speakers as well as Sinhalese, Hindus and Roman Catholics as well as Buddhists, politicians as well as simple fishermen.

The book appears to be the result of team research (pp. xvii - xix) and is notable for its lack of cohesion. It is certainly a mine of information and it may quite fairly be said that no future investigators of Ceylon social system can afford to neglect it, but it is a work for specialists. Dr. Raghava has not succeeded in bringing order into the rich chaos of his notebooks, so that much enthusiasm and a good deal of prior understanding is necessary if one is to get the hang of what he is after. He has been most assiduous in his collection of facts, but shows little interest in sociology. Two examples of this limitation will suffice: (1) chapter V catalogues nearly a thousand different Karava Ge-names, but there is no discussion of how these are transmitted; (2) we are told at p. 95 that Kurukulasurio of Negombo use a single term maman for both father's brother and mother's brother. This seems improbable but, if true, is very interesting. Apart from a contradictory statement at p. 96 Dr. Raghavan makes no comment.

In short, this is an unanalysed inventory of interesting and possibly important ethnographical facts, but Society and Culture among the Karava still await examination.

EDMUND LEACH

Man, London, Vol. LXII, Articles 83 - 107, pp. 63-64. April 1962.

September 9, 1961  
Silver Spring  
Maryland, U.S.A.

Prof. M. D. Raghavan  
10, Halls Road,  
Egmore, Madras, India.

Dear Professor Raghavan,

May I, at this late date, thank you for the complimentary copy of "The Karava of Ceylon" which you so kindly sent me. It reached me rather lately due to the fact that I am in the Library of Congress, Washington D. C. rather than the Smithsonian Institution. However, I must say that I have thoroughly appreciated this very good monograph of the Karava.

Your discussion on the Ge names was particularly stimulating. Enthoven, in his Tribes and Castes of Bombay, has mentioned the family names of the castes of Bombay. Outside of Enthoven most of the classical treatises on caste have omitted an enumeration of the gotras or lineage names. I think that you are ploughing a new ground here and would like an expansion of the Karava study to include each of the Ge names within the entire caste. Perhaps this could be done as a Ge dictionary or encyclopedia for the Karava caste, somewhat after the fashion of Sir William Smith's Classical Dictionary for Roman gentile and family names, with outstanding individuals of each Ge name given biographical notice.

Aside from your invaluable discussion on Ge names I also appreciated your discussion on Traditional Psychology with banners, standards and flags. I believe that this chapter gets at the heart of the caste intergration and shows us the ancient honour which the caste member swears himself to uphold. The Genealogical Creed or Gotracharya discussed for the Rajputs in Tod's Rajputana finds a place in these descriptions. The Chapter on the Makara was especially interesting in your account.

In this connection I would also like to notice Appendix 3. Genealogy of the families of the de Fonseka, etc. Are there any autobiographies of the individuals of these lines tying them in

with the history of Ceylon? To what extent has the culture trait of autobiographies developed in the Karava caste? I think it would be helpful in connection with the explanation of the Ge names system.

In connection with your other caste studies for Ceylon I should like to procure copies of the following.

1. Cultural anthropology of the Rodiya.
2. Kinnarayas; the Tribe of Mat Weavers.
3. The Ahikuntakaya, the Ceylon Gipsy Tribe.
4. The Sinhalese Social System; A Sociological Review.

Could you tell me how I might obtain a copy of each of the foregoing? Please feel free to call on me if there is anything in the United States which you might like to obtain.

Sincerely Yours,  
Sgd. **WILLIAM H. GILBERT**

9015, First Avenue,  
Silver Spring, Maryland,  
U. S. A.

## ETHNO HISTORY REVIEWS

THE KARAVA OF CEYLON: Society and Culture. By M. D. Raghavan. (Colombo, Ceylon: K. V. G. De Silva & Sons, 1961, xxxi, 216 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, and index \$ 5 00)

The colonial administration of three European powers — Portugal, Holland and Great Britain — has characterized the modern history of Ceylon and left impressions of the component parts of Sinhalese Society, i.e., the castes. A study of the Karava caste, a major component of Sinhalese Society, brings out the nature of the influences which have helped shape modern Ceylon.

The Karava were profoundly affected by the arrival of the Portuguese and many became converts to the Roman Catholic faith. Portuguese Tomboos or Registers of Royal Revenues are documented which help us understand the social structure and economic status of the Karava Caste during the earlier part of the European rule. Portuguese surnames were adopted and other evidences of European influence are apparent. When the Dutch took over control of Ceylon the Karava, being largely Roman Catholic, were subjected to various persecutions. The Caste resisted the persecutions and remained loyal to its traditions and Catholic faith.

The internal structure of the Karava Caste may be best understood through a study of Ge or House names of these people. The Ge name is an index of a man's traditional cultural status, in fact a cultural tabloid history of his lineage. Past functions, occupations, and services of a lineage within a highly structured society are symbolised in the Ge name. The author, although posing the problem of the Ge names and suggesting the means of investigations does not attack the problem of unravelling their significance. Broad categories of such names are presented and their meanings in categorical terms are briefly noticed. In a general analysis at the conclusion of his chapter on the Ge names, the author indicates that these terms revive memories of past deeds and achievements are treasured as such by most groups. Moreover, the Ge name remains a stable factor animating the members of the patrilineal family kin and governs intimate family situations such as birth, marriages and deaths.

A discussion by the author concerning traditional psychology is particularly illuminating in presenting a point of view regarding the significance of a caste to the members of it. The Karava Caste is in possession of characteristic legends which are orally transmitted in form of ballads. In addition it has its own distinguishing observances, ceremonies and ritualistic behaviour from a remote past. The caste focalizes ideals and aspirations in pennants or banners which, like the flag of Western Nations, inspire group loyalties.

The peculiar excellences or virtues embodied in the caste legends and pennants serve to explain why occupation and art are so constantly linked in social structure influenced by Hinduism. In clarifying the role of the *Ge* name and the caste ideals of the Karava I feel that M. D. Raghavan has made a real contribution to our present day world, wracked with materialism and materialistic interpretations of society and human motivation.

WILLIAM H. GILBERT

Library of Congress

## The Varnakula Addittiya Arasanilayitta Clan

Of the three great *Suriya Clans* of the Kaurawa Ethnic group one is the *Varnakula*. The migration of this clan appears to be even prior to the Mukkara Hattana as confirmed by two inscribed Ancient Sinhalese Swords granted to 1. *Kaurawara Aditte Kuruwede Arasanilatte Illanga* in 1143 Buddha Era (60 A.D.) and 2. *Kaurawara Aditte Kuru Arasanilatte Cumara Tamel* in 1792 Buddha Era (1249 A.D.) according to tradition there was a Prince named Varnakula Addittiya in 304 B.C. The last of these migrations very likely took place in 1415 A.D. as indicated on the third sword (supra pp. 49-50). These swords were the heirlooms of the De Rowel family of Varkal, whose clan name given in Acts of Appointment reads: *Varnakula Addittiya Arasanilayitta*. There are six major families of the clan which are linked together by matrimonial alliances, Tamel, De Rowel, Lowe, De Anderado, Tissera and de Fonseka.

*Arasanilayitta* denotes one endowed with or possessing regal status namely Arasa or King. The term borne by these six well-known families, signifying their distinctive rank and status as chieftains of the of clan, with a stress on the name Arasanila showing Kshatriya or Royal ancestry. Barring the first name Tamel, the rest seem to have been adopted on conversion.

The ancient Kings relied on these Kaurawa warriors as did the Portuguese and Dutch. They were always in demand. "The people of Solam are no soldiers, but poor cowardly creatures. And when they had need of soldiers they get Saracen troops from foreign parts." <sup>1</sup> Some research students are of the opinion that this is a reference to Kaurawa warriors. Not only the army but also the navies of the Sinhalese Kings were manned by them, says Edmund Reimers. "Then there are the Karawas, who were given large concessions by some of the Sinhalese Kings

1. Yule Col. H. The Book of Sir Marco Polo, 1875 Vol. II p. 296

for fighting their battles for them, and whose names suggest their ancient callings such as *Maha-Marakkalage*, of the house the (Captain of the) big ship, *Malimige*, the house of the Pilot *Kodharage* of the house of the standard bearer.....”<sup>2</sup>

The Sinhala Ola manuscript found at the Pulinataramaya Vihare, Kalutara North is merely a collection of verses with no title or date. These verses, however, were well known and recited in homes till very recently as they extolled the exploits of heroes of a bygone age. These verses (supra pp 64-67) reproduced herein were copied by the Ven'ble Agga Maha Pandita Beruwela Siri Nivasa Maha Nayake Therunanse at my request in 1941. They are part of an invaluable collection of Ola manuscripts compiled by the Ven'ble Weligama Siri Sumangala Maha Nayake Therunanse the founder of the Temple. The free English translation is taken from *The Karava of Ceylon, Society and Culture*.<sup>3</sup> Although I have given this folk ballad a title “A Poem in Praise of Kamala Maha Mudaliyar”, yet the sentiments expressed in these verses are references to more than one person. Hence the poem should be treated as “A Garland of Praise for the Varnakula Adittiya Arasanilayitte Clan”

Three names are mentioned, Mudaliyar Andradi, Kammala Maha Mudaliyar and Mudaliyar Agostinu. There is no date on the manuscript or at least a period of time but it is not difficult to identify these chieftains when a close study of the exploits of the Varnakula Clan is done.

The arrival of this clan is also recorded by Portuguese writers. In 1618 we notice Varnakulatte “Chem Naique” coming to the assistance of Chankili the King of Jaffna who was harassed by his rebellious subjects “the pugnacious Carias”. This Varnakulatte reappeared again in 1620 and 1622 commanding an expedition against the Portuguese with the object of annexing

2. Reimers Edmund. “Navies of the Sinhalese Kings” Ceylon Causerie Christmas Number 1933, Vol. 5, No. 56 pp. 23 & 52.
3. Rasandiyagam C. Ancient Jaffna p. 387
3. Ragahavan M. D. The Karava of Ceylon, Society and Culture. 1961 p. 34.

these territories for the Naique of Tanjore (supra p. 15). This expedition was a failure and Varnakula with all his men were killed. Their wives and children were captured and converted to Catholicism.

The first name noted in the ballad referred to above is Mudaliyar Andradi. The original home of the Andradi clan was at Cammala (between Negombo and Chilaw) and they owned property in this region till very recently some of these in co-ownership with the De Rowels and Lowes. After the Dutch came to the help of Rajasinghe II and the combined forces of the Sinhalese and Dutch met the Portuguese at Cammala in 1640 and the connection between the Dutch and the D'Anderado's began and they (D'Anderado's) assisted the Dutch in various wars in many places.<sup>4</sup> We can point out to many members of this family who served in the Dutch wars and the reference in the ballad may be to the Hero of Jaffnapattanam 1658. The exploits of other members of this family are noteworthy and are recounted here.

I. DON MANUEL D'ANDERADO, MUDALIYAR of CALUTARA,<sup>6</sup> “was guarding the Pass at Calutara with his lascoorins 1659”, took part in the expedition to Jaffna in 1658

4. Denvers Portuguese India II p. 207  
Peris P. E. Portuguese Era II pp. 123 - 139
5. De Fonseka S. R. The Genealogical Table of the Varnakula Adittiya (Varnage) De Fonseka and Varnakula Adittiya Arasanilayitte D'Anderado Families of Calutara and Colombo, certified by Edmund Reimers Government Archives 29th November 1935. Historical Manuscript Commission Report Sessional Paper 1x-1935.
6. Baldeaus Philipus Description of Ceylon (Amsterdam 1672) p. 159  
Peris P. E. Portuguese Era II pp. 454 - 455.  
Peters Sophia Instructions from the Governor General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon 1656-1665. Translation, Printed and Published by the Government of Ceylon 1908. p. 75 ff.  
Peris P. E. Dutch Power in Ceylon p. 275  
Reimers Edmund. Memoirs of Ryckloff Van Goens. Sur. p. 19.  
Brito C. Yalapana Vajpaya Malai (Translation - 1879) Appendix XXXV (supra 41)  
Gooneratne F. E. Mohotti Mudaliyar Galle - Authors of Histories and accounts of Ceylon. Ceylon Independent 16th May 1917.  
Colombo Dutch Record Vol. 2673 D.

and signalized himself before Jaffnapattanam; appointed Sabandar and member of the Dutch Political Council. The Governor was the President and Mudaliyar D'Anderado was the only Ceylonese in the Council and had to be consulted in all cases where people of the country were concerned. Don Manuel also figures in the fictitious and malicious "romance" dramatised in a play entitled "Poothamby Nadakam". The climax of the story being that Don Manuel D'Anderado was trampled to death by an elephant for his crime in plotting against his erstwhile friend Poothamby. But one year after these events, namely the execution of the conspirators, and the supposed tragic death Don Manuel was very much alive. His name appears in the minutes of the Council dated 11th September 1659. The well known historian Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakarsa O.M.I. in a communication to me dated 16th January 1942 states. "Of course everyone who knows something in Ceylon history knows also that the story of Poothamby is mere fiction."

2. DON LOUIS D'ANDERADO, ADIGAR OF CALUTARA AND WALALAWITA CORALE.<sup>7</sup> He was cousin and brother-in-law of Don Manuel, the Hero of Jaffnapattanam whom he succeeded at Calutara. Don Louis was the recipient of a gold chain and 80 rix dollars as a reward for his fine services rendered at the siege and capture of Cochin. He was one of the five chiefs who were presented with silver swords, by Governor Van Goens, for having "conducted themselves with distinction against the rebel subjects of Rajasinghe II."

3. RENALDUS D'ANDERADO, MUDALIYAR,<sup>8</sup> son of Don Manuel and grand son of Don Manuel Mohandiram of Colombo,

7. Colombo Dutch Record - Proceedings of the Dutch Council dated 15th November 1668.

Peris P. E. Ilangakoon Family p. 21  
Colombo Dutch Record Vol. 2439 pp. 155 - 157

Reimers Edmund Memoirs of Rycloff Van Goens Trs. p. 19  
Colombo Dutch Record Council Proceedings Vol. 2 p. 22 Vol. 7, p. 219 Vol. 13, p. 41

8. Colombo Dutch Record - School Thombu of Calutara 36  
Peris P. E. Ceylon and the Hollanders pp. 72 - 81 & pp. 143-160.

Colombo Dutch Record - Land Thombu of Palle Pattu in Salpiti Corale.

Peris P. E. Notes on Some Sinhalese III pp. 19 - 24

and great grand son of Don Louis D'Anderado Adigar. Renaldus D'Anderado's father Don Manuel does not seem to have held office and appears to have left Calutara and settled down in Colombo in 1721. In the Acts of Appointment dated 1787 and 1790 granted to Renaldus reference is made to Don Louis and Don Manuel. Renaldus received a grant of 58 acres in Grandpass, Colombo, now known as Mahawatte most of which still belongs to members of the De Fonseka and D'Andrado families (Plan of Partition dated 25th April 1877 preserved with the De Fonseka Family)

4. BRAZ D'ANDERADO AND DOMINGO D'ANDRADO,<sup>9</sup> two sons of Don Manuel, Hero of Jaffnapattanam. Both held office. The first was chief of the Lascorins in Calutara. He died in 1709. The second was Adigar of Calutara and Walalawita Corale, succeeded his brother-in-law Don Michael De Fonseka.

5. VARNAKULA ADDITIYA DON MICHAEL DE FONSEKA,<sup>10</sup> ADIGAR of Calutara and Walalawita Corale. "In the Walalawita and Pasdun Corales, the Chief Sinhalese was the Adigar of Bentota". He married Dominga, daughter of Don Manuel D'Anderado and niece of Don Louis D'Anderado. Baldaeus seems to have known him personally in Jaffna circa 1638.

6. VARNAKULA ADDITIYA ARASANILAITTE ANTHONY DE ROWEL<sup>11</sup> Maha Vidahn\* and Mohandiram of Alut Kuru Corale 1763. Appointed Mudaliyar of the same Corale on 20th January 1765 for services rendered in the Kandyan expedition. It seems possible that Agostinu mentioned in the balled refets to Anthony De Rowel.

7. MICHAEL DE ROWEL MUDALIYAR, son of Anthony De Rowel married Anna Maria daughter of Mudaliyar Renaldus D'Anderado (Last will dated 4th January 1726)

9. Colombo Dutch Record - 2439 and 2639 D and Council Proceedings Vol. 27 p. 181

10. Peris P. E. - The Ilangakoon Family p. 14

11. Baldaeus Philipus Description of Ceylon (Amsterdam 1672)  
Peris P. E. - "Notes on a Dutch Medal"

\* "The title of Vidane was held by some officers of the highest rank". R. A. S. C. B. JI. xviii (1903) p. 133.



8. VARNAKULA ADDITIYA JOHN DE TISSERA<sup>12</sup> Although he does not appear to have held office it is recorded thus of him: "There resides at Negombo one Joan Texeiro (Tissera) who is of good family and also possesses a knowledge of matters, but he is jealous of the Mudaliyar of Negombo". His daughter Pavistina married Manico De Fonseka Coraala of Salpiti Corale and Maha Vidahn of Calutara.

9. VARNAKULA ADDITIYA ARASANILAITTE SIMAN TAMIL<sup>13</sup> commonly known as *Kammala Maha Mudaliyar* (circa 1715). He received extensive lands in the Thoppu District which by marriage of his grand-daughter passed to the De Rowel Family.

12. Reimers Edmund. *Memoirs of Rycloff Van Goens Snr.* Trs. p. 20  
*Celombo Dutch Record - School Thombu of Calutara* Vol. 36

Peters Sophia. *Memoirs of Baron van Imhoff Governor of Ceylon*  
Trs. p. 24

*Instructions from the Governor General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon 1655-1665* p. 65

*Ceylon Literary Register* II p. 140

13. Dharmaratne G. A. - *Kara-Gol Contest* (1900) p. 57

Mihindukulasuriya G. F. - Editor and Publisher of monthly Magazine *Kuru Raja Wanse* (1934). His sources for the Tamels - *Kavikalpa Tharuwa* and *Rivikirana*.

According to tradition and the recorded notes of Mr. G. F. Mihindukulasuriya "all Tamels are descendants of Prince Varnakula Additya (circa 504 B.C.). His residence was at Deepthi Maligawa, Kammala Mahaoyatota. He was a very close relative of Prince Thalanchi of Tambarawila an Aide-de-Camp to King Vijaya and had accompanied him to Sri Lanka. It appears that when King Vijaya's nephew Prince Panduwasadeva, accompanied by Princess Baddekacachayana, landed at Kamala Mahaoyatota he was the guest of Prince Varnakula Additya at 'Deepthi Maligawa'. It was from here that Panduwasadeva went to succeed King Vijaya and reside at Upatissa. It was stated and was also a well known tradition that Kaurawira Adittie Kuru Arasanilaitte Cumara Tamel (1249 A.D.) was a direct descendant of Prince Varnakula Additya of 'Deepthi Maligawa'. These notes await historical scrutiny and are to be treated for the present as tradition.

10. VARNAKULA ADDITIYA ARASANILAITTE MIGUELLOWE, CORAAL Cammala Pattu<sup>14</sup>

11. VARNAKULA ADDITIYA ARASANILAITTE ALVINOE LOWE, MUDALIYAR<sup>15</sup> of Cammala Pattu, appointed Mudaliyar of Pitigal Corale 1871 and later Mudaliyar of the Governor's Gate. Married daughter of Manuel De Fonseka Mudaliyar of Calutara.

The identity of Mudaliyar Andradi as Don Manuel D'Anderado is indisputable since his exploits in Jaffna are historical facts. He was Mudaliyar of Calutara; why Alutgama is mentioned instead of Calutata is not very clear unless it belonged to the same administrative district of Calutara. May be even some military exploit that poet wishes to record, Negombo and Kammala are also noted. Kammala extended from Negombo to Chilaw. Original home of the D'Anderado clan was at Kammala. Was Don Manuel also known as Kammla Maha Mudiyanse? Was there such an office and why was Siman Tamel commonly known as Kammala Maha Mudaliyar. According to Bell, "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

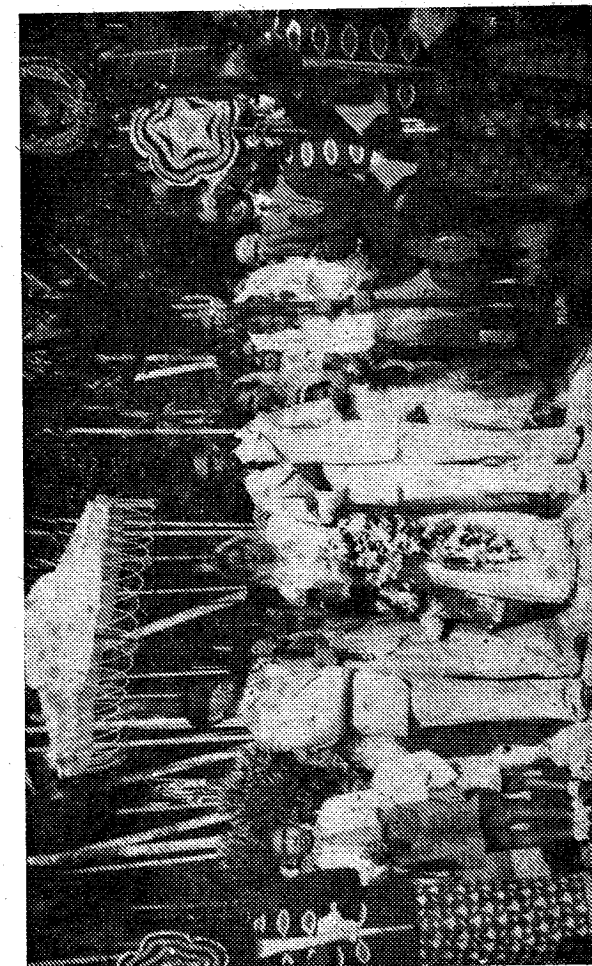
14. *Ceylon Almanac* 1825

15. *Ceylon Almanac* 1859

between the Dutch and the King of Kandy circa 1760). In 1764 Don Siman Tamel was Mudaliyar of Pitigal Korale, Puttalam District".<sup>16</sup> The poet mentions Agostinu having chased the Nilame of Senkadagala, but Anthony De Rowel was appointed Mudaliyar of Alut Kuru Korale in 1765 "for services in the Kandyan expedition.". Very probably Agostinu is the same as Anthony.

Don Manuel D'Anderado Mudaliyar had a personal bodyguard of 13 men. The members of these families are still living in Calutara and are known as the "Hēwapanna Clan", distinct from the "Kuddimakkals of the Karawas," Their functions were different and they served the Mudaliyar and his descendants as bodyguards. In 1940, 13 members of this clan formed a special guard carrying spears and shields in ceremonial attire at the wedding procession of a direct descendant at Calutara. The bride walked to Church on pawada under a Pearl Umbrella headed by the Ira-Handa and Makkara Flags, swords, tridents, alawattans and dawalapandams.<sup>17</sup> The scene was reminiscent of the wedding seen by Fr. Manuel Barradas in 1613 at Moratuwa,<sup>18</sup> but different in style.

F. B. Jagath Wijayanayaka



A Kaurava Kshattriya Wedding Procession at Calutara, 20th June 1940.

16. Bell H. C. P. "Karave Caste" (1886) Bell Manuscript No. B. P. 120 National Museum Library Colombo.

17. Ceylon Observer 6th July 1940.

18. Monthly Literary Register 4. (1896) p. 134

**To The Sage Of Koggala Martin Wickremasinghe**

Sunk deep are his roots  
in the native soil, where he was nurtured  
And from it grew such worldly wisdom;  
to stride across our little world of letters  
Like a colossus.

Evolution fascinated him,  
And so did the universe,  
anthropology and Mallonowisky -  
His circumspect intellect knew no bounds, but  
Brought him fame and scorn alike.

The ambivalence of Religion and Morality  
Society and politics, Art and life  
never beguiled him, but surged him further  
to outer space -

**Elmo Fernando**

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FEW COPIES OF VOLUME I ARE AVAILABLE AT THE ALL  
BOOKSHOPS AND THE MANAGING EDITOR.