

Geological evidence indicates that Sri Lanka and India have been joined by a land bridge often as the sea levels rose and fell over the millennia, stretching from what is now the island of Mannar, off the North West coast of Sri Lanka, to Tamil Nadu. It's generally held that this provided access over time for the earliest humans to arrive in Sri Lanka. The last separation is dated to around 7000BCE. The gap in archeological records, however, gives no certainty for migration patterns during the time of the land bridge, though it doesn't take much to see race knowledge of this in the Indian epic The Ramayana with its central tale of the capture of the goddess Sita by the demon king in Lanka, and her rescue by the god Rama and the monkey deity Hanuman facilitated by a bridge built by the latter between the two land masses.

There is archaeological evidence for the presence of Dravidian peoples by the second century BCE, though the evidence does not allow for any firm conclusion as to who these peoples were or how they came to be in Sri Lanka at the time. ^{iv} Inscriptions and Pali chronicles of that time have brief references to 'traders, political adventurers and mercenaries'. From around this time to the 10th century CE there were several incursions from South East Indian into Sri Lanka, and at least 10 times when Sinhala aspirants to the Northern kingdom thrones recruited South East Indian mercenaries. The Mahavamsa itself talks of Vijaya seeking a bride for himself and others of his men from Madurai in what is now Tamil Nadu in South Eastern India.

Evidence for settlement in Sri Lanka from any of these groups is speculative. Siva temples at Matota (Tirukketisvaram) and Gokarna (Trincomalee) suggest that there was settlement sufficient to warrant establishing permanent sites for worship. From the 10th century CE onward records of land grants are stronger evidence of permanent settlement.

The annexation of Sri Lanka by the Cholas in India in the 10th century CE further stimulated settlement, as did the practice of Sinhalese aspirants to the thrones of the northern kingdoms engaging SEI mercenaries in large numbers. By the 13th century, a Tamil kingdom was established in Jaffna, northern Sri Lanka. Tamils in Jaffna became brokers and agents in the significant trade Sri Lanka had with the Coromandel coast of India.^v

While these are the bases for Tamil/Dravidian settlement in the north of Sri Lanka, from possibly the 8th century AD, and at least by the 13th century AD, South Western Indian migrants from Kerala settled in western and southern Sri Lanka, including possible Buddhists fleeing the increasing Hinduisation of southern India, with migrations continuing into the 16th century AD. Tamils from Batticaloa on the west coast of Sri Lanka claim Keralan ancestry.^{vi}

When the former Dutch East India Company (VOC) territories in Sri Lanka became a Crown colony under the imposition of a dual control system between the British East India Company and the British Government in 1798, the Company was ordered to fill administrative posts in Sri Lanka with civil servants from Madras.^{vii} The last of the waves of migration from South Eastern India was of Tamil indentured labourers to the tea plantation in the 19th century. So large was this migration that between 1890 – 1900, the time over which tea was established as a successful plantation crop in Sri Lanka, the increase in the country's population through Tamil labourer migration was greater than the natural increase from in-country births.^{viii}

The most controversial suggestion on migration patterns from Southern India has been put forward by Arjun Guneratne who contends that all Sri Lanka's population, the nominal Sinhalese and the equally nominal Tamils, come from Southern India, and that the Aryan-Dravidian divide is a

classification system deriving from European philologists who privileged language over culture, particularly kinship structures, to construct a myth of dual races where none existed.^{ix}

Whatever the 'truths' of origins, there is no dispute that Southern Indians have had a long history of settlement in Sri Lanka and no dispute either that there are recognizable affinities between some Sri Lankan foodways and those of Southern India, so let me turn now to the foodways of Southern India and look at the elements in Sri Lankan foodways that show their influence.

Foodways

As in other parts of this guide, my principal source is the work of K.T.Achaya, who in turn draws on archaeological evidence, and also from Tamil and Kannadan written sources. For the first, he draws on material from Tamil poets over the period 300BCE to 700 CE, particularly the *Perumpanuru* (about the 3rd century CE). For the latter, he draws on the *Lokopakara*, the work of a Jain poet in 1025 CE, and the *Supa Shastra* of Mangarasa, 1516 CE, 'an exhaustive work on cooking'.^x

So what is gleaned from these sources?

There is archeological evidence from 2300 BCE of cattle herding, and given this was well before the introduction of Brahminic Hinduism, meat and milk products are likely to have been eaten. By 1800 BCE there is clear evidence of agricultural practice with crops of cereals (ragi and paniculum species), horsegram, mung.

By 750 BCE, in the megalithic cultures, rice has become a staple part of the diet and tanks (reservoirs) are being constructed for both domestic and irrigation use. Tanks became and remain the most significant feature of Sri Lankan agriculture and are discussed elsewhere in this guide.

From the Tamil poets we learn that among the foods eaten were coarse red coloured rice (perhaps the precursor species to Sri Lanka red rice that has recently become popular among health-conscious tourists), iguana, beans and millet cooked in milk, white rice, fowl, mango pickle, pomegranate cooked with butter and curry leaves, jak fruit, bananas, coconut water. Rice is eaten boiled, and also with fried aromatics sprinkled on, dressed with tamarind, sesame seeds, and also cooked with pulses, or with 'fatted meat'. Tubers described include yam, water lily roots, and sweet potato, sometimes cooked with meat. *Kadalai* – chickpea – a favourite Sri Lankan street snack food, a tamarind infused soup similar to *rasam*, sesame oil, brinjal, bitter gourd, and unripe bananas are all mentioned, and green leafy plants are spoken of as food for the poor.

Spices/flavourings mentioned in the Tamil works include pepper (native to Kerala) ginger, turmeric, cloves, cardamom, tamarind and lemon. There were two sources of sugar, the sugarcane and palmyra. Sugarcane juice was a popular drink, as was young coconut water, fresh palmyra sap, tamarind and nelli, all still to be found in the kitchens, cafes and street stalls of Sri Lanka. Toddy is described made from the palmyra palm.

Beef, buffalo meat, wild boar, iguana, deer, domestic fowl, game birds (peafowl, quail, and even the parrot) were eaten, as were fish and other marine food. Cream, curds, buttermilk and ghee were used.

The *Perumpanuru* mentions making *appam* (Sri Lankan *hoppers*, bowl shaped pancakes of rice and wheat flour) taken soaked in milk, *idi-appam* (Sri Lankan *string-hoppers*, made from rice flour paste

extruded into long noodles and then steamed), and *dosai*. *Idli*, small pillow shaped steamed mixes of fermented dhal and rice, are first mentioned from the Kannadan texts in 920 AD.

Also from Kannadan sources we read of *vadas* in 1025 CE, *papads* in 1200 AD, *pacchadis* (a popular sambol/relish) in 1485 AD, and of jaggery, drumsticks (Sri Lankan murunga - long bean shaped vegetable), grated coconut, *chakkali* (known as *murukku* in Tamil – another staple of Sri Lankan street food made of fried extruded rice-urud dhal batter), *puttu* (a steamed mixture of grated coconut and flour), cooking using coconut milk and the curd-based sambols/relishes *kacchadi* and *thambuli*.

Curries

Evidence from Vedic writing shows that the two primary methods of cooking used were frying and boiling. Although it can never be determined when the kind of cooking emerged that is now generically called curry, given the range of spices discussed in the Vedic works, and given the knowledge of boiling, it isn't too much of a leap to put the spices together with some meat and vegetables in a pot of boiling liquid and the appearance of curry. However, no such term or anything remotely similar exists in these texts.



Achaya gives the origin of the word as Tamilian *kari* meaning black pepper.^{xi} This is interesting as until the arrival of chili into South Asia either directly by the Portuguese (who had brought it back to Europe from Central America) or through trading from the Portugal overland into Northern India and then down into all of South Asia, pepper was the main 'heat' producing spice in South Asian cooking. It is still used in this way in Sri Lanka in the fish dish *ambul thiyal* where it is combined only with salt, lime and goroka (gamboge).

By the early 16th century CE it had been generalized as *karil* by the Portuguese to mean any spiced South Indian dish, and it appears this way in a 17th century Portuguese cookery book. Davidson says the earliest apparent use of this term in print in the English language occurs in a 1598 translation of a Dutch traveler's account: 'Most of their fish is eaten with rice, which they seeth in broth, which they put upon the rice, and is somewhat sour, but it tasteth well and is called Carriel, which is their daily meat.'^{xii} The first use of the term in print in the context of Sri Lankan food is in Knox: 'They have all Fruits that grow in India. Most sorts of these delicious Fruits they gather before they be ripe, and boyl them to make Carrees, to use the Portugeuez word, that I s somewhat to eat with and relish their rice'.^{xiii}

In Sinhala, curries are called *vanjana*, *kariya*, *hodda* or *anama*. *Vanjana* is used to mean curries in general and is derived from a Sanskrit word meaning seasoning, sauce or condiment. The term *kariya* may have come directly from South India, though more likely was brought into the language through the European use of the word. *Hodda/hodi* is gravy, but also a curry with gravy, or a thin soup-like gravy as in *kirihodi*, literally milk gravy, a light broth used to soften *pittu*. The term *anama* is limited in use to remote rural areas and again means gravy or a curry with a lot of gravy. Then there are *ambulas*, curries flavoured with something acidic like lime, goroka and tamarind, as in *ambul thiyal*; *baduma/baduns* which a curries cooked till all the moisture has evaporated but can also mean

something fried and then used in a curry; *maluvas* which are vegetable curries; and *niyambalava* which are curried cooked with grated coconut.^{xiv}

ⁱ Parthasarathy 1993

ⁱⁱ Carpenter 1903

ⁱⁱⁱ Appadurai 1981

^{iv} Indrapala 2000

^v de Silva 2005

^{vi} Obeyesekere 2002, Tambiah 1992

^{vii} de Silva 2005

^{viii} De silva 2005

^{ix} Guneratne 2002

^x Achaya 1994

^{xi} Achaya 1994

^{xii} Davidson 1990

^{xiii} Knox 1681

^{xiv} Hussein 2012