THE NEW LANKA

A QVARTERLY REVIEW

Vol. VI. APRIL, 1955 No. 3

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EAST AND WEST

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G. L. Cooray
Editor.

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A QUARTERLY REVIEW

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ROUND THE WORLD

Basil Davidson

Washington.
March, 18.

Can America make Peace?—The Afro-Asian Conference.

WHEN the President was asked the other day, during his weekly press conference, whether it was true that he and his Government would support Chiang Kai-shek in an invasion of the mainland of China, that ordinarily easy-going and self-possessed man lost a little of his patience and snapped back at his questioner: "The United States is not going to take part in an aggressive war. That's all I want to say." I waited for someone to press in with supplementary questions so as to clarify the President's exact meaning—being a guest myself I was not allowed to ask any questions—but none came. Ambiguity remained.

And yet the broad implications of what the President had said seemed inescapable, and were much discussed by White House journalists after the conference. Later in the same day the usually fire-eating Californian, Senator Knowland, himself declared that the United States' position on Formosa and its nearby islands was "defensive" and the sense of this he also confirmed to me personally during a talk I had with him.

This puts the whole imbroglio into clearer perspective. While nobody should under-estimate the explosive qualities of an influential segment of American political opinion on this issue, it now seems to emerge that the United States Government intends for the time being to do no more than *maintain* Chiang on his present positions. For the time being? But Chiang is without successors, and grows old: his troops are no longer young. He is militarily a wasting asset. His power to sting is already much reduced: before long it may be lost altogether.

But the off-shore islands—the Quemoys and Matsus? I would hazard a guess that these will fall to the Chinese People's Republic without, in the event, much more scuffle

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and to do than was involved in the evacuation of the Tachens to the North. This explosive segment of American opinion, true enough, now talks dangerously of " wiping out " a few Chinese air bases (perhaps on the mainland opposite these islands) with " small A-bombs and A-shells " just to " show them what we would have done in Korea if we'd been allowed to." There is that danger. It is not a small danger. But the balance of probability, nonetheless, seems to shift against its being realised. For these off-shore islands have manifestly no more importance in the American view than a question of prestige (" We musn't give away anything more to the Communists "); and the horrible unpopularity of being guilty of dropping still more atomic bombs (or being responsible for the first military use of atomic shells) is now perhaps a bigger question of prestige to be weighed on the other side..

Can America Make Peace?

If this is *really* the situation—a readiness for gradual readjustment of Eastern positions provided that no political face is lost in the process—then the real question which needs asking and answering is not limited to the relatively small issue of Formosa and its islands—the fate of the ageing Chiang Kai-shek—but involves the whole question of whether or not America *can* make peace.

I should like to report, after some weeks' of fairly wide travelling through the United States (but not yet on the Pacific Coast, where the temperature of opinion may be hotter), that there is nothing here which resembles a war atmosphere. Air raid sirens blow regularly in little towns in the Middle West as well as in the great cities; but so far as I can tell nobody pays the least regard to them. There is a sharp public accent on the need for preparedness, but, at least in my observations, a profound private scepticism on the necessity for it. There is a great deal of offensive talk, but little readiness in the public mind for offensive action. The War in Korea was widely and thoroughly unpopular, and I've met almost nobody at all who contemplated the prospect even of another limited war with anything but acute alarm and reluctance. In short, this is the atmosphere of a democracy wanting to live in peace and get on with its own business. It is not in the least like the atmosphere of Hitler Germany or Fascist Italy (both of which I knew well before 1940) where people openly and eagerly advocated war.

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So much for the average sentiment such as you meet it in private homes and public bars. But thereafter one has to enter several reservations. In the first place, there is a number of powerful pressure groups—notably those linked to the Roman Catholic Church and thus to the McCarthy fringe—which are prepared to act in such a way as to make war very difficult to avoid. They are prepared to advocate, and do advocate, policies of aggressive interference which they justify by the flimsiest of pretexts. Their influence is not dominant, but it is not negligible either; and it might in certain inflammatory circumstances prove decisive.

These groups are powerful wherever American nationalist sentiment is strong. And it is a fact not without its oddity for a visiting Englishman that many of the blindly chauvinist attitudes of England's past (and recent past?) do seem to be reproduced here with regrettable faithfulness. Although Americans are now well accustomed to believing that they have a right and duty—the right and duty going right back to those old Puritan traditions which fortified the British in their expansively imperialist phase—to interfere in countries and in situations which are distant from America, these same Americans bitterly resent being told that they are now imperialist themselves. Indeed, to use the words "American imperialism" in the United States today is to raise automatically the witch-hunt cry of "Communism." Clear thinking in this situation is not made easy. And muddled thinking plays repeatedly into the hands of these specialised pressure groups which I've just mentioned.

That is one important reservation. There is another which is even more important. At no time in history has a nation living under the capitalist system ever witnessed a greater or tighter concentration of financial and industrial power than may be seem in the United States today. It is literally true that a small handful of mammoth corporations—and hence a not much larger handful of men—does in fact, control (and even substantially own) the greater part of all financial and industrial institutions above the middle size. These corporations have lately enjoyed a rate of profit which soars beyond the dreams of avarice. Thus the giant General Motors Corporation—whose President, Mr Charles Wilson, is now Secretary of Defence and who uttered the famous apothegm, which must surely go down into history, that "what's good for General Motors is good for the United

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States "—made a profit last year exceeding 800,000 million dollars.

These corporations and their controllers—some hundreds of powerful men—are also well placed to control the climate of opinion. They own many of the Newspapers, and can decisively influence most of those they don't own. They have majority influence, through advertising, on radio and TV. Their patronage is of inestimable influence. They can, if they wish, create a climate of opinion in the United States which could easily reverse present opinions on China, Formosa, and so on. They can take the decisions which make war inevitable, or they can take those which pave the way for an enduring peace. Against their influence the pressure groups (some of which, in any case, they effectively own) could make little headway.

So that the question one wants to answer is whether or not *these few men* want war or peace? My guess is that they certainly *don't* want war. But it is not yet in the least bit clear that they want peace either. The economy from which they so greatly profit, and which they so largely control, is geared now to the making of armaments on a previously never-achieved scale. There is a widespread acceptance of the opinion that the American economy would collapse if the armaments-making and war-preparing elements were withdrawn from it. There is an almost equally widespread acceptance of the opinion that this economy would already have collapsed were it not for the " pump priming " operations involved in such enterprises as the Korean War. Yet there is a limit to the degree of " economy support " which can be drawn from merely *preparing* for war. Necessarily there must come a time when this economy will either need the support of actual war—on a more or less vast scale—or must find alternative means of supporting itself.

Now *this* is probably the central question. Do such alternative means actually exist? I would guess, once again, that this kind of thought is passing very much through the minds of the great bankers and industrialists who control both economics and politics in the United States. And I should like to report the opinion of experienced and thoughtful observers here—both American and non-American—that the President himself wants and hopes to find such alternative means. I have even heard it said that the President now believes it inevitable that the People's Republic of China must eventually be admitted to its rightful place in the United Nations.

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These are some of the elements which must be held in mind by anyone wanting to reach conclusions on the near future of American policy. On the one hand one sees a public opinion naturally and even vigorously opposed to war, and yet fooled, muddled and to some extent terrorised into accepting ready-made opinions about world issues: on the other side one sees powerful pressure groups interested in fishing in troubled waters, one sees a tremendously wealthy, economy geared to the war-making and war-preparing business, and one sees a handful of immensely powerful men whose eventual actions may be far from calculable, but are likely to be decisive.

On the whole, perhaps, it is a not too discomforting picture. It might be much worse. What is in any case quite certain is that the opinions of other peoples—and in this case the peoples of South-East and Southern Asia—can have much influence on the outcome of events. That is the real reason why the Asian-African Conference is important.

The Asian-African Conference

It is perhaps characteristic of the whole position that what the American State Department may most strongly attempt to achieve, in influencing the resolutions and declarations of this conference, is an outcome which is not *only* hostile to the policies of the United States. If the State Department can have little hope of avoiding conference declarations against imperialism, it at least will want to be sure, if it can, that the declarations are also aimed at the Communist Powers.

Behind this, indeed, there lies a factor which could give this conference much greater significance. Of course, there is a number of reasons why this conference will be in any case significant. It is the first of its kind. It is, in a real sense, a death-knell of the old imperialism. But will it be a death-knell of the new imperialism too?

There is a sense in which economic aid, no matter from what source it comes, could create a new imperialism. For Asian people that is so obvious, I suppose, as scarcely to need stating. It is not enough, for the cause of liberty and independence, to reduce hunger, reduce disease, reduce poverty. What everyone wants, no matter where they live, is to raise their own power of self-aid. That is after all the essence of progressive revolutions—the awakening of millions

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of individuals to the life and liberty that lie within them. Economic aid which is given with the after thought of *preventing* national and popular revolutions in the cause of liberty and independence is no true aid at all.

But in our world today, with the tremendous technological advances now being made in the United States and elsewhere, there could be an economic surplus available for true aid as well. Perhaps the greatest benefits which the Asian-African Conference could confer on the world would be in stating boldly *both* their determination to carry through the social and economic revolutions which liberty and independence demand of them, and their determination to accept only such economic aid as will really further this end. It may be beyond easy belief that Mr. Charles Wilson of General Motors, and his colleagues in American finance and industry, would welcome revolutions vowed to the cause of Asian liberty and independence. But even Mr. Wilson may be susceptible to the argument that here are big new markets for the future. Now that they thoroughly understand they cannot put back the clock in China, many British businessmen are looking eagerly for ways of entering the Chinese market, which they believe may soon grow very important for the whole industrial world. Is it beyond belief that Mr. Wilson and his friends may sooner or later arrive at the same conclusion? If so, the Asian-African Conference could do a great deal to help convince them. For what applies to China applies in appropriate measure to all the other " backward countries " of Asia.

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THE HOPE OF HUMANITY

Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan

(An address delivered by Dr. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Republic of India when the degree of Doctor of Philosophy *honoris causa* was conferred on him by the University of Rome last year.)

I am deeply touched by the great honour which you have done me by admitting me into your Academic Fellowship. The generous words which you, Mr. Rector, have just uttered, make me profoundly grateful that the little work I have been able to do has merited your recognition.

Your distinction between those who earn their degrees at the threshold of their careers by dint of hard work and those who are awarded degrees at about the end of their careers in recognition of their past work, reminds me of the theologic distinction between salvation by merit and salvation by grace. I have been awarded this degree by the grace of the University.

The very name of University suggests the universality of the ideals of which it is the custodian. In the middle ages, Universities were international in their outlook and practice. They still retain this outlook as your generous act today indicates. If Universities lose their universality of spirit, if their ideals become petty and provincial, if they are disciplined into submission by State, if the intellectual community is terrorized into acceptance of authority and of the protection of privilege, then Universities will forfeit their dignity and defeat their purpose. There will be no more flow of free ideas, ideals and conceptions which make society alive. Stagnation in matters of mind and spirit leads to extinction.

Where human spirit is not free there is no culture. From ancient times, Rome has insisted on the dignity of man. Though the Greeks formulated this idea, they limited it to the free men who alone had the chance of reaching full development. Stoic Rome recognizes that this high aspiration was the right of all persons. In the first century B. C. the far-flung community of Rome was filled with slaves and Rome codified the rules and procedures by which the slaves

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could become citizens. Roman Law has influenced the jurisprudence of almost the whole world.

All religions emphasize the concept of human dignity though the full implications of this concept have not yet been realized. There are parts of the world even today where men suffer from political, economic or racial slavery.

Culture means human dignity. Debasing of men into flock led to pasture, or animals trained in a cage, means the death of culture.

You, Mr. Rector, rightly stressed that no man has a chance of fulfilling himself if he is not assured of minimum necessities. Economic well-being is essential for human development. This means regulation of the economic life of the community. This regulation of collective life will have to be devised so as to promote the end in view, namely, human freedom, and not its abandonment or its replacement by other ends. The State is not an end in itself but a means to the fulfilment of personality. All attempts to standardize people, to regiment their minds, to stereotype their thoughts are opposed to human liberty. Friends of freedom are foes of political fanaticism and spiritual coercion. We have to protect these central values of individual, family and nation and make them serve the needs of human solidarity. It is not by suppressing these values but by promoting them that we can establish a true human society. Internationalism is different from a vague cosmopolitanism. Your great Mazzini, who inspired us with a passion for freedom said: "Nations are the citizens of humanity even as the individuals are the citizens of the nation."

We are all groping towards the formulation of an international law which will be binding on all nations. The United Nations Organization is struggling towards the establishment of an international authority with accepted laws and power to enforce them. That is the hope of humanity.

But no law can function unless it is based on the general will of the community. Law is not based on force though it has to be supported by force; it is based on the will of the community. Even so, if the international law is to be effective, we must first have an international community. Such a community can develop only on an understanding and appraisal of the ethical norms and spiritual beliefs of the different members of the community.

Your teachers, the late Professor Formichi and Professor Tucci, who is now in Nepal pursuing his researches,

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have brought the thought of my country nearer to you. It is through the Universities of the world that we can produce a climate of international thought, feeling and spirit which will make a world community possible. Only then will the United Nations Organisation become an effective instrument for peace and security.

A human society on earth worthy of our science and technology and the wisdom of the ages is possible only with a radical change in human nature. It cannot be brought about by political and economic arrangements alone or by international bartering. We must learn to act from a new basis.

Religion, in all its varieties, declares that the human being should be made into a new man. Man, as he is, is the raw material for an inward growth, an inner evolution. He is incomplete, unfinished, imperfect, but he has to reach inner completion through what Jesus calls *meta-noia*, which is not adequately translated as repentance. It is a new understanding. Man must be born again, born anew before he can see the Kingdom. The completion of man is in re-birth. "*dvitiyyam janm.*" This cannot be achieved by outer compulsion, Man must evolve from his own insight, in and for himself. When man wins this insight into reality he is no more lost, his loneliness disappears in cosmic communion. A redeemed soul participates in the redemptive work of the Divine. In spite of treachery and disappointment, pettiness and defeat, despite death itself, the authentic religious soul feels that it is better to live in accord with the ideals of truth and love than retreat into cynicism, denial and despair. When misfortunes befall us, Dante asks us to "stand like a tower whose summit never shakes". The Bagavadgita tells us to be "steady like a lamp in a windless place". Jackals may howl in the fields; far above the stars are shining. Goodness is more deeply rooted in the nature of things than its opposite. Life has a destiny which justifies any sacrifices to which it is called. Reality demands and encourages intellectual honesty, generosity and human compassion. "God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." (Acts XVII—26)

(*East and West*. Rome. Year V No. 4 January, 1955.—Reproduced by arrangement with the Editor.)

My name is a Selvaraj

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EAST MEETS WEST

Winburn T. Thomas

THE "changeless East" has changed. A century of buffeting by outside forces has produced internal movements which in turn are changing the West, as well as the East.

The East and the West now find themselves in reversed positions as regards a receptiveness to these changes. After the European Renaissance the Orient was unwilling to take seriously the new learning of the West, so certain was it of the permanence of its own culture. Only Japan began immediately to borrow and adapt from the occident, and only Japan escaped becoming a colony, both in name and in fact. Thanks to imperialism, colonialism, the white man's wars, missions, etc., Asia today has some basic understanding of the way the other half of the World lives. The reverse of that statement unfortunately is not true.

The West has remained ignorant, both of the East, and of the revolutions it has precipitated in Asia. The businessman wanted profits, not to raise the living standards of his employees. The soldier wanted peace and order; what did it matter if native lives were lost in the process. Politicians and statesmen rarely felt it necessary to investigate the basis of power of a local ruler; sufficient it was if he had authority to sign an "unequal treaty." The salesman to dispose of his goods would sell to the devil if the transaction was for cash; it was not his funeral if the gadgets later were turned against the white man. The missionary was out for souls, even if the religiously undergirded society where he alongside the secular missionaries preached their respective gospels was undermined. Results both good and evil developed as West met East in the East. It is now turning out to the West's disadvantage that the acquaintance has not been mutual.

The superiority of the white man's machine was what finally convinced the Peoples of Asia that their culture was deficient. Muskets versus arrows, steel battleships versus man driven canoes, the auto versus the bullock cart, the steel plow versus the crooked stick: in each of these bouts the

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Asian ended in second place. The moral idealism of Ghandi fighting to retain the household crafts proved no match for the productivity of the machine. The isolated villager, who after seeing his first airplane begged the missionary to get an egg so that his people could hatch one of the giant birds, is the prototype of most peoples for whom the industrial revolution has been delayed. Fifty years age Jack London warned that China industrialized was a "yellow menace." Wendel Wilkie while discovering his "one world" also became aware that the West's standard of living would drop once the East became mechanized. The loss of empire has produced the same effect, as Holland and England have discovered. What Japan succeeded in doing after Pearl Harbour was not sufficient to knock the U.S.A. out of the Pacific, but more than three years instead of the three weeks promised by America's Secretary of Navy, were required to level Japan. Mao Tse-tung's "human sea warfare" is quite a different story from Chiang Kai-shek's constant retreats first before the Japanese, then before the communists. The West is learning, but all too slowly, that it cannot dismiss Asia and her people as unimportant. Ignorance and disdain are as dangerous for the West today as they once were for the East.

If the machine has provided the means, nationalism has provided the stimulus for Asia's most significant changes. Imperialism produced its own remedy: peoples who before the coming of the white man had limited their loyalty to a family, a clan or a tribe, developed a new spirit in seeking to drive out the foreign invader. It is no accident that most of the younger democracies of Asia are coterminous with the former empires of Western nations.

The journeys of exploration, during which Columbus discovered America, and Magellan was killed at Legaspi, were motivated largely by the West's desire for the spices and wealth of the East. In the Fifteenth Century the West did not possess comparable goods to exchange for Eastern silks, ornaments and foodstuffs. After the industrial revolution the situation was reversed and the Western impact upon the East became marked. Most of Asia was parcelled out among the Western nations, carved up as political and economic empires. The inherent missionary character of technology has brought sub-ways to Tokyo, sugar mills to Java, tin-smelters to Malaya, and put Bangkok on the air routes of the World.

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President Sukarno summarized the importance of machines recently in an interview when he said, " If Indonesia is to remain democratic, our people must be contented; to remain contented, our people must be well-fed; to be well-fed, we must industrialize." The peoples of Asia, having seen what the machine can do, no longer regard poverty, starvation and want as inevitable. Bad though many of the effects of the machine are, the Peoples of Asia want it for themselves. Gandhi's campaign to reinstate handcrafts as a means of ousting the machine was not successful and cannot be, despite the arguments he set forth; they were overruled because Asia wants and needs more than men without machines can produce.

The revolution wrought by the West on the East has many facets. Western corporations have exploited the petroleum deposits on Java and Borneo to supply oil for the Lamps of China. A wag has said that the British and American Tobacco Company has sought to put a light in every mouth, the Standard Oil Company a light in every house, and the missionary a light in every heart. One of the basic conflicts in Asia today rises out of the fact that the West has been content to sell to the East; the West has used Asia as a source of raw materials and a market, but has not been willing to develop Asia as a factory area. " Western wages, prices and living standards could not be maintained if the output per person that is possible in the machine-tooled West was brought to the low-income areas of Asia. Before the Communists occupied Shanghai, American coal was cheaper than that mined 100 miles away. Despite higher labour costs in America, the use of the machine cuts down the per unit cost. Asia is now demanding the right to purchase machines, so that raw materials can be processed locally and nationally.

The Spanish conquerers demonstrated their superiority over the peoples of Asia first by sailing across wide oceans, and then by repelling native warriors with their European muskets. Magellan's cockiness was the cause of his downfall; he had imagined that an European with his armour, and his gun, was a match for a large number of Asians armed only with spears and bows and arrows. But his feet caught in sea-weed, he went down and was overpowered. The West was not deterred by this incident. The same conquerers brought trade and Christianity. For a time, they were all accepted in varying degrees. Strong Roman Catholic

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Churches developed wherever the Westerner established his base of operations. But the inevitable reaction set in. That reaction is to be found in many parts of Asia today. The technological revolution wrought by the Westerner is leading inevitably to the industrialization of the East. Colonial exploitation produced nationalism, national struggles, and the setting up of independent young democracies, in the Philippines, Burma and Indonesia. In Malaya and Vietnam, a mixed struggle involving a fight for independence (as well as communism) continues today.

Nationalism and democracy in Asia thus are products primarily of a reaction which set in against outside forces. When that outside force has disappeared, the tension which formerly sustained the independence movement is missing. So long as the Burmese were struggling against England and the Indonesians against the Dutch, they were certain of that for which they were fighting. Once the Victory was won, they lacked the common cause which united them, and they became divided among themselves. There is a similar situation within the Philippines, witness the differences between the Liberals and the Nationalists.

Thus disillusionment has come to the new democracies of Asia. "Freedom" is no longer a word which opens every door. Nationalists before World War II, in some instances, regarded Communism as the only instrument capable of breaking the hold of imperialism.

The voluntary transfer of sovereignty by the United States to the Philippines, and by England to Burma, disproved this thesis. But many of the same persons, today having discovered that control has been passed from "white" imperialists to imperialists of their own country, now claim that only Communism can break the hold of absentee landlordism, poverty and governmental corruption. Thus they stand to sacrifice their political freedom and to accept a new variety of imperialism (Russia's), to acheive economic freedom. If the spread of Communism is checked in Asia, it will be both because of radical measures taken to eliminate the trinity of causes, and the speedy recrudescence of nationalism among the People.

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ARISTOTLE'S STAR PUPIL

Viscount Soulbury

SEVERAL years ago there was produced in London a play called *Adventure Story*. The author was Terence Rattigan, and there are few more wonderful stories of adventure than the story of Alexander the Great, the hero of this play.

It seems almost incredible that a young man, only twenty-three years old, who had recently succeeded to the throne of the small, poor, and semi-civilised kingdom of Macedonia, in the North of Greece, should have been able to lead an army of less than forty thousand men—barely a third of them Macedonians—through hostile country from the Bosphorus to the Indus, a journey of about three thousand miles, and in the space of eleven years destroy the Persian Empire, the strongest Empire in the World, stretching from the Levant to the borders of Afghanistan, and from the Black Sea to Egypt. When he died in Babylon on June 28, 323 B.C., Alexander was the master of the whole of this vast area and of Indian territory between the Hindu Kush and the Jhelum river.

How was it done? Adventure is scarcely the right term for such a tremendous achievement. Alexander was no wondering knight-errant in search of romance, though he ventured his own life often enough, and was wounded four times in the course of his campaigns; nor was he, as the Roman poet Persius said, *Felix Praedo*—a successful bandit.

He was a military genius of the highest order, he commanded the best professional army in the world which he moved at a speed hitherto unexampled, his plans were thought out to the last detail, and his organisation was excellent. Until comparatively modern times no armed forces have ever taken the field so amply furnished with technicians of all kinds, scientists, engineers, architects, surveyors, geographers and, in addition, philosophers, historians and poets, forming a sort of propaganda department. Napoleon followed Alexander's example when he attacked Egypt in 1798, for his army included astronomers, chemists, mineralogists, poets and painters, and was equipped with a large library and crates of scientific apparatus and measuring instruments.

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Alexander's invasion of Persia was not a sudden inspiration. It was a war of revenge that had been germinating in the minds of the Greeks ever since the Persian attack on Greece and the battle of Marathon one hundred and fifty years earlier. War often sows dragon's teeth. But no campaign against Persia was possible without a secure base of operations, and it took Alexander's father, Philip II of Macedonia, many years of much fighting and more diplomacy to control the independent city-States of Greece, Athens, Sparta, Thebes and others, any one of whom independently, or in collaboration, could have and probably would have, stabbed him in the back as soon as his face was turned East.

When Philip died at the hand of an assassin in 336 B.C., he had secured the title of Captain-General of Greece and removed most of the danger to his rear though not all, for on his accession Alexander had to raze Thebes to the ground before he could set out as champion of all Hellas, three years after his father's death, with the splendid troops, experienced officers and highly trained general staff which had been bequeathed to him.

But his father had provided for him an even more valuable asset. It has been said—unfairly—that most of Alexander's success was due to good luck. His real luck was to have been taught at an impressionable age by the greatest intellect in Greece. When he was thirteen years old, Philip appointed as his tutor a man who has had more influence over the thought and science of mankind than any other human being—Aristotle—" the master of those who know." What a master and what a pupil! " My father," said Alexander, "gave me life, but Aristotle showed me how to live well."

And yet Alexander hated his father, while he adored his mother, Olympias, a proud, wild, Balkan Princess, bitterly resentful of the matrimonial irregularities of her husband. It may have been due to the home life of his parents that Alexander was always more of less indifferent to the physical attractions of women and that his relations with them resembled those of mother and son, as in his contacts with Pythia, the Priestess of Apollo, Queen Ada of Caria, and the Queen Mother of Persia, the mother of his conquered enemy Darius. They treated him almost as a child and he seems to have appreciated it. Perhaps he was an instance of the Oedipus complex, and one may wonder what difference it would have made if Aristotle had known something about psycho-analysis. It is also possible that Alexander had

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taken to heart the warning which Athenaeus tells us that Olympias gave to another young Macedonian: " You rascal, you are marrying with your eyes, and not with your intelligence."

Alexander must have been a fascinating boy to teach, though difficult, for his character was a blend of passionate emotional mysticism inherited from his mother, and the practical calculating ruthlessness of his father. Of the actual art of war he could have learnt little from his tutor, Aristotle, but of science, ethics, and politics he learnt a great deal, and as events were to show, he was not only a military but a political genius.

Many years ago a Minister of an Indian State said to the Viceroy of India that to conquer a country was easy, but to conquer the heart of the people was most difficult. Alexander was the first great conqueror to grasp the truth of that observation. To the Greeks the Persians were barbarians to be enslaved or exterminated, and it was Aristotle's view as it was Plato's before him, that all barbarians, especially those of Asia, were slaves by nature and that the Persians should be regarded as such. He told his pupil to treat the Greeks as friends and the barbarians as animals.

But Alexander was wiser than his master. Of course, on purely military grounds, the conciliation of the peoples of the conquered cities and territories was essential to the maintenance of his long line of communications, but there was a much more profound basis for that policy. For there is good reason to think that it became Alexander's aim to unite Greek and Barbarians, to create a partnership between Greece and Persia, to treat all human beings as members of one race and to establish universal peace upon earth. Some five hundred years later the idea of becoming a second Alexander the Great and amalgamating into one state the Romans and the Persians occurred to the Roman Emperor Caracalla (A.D., 211). His object, according to Professor Rostovtscheff, was to stem the tide of barbarism which threatened to engulf both the Roman and Parthian Empires. But Alexander's aim was, I think, far more ambitious, for he may well have believed that he had a divine mission to reconcile humanity and to bring about the brotherhood of mankind. Perhaps that great dream was a product of his mother's mysticism, and it was an idea far in advance of contemporary thought. In fact, more than two thousand years since his death, a similar idea is once again stirring in the minds of men.

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That Greece and Persia should be partners was in his day a completely novel conception, and he took practical steps to bring it about. He held at Susa the famous " Wedding of East and West " at which he married Stateira, the daughter of Darius, and made eighty of his most distinguished officers marry the daughters of Persian noblemen. He also married Roxana, the daughter of a Bactrian chief, probably in order to conciliate the frontier barons on the North-East marches of his new dominion. He encouraged mixed marriages and gave handsome dowries to ten thousand of his troops who had already married Asian women, for he realised that there could be no more effective method of bringing two communities into partnership than inter-marriage. He also drafted Persian cavalry into his army and had thirty thousand Persian boys trained to fight in his famous infantry formation, the Phalanx.

Needless to say, his Macedonian Generals mostly Philip's men and brought up in the conservative traditions of Greece, neither sympathized with nor understood his policy. Amongst his nationals, he was the only international. No one before his time had thought in terms of the whole world, and not many have done so since. It is not surprising that he complained of loneliness. But his effort to break down the separatism of nationality had a considerable influence upon the Roman Empire and upon Mediaeval Europe. That the modern world has become increasingly conscious of nationalism is not a matter for congratulation.

In Terence Rattigan's very moving prologue to his play, the dying Alexander asks two questions—" Could I have ever turned back? " and " When did it first go wrong? " All who have seen the play will ask those questions and find them difficult to answer.

When Alexander set out on his " adventure," he probably did not aim at more than the capture of the sea-board provinces of Persia and the liberation of the cities on the Mediterranean coast, many of them founded and still inhabited by people of Greek origin. Lack of finance—in his own words he had nothing left but " his hopes "—would have set a limit to more ambitious projects, but, no doubt, he hoped that a successful expedition would put him in funds, and it did, for about eighteen months after crossing the Dardanelles the battle of Issus and the capture of Darius' war chest, banished all financial difficulties. With that windfall he was able to attempt a complete subjection of the Persian Empire,

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and indeed no other course was open to him, if he was to eliminate the perpetual danger of the Persian counter attack for the recovery of the coast of Asia Minor. So when Darius offered to cede to him all the territory west of the Euphrates, and his Chief of Staff, Parmenion, said that if he were Alexander he would accept the offer, the famous repartee, " So would I, if I were Parmenion, " was justified.

But could he have turned back before attacking India?—that is, I think, what his question meant—for after reaching the Indus he did turn back; his men would go no further. What made him attack India? After the capture of Ecbatana and the death of Darius he was sovereign of the whole Persian Empire, his troops were tired of the War and clamouring to go home, and the physical difficulties of the approach march were immense. Surely he could have established somewhere West of the Hindu Kush and Afghanistan, and the rivers Jaxartes or Oxus, in what is now Russian Turkistan, a permanent line of defence to cover his new realm, consolidated the conqured territory, reformed his administration and saved the Middle East from the Wars of succession that followed his death?

I believe that he would have turned back before invading India if he had known more of the geography of that country but he was already at the confines of the world of which the Greek geographers had any knowledge. He founded Alexandria Eschate—Alexandria at the end of the World, the modern Khodjend and he thought, as did all his contemporaries, that the ocean was only a few days march to the East of the Indus; it is said that when he saw the crocodiles in that river he believed it to be the head-waters of the Nile.

But with his utterly mistaken notions of geography, his invasion of India, or what he thought comprised India, would only involve the capture of just one more province and, if he was right about the ocean, would secure for his new Empire the best possible of all frontiers, the sea. So it seems that in the light of his knowledge, or rather lack of knowledge, he had sound military reasons for going on and could not turn back. We cannot blame him for his ignorance of geography, for three hundred years later the historian Diodorus Siculas writes of the supremacy of Rome extending to the boundaries of the inhabited world.

But what about his second question, " When did it first go wrong? " That is more difficult to answer.

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Was Alexander just one more instance of the failure of a human being to endure complete success and withstand the intoxicating corruption of unbridled authority? It may be so. Perhaps the turning point in his career was the execution of Parmenion's son Philotus, and the murdering of Parmenion and Cleitus, all three of them " companions " and members of his entourage. It is possible to excuse those deeds in the interests of State, but they were certainly reminiscent of the oriental potentate which he had become. I think, however, that reasons of policy and not self-aggrandizement prompted him to adopt the style and ceremonial of a Persian King and insist upon the forms of obeisance, genuflection and prostration familiar to an Eastern Court. They were distasteful to his Greek associates but expected from him by his Persian subjects. He had stepped into the shoes of the Great King and desired to assume the role of his legitimate successor. Resistance then became rebellion.

We are told in the play that Alexander once asked his tutor, how a man could become a God and that Aristotle replied, " By doing what is impossible for a man to do." Alexander may be forgiven for thinking that that was what he had done. As successor to the Pharaohs of Egypt he was worshipped by the Egyptians, and a year before his death he officially requested the Greek cities to treat him as a God. Was that a political manoeuvre like the subsequent deification of the Roman Emperors, or had he become to believe in his own divinity? He claimed descent from Achilles, the son of a sea-nymph, and Heracles to whom occasionally the Greeks accorded divine honours, and it must be remembered that in Greek mythology there was no very hard and fast line drawn between Gods and men; demi-Gods and heroes filled the gap. To us in the twentieth century, such beliefs seem absurd, but to the ancient world they were credible, and it may well be that Alexander did believe himself to be a God or, at any rate, to have a far greater share of the " divine spark " than any other living person. Plutarch reports as one of his sayings, " God is the common Father of all men but he makes the best ones peculiarly his own." Anyhow, whatever he believed, his sublime belief in himself explains the stupendous self-confidence which carried him through his career.

Despotism and deification, however, were heavy burdens to bear, and under such burdens sooner or later it was bound to "go wrong". Having reached the summit of the most

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colossal material success ever achieved by man, it would have been better to settle down to the humdrum but vitally important task of consolidating and administering his immense conquests. But a man's character is his destiny, and it was not in his character to do that, and even if it had been the terrible mental and physical strain of eleven years of warfare had broken him down. He was tired out and exhausted. He died of a fever which, it has been well said, might have spared him had he known how to spare himself.

It would not, I think, be profitable to speculate on what would have happened if he had lived longer, but the world might well have been very different if he had never lived. He gave his name to the Alexandrian Age—Alexandria remains as a memorial—and he founded at least sixteen other cities. But above all, we owe it to him that for six or seven hundred years the Middle East was permeated by the culture and civilisation of Greece. The Greek language was the *Koinè*, the common speech, the *lingua franca*, of the whole area.

Three hundred years after his death that fact became of fundamental importance to Western Europe for Greek was the medium by which the New Testament and the doctrines of Christianity were promulgated from Syria to Greece and from Greece to Rome. I do not know what other language St. Paul could have used as the vehicle of his teaching, for in the words of Professor Mahaffy : " It is not enough to say that Greek was the current language of Christianity, it may fairly be said that it was the only language."

And although Alexander's direct influence on India vanished within a generation, there is good reason to think that as a result of his invasion, India too made her contribution to Christianity. Chandragupta saw him and made peace with his successor, Seleucus, but Macedonian agents remained at the Court of the Indian King and we know from the inscriptions of his grandson, the Emperor Asoka, that Buddhist missionaries were sent to preach their doctrine to all the Hellenic Kings of the West. To quote Professor Mahaffy once more: " We have no details of their number or of their success, but when you consider that they must have preached in Syria two centuries before Christ, strange likenesses in the life of Buddha to that of the life of Christ assume a new and deep interest." Who can estimate the ultimate consequence, if it be true that Alexander's conquests brought Buddhist teaching into Galilee? We must also

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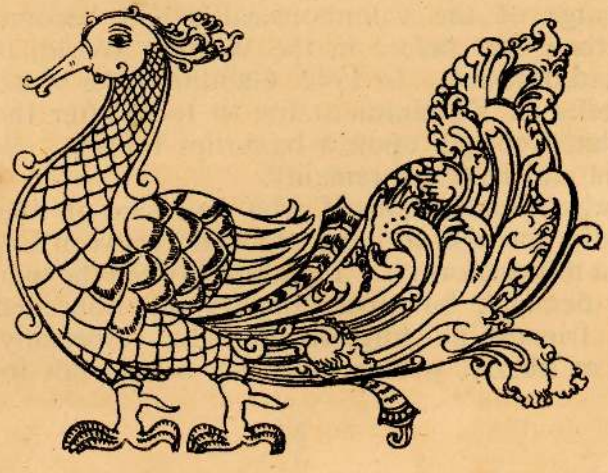
remember that India's contact with Greece set in motion a wave of Greek art which profoundly affected Gandhara in Afghanistan, the cradle of Buddhist sculpture.

Alexander was hardly dead when romance and legend and fairy tale became busy with his name and achievements. His story spread all over the world. A Persian poet records that he set steps and chains on the path up Adam's Peak in Ceylon, and a mediaeval poem, The Romance of Alexander, in lines of twelve syllables, originated the metre known as Alexandrine. But from the Middle Ages onwards he does not seem to have figured largely in the literature either of East or West. One might have expected that the life of such a great man, so full of incident and excitement, would have appealed to poets, dramatists and novelists throughout the ages, and yet, so far as I know, the only important poem in the English language that takes Alexander as its theme is Dryden's Alexander's Feast. It is strange that Shakespeare did not find in him material for a tragedy. He drew on North's Plutarch for his classical plays, and Plutarch's life of Alexander must have been known to him. Perhaps the reason was the lack of any love interest in Alexander's life, though for that matter there is not much of it in Julius Caesar. Anyhow, whatever the reason, we should be grateful that at long last an English playwright has dramatized the career of Alexander the Great not only with consummate skill and subtlety but with astonishing fidelity to the recorded facts of history.

If it be true that " history is philosophy teaching by example," there are many lessons to be learnt from the adventure story of Alexander the Great.



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THE IMPACT OF ASIAN MEMBERSHIP

Nicholas Mansergh
(*Smuts Professor of the History of the British Commonwealth.*)

WHEN, in 1947, India, Pakistan and Ceylon became fully self-governing and yet chose to remain in the Commonwealth, Britain and the older European members found it a welcome, a re-assuring, but not in itself a very surprising, event. They believed that Commonwealth membership was something of advantage to self-governing nations; that it meant independence with something added to it. It was in precisely these terms that Peter Fraser, Prime Minister of New Zealand, recommended membership to them. But as seen from Asia this continuing membership is surprising.

The year of decision, 1947, was also the year of the Asian Conference at whose opening Pandit Nehru spoke of the strong winds blowing all over Asia, winds which heralded the disappearance of European rule, the triumph of Asian nationalism, and the resurgence of Asia in world affairs. Was it likely that in this dawn of a new age, in which the sentiment of Asian solidarity flowed strongly, that Asian countries would continue in association even on a footing of equality, with the former European rulers?

Burma, in fact, was not prepared to do so and in India itself there was a widespread presumption that with independence all ties with Britain would be severed, for complete independence was the proclaimed goal of the Indian National Congress. Moreover, during and just after the War while the prestige of the Commonwealth had become perhaps greater than ever before in the Western World, its relative power had declined. In 1942, Gandhi spoke brutally of the Cripps offer of Dominion status to India after the War, as a post-dated cheque upon a bankrupt Empire. Why, then, did India and Pakistan remain?

It was Gandhi himself who had said in the 'thirties that he did not wish to break the bond between England and India but to transform it. Equality between the two countries was his demand, but once equality was conceded then he desired friendship. English thought, especially English notions of liberty, were part of his being—not for nothing

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was he once described as the last of the Great Victorians—and this conviction of one who was revered in India as the Father of the Nation was very important. The timing and the manner of the transfer of power also made a deep and lasting impression in both India and Pakistan. It was, so it seemed to them, something worthy of the tradition of liberal England on which so many Indians in the past had been nurtured.

Asian membership of the Commonwealth is not something that even yet is taken for granted in Asia. It is something that still arouses curiosity. Mr. Chou En-lai, on his return from the Geneva Conference, was reported to have enquired closely in Delhi about the nature of India's ties with the Commonwealth—and in answer to have been told illuminating anecdotes about life at All Souls by that very distinguished scholar the Vice-President of the Republic of India. Not long ago in Karachi, when I gave a lecture on 'Commonwealth Relations,' I was flattered to see almost the whole of the Russian and Chinese embassy staffs in my audience. One would certainly not arouse this degree of attention in Great Britain but here the Commonwealth is part of an accepted order of things. In Asia, including Commonwealth Asia, it is not, and we must not let the fact of Asian membership confuse us about the facts of Asian opinion.

There are deep differences between India and Pakistan, or between India and Ceylon, on particular questions, but when Pandit Nehru said that India remained a member of the Commonwealth because of a belief that 'membership was beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world we wish to advance,' he was thinking of causes that appeal equally to all the Asian members. Chief among them are the ending of colonialism, of racial discrimination in any form, the raising of living standards in economically backward areas, and the restoration of Asia to what is believed to be its rightful place in world affairs. It is widely believed in Great Britain that Asian pressure has been for the immediate ending of colonial rule. This is not so. That is agreed to be impracticable. What Indians and Pakistanis would like to see is the doctrine of international trusteeship extended to all colonial territories, and they would like ultimate responsibility for the timing of the transfer of power vested in an international authority. Imperial powers, they argue, are apt to postpone indefinitely the handing over of power. Britain

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herself, they say, has not resisted the temptation in the past. In the words of the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, self-government came to the sub-continent of India 'with painful slowness.'

But it came. It was, at least since 1917, the goal of British policy in India. Today it is the goal of British colonial policy. That is now more widely understood in Asia, and British colonial administration earns generous tributes. There is also understanding of the difficulties of applying notions of international accountability with existing tensions at the United Nations. Indeed, the complaint most often heard is that at the United Nations, Britain, who in Asia and elsewhere has given convincing proof that she knows better, should keep discreditable company—the discreditable company of imperial powers who do not accept self-government as the goal of their colonial policy. Perhaps particularly in Pakistan you will find, for this reason, some misgivings about the North Atlantic Treaty, and about Britain's closer association with Europe, lest they should serve to bind this country more closely to the imperial powers of western Europe.

In respect of racial discrimination, something closely associated with colonialism in the Asian mind, there has been open and bitter dispute between the Asian members of the Commonwealth and the Union of South Africa. Here the weight of Commonwealth opinion comes down on the Asian side in point of principle, though the other members of the Commonwealth are more disposed to regard South African policies as a matter primarily of domestic concern and exercise greater restraint in public than India or Pakistan either wish or see fit to do. There is no doubt that the cumulative effect of pressure from Delhi, from Karachi, and from Colombo has been to make the older members of the Commonwealth more sensitive to the tide of world opinion in respect of colonial and racial questions. That is something in itself welcome in Asia, and indeed a strong argument there for continuing Commonwealth membership.

The Asian members were not responsible for initiating the Colombo Plan, but it is for their vast and under-developed part of the world that it has been initiated. In India or Pakistan today you may see on model farms tractors marked as having been supplied by Australia or Canada or New Zealand, as the case may be, under the Colombo Plan. You never see 'supplied by Britain,' but that is because Britain contributes in a characteristically unspectacular way by the

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release of sterling balances. Sharing in the Colombo Plan, modest though it is in relation to needs, may well have strengthened Commonwealth ties, as it has certainly enlarged Commonwealth experience.

Most of all, perhaps, the presence of Asian members has made us more conscious of Asia as a whole. It is the continent in which lives some three-fifths of the human race, yet in recent times its role in international affairs has been extraordinarily small. Even today recognition of its comes slowly. On many occasions Pandit Nehru, who in these matters speaks for non-Communist Asia, has complained bitterly of Western Powers seeking to decide the future of Asia without due regard to the opinions of Asians. The under-representation of Asia on the Security Council provokes great indignation. At one phase of the Korean negotiations the whole continent was represented by the Lebanon, 'that excellent but small country,' to quote Pandit Nehru, and by the Government of Formosa which 'represents no body in Asia but Formosa.'

Influencing World Affairs

It is clear that membership of the Commonwealth is seen by Asia, and rightly seen, as one way in which Asian influence can be exerted on world affairs. It has left to the Asian countries full freedom to pursue their own policies, but at the same time through its intricate network of communication and consultation it has enabled Asian opinion to be taken into account in London, in Ottawa, in Canberra, before policies are formulated. For some years, moreover, India was the only member with a fully accredited diplomatic representative to the People's Government in Peking, and Indian interpretations of Chinese policy were regularly communicated to other Commonwealth governments. I believe that this influenced the United Kingdom in its decision to recognise the Peking Government as the de facto government of China. Again, at the recent Geneva Conference, the Foreign Secretary kept in close touch with the contemporary meeting of Asian Prime Ministers at Colombo. Reassuring to them, such contact added also to the influence of Britain. The British Foreign Secretary could guide his course knowing, and being known to know, the thoughts of great Asian countries on the resettlement of Asia. This is something new in Commonwealth history. It is something

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important. Through Commonwealth membership the influence not only of the Asian members but of Britain herself in world affairs is enhanced.

Some consequences of this are to be seen in the attitude of other members to the Commonwealth itself. In Canada today the importance of the Commonwealth looms larger because of Asian membership. This is still more true of Australia and New Zealand—of Europe but not in it, in Asia but not of it. They see, in the Commonwealth, a means of reconciling the divergent pulls of history and geography.

Decentralisation was the dominant feature in Commonwealth history long before 1947. But with the addition of the Asian members the process gathered renewed momentum. With their self-conscious nationalism, the Asians were concerned lest the new Commonwealth should prove to be no more than the old Empire in a different guise. They required convincing proof that it was not. This accounts for their insistence on full freedom to secede should they so desire, on their right to pursue wholly independent foreign policies even to the point of neutrality in the event of war in which other members of the Commonwealth were engaged. This was understandable in the light of their history, but, in fact, by 1947 independence in every aspect of external policy was implicit in Dominion status.

Only in respect of allegiance to the Crown has Asian membership brought about a clear departure from established convention. Till 1949 allegiance was a condition of Commonwealth membership; since that date it is no longer so. The breach with tradition was made so as to enable India, which had adopted a republican constitution, to remain a full member of the Commonwealth. Today India owes no allegiance to the Crown but she acknowledges the Queen as the symbol of the Commonwealth association and, as such, the Head of the Commonwealth. The draft constitution of Pakistan contemplates a republican form of government and it seems likely that in due course Pakistan's relationship with the Commonwealth will be expressed in similar terms.

Some have regarded this loosening of the formal fabric of Commonwealth unity with dismay. Mr. Menzies in Adelaide in 1950 lamented: 'The old structural unity of the Empire has gone; it has been succeeded by structural variety.' If the process continued, he feared lest former unity should give way to a purely functional association based upon friendship and common interest but necessarily lacking the old high instincts

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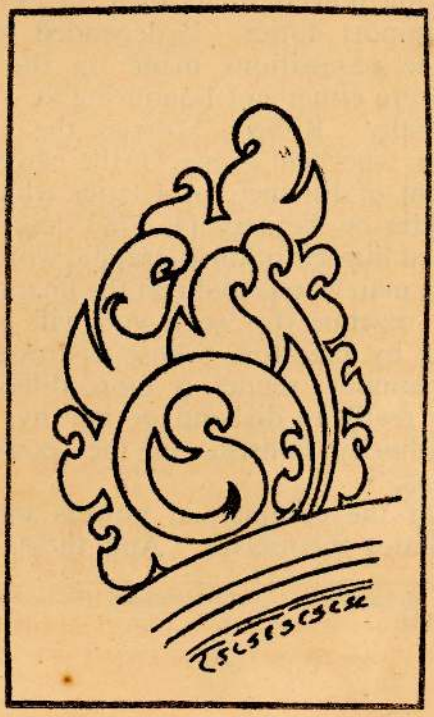
and instantaneous cohesion, ' which sprang,' he said, ' from the fact that we were all over the British world, as indeed we remain in the old Dominions, the King's subjects and the King's men.' This indeed is a classic statement of the misgivings felt by many traditionalists. But part of the answer, surely, was to be found in Mr. Menzies' own words ' as indeed we remain in the old Dominions ?' There has been no change in their relationship to Crown and Commonwealth; there has been a proper recognition that peoples of different culture and traditions did not share such sentiments.

We can now best play our part in the working out of the Commonwealth experiment in international and in racial co-operation by being true to the liberal, democratic, humanitarian tradition from which the ideal of Commonwealth derives. A hundred years ago the Emperor Louis Napoleon, in a speech at Guildhall, could say: ' The eyes of all who suffer turn instinctively to the West.' He was thinking of the oppressed nationalities of Europe; today we must think of a wider world, and of economic and social as well as of political ills. Asian membership of the Commonwealth is, or should be, a constant reminder to us that it will be a dark day indeed when the eyes of those who suffer look elsewhere because they have looked to the West and found indifference there.



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THE FRAMING OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

M. Ramaswamy

IT is with pleasure that I respond to the invitation of the Editor of the *New Lanka* to give its readers a short account of the framing of the great Charter of Government, under whose protective wings the United States of America has conducted its life for over one hundred and sixty-five years and achieved both prosperity and greatness.

After the successful termination of the Revolutionary War of Independence, the Confederate States, that had forged a strong bond of unity during the crisis, had gradually given way to sectional interests and jealousies. The mutual bickerings and the pursuit of selfish interests had brought on chaos both in the financial and economic domains. The Articles of Confederation adopted by the Confederate States in 1781 was bereft of the requisite power to control the serious situation which had arisen in the country. The Congress, the central organ of the Confederacy, had no independent taxing powers of its own, not even the limited power to levy import duties. It depended for its financial resources on the requisitions made on the States, which many of them were either not honouring at all or were only honouring partially. Robert Morris, the great financier of the revolution, who held charge of the newly-created office of Superintendent of Finance, in a letter which he wrote to Benjamin Franklin on January 11, 1783 described the plight in which he found himself in these graphic words: " Imagine the situation of a man who is to direct the finances of a country almost without revenue (for such you will perceive this to be) surrounded by creditors whose distresses, while they increase their clamour, render it more difficult to appease them; an army ready to disband or mutiny; a government whose sole authority consists in the power of framing recommendations."[1]

The bulk of the commercial powers were also in the hands of the States themselves. And these they employed

(1) Andrew C. McLaughlin: *A Constitutional History of the United States*, pp. 139—140.

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to advance their own narrow selfish interests. For instance, States which possessed good harbours fully exploited this advantage by taxing goods which passed through their ports on their way to other States. Madison referred to this situation in words which have become classic: " New Jersey, placed between Philadelphia and New York was linkened to a cask tapped at both ends, and North Carolina between Virginia and South Carolina to a patient bleeding at both arms." Again the absence of any authority for the Congress under the Articles of Confederation to conclude commercial treaties binding on the States had the effect of crippling American commerce. American trade with the West Indies which was in a flourishing condition during the pre-revolutionary days had almost ceased because of the hostile provisions of a British Order in Council of July 2, 1783 which had closed the ports of the West Indies to American vessels and which permitted trade in a few specified commodities only which had to be transported in British vessels owned and navigated by British subjects. But for the dispersion of the commercial powers among the States it would not have been difficult to remedy this situation by threatening retaliatory action against British commerce.

Virginia proposed that a conference of all the States should meet in Annapolis in September, 1786, to find a solution for the economic difficulties which confronted the country. This conference which was attended by the representatives of only five States although it achieved no tangible results, recommended that a convention should " meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May next, to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." This recommendation was accepted by Congress in a resolution passed by it on February 21, 1787.

The Convention was scheduled to commence on Monday, May 14, 1787. As the requisite quorum of seven State delegations was available only on May 25, the Convention formally commenced its sessions on that day and elected unanimously George Washington, as its President. The members were required to observe complete secrecy in regard to what was transacted at the meetings of the Convention. This was a very wise step to take as the delegates could apply

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themselves to their task undisturbed by public clamour. Among the fifty-five delegates who actually participated in the work of the Convention there were two immortals, George Washington, the Commander who had led his countrymen to victory in the Revolutionary War and Benjamin Franklin, mellow with age and brilliantly conspicuous in talents and service to his country. There were also other able men in that notable assembly like Madison, a great student of politics later to become Jefferson's Secretary of State and the fourth President of the United States, James Wilson a great jurist and the brilliant Pennsylvania delegate Gouverneur Morris to whose genius Madison ascribed the "finish given to the style and arrangement of the Constitution." Alexander Hamilton, although a delegate to the Convention took little part in its deliberations. But the services which he later rendered his country by his contributions to the famous Federalist Papers and by his superb handling of the finances of the new Federal Government as the First Secretary of the Treasury were of the highest importance. There were doctors, lawyers, college presidents, scientists and merchants among the delegates. It was a fair cross-section of the middle-class American Society of those days.

Impressed as the delegates were with the seriousness of the situation which confronted their country, they with a boldness which is deserving of the highest praise, quietly ignored as unworkable the instructions given to them by the Congress that the function of the Convention was to be restricted to the "Sole and express purpose of revising the Articles" and to report to Congress and the States the alterations which were required to meet "the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." Instead of merely revising the Articles which process would have resulted in a patch-work arrangement of only transitory value, they proceeded to construct a new central machinery with separate executive, legislative and judicial components carefully adjusted to form one harmonious whole and able to tackle national problems on a national scale. The New Central Government was given power over, among other matters, the establishment of post offices, the coinage of money, the declaration of war and the raising and support of armies and a Navy, the regulation of foreign and inter-State commerce, the establishment of a uniform rule of naturalization, the levy and collection of taxes, duties, imposts and

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excises. As practical men of wisdom they made many compromises. For instance, to allay the fears of the smaller states that their interests may be ridden roughshod by their bigger neighbours, States both big and small were given equal representation on the Senate though their representation on the House of Representatives was to be fixed on the basis of their population.

It is necessary to call attention to a significant feature of the new Constitution evolved by the Philadelphia Convention. A troublesome problem to be solved was how the powers of the New National Government were to be enforced. A great source of weakness of the old confederacy lay in the fact that it had no coercive power. The Virginia plan had suggested that the force of the Union could be used " against any member of the Union failing to fulfil its duty." Had this proposal gone into effect the result would have been a series of civil wars. Fortunately the Convention was able to evolve a new technique which may now look simple but which in reality was a momentous discovery in the art of carrying on government. The New National Government was to act not on the States but on the people directly through its own executive, legislative and judicial organs. Under Article VI of the Constitution " this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." This is the great linchpin which holds the structure of the Constitution together. The laws enacted by the National Government within its sphere of authority became the Supreme Law of the land and liable to be enforced on the citizen directly in the same way as State laws enacted within its own sphere were liable to be enforced.

The chaotic condition of commerce during the pre-Constitution period, as we have seen already, was due to the dispersion of the Commercial Powers among the States and the complete absence of authority on the part of the Confederacy to stem this chaos. The Constitution framed by the Philadelphia Convention gave to Congress by one of its provisions (Art. I, Sec. 8, Cl. 3) known familiarly a the Commerce Clause, full power to regulate foreign an

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interstate commerce. This clause which has been responsible for the breaking down of interstate barriers to the free flow of commerce across state lines has made the Country one federal free trade area surrounded by one uniform tariff wall.[2] As Mr. Justice Jackson delivering the opinion of the United States Supreme Court in *Hood & Sons* v *Du Mond*[3] has observed:

> "The material success that has come to the inhabitants of the States which make up this federal free trade unit has been the most impressive in the History of Commerce..... Our system, fostered by the Commerce Clause, is that every farmer and every craftsman shall be encouraged to produce by the certainty that he will have free access to every market in the Nation, that no home embargoes will withhold his exports, and no foreign State will by customs duties or regulations exclude them. Likewise, every consumer may look to the free competition from every producing area in the Nation to protect him from exploitation by any. Such was the vision of its Founders; such has been the doctrine of this Court which has given it reality."

On Monday, September 17, 1787, four months after the Convention had met, the Constitution was ready for signature and thirty-nine out of the forty-two who were present signed it. Benjamin Franklin, whilst the last members were signing it looking towards the President's Chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, " that Painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. I have, said he, often and often in the course of the Session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting Sun."[4]

Before the new Constitution framed by the Convention could become operative it had to be ratified by the State Conventions of nine at least of the thirteen States. This was no easy matter as a section of the people was bitterly opposed to such ratification. But fortunately the vast

(2) See M. Ramaswamy: *The Commerce Clause in the Constitution of the United States*, New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Inc.

(3) (1949) 336 U.S. 525 at pp. 538—539.

(4) Max Farrand: *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States*, p. 194.

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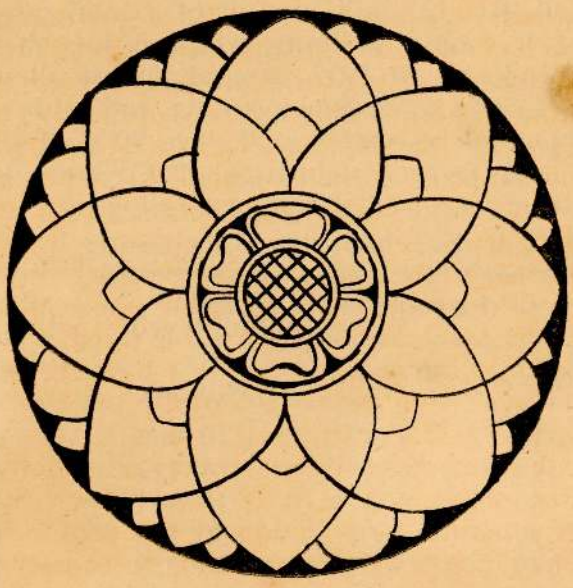
majority of Americans shared the basic philosophy of the Makers of the Constitution who firmly believed, to use the happy words of Mr. Justice Benjamin Cardozo in *Baldwin* v *Seelig* [5] " that the peoples of the several States must sink or swim together, and that in the long run prosperity and salvation are in union and not division." And it was this broad outlook among the common folk that made the birth of the United States possible. After the news of the approval of New Hampshire and Virginia the ninth and tenth States to ratify reached Congress it took the necessary steps to bring the new Constitution into commission. And on April 30, 1789, the immortal Washington who had been unanimously chosen as the First President of the Republic took the oath of office at Federal Hall, New York, cheered by a vast gathering of his grateful countrymen.

(5) (1935) 294 U.S. 511 at p. 523.



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THE CONTENT OF EMPLOYMENT IN INDUSTRY

E. B. Tisseverasinghe

AT the lowest end of the industrial scale we have the pure cottage industries, where the only capital a worker needs is limited to about one week's net earnings. With this negligible amount the worker is able to procure the primitive tools he needs, and also a sufficient stock of raw materials to work on. Instances are numerous—mat weaving, pottery, lace making, needle-work, etc. With a little more capital—say equal to one month's wages—most of the other cottage industries—carpentry, weaving, brasswork, iron foundry, etc.—can be carried on.

The other end of the scale is not to be found in Ceylon at all, and is restricted to about half-a-dozen countries in the whole world. In America a steel mill would require a capital of nearly Rs. 2 millions to keep one worker employed. Thus the capital/labour ratio in these highly-mechanised industries is about 100,000 times more than in the humblest industries of Ceylon. There is no need even to think of them any more.

In Ceylon there are very few true industries, apart from tea and rubber estate factories. In 1951, industry claimed only Rs. 225 millions out of a total gross national product of Rs. 4,619 millions, which is less than 5%. A Census of Industry in 1952 covered almost all mechanised industry in Ceylon (excluding again tea and rubber factories). The coverage was probably well over 90% of the genuine workshop and factory industries of Ceylon. The figures extracted from various Tables are as follows:

(See Table 1.7 of Census)

Number of Employees		Capital Employed Rs. Millions	Capital/ Employment ratio Rs.
Per Factory	Total		
5 — 10	1187	10.968	9240
11 — 24	2858	23.217	8124
25 — 49	5342	17.961	3362
50 — 99	7603	50.590	6654
100 — 199	5652	49.288	8720
200 — 299	3829	19.764	5162
300 & over	26,986	183.997	6819
TOTAL	53,457	355,784	6656

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(See Table 1.1 of Census)

Industry	No. of employees	Capital employed Rs. Millions	Capital/ Employment ratio Rs.
Grain milling	931	7.981	8572
Distilleries	464	5.868	12647
Tobacco	1921	44.413	23119
Coir	5887	8.965	1523
Printing	5539	27.350	4938
Soap	556	18.950	34083
Engineering	17954	96.108	5353

According to these two tables, on the average it requires capital of about Rs. 7,000 per head overall to employ one person in industry. But this average occurs mostly in the garage and printing industries, where there is already surplus and which are anyway not productive of any direct consumer goods. The only industry where capital is sensibly lower than the average is coir milling, and here too there is no room for expansion. Thus to set up any other industries we must expect to invest probably Rs. 8,000 — 9,000 per employee.

This is where an industry has regular and assured sources of supply and an established steady market. For new industries supply will not be so easy, as credit terms will not be so readily forthcoming. Sales are also likely to be very difficult at the start, which is just the time when capital is scarce, and there is most pressure on the industry. Under these circumstances it will not be safe to budget for less than about Rs. 12,000 per head as capital for industry.

Thus to achieve a target of 100,000 new jobs in industry we must have Rs. 1,200 millions of capital. This is, of course, wasting capital. Agriculture would call for the employment of only about Rs. 3,000 capital per head, and the capital never depreciates—on the contrary, it keeps on appreciating if properly looked after. But this is not a very material point since the depreciation of capital plant is separately accounted for out of gross profits and the capital formation is therefore preserved intact throughout. Besides, if farming is to be raised above the subsistence margin and

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fully systematised, and the value of farm buildings is also taken into account, the gap between industry and agriculture (in capital requirements) may not turn out to be so formidable as appears at first sight.

It is almost a truism that Capital hates Labour. It has always hated labour and will always continue to hate it, because the very existence of an under-privileged group is an offence to the conscience of the privileged. Besides, labour is unpredictable, emotional and a source of constant friction. Hence, capital prefers machines to labour, even if sometimes the cost of the machine product is higher. This would apply with greater force to foreign enterprises, which are much more accustomed to machines and much less familiar with Ceylon labour.

Government, however, cannot condone the indiscriminate use of machines to replace labour. It is often alleged by some economists that it is absurd to fear machines, and that the use of machines will actually promote greater employment in the long run. They are able to point to several countries where mechanisation has not led to unemployment, but to fuller employment. Undoubtedly this has occurred—in the long run—in several countries, but the causative factors are very complicated and not altogether predictable. It may involve considerations like peacetime preparation at all costs for future aggression or defence, exploitation of under-developed territories and peoples, manipulations of high finance, international cartelisation, raw material controls, etc., etc., all having the effect of further, promoting the interest and wealth of developed countries at the expense of the less-favoured nations. It is more than a mere surmise that increased mechanisation (beyond the minimum) in under-developed territories will not have the benefits felt by the industrialised countries but both in the long as well as the short run have disastrous consequences. Even in the industrialised countries there is a limit to the extent of economic mechanisation—in Japan, for instance, the limit is probably one-tenth of the extent in America. In the Ceylon of today the limit is much less, and much closer to the area of no mechanisation at all (except for hand tools). No amount of economic theory or examples of the past history of other countries can cloud the fact that so long as our capital resources are so severely limited and under-employment so great we cannot afford to expend our resources in capital-intensive industries.

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Unfortunately, this is exactly what we have been doing in the past. The four factories Government is putting up are not large-scale industries or even medium-scale. They are definitely on the small side of medium-scale. Yet they are highly capital-intensive. For instance,

Factory	Fixed capital Rs. millions	Working capital Rs. millions	Probable employ-ment	Capital/ employ-ment ratio.
Vegetable Oil	23	7	400	75,000
Caustic Soda-D.D.T.	12	2	350	40,000
Ceramics	4	1	150	33,000
Paper	22	6	350	80,000
TOTAL	61	16	1,250	61,000

it will be seen that, capital-wise, these industries are likely to be the costliest in the whole of Ceylon so far as employment is concerned, and will use up nearly ten times as much capital as all other existing industries in Ceylon. For the same investment in other industry we might have been able to give employment to 10 to 15,000 people more. Clearly they are a very poor investment from the angle of providing employment.

On the other hand, there are industries requiring far *less* capital than the average of industries in Ceylon. If there is any real mechanisation at all the amount of capital required cannot be reduced below a certain minimum, but certainly it should be possible to bring it well below the average if there is real need for it—and there is real need in the Ceylon of today. To take a simple instance. To press 6,000 flat tiles per day we can use either of the following methods:—

(*a*) Four hand presses costing Rs. 10,000, and 28 labourers.

(*b*) One mechanical press costing Rs. 50,000, and employing two persons.

The cost of the operation is about the same by both methods. The choice depends on the angle from which the question is viewed. The industrialist will probably think it is well

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worth spending Rs. 40,000 extra to be spared the nuisance of 26 troublesome workers—a replacement capital cost of only Rs. 1,500 per worker. To the Government, however, it should be a matter of real concern that in the sacred name of mechanisation, we are sending abroad Rs. 40,000 capital, and about Rs. 20,000 at least every year thereafter in running costs and at the same time throwing 26 workers out of employment. If Government allows this to happen (in fact, it has already happened), the country will be faced *both* with loss of capital as well as loss of employment. It is no use an economist telling us that ten years later or twenty years later we shall really be better off for having gone in for the mechanised press. We are mainly concerned with the immediate future, and anyway the distant future is by no means so certain as the economists would like to make out. If things usually occurred as predicted by the economists it is they who would be the millionaires, instead of drawing small salaries telling other people how to become millionaires.

The case mentioned is a rather clear illustration of the dangers of hasty and excessive mechanisation. Unfortunately, it is not an isolated instance, and this kind of mistake is far more frequent than is commonly realised. The real reason is that we import advice from abroad, and as our sources of advice are quite familiar with machines and find machines very profitable in their own country, they do not often pause to reflect that conditions in Ceylon may be very different. There is no reason to doubt the bona fides of our foreign advisers—many Ceylonese themselves share the same opinion, and unfortunately labour has not in recent years behaved in a manner calculated to inspire confidence in them for the future. If labour continues to behave in this fashion the attraction of more and more mechanisation, not to save costs but merely to replace manpower, will become quite irresistible.

This analysis indicates even more strongly than any past examination that there is every scope in Ceylon for the small-medium type of industry, employing machines only to do work beyond the strength or stamina of the workers, or to save workers degrading and inhuman conditions. Groups of 5—50 workers, using between them capital valued at Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 50,000 should be easily capable of manufacturing most of the consumer goods we require. Even here, of course, there will be extremes. A home power-loom

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unit may cost only Rs. 4,000 and keep 5 persons in employment or a simplified cement factory cost Rs. 6 lakhs and give employment to 1,000 persons, the capital/employment ratio in this case being the astonishingly small figure of Rs. 600 (compared to the actual average figure of over Rs. 60,000 we are spending at present). Imported fuel oils can be replaced by gases manufactured in locally-made gas producers. Oil engines could be replaced by water-wheels and wind-mills—both entirely home-made. There are innumerable such devices of reducing capital (especially the invaluable foreign-going capital) for employment.

It is not to be imagined that less of mechanisation will cause an increase in cost. In many instances the small-scale industry is actually sensibly cheaper than the product of a great factory, especially where the output includes a great deal of labour and valuable products. With proper design, organisation, and system, goods can be produced of hand-made quality at machine-made prices. The only troubles, risks and increased costs will be due to the purely human factors—unreliability, dishonesty, violence, sabotage, etc., of the workers. Undoubtedly these are major difficulties. Even for great industries, employing thousands of workers, and where really competent managers are paid fancy salaries and shares in profits, the managerial talent is hard to find. When we have to find managers of the same (or even greater) competence for every small group of 5—50 workers the difficulty may appear to be insuperable. Sources of supply are likely to be widely scattered, and sales also in a very fragmented type. Standards will have to be set and maintained with unvarying determination. The main difficulty will be labour—if supervision is harsh labour reacts with sabotage and violence: if supervision is soft, the reaction is idleness and dishonesty. It is for these and other similar reasons that the private entrepreneur fears and distrusts labour, and will go in for machines whenever at all possible, even if labour employment is the more economical.

If, therefore, it is the desire of Government that industry should be labour-intensive, it becomes the duty of Government to see that the difficulties of employers are reduced. This may be politically unpopular: yet it is economically an absolutely inescapable necessity. We are still in the infancy of industrialisation, and it is quite impossible to give labour the high standards of living and attractive conditions of work which have come to be regarded as quite

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normal in other countries. Even in a country like the U.S.A. where labour seem to be the lords of creation, earning as much as Supreme Court Judges in Ceylon, there is now a reaction, and recent labour movements indicate that labour is now aware that in the long run welfare in factories is paid for by themselves, not by management. How much more so would this apply in Ceylon, where industry itself is not even sure of any profit at all! High rates of labour, fixed by legislation, climbing up in booms, but almost never coming down in slumps, are another disincentive to employ labour. More and more irksome and vexatious restrictions on hiring and firing certainly do nothing to encourage labour employment. If a labourer is good no efficient employer would dream of punishing him: if he is bad, he is a menace to the industry, and in the interests of the whole community must be dislodged from his place as quickly as possible.

All these ideas go right against the idealistic notions of labour organisers and those who make a profession of a ready facility to shed tears on behalf of labour on little or even no provocation. It is to be feared that Government enterprises, and the handling of labour in them may have been good from labour's point of view but bad from the economic angle. The going was good for labour while the boom lasted, but where are all those numerous war-time industries now? All but three have vanished, and even the three which are left are hopelessly uneconomic propositions, working at a dreadful loss and bolstered up by various subterfuges at the expense of a defenceless public. If the aim is to find jobs for a few hundred workers for a few years, then labour welfare and protection by all means—the more the merrier. But it is beyond human power to discover pampered employment for 100,000 workers for ever, even with every conceivable incentive. This country just does not have the resources for it, and only a divine miracle can produce the resources out of a vacuum.

The 100,000 jobs can be found all right, and if they survive for one generation the future of Ceylon thereafter is completely assured for many generations to come. But few will be found with the moral and political courage to face the issue squarely, namely that the labour must first be drilled and disciplined to do a fair and honest day's work for a fair day's pay. Until this state of affairs comes about

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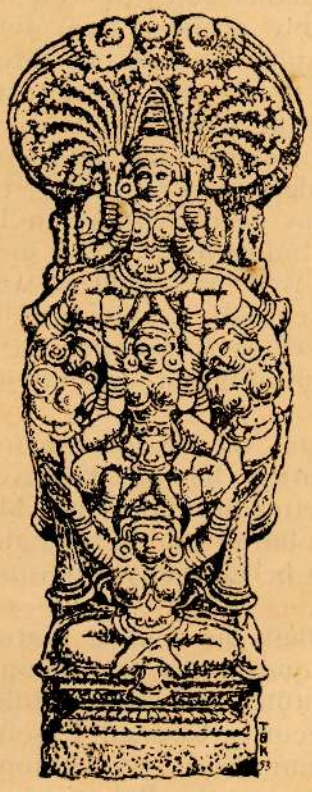
the employment just will not be found except by grace of some other country's charity—and we are not yet reduced to that level.

What the 100,000 jobs are or should be is quite easy to say. Most of it is already covered in previous papers on the subject. But there is not much point in pressing on with them, foredoomed as they are to failure under present-day conditions. Let the willingness to sacrifice be first accepted and the rest will follow almost automatically.



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THE KASHMIR IMPASSE

Mohammed Azhar Ali Khan

EXACTLY two years after Dr. Frank Graham, the last U. N. Representative for Kashmir, reported failure to the Security Council, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan meet in April once again to grapple with the thorny problem that is Kashmir.

This is the first time they will be discussing Kashmir since August, 1953, when, at one stage, they looked very much on the threshold of an agreement.

A meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan—which together constitute one-fifth of the world's population—invariably arouses great interest not only in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent but throughout the world. This time, too, the world will be watching with weary but anxious eyes toward the Indian capital for a miracle.

The Kashmir dispute, which the two countries inherited along with their independence in 1947, is now nearly eight years old. Time has been a healer in Iran, Suez, Trieste, French India and Indo-China. Not so in Kashmir. The complicated issues that prevented a solution seven years ago have become even more complicated. And issues which did not exist in 1947 have now become so important that they are very likely to weigh prominently in the Prime Ministers' deliberations.

For these reasons the common man in Pakistan—and in India for that matter—has not displayed any great enthusiasm over the meeting of the Prime Ministers. He is as interested in the solution of the disputes as before. But his hopes have been belied many times in the past—and this he dares not forget.

Till the time that the United Nations was mediating in the dispute the quorum of troops on both sides of the cease-fire line constituted the main hurdle in the way of an agreement. The Security Council Resolution of December 23, 1952, had recommended negotiations on the basis of 3,000 to 6,000 troops on the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line and 12,000 to 18,000 troops on the Indian side. However, India insisted that on the Pakistan side there should be a

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Civil Armed Force of 4,000 while on the Indian side there should be 21,000 troops along with the Jammu and Kashmir militia and police. The tripartite negotiations between India, Pakistan and the United Nations failed to yield positive results and Dr. Frank Graham, in his Fifth Report submitted to the Security Council on March 27, 1953, admitted failure without making any further proposals.

There was no meeting between the Indian and Pakistani Prime Ministers on Kashmir during the time when Khwaja Nazimuddin was the Prime Minister of Pakistan. But with his replacement by the present Pakistan Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali, efforts to solve the Kashmir tangle, and other disputes between India and Pakistan, were again resumed in earnest.

On the initiative of Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, he and Pandit Nehru met in London in June, 1953, where both of them had gone to attend the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. Toward the close of July, the same year, Pandit Nehru flew to Karachi and was accorded what has been described as the greatest welcome ever given to a visiting foreign dignitary in Pakistan.

The two Prime Ministers made satisfactory progress and agreed to meet once again. Soon after, however, Sheikh Abdullah, then Premier of Kashmir, was arrested and replaced by his deputy, Bakhsi Ghulam Mohammed. Pakistan reacted violently and Mohammed Ali hurriedly flew to Delhi to make sure that the changes in Kashmir did not mean any undoing of the progress he and Pandit Nehru had already made.

Mohammed Ali and Pandit Nehru met in Delhi from the 17th to 20th August and made even further progress. It was announced by them that the Plebescite Administrator would be inducted in office by the end of April, 1954. In order to bring this about, Experts Committees of the two Governments would be set up and would meet to resolve the deadlock over issues in dispute. The two Prime Ministers also agreed to meet whenever necessary.

The Experts Committees met at Delhi from the 21st to 29th December, 1953. They made some progress in examining the outstanding issues. However, two issues flared up that threatened to make a Kashmir solution even more remote than it had ever been.

First came the dispute over the nomination of a Plebescite Administrator. Fleet Admiral Chester Nimitz of the United

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States Navy had already been nominated by the United Nations in consultations with India and Pakistan. But, with the cold war between the communist and the Western democracies growing warmer every day, India thought it would be safer to have a Plebescite Administrator from one of the neutral countries rather than from a powerful and cold-warring country.

While the two sides were still debating over this point, the question of American military aid to Pakistan arose and, in the opinion of Indian Prime Minister Nehru, changed the Kashmir situation altogether.

Pakistan Prime Minister Mohammed Ali contested this point. He said that American military aid, which was meant only to strengthen the defence of his country, had nothing to do with the Kashmir dispute whatsoever. He further said that Pakistan was justified in accepting American military aid because both India and Pakistan had been accepting economic aid from the United States and that the two kinds of aid differed only in form and not in the ultimate result.

This controversy brought to an end all hopes of an early solution of the dispute. While the controversy raged unabated, the two Prime Ministers had the occasion to meet each other during the first meeting of the "Colombo Powers" in Ceylon. This meeting further heightened the tension as the two Prime Ministers completely failed to see eye to eye on several international issues.

When bilateral negotiations broke down, Pakistan repeatedly threatened to refer the dispute to the United Nations. However, this threat has not been carried out because it is realised in Pakistan that such an action had failed before and was not likely to be of much help now.

Recently, however, there have been certain developments in India and Pakistan, particularly in Pakistan, which have given rise to a certain amount of hope regarding a possible compromise over the Kashmir issue.

On October 24, 1954, Pakistan Governor-General Ghulam Mohammed dissolved the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. At the same time, he asked Prime Minister Mohammed Ali to form another cabinet.

The new Pakistan cabinet--which Prime Minister Mohammed Ali has called a "Cabinet of Talent"—includes leaders from all major opposition parties. Among them is Dr. Khan Sahib, an old friend of Nehru and a brother of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, commonly known as the Frontier

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Gandhi. This cabinet is more keen on friendlier relations with India than any other Pakistan cabinet thus far. Further, Governor-General Ghulam Mohammed is taking an active personal interest in Indo-Pakistan relations and is keen to bring the two countries closer.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, therefore, it can safely be presumed that it is going all out for a solution of the dispute.

India, too, has displayed a more friendly attitude toward Pakistan recently than ever before. This is illustrated particularly by the fact that the Indian Government recently invited Pakistan Governor-General Ghulam Mohammed to witness the Republic Day celebrations in India. And he was awarded a very cordial reception indeed. The recent tour of Pakistan by the Indian Cricket Team has also brought the two countries closer and, in the words of the team manager, Lala Amarnath, Cricket succeeded where Politics had failed.

Thus it is rightly argued that in both the countries a better atmosphere now prevails for the solution of all the outstanding disputes that have kept the two sisterly countries of India and Pakistan in a state of mutual suspicion and bitterness.

While the two Prime Ministers may not for obvious reasons say so, it is generally believed that a plebescite may now be ruled out in Kashmir. For one thing, the question of plebescite has been deadlocked over the issue of the quantum of troops on either side of the cease-fire line, the appointment of a plebescite-administrator, his position vis-a-vis the Indian-occupied and Azad Kashmir governments and so on. These issues have been deadlocked for several years and there is no indication yet that any side is ready to make a concession substantial enough to break the deadlock.

Moreover, the two countries have spent immense sums of money in their respective parts of Kashmir and have pressed their claims forcefully. If either of the two countries were to lose its part of Kashmir, and one or the other has surely to lose in a plebescite, then it suffers a tremendous loss of prestige both at home and abroad. Therefore, it would be a bold government indeed, whether Indian or Pakistani, that would risk losing Kashmir in a plebescite.

Assuming that both the Prime Ministers conclude that a plebescite in Kashmir is not a practical solution, however desirable it may be, this would leave them with two alternatives. They could either discuss the possibility of an

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independent Kashmir or they could try to arrive at a solution that would partition the disputed state between the two countries.

The former is by far the easier of the two. But it involves great risks of future trouble in Kashmir. For Kashmir not only borders India and Pakistan but China and the Soviet Union as well. The present Indian-occupied Kashmir Government is reported to be very friendly to the Communists. If India and Pakistan both withdrew, it is quite possible that the Reds would ultimately try to form a People's Government there with the Soviet Union and China supplying money and a little co-existence. If refugees from China could trek into Kashmir, as several thousands of them already have, then surely the Red agents could do as well, if not better.

Moreover, even if a unified government is formed for the whole of Kashmir—as a solution of the Kashmir tangle—there could be no assurance that such a government would like to remain independent for good. It might try to ask one of the countries for loans, abolish customs, relax visa facilities and in similar ways try to strengthen it ties with one of the countries while toughening its relations with the other. This can surely happen, and will certainly lead to trouble.

Partition, therefore, would appear to be the safer of the two. Bengal has been partitioned and so has Punjab. If the relations between the two countries improve after such a solution, a partitioned Kashmir would offer no more trouble than a partitioned Punjab—or Bengal. But how to partition Kashmir in such a way as to satisfy both parties. This, in itself, may very well produce another deadlock. Thus, however suitable the climate may be for a solution of the Kashmir dispute, it would require a near-miracle to produce one.

One thing, however, is certain. That is, Kashmir is no longer the problem it used to be. Formerly it was the all-important issue in the two countries' foreign policy. Both countries talked of going to war against the other if the Kashmir dispute was not solved. Today war is ruled out.

When the two countries secured their independence, they had no definite foreign policy and so, in the initial stages at least, both of the countries had their foreign policies revolving around Kashmir. Now the two nations, by virtue of their size and robust energy, have been forced to play important roles in the international arena. Both have

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evolved broad foreign policies based on the larger interests of each nation. And both are pursuing their foreign policies with optimism—and determination.

India has chosen for itself the role of Neutrality. It strives to serve the cause of Peace by refusing to side with any particular bloc. By its friendly relations with both the blocs, it hopes to secure the confidence of both. And it proposes to use that confidence in the cause of Peace without which mankind would perish in this Atomic Age.

Pakistan also, though a comparatively young nation, has displayed both daring and imagination in seeking to provide stability and security both in the Middle East and South-east Asia. It has co-operated with other nations and taken steps to improve the standard of living in the area. For it knows that Want drives people to desperation. Along with other nations, it has flung a mantle of protection on South-east Asia and proposes to do the same thing in the Middle East. Aggression has been made costly.

But neither Pakistan nor India can effectively pursue their foreign policies so long as they fight over Kashmir. A continued deadlock over this dispute will not only harm their mutual relations. It will also continue to widen the gulf between their foreign policies, as indeed it has, and damage the regional solidarity of the Colombo Powers and the Arab-Asian group.

That is why Prime Ministers Nehru and Mohammed Ali have cast aside their previous failures and are meeting to grapple anew with the fate of the four million people of Jammu and Kashmir. Many will look—and pray—for a miracle. Will it happen?

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THE MAECENAS OF THE ELIZABETHAN AGE*

Lucian de Zilwa

THE four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Sir Philip Sidney, who entered the world on the same day of the month as Sir Winston Churchill, was commemorated at Oxford at the end of 1954 by an Exhibition, at the New Bodleian Library, which was suggested and largely organised by Mr. John Buxton. Besides manuscripts and early printed editions of works by or about Sidney, there were over forty books dedicated to him, proving his title to be "the great Maecenas of his age." It must not be assumed, however, that these dedications were all due to mercenary gratitude. For instance the great scholar, Ramus, who was over seventy years old, and was shortly afterwards killed in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, must have been disinterested. Sidney's patronage did not consist only of gifts of money. Many of his literary friends were recommended for light and lucrative employment under his numerous noble relatives.

The legendary reputation of Sidney, who was only thirty-one at his death, has puzzled many, and even annoyed a few, like Horace Walpole. Two volumes of elegies were produced by Oxford, and one by Cambridge. The first poem in the Cambridge volume was by James VI of Scotland, who also supplied a Latin version. Sidney did not owe his fame to his writings, which were in manuscript, and circulated only among his relatives and friends. He was seventeen when he went from Oxford to the Continent, with the Queen's leave, to study foreign languages. What was it that endeared him to the great scholars abroad, so that many of them dedicated books to him? Fulke Greville, who knew him from childhood, says it was his seriousness, his intelligence, and his personal charm. After a few months in France he could speak the language fluently, without any foreign accent. Thence he went through Germany and Vienna to Italy, where he spent more than a year, studying at Venice and Padua. Being a fanatical Puritan he promised

* *Sir Philip Sidney and The English Renaissance* by John Buxton (MacMillan. pp. 284. 185.)

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Languet that he would not visit Rome, lest he should be led into temptation. Mr. Buxton, who enjoyed a travelling scholarship, has worked for months in the libraries of Venice, Padua, Milan, Leiden, the British Museum and many others, and is therefore qualified to speak with first hand knowledge. But as the ground has been covered by numerous previous writers there is not much he can tell us that is new, but he often reminds us of what we had almost forgotten. "When we at this distance of time inquire what prodigious merits excited such admiration, what do we find?" petulantly asks Horace Walpole. Great valour, he grudgingly admits, but as for literary achievement, "a tedious, lamentable, pedantic, pastoral romance, which the patience of a young virgin in love cannot now wade through."

The best account I know of Sidney's last few months is that given by Motley in his History of the United Netherlands (Vol. II, pp. 47—85). Sidney was sent by the Queen to Holland to serve under his maternal uncle, the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's "Sweet Robin." He had lost favour at court owing to an act of colossal impudence. The Queen was rather keen on marrying the Duke of Anjou, but Sidney did not approve of it, and he submitted a long memorandum setting forth his reasons. She naturally resented his interference, which was attributed to the instigation of Leicester and Essex, and he was let off lightly.

When Sidney went to the Netherlands, his father, Sir Henry Sidney, supplemented the Queen's meagre allowance with a gift of £350, a considerable sum in those days. On arrival he found the twelve to fifteen thousand British soldiers starving and in rags, what with the Queen's notorious parsimony, and the peculation of the treasurer Norris. Sidney gave what money he had to improve their miserable condition.

On the occasion of his last ride at the seige of Zutphen he discarded his cuisses (thigh armour) because Sir William Pelham had none: a splendid gesture, but extremely foolish, as the event proved. A bullet shattered his thigh-bone just above the knee, and, with the primitive surgery of the time, the wound proved fatal. The account of his last hours reminds one of the death-bed of Socrates. The anecdote about his giving his drink to a dying soldier, with the words "Thy need is greater than mine", although not corroborated, is thought to be true.

His death was universally mourned, and the Dutch offered to give him burial, and to erect a monument. But

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he was buried in St. Paul's cathedral. The Encyclopaedia Britannica says the burial was delayed through some trouble with his creditors, and that Sidney was always worried by debts in his life time. Evidently, Sidney's liberality as a patron out-ran his means.

The English renaissance of the 16th century was chiefly concerned with writing in English instead of Latin, and with adapting certain rules of classical prosody to their poems. Dante (1268—1321). at the end of the thirteenth century, wrote the Divina Commedia in Italian, although he had begun it in Latin. As Mr. Buxton notes, he said it was the language he spoke in his family, the language in which he thought, and he considered that poetry could be made in Italian for the pleasure "of nobles, princes and especially ladies, who knew no Latin." Petrarch was 17 years old, and Boccaccio 8 at the time of Dante's death. One is surprised to read that it was Ariosto's achievement, and not Dante's, to show, with his Orlando Furioso, that Italian was as good a medium for literature as Latin. Petrarch's Italian poems to Laura had been more appreciated than his Latin epic, and Boccaccio's Italian tales were more popular than his Latin works. Ariosto was born in 1574, 250 years after Dante's death, long after Italian had established its claims. Writers in Italy were always liable to be hypnotised by the glory and the grandeur of ancient Rome, and to prefer the old to the new. Indeed we owe it to Lorenzo de' Medici, and his Florentine group of writers and artists, that the renaissance was not still-born. Ariosto had a tremendous vogue in his day, but who can read Orlando Furioso now-a-days? Whereas, most educated people have read the Divina Commedia so many times that they could easily find their way about the circles of hell and purgatory without the aid of a guide.

In the middle ages all learned men wrote in Latin if they wished to be read outside their own country. Sidney and his contemporaries had no reason to think that English was destined to be a world language, and would one day be spoken more widely than Latin had ever been. Indeed they were disheartened by the fate of Chancer, who had lived only 150 years ago, and had already become obsolete and almost unintelligible. Even as late as the 18th century, Pope, as quoted by Mr. Buxton, wrote: "The ancients wrote in language that became universal, and everlasting. While ours is extremely limited, both in extent and in duration.

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A mighty foundation for pride! When the utmost we can hope is to be read in one island, and to be thrown aside at the end of one age." Our local Swabashists will understand this feeling. They cannot be content with only a Sinhalese reading public, and hence many of them supply an English version for a larger circle. Sidney and his friends, who wrote in English, had a very different conception of poetry from ours. They had no use for originality and inspiration. Self-expression was vulgar. (Ananda Coomaraswamy called it Satanic). These poets wrote for certain persons they knew, their patrons, and not for that vague entity, the reading public. Three or four of them sat in one room, often at the same table, to compose a poem on a given subject. Imagine Keats and Shelley, (who had no manners) sitting in a room with others, to write an ode to the nightingale or to the skylark! These poems were written with decorum and dignity and grace, and resembled a minuet. They produced some lovely lyrics, which you will find in any anthology. But not one of them excites the physical reactions which A. E. Housman described in his Romnes lecture at Cambridge on the art of poetry. Mr. Buxton dislikes the "glutinous" words of Keats, and the other Romantic poets, Shelley, Coleridge and Wordsworth. But much as we admire the stately and artificial grace of the renaissance poems, we moderns like something more emotional. We have a certain pleasure even in hearing that the world will end, not with a bang but a whimper.

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BOOKS NEW AND OLD

Alan Bird

Dreams, books, are each a world; and books, we know,
Are a substantial world, both pure and good.
Round these, with tendrils strong as flesh and blood,
Our pastimes and our happiness will grow.

WORDSWORTH.

Eugènie Grandet, William Blake, The Greek Myths, 2 Vols. (Penguins Ltd.)

THERE are writers possessed of an overwhelming, abundant genius, genius so great that it leads to excess, to sickly romanticism, vulgarity even, as well as to refinement, classicism and tenderness. Certain novelists at once come to mind—Dickens, Dostoevsky, Scott and Balzac. Honore de Balzac, as a young man, learned much from Scott—the greatest writers have never been ashamed to borrow and learn from others—but he is very much a French novelist, perhaps the greatest of French novelists. Scott is certainly wordy and so too is Balzac but in his case the verbosity may have come more from imitation of Victor Hugo who, as the leading and most admired writer of his period, clearly influenced Balzac. The critics are agreed that Balzac wrote badly at times and they are certainly not mistaken; but they are also agreed that he was a genius. And that genius spent so prodigally in volume after volume is one of the most fertile in literary history.

Balzac wrote an enormous number of short stories and novels and grouped them together under the general heading of *The Human Comedy*. If he wrote to make money, he also wrote with the greatest pleasure and keenness to express his view of the contemporary scene in France. It would be idle to pretend that all his work is of equal merit—some of Splendours and Miseries, for instance, is shamelessly bad—but he so frequently touched on real greatness that much can be forgiven him. Two of his greatest novels have been translated recently: *Eugênie Grandet*, written in 1833, and *Old Goriot* written in 1834. *Eugênie Grandet*

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is, perhaps, the finer of the two. The story itself is so simple in structure that it seems almost classical, an impression strengthened by its brevity and lack of superfluous detail, detail to which Balzac was usually too devoted. Here everything is simplicity and order. Grandet, a master cooper living in Saumur, Touraine, has succeeded in piling up a vast fortune. He is a miser. His wife and daughter, Eugénie, live in the utmost simplicity little dreaming of the immense wealth of their lord and master. 'In the window nearest to the door stood a straw-bottomed chair, raised on blocks of wood so that Madame Grandet as she sat could look out at passers-by in the street. A work-table of bleached cherry wood filled the other window recess, and Eugénie Grandet's little armchair was set close by. Day after day, from April to November, for the last fifteen years, time had passed peacefully for mother and daughter here, in constant work. On the first day of November, they were at liberty to take up their winter position by the fire-place. Only on that day did Grandet allow a fire to be lit in the parlour, and he forbade it after the 31st of March, no matter how chilly the early days of spring and autumn might be. A little brazier, which big Nanon (the servant) managed surreptitiously to keep full of live embers from the kitchen fire, helped Madame and Mademoiselle Grandet to get through the coldest mornings and evenings in April and October. The mother and daughter kept all the household linen in repair, and devoted their days so conscientiously to this extremely laborious task that if Eugénie wanted to embroider a collar for her mother, the time she needed had to be borrowed from her sleep, and she was forced to deceive her father in order to have light to sew by. It was a long-established custom of the miser's to dole out candles to his daughter and big Nanon, just as he doled out the bread and provisions for the day's meals each morning'. This quiet life is broken by the advent of a handsome, young man. Grandet's brother, a Parisian businessman, fails in his business, is unable to pay his way and so shoots himself after bequeathing his son to Grandet. This elegant young fellow comes to stay with the Grandets and is amazed at their poor, shabby and meagre way of life. While he is living with them everything is changed—sugar is stolen for his coffee, jam and butter are provided for his morning bread and so on, all tremendous changes from the normal way of life and made by Eugénie with great bravery and self-

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sacrifice and love. Eventually he is despatched to America by Grandet who has no love of other people's children. Before her cousin goes, however, Eugénie gives him a store of gold coins which have been given to her as annual presents by her father. Soon afterwards Grandet asks to see these coins which Eugénie cannot produce, and, when he realises they have gone with his nephew, he flies into a terrible rage, imprisons his daughter with a diet of bread and water and makes his wife ill. Eugénie, knowing love for the first time in her life, is happy in the knowledge that she has helped her beloved cousin. Her mother dies of anxiety and lack of attention, followed before long by Grandet himself. Still aglow in Eugénie's heart is the great love she still feels for her cousin. Meanwhile, he has made a fortune by trading and returns to Paris to marry a young woman of high breeding. There is no hope for Eugénie. Little by little she settles down to an austere, provincial way of life, as careful and unwasteful as her father but, unlike him, very charitable and kind.

In many ways this is a typical Balzac story—full of ironic and tragic comedy. If it shows his knowledge of provincial and business life, it also shows his deep knowledge of the workings of the human soul. Perhaps Fate is ironical; perhaps the capabilities of the human heart are beyond knowledge; perhaps God plays some kind of cruel game with mortals—we shall never know and Balzac only relates and suggests. Perhaps the only comment he does make on this story of a warm human heart left to waste and grow sterile is his brief comment, 'Eugénie was left, God's prisoner, and God poured quantities of gold into her lap, though gold meant nothing to her'. A brief comment and yet it so aptly sums up the story of Grandet, his wife and their tragic daughter, Eugénie. The translator, M. A. Crawford who has done an excellent piece of work says of Eugénie Grandet, 'because it is free from many of the faults that mar others among Balzac's finest novels, because it is comparatively stripped and bare of all essentials, it is. I think, easier to see in it what some of Balzac's great qualities are.'

Balzac, despite many of his superfluous details and historical references, hardly needs to be explained against his period; his characters and the tragi-comedy of their lives is eternal. Occasionally, however, a writer must be considered in relation to his period, treatment which is frequently unpopular probably because it entails such knowledge both

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on the part of reviewers and writers. William Blake is generally admitted to be one of the greatest English poets and also to be one of the least comprehensible. In 1944, J. B. Bronowski wrote a book relating Blake to his historical background, that of the English industrial revolution. This book has now been published in a revised version and with a selection of Blake's designs and illustrations. William Blake (who died just before Balzac began writing his greatest novels) was born on 28 November, 1757 and died about six in the afternoon on 12 August, 1827. He decided to become an engraver when he was fourteen and worked at that trade until he died. Some critics estimate his designs, engravings and water-colours as being of greater value than his poetry but although Dr. Bronowski (rightly) thinks Blake was certainly the outstanding imaginative painter of his time, he rightly considers that Blake's work is often weak and unsatisfactory. So too are many of his prophetic poems though this is not the opinion of Dr. Bronowski. His arguments in favour of these poems is most impressive. During Blake's life-time England was in a most dangerous state: labourers had been driven from the country; women and children were exploited and worked to death in factories—'dark Satanic mills'— the ginshop was the only means of oblivion; thousands lived in slums and filthy cellars; and there was no right of free speech. Blake, at first ardent for the French revolution (like Wordsworth) was forced to conceal his ideas and sentiments behind an ever-changing mythology. Nevertheless, though this mythology is never systematic and frequently incomprehensible, behind it shines his great sympathy for the wretched, miserable, brutish, starving working-people of England:

'Enslav'd, the Daughters of Albion weep: a trembling lamentation
Upon their mountains.'

As well as being a social realist, Blake was a mystic. Not the least profound of his thoughts is:

'Negations are not Contraries: Contraries mutually exist;
But Negations exist not.'

Hence the origin of some of his most beautiful lyrics—*Songs of Innocence and Experience*. If Blake saw that Mercy and Kindness have a Human Face, he also saw that Cruelty had a Human Heart and Jealousy a Human Face. In his analysis of Blake's symbols—for instance, the hypocrite, the wrongdoer who knows his wrong, and is, therefore,

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the silent witness to the knowledge of right—Dr. Bronowski is entirely convincing. He reveals the true Blake, thinker, poet and artist who could so scornfully oppose all the heartless, mechanistic, rigid, social, accepted ideas of his day:

'Mock on, Mock on Voltaire, Rousseau:
Mock on, Mock on; 'tis all in vain!
You throw the sand against the wind,
And the wind blows it back again.
And every sand becomes a Gem
Reflected in the beams divine;
Blown back they blind the mocking Eye,
But still in Israel's paths they shine.
The atoms of Democritus
And Newton's Particles of light
Are sands upon the Red sea shore,
Where Israel's tents do shine so bright.'

Towards the end of his book, Dr. Bronowski has a moving passage in which he compares the ideas—myths perhaps—of Marx and Blake.....'Within the great work of Marx sounds the greater cry for the dignity of labour. Behind it rages the more pitiless will to truth. He fought for a society which should be good, that men might fulfil these and themselves. And he did not lose the hope, that there that which ranges society against man might wither away.....We shall not see the fulfilment of his hope. Like Blake, I do not think that a society can fulfil it. But we can honour the wish which gave the hope: to make man and not society master. This is the wish which has driven great poets, of whom Blake was one.....Alike in his prophetic books and in his poems, Blake spoke this wish with ruthless single mindedness, because he believed that he spoke the truths of this mind.....They speak two words: truth the ideal and dignity the search for its fulfilment. It is not a large show; but it puts a world to shame.' Dr. Bronowski has entitled his book: William Blake, A Man Without A Mask. After reading it, we really do feel that for the first time we are meeting with William Blake, the realist, the thinker, the social-revolutionary and not the incomprehensible madman of so much critical literature..

It is always a pity when a valuable book is spoilt either by minor faults of scholarship or too prejudiced an attitude on the part of the author: such a book is, *The Greek Myths* by Robert Graves. In two volumes he has collected the

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various Greek myths; given their different versions; supplied the names of his sources and authorities and added his own comments. At the beginning he defines true myth 'as the reduction to narrative shorthand of ritual mime performed on public festivals' and yet these volumes are devoted to demonstrating that the myths are really historical records and that through them we can trace Hellenic history. In order to make his thesis more convincing he states that that there was, 'a matriarchal and totemistic system which obtained in Europe before the arrival of the patriarchal invaders from the east and north.....' Now is there any proof that this was actually so? Of course, certain societies have been dominated by women and the early Athenians probably traced their descent through their mothers but this is not to say that Mr. Graves is correct in so dogmatic an assertion. The Pelasgians 'reached the mainland of Greece from Palestine about 3500 B.C.,' says Mr. Graves without adding any evidence to support this statement. At this time the Egyptians had already fixed the length of the year as 365 days but Mr. Graves would have us believe that the Greeks were in such a poor state that they were obliged to record their history in the form of myths which are now interpreted for us; these stories of the gods and men are now to be regarded as historical truths. The simple men of those primitive ages, fresh from their victories over the ruling women, knew not how to write down the simple facts of their history but needs must preserve them in the form of complicated legends. Clearly this will not do. An example may suffice. The story of Phaedra and Hippolytus is well-known—is, indeed, the subject of Racine's greatest drama. The love of a woman for her son-in-law, a man she cannot marry, is a fitting subject for a tragedy. The later Greeks saw in the story the confllict between love and duty, the fault belonged neither to Phaedra nor Hippolytus nor to the gods. Mr. Graves explains it in quite a different way: for him it is no simple story of blinding passion, of a woman giving way to the force of love or a young man being repelled by the entreaties of his mother-in-law. Like the tale of Potiphar's wife and her adulterous love for Joseph, declares Mr. Graves, this story 'is borrowed either from the Egyptian tale of the Two Brothers, or from a common Canaanite source. Its sequel has been based upon the familiar icon showing the chariot crash at the end of a sacred king's reign.' Surely this is an example of misplaced ingenuity? What, in any

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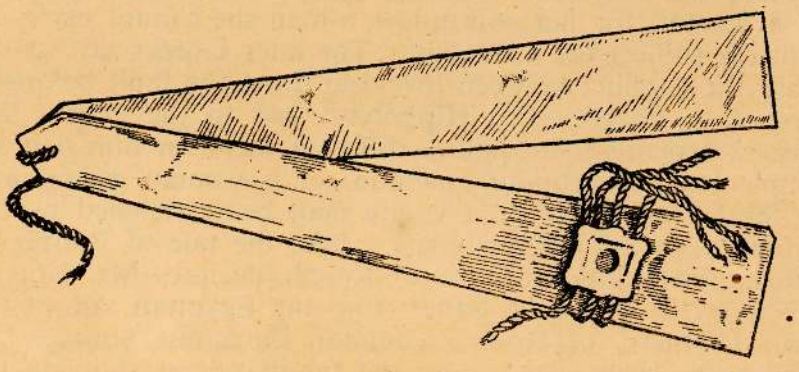
case, is the common Canaanite source? Readers of Greek drama who turn to The Greek Myths for guidance will find little to help them in this case; and their own feelings about the tragic story of Phaedra will very likely illuminate and guide them much more than Mr. Graves's remarks. In fact, because it is so hard to guess what is conjecture and what is fact, this book may at times do nothing more than mislead.

On the other hand, its is certainly a valuable book. The author admits that any statement about prehistorical religion must be conjectural and that he does not claim infallibility for his intuitions: honest admissions. He also claims that scholarly specialists are likely to pull him down on points of detail but that they are never so keen to put forward their own pieces of knowledge. They may, of course, refrain because although they feel they know what is true and untrue, they do not wish to make assertions without a complete understanding and documentation of the whole field. Mr. Graves has assembled the various elements of each myth and given his authorities. Undoubtedly this book will help the reader of classics and it is the only mythological dictionary of its kind. If read with care and attention to conjecture and fact, it will prove of great help both to students and the more casual reader; it is certainly an asset, provocative as it is, to the classical library which is short of cheap and easily available reference books of this kind.



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THE
NEW LANKA CLUB

At the third meeting of the New Lanka Club at 51, Turret Road, Colombo, on Friday, the 3rd June, 1955 at 5.45 p.m. Mr. L. C. Van Geyzel will deliver a lecture on ART IN CEYLON TODAY.

THE NEW LANKA CLUB

(Ceylon Daily News 21st July, 1954)

At a gathering of contributors to The New Lanka Review held on July 15th at No. 51, Turret Road on the motion of Mr. L. W. de Silva, D. J., Kandy, supported by Viscount Soulbury, a group called The New Lanka Club was formed with the following aims and objects:—

(*a*) to provide opportunities to contributors to The New Lanka to meet one another.
(*b*) to help The New Lanka Review continue to serve the intellectual interests of the country.
(*c*) to encourage the study of the history, literature and art of Lanka.

Of those present the following joined as original members of the Club: Viscount Soulbury, the Bishop of Colombo, the Very Rev. Father Peter Pillai, Sir Ivor Jennings, Sir Cecil Syers, Professors Eliezer, Green and Malalasekera, Messrs. N. E. Weerasooria, F. C. de Saram, G. J. Padmanabha, E. C. B. Wijeyesinghe, D. B. Dhanapala, Canon Botejue, Rev. G. B. Jackson, Messrs. W. T. Keble, W. Willey, D. G. Obeyesekere, E. B. Tissaverasinghe, Dr. A. Nell, Senator (Miss) Cooray, Mrs. A. W. Rankine, Messrs. L. W. de Silva, C. M. Austin de Silva and A. W. P. Guruge.

WRITERS CLUB

(Times of Ceylon 17 July, 1955)

Colombo's literary set foregathered at Turret Road to pay a cocktail compliment to a five-year-old Ceylonese quarterly review which Viscount Soulbury described as one of the best in the world. The New Lanka was the review in question.

District Judge L. W. de Silva, President of the Classical Association, proposed the formation of the New Lanka Club. About 25 members formed the nucleus.

Viscount Soulbury proposed a draft constitution which was adopted. He will be an Honorary Patron of the Club.

At the first meeting of the Club on Friday, 29th October, 1954, Mr. P.E.P. Deraniyagala, Director, National Museums, Ceylon, delivered a lecture on Prehistoric Ceylon and at the second meeting on Friday, 28th January, 1955 the Rev. Father Perniola, S.J., gave an outline of what he proposed to elaborate in a series of articles to The New Lanka Review on the Sinhalese: Their Language and Literature.

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THE SINHALESE: THEIR LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

I

THE COMING OF THE SINHALESE

V. Perniola, S. J.

THAT the Sinhalese are an Aryan people and that their language is an Aryan language are two statements that have been gaining ground with the increasing volume of studies into Ceylon history, comparative anthropology and ethnology, and Indo-Aryan philology. But a tendency is sometimes discernible which lays undue stress on what might be called purity of race. Even without being an anthropologist, one can easily distinguish the facial features of the Sinhalese and classify them as predominantly Aryan. But are the Sinhalese a purely Aryan race? From where did they come to Ceylon? Did they remain in this small Island of ours a compact body impervious to alien influences or did they rather assimilate foreign elements?

The Aryan descent of the Sinhalese is usually based on the account contained in the sixth and seventh chapters of the Mahavamsa. Can we possibly accept all the details as given in the Pali chronicle and build our arguments on them?

According to the Mahavamsa, Vijaya and his seven hundred followers were the first to found an Aryan kingdom in Ceylon about the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B. C., according as the date of the death of the Buddha is fixed at 543 or 483 B. C. Through his great-grandfather and great-grandmother, Vijaya was connected with the royal families of Vanga and Kalinga, two small kingdoms in Bengal. His grandfather, however, was a lion who had carried away the beautiful princess of Vanga who had shaken off the restraints of home life and had joined a caravan in search of new experiences. Vijaya himself, on account of his unruly life, was by his father banished together with seven hundred of his associates. "Then did the king cause Vijaya and his followers, seven hundred men, to be shaven over half the head and put them on a

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සිංහලයෝ: ඔවුන්ගේ භාෂාව හා සාහිත්‍යය

I

සිංහලයන්ගේ පැමිණීම

වී. පෙරේනියෝලා, ඇස්. ජේ. පියතුමා විසිනි.

(පරිවර්තනය: කේ. එම්. සිරිසේන වීසිනි.)

සිංහලයන් ආර්‍ය්‍ය ජනකායකියිද ඔවුන්ගේ භාෂාව ආර්‍ය්‍ය භාෂාව කියිද යනු ලංකා ඉතිහාසය, සමකාලීන මානව විද්‍යාව හා මානව වංශ විද්‍යාවද ඉන්දු-ආර්‍ය්‍ය වාග් විද්‍යාවද පිළිබඳව වැඩි වැඩියෙන් පර්යේෂණයන් කිරීමත් සමගම මූල් බැසගන්නා මත දෙකකි. එහෙත් ජාතියේ පරිශුද්ධ භාවය අවධාරණය කිරීමේ ගතියක්ද ඇතැම්විට දක්නට ලැබේ. මානව විද්‍යාඥයකු නොවුවද කෙනකුට සිංහලයන්ගේ මූහුණුවර ලෙහෙසියෙන් හඳුනාගත හැක්කේ ඔවුන් ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් ආර්යයන්යයි විශ්වාස කළ හැකිය. එහෙත් සිංහලයන් නිශ්කලංක ජාතියක්ද? ඔවුන් ලංකාවට පැමිණියේ කොහි සිටද? විදේශීය බලපෑම් වලට හසු නොවූ අසංකීර්ණ ජනකායක් වශයෙන් ඔවුහු අපේ මේ කුඩා දිවයිනෙහි විසුවෝද තැනගොත් ඔවුහු විදේශීය බලපෑම් අනුව වෙනස් වූවෝද?

සිංහලයෝ ආර්යයන්ගෙන් පැවැත එන්නෝය යන මතය සාමාන්‍ය යෙන් මහා වංශයේ භයවන හත්වන පරිච්ඡේදවල එන විස්තරය පදනම් කොට ඇත්තකි. මේ පාළි පුරාවෘත කථාවෙහි දැක්වෙන සියලු විස්තර පිළිගෙන ඒ අනුව නිගමනයකට බැසිය හැකි ද?

බුඩ පරිනිර්වාණය ක්‍රිස්තු වර්ෂයට පෙර 543 දී හෝ 483 දී විය යි සලක තොත් ක්‍රි: පූ: භය වන සත වර්ෂය අග හරියේදී හෝ පස් වන සත වර්ෂය මූල හරියේදී ලංකාවේ පළමුවෙන් ම ආර්‍ය්‍ය රාජධානියක් ප්‍රතිෂ්ඨාපන ලද්දේ විජය හා ඔහුගේ සත් සියයක් පිරිවර විසින් බව මහාවංශය අනුව පැවසේ. විජය, ඔහුගේ මිමුත්තණුවන් හා මී මිත්තණියන්ගේ මාගීයෙන්, ඉඛන්ගාලයේ සුළු රාජධානි දෙකක් වූ වංග හා කාලිංග රජ පවුල් සමඟ සම්බන්ධව සිටියේ ය. තමා කැමති සේ වාසය කරනු සඳහා රජ ගෙයින් පැනගොස් වෙළඳ සමූහයකට එක්ව ගමන් කළ රූප සම්පන්න වඟු කුමරිය පැහැර ගෙන ගිය සිංහයෙක් විජයගේ මුත්තණුවෝය. විජය, ඔහුගේ විෂමාචාර ජීවිතය නිසා ඔහු පිරිවර සත් සියයත් සමඟ පිය රජු විසින් රටින් පිටුවහල් කරන ලදහ. "විජයගේද ඔහු පිරිවර සත් සියයක් මිනිසුන්ගේද හිස් අඬක් මුඩු කරවා හැම දෙනාම නාවක නංවා මුහුදේ පාකර යවන ලදී. මේ ගමනේදී පිටුවහල් කරනු ලැබුවෝ සුප්පාරක පටුනට ද පැමිණ අනතුරුව තම්බපණ්ණි ද්වීපයට—ලක්දිවට—ගොඩබටහ. කුවේණිය නම්

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ship and sent them forth upon the sea." On their voyage, the exiled touched at Supparaka and then landed at Tambapanni in Ceylon. After being married for some time to the Yakkhini Kuveni, Vijaya repudiated her and married a princess from Madura in South India. With this princess there came to Ceylon nigh upon a hundred maidens for the ministers of Vijaya and many other young unmarried women and craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds.

If we accept the account of the Mahavamsa literally, we are faced with several difficulties: was Vijaya actually descended from a lion? How could a lion be found in the jungles of Bengal which have been the traditional home of the tiger but which have not known the lion? How did Vijaya, embarking somewhere in Bengal go by sea in such a way as to touch at Supparaka, near modern Bombay, while journeying towards Ceylon? Was the art of ship building so advanced that they could construct a ship big enough to carry seven hundred men? Finally, while emphasizing, Vijaya's connection with the Aryan races of North India, while connecting the inhabitants of Ceylon with the people that had in some way been related to the Buddha's family, the Mahavamsa unconsciously speaks of another and more numerous ethnical element that came to mingle its blood with the Aryan blood. For, according to this account, the first settlers of Ceylon that grew up into the Sinhalese race were Vijaya and his seven hundred Aryan followers on the one hand, and on the other the many maidens and craftsmen and the thousand families of the eighteen guilds that came from South India, the home of the Dravidian race. If this were true, the Sinhalese race would be predominantly Dravidian, a conclusion that does not seem to be warranted by anthropological and philological studies.

The account of the Mahavamsa, however, seem to be based on two historical facts: Aryans appear to have come to Ceylon from North India and most probably from North Western India and remained the predominant stock that built up the Sinhalese race; but from the very beginning the Dravidian element also played a great part in building up the Sinhalese race and influencing its language, religion and culture.

It appears more probable that the first Aryans came to Ceylon from North Western India and that they actually embarked at Supparaka or modern Sopara near Bombay. Most probably even their very name 'Sinhalese', if it has

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යක්ෂ කන්‍යාවක් සමඟ කලක් විවාහව සිටි විජය ඇය අත්හැර දමා දකුණු ඉන්දියාවේ මදුරා පුරයෙහි කුමරියක් සරණ පාවා ගත්තේය. මේ කුමරිය සමඟ, විජයගේ ඇමතිවරුන් සඳහා එකක් අඩු සියයක් කන්‍යාවෝද තවත් බොහෝ තරුණ අවිවාහක සන්ත්‍රිහු හා ශිල්පිහු ද අවලොස් ශිල්පි සමූහයන්ගෙන් කුල දහසක් ද ලක්දිව් පැමිණියහ.

මහාවංශය කරන විස්තරය ඒ හැටියෙන් ම පිළි ගනිතොත් අපට දුෂ්කරතාවයන් කිහිපයකට මුහුණපාන්ට සිදුවේ. විජය ඇත්ත වශයෙන් ම සිංහයකුගෙන් පැවත එන්නේද? ව්‍යාඝ්‍රයන් මිස සිංහයන් කිසිකලෙකත් නොසිටි බෙංගාලයේ කාලෑවල සිංහයෙක් සිටියේ කෙසේද? බෙංගාලයේ කිසියම් තැනකින් නැව් නැඟි විජය ලංකාව දෙසට එන අතර වර්තමාන බොම්බාය අසල සුප්පාරක පටුන අසුවන අඳුමට මුහුදෙන් ගියේ කෙසේ ද? මිනිසුන් සත් සියයක් ගෙනගිය හැකි විශාල නැවක් තැනීමට තරම් එකල නැව් කර්මාන්තය දියුණු වී ද? අත්තිම වශයෙන් උතුරු ඉන්දියාවේ ආර්ය වර්ගයන් සමඟ ඇති විජයගේ සම්බන්ධය අවධාරණය කරන අතර, ලංකාවේ පදිංචිවූවන් බුදුන්වහන්සේගේ නෑදෑයන් සමඟ සම්බන්ධ කරන අතර, සිංහල ලෙස ආර්ය රුධිරය සමඟ කලවම් වීමට හේතු වුණු මානව වංශ විද්‍යාව අතින් වඩාත් ප්‍රබල තවත් බල පෑමක් ගැනද මහාවංශය නොදැනුවත්වම සඳහන් කරයි. මේ විස්තරයේ හැටියට සිංහල ජාතිය බවට පත්වුණු ලංකාවේ පළමුවන පදිංචිකාරයෝ එක් අතකින් විජය සහ ඔහුගේ සත් සියයක් ආර්ය පිරිවරය; අනික් අතින්, ද්‍රවිඩ වර්ගයාගේ මුල් බිම වන දකුණු ඉන්දියාවෙන් පැමිණි බොහෝ කන්‍යාවෝ, ශිල්පිහු සහ අවලොස් ශිල්පි සමූහයාගේ කුල දහසය මෙය සත්‍යයක් නම් සිංහල ජාතිය වැඩි වශයෙන් ද්‍රවිඩ වනු ඇත. එහෙත් මෙය මානව විද්‍යාත්මක හා මානව වංශ විද්‍යාත්මක පර්යේෂණයන්ගෙන් ඔප්පු කළ හැකි නිගමනයක් නොවේ.

මහාවංශයේ එන විස්තරය ඓතිහාසික සත්‍යයන් දෙකක් පදනම් කොට ඇති බව පෙනේ. ආර්‍යයෝ උතුරු ඉන්දියාවෙන් වඩාත් නිවැරැදිව කියතොත් වයඹ දිග ඉන්දියාවෙන්--ලංකාවට පැමිණ, සිංහල ජාතිය නිර්මාණය කළ ප්‍රධාන ජනකාය වූහ; එහෙත් මූලාරම්භයේ පටන් ම සිංහල ජාතිය නිර්මාණය කිරීමෙහිත් එහි භාෂාව, ආගම හා සංස්කෘතිය හැඩ ගැස්වීමෙහිත් ලා ද්‍රවිඩ බලපෑමද බොහෝසෙයින් ඇති විය.

ප්‍රථම ආර්යයන් ලංකාවට පැමිණියේ වයඹ දිග ඉන්දියාවේ සිට බවත් ඔවුන් සුප්පාරක පටුනෙන් හෝ බොම්බාය අසල වර්තමාන සොපරා නම් පියසින් නැව් නැඟි බවත් සිතිය හැකිය. ඔවුන්ගේ සිංහල යන නම හා සිංහයකු සමඟ කුමන විදියක හෝ සම්බන්ධයක් ඇත් නම් ඒ සම්බන්ධය සිංහයන් ගැන ප්‍රසිද්ධ වයඹදිග ඉන්දියාව සමඟ මිස බෙංගාලය සමඟ නොවිය යුතුය. ලංකාවේ පාලකයන් මහාරාජා හා ශ්‍රාමණී යන නම් පාවිච්චි කළ බව ආදීම සිංහල ශිලාලිපිවලින් අපට පෙනේ. මේ නම් මූලින් ඇතිවූයේ වයඹදිග ඉන්දියාවේය. රාජ යන නාමයෙන් අශෝක සෑහීමට පත්වුණු අතර වයඹදිග ඉන්දියාවේ ඉන්දු-ග්‍රීක රජ

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any connection whatsoever with the lion, should be traced to North Western India where the lion was known and not to Bengal. From the earliest Sinhalese inscriptions we gather that the rulers of Ceylon used the titles of *maharaja* and *Gamani* which seem to be of North Western origin. For while Asoka was satisfied with the title of *Raja*, the Indo-Greek kings of North Western India used in preference the title of *Maharaja*. The title of *Gamani* seems to be pre-Buddhist and common in the Vedas and Brahmanas which were composed in North Western India. There is finally the language spoken by the people of Ceylon which seems to have much greater affinity with the Western Indian languages. In common with these languages Sinhalese has retained the initial Sanskrit *v* which becomes *b* in the Eastern languages. Thus Sanskrit *vama* becomes in Gujarati, Marathi and Sinhalese *vam* while in Bengali it is changed to *bam*. Again Sinhalese has in common with Marathi the change of the initial *c* to *s* as in *sanda*, *sirit*, *situmini* from *candra*, *caritra*, *cintamani*. These are only two of the many similarities that exist among these languages. Again, when Buddhism was brought to the island, apparently the difference of language did not present a great difficulty to the preachers of the new faith. This is perhaps due to the fact that Pali and the earliest Sinhalese dialect were closely related to one another and hailed from the same place, namely, North Western India. For, after an exhaustive study, Sir A. B. Keith has come to the conclusion that Pali is a North Western dialect.

But these arguments do not negative the possibility that there may have been some other immigrations from Eastern India, that merchants may have continually been in contact with Ceylon and that many of them may have settled down in the island. The coming of Buddhism is an indication that there were relations between Ceylon and North Eastern India. For it was chiefly North Eastern India that rose into prominence from the political, commercial and religious point of view, especially under the Maurya Emperors who ruled from 323 to 187 B. C. The capital of the Maurya Empire was Pataliputra, modern Patna, and from that city there radiated the three most important highways along which people travelled and commerce prospered. Westward the highway went to Ujjain and thence to Bharukaccha or modern Broach, North of Bombay; Southwards it went to Ujjain and thence across

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වරුන් ඒ වෙනුවට **මහාරාජ** යන නම පාවිච්චි කළ බැවිනි. **ගාමණී** යන නම බුඩ කාලයට පෙර ඇතිවුණු නමක් බවත් වයඹ දිග ඉන්දියාවේ රචිත වේද හා බ්‍රාහ්මණ ග්‍රන්ථවල එය නිතර සඳහන් වී ඇති බවත් පෙනේ. අන්තිම වශයෙන් ලංකාවේ ජනයා කථාකරන භාෂාවෙහි බටහිර ඉන්දියානු භාෂාවන් සමඟ වඩාත් විශාල තැකමක් දක්නට ලැබේ. මේ භාෂාවන් මෙන් ම සිංහල භාෂාව ද, තැගෙනහිර ඉන්දියානු භාෂා වලදී ඔ කාරය බවට පත්වන මූල සංස්කෘත **ව** කාරය එලෙසින්ම රැකගෙන ඇත. මේ අනුව සංස්කෘත **වාම** යන වචනය ගුජරාති, මරාති හා සිංහල භාෂාවල **වම්** වන අතර බෙංගාලි භාෂාවෙහිදී **බම්** යනුවෙන් වෙනස් වේ. **වඤ්ඣ, වාරිත්‍ර, විඤ්ඤාමණ්** යන සංස්කෘත වචන **සඳ, සිරිත්, සිතුම්ණ්** ආදී වශයෙන් සිංහලයේ මූල සංස්කෘත **ඣ** කාරය නැවතත් සිංහල භාෂාවේදී මරාති භාෂාවට පොදුව **ස** කාරය බවට පෙරළේ. මෙයවූකලී මේ භාෂාවන් අතර තිබෙන බොහෝ සමානකම් අතුරෙන් දෙකක් පමණකි. බුඩාගම මේ දිවයිනට ගෙනා විට මේ අලුත් ලඛ්ධිය දේශනා කළ අයට භාෂා භෙදය එතරම් අපහසුවක් නොවූ බව පෙනේ. මෙය පාළි හා ආදීම දේශීය සිංහල භාෂාව එකිනෙකට කිට්ටු සම්බන්ධයක් ඇතිවීමත්, **එකම** ස්ථානයකින්—වයඹදිග ඉන්දියාවෙන්—පැවැත ඒමත් නිසා විය හැකිය. ශුඩ මාගධිය වයඹ දිග ඉන්දියානු දේශීය භාෂාවක් බව මහා පර්යේෂණයකින් පසු සර් ඒ. බී. කීත් විසින් නිගමනය කර තිබෙන බැවිනි.

එහෙත් තැගෙනහිර ඉන්දියාවෙන් ලංකාවට වෙනත් අය සංක්‍රමණය වෙන්ට ඇතැයිද වෙළඳුන් නිරතුරුවම ලංකාව සමඟ සම්බන්ධයෙන් සිටි බව හා ඔවුන්ගෙන් බොහෝ දෙනකු මේ දිවයිනේ පදිංචිවන්ට ඇතැයිද යන අනුමානය මේ තර්ක නිසා අනාථ නොවේ. බුඩාගම පැමිණීම ලංකාව හා ඊශාන දිග ඉන්දියාවත් අතර සම්බන්ධකම් පැවැති බවට ලකුණකි. කිමෙක්දයත් විශෙෂයෙන් ක්‍රි. පූ. 323 සිට 187 දක්වා රජ කළ මෞර්‍ය අධිරාජ්‍යයන් යටතේ දේශපාලනය, වෙළඳාම හා ආගම අතින් ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් ප්‍රසිඩියට පත්වූයේ ඊශාන දිග ඉන්දියාව බැවිනි. මෞර්‍ය රාජධානියේ අගනුවර දැන් පැටිනා නමින් හැඳින්වෙන පාටලීපුත්‍ර විය. ඕනිසුන් ගමන් කළ හා වෙළඳ කටයුතු දියුණුවුණු ඉතා වැදගත් මහා මාර්ගී තුන මේ නගරයේ සිට වැටී තිබුණේය. බටහිර දෙස මහා මාර්ගීය උදේනියටත් එතැනින් බොම්බායෙන් උතුරේ වර්තමානයෙහි බ්‍රෝච් නමින් හැඳින්වෙන භාරුකච්චා දක්වා වැටී තිබුණේය; දකුණු දෙස මහා මාර්ගීය උදේනියටත් එතැන් සිට අඩිදිවිපය හරහා වර්තමාන මදුරාසියෙන් උතුරේ ගෞදාවරී නදී මුවදොර පිහිටි අමරාවතියට වැටී තිබුණේය; තැගෙනහිර දෙස මහාමාර්ගීය ගංගානම් නදිය දිගේ බෙංගාල බොක්කෝ තාම්‍රලිපිටි දක්වා වැටී තිබුණේය. ප්‍රධාන සංක්‍රමණ මාර්ගය වයඹ දිග ඉන්දියාවේ සිට මුහුදින් වැටී තිබුණු බව පෙනේ. එහෙත් අනික් මාර්ග දෙක ඔස්සේ අලුත් සංක්‍රමණයන් සිදුවුණු බවට සැකයක් නැත.

මූලාරම්භයේ පටන් ම ද්‍රවිඩයන් ලංකාවට පැමිණි බවත් ආර්‍යයන් සමඟ ආවාහ විවාහ සිදුකර ගත් බවත් මහාවංශයේ එන විස්තරයෙන්

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the peninsula to Amaravati at the mouth of the river Godavari, North of modern Madras; Eastwards it went along the Ganges to Tamralipti on the Bay of Bengal. The main stream of immigration seems to have come from North Western India by sea; but there seems to be no doubt that new immigrations took place along the other two routes.

From the account of the Mahavamsa it is also evident that from the very beginning Dravidians came to Ceylon and inter-married with the Aryans. The mixing of Dravidian blood with Aryan blood started with the earliest immigration into Ceylon from North India. Many of the first Aryans married Dravidian wives, and since they may have been chiefly farmers, their numbers were swelled by craftsmen and merchants from South India. The inflow of Dravidians from South India continued through the centuries and the assimilation into the Aryan stock was gradual. Sometimes the king would marry an Indian princess and the royal bride would come to Ceylon with a retinue of noble maidens who would be espoused to the ministers or noblemen of the realm.

In the early centuries even the trade of Ceylon seems to have been in the hands of the Dravidians. The Greeks went to South India for the excellent Ceylon cinnamon and it is from Tamil that they adopted the name of the spice, *karpion* from Tamil *karuppu.*

The close contact between South India and Ceylon explains the repeated invasions of the island by Dravidian chieftains or kings beginning from the second century B. C., when two horse merchants, Sena and Guttika, deprived King Suratissa of his kingdom.

A clear case of assimilation seems to be that of the Salagama caste. De Queyroz gives us the popular account of the origin of this caste and then the account of the members of this caste as found in a memorial presented by them to the Portuguese Captain-General.

According to the popular account, the members of the Salagama caste would be decended from Indian prisoners of war: "At times war was made on it (Ceylon) by the kings of the opposite coast of the continent, and once with a powerful army they did great damage and plundered many lands but in their retreat with the spoils, they were defeated by the Chingalas with the death of many adversaries. On various other occasions they gained many victories over these nations; and once they captured 12,000 foreigners

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පැහැදිලි වේ. ද්‍රවිඩ රුධිරය ආර්‍ය්‍ය රුධිරය සමඟ මිශ්‍ර වීම උතුරු ඉන්දියාවේ සිට ලංකාවට මුලින් ම මිනිසුන් සංක්‍රමණය වන්ට වීමත් සමඟම ආරම්භ විය. ප්‍රථම ආර්‍ය්‍යයන්ගෙන් බොහෝ දෙනා ද්‍රවිඩ භාර්‍ය්‍යාවන් විවාහ කරගත්හ. ඔවුන් ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් ගොවීන් විය හැකි නිසා දකුණු ඉන්දියාවේ සිට පැමිණි කම්මාරකාරයන්ගෙන් හා වෙළඳුන් ගෙන් ඔවුන්ගේ ගණන තර විය. දකුණු ඉන්දියාවේ සිට ද්‍රවිඩයන් ලංකාවට පැමිණීම සතවෙනි ගණනක් මුළුල්ලේ නොකඩවා සිදුවිය. ඔවුන් ආර්‍ය්‍ය වර්ගයාට එකතුවීමත් අනුක්‍රමයෙන් සිදු විය. ඇතැම් විට රජු ඉන්දියානු කුමාරිකාවක සරණ පාවා ගනියි. මේ රාජකීය මනමාලිය වංශාධිපති කන්‍යාවන්ද පිරිවර කොට ගෙන ලංකාවට පැමිණෙයි. එසේ පැමිණෙන කන්‍යාවන් රජයේ ඇමතිවරුන්ට හෝ වංශාධිපතීන්ට පාවා දෙනු ලැබේ.

මුල් සතවෙනිවල ලංකාවේ වෙළඳුම ද්‍රවිඩයන් අතේ තිබුණු බව පෙනේ. ලංකාවේ හොඳ කුරුඳු මිළයට ගැනීම සඳහා ග්‍රීකයෝ දකුණු ඉන්දියාවට ගියහ. ඔවුන් මේ කුළුබඩුවට කාපියන් තම භාෂාව ගත්තේද ද්‍රවිඩ **කුරුප්පු** යන වචනයෙනි.

අසුන් වෙළඳුන් දෙදෙනකු වන සේන හා ගුත්තික විසින් සූර තිස්ස රජු රාජ්‍යයෙන් පහකරනු ලැබූ ක්‍රි. පූ. දෙවන සියවසේ පටන් ද්‍රවිඩ අධිපතීන් හෝ රජුන් විසින් මේ දිවයිනට නැවත නැවතත් කරන ලද ආක්‍රමණයන්ද දකුණු ඉන්දියාව හා ලංකාව අතර පැවති කිට්ටු සම්බන්ධතාවයෙන් පැහැදිලිවේ.

සලාගම කුලය සිංහලයන්ට ද්‍රවිඩයන් එකතුවීම පිළිබඳ කදිම නිදර්ශනයකි. මේ කුලයේ සම්භවය පිළිබඳ පොදු කථාන්තරයත් අනතුරුව මේ කුලයේ ඇත්තන්, තමන් විසින් පෘතුගීසි කපිතන් ජෙනරාල්ට ඉදිරිපත් කරනලද සන්දේශයක දක්නට ලැබෙන අන්දමට කරනු ලබන විස්තරයත් සී. කේසිරෝ තමැති ඉතිහාසඥයා අපට කියාදෙයි.

පොදු කථාන්තරය අනුව සලාගම කුලයේ ඇත්තෝ ඉන්දියානු යුද සිරකරුවන්ගෙන් පැවත එන්නෝ ය. මහා දීපයේ විරුඬ වෙරළේ සිටින රජවරුන් විසින් වරින් වර එයට (ලංකාවට) විරුඬව යුඬ කරන ලදී. වරක් බලසම්පන්න යුද හමුදාවක් සමඟ පැමිණි ඔවුන් බොහෝ අලාබ හානි කර බොහෝ ඉඩකඩම් කොල්ලකාගත් නමුත් කොල්ලකාගත් දේ ගෙන පසුබසිද්දී සිංහලයන් විසින් පරාද කරන ලදී. මෙහිදී බොහෝ සතුරෝ මිය ගියහ. තවත් කොයෙක් අවසථාවලදී ඔවුහු මේ ජාතීන්ට විරුඬව යුඬකර බොහෝ ජය ලැබූහ. වරක් ඔවුහු විදේශිකයන් 12,000 ක් අල්ලාගත. ඔවුන් දෙලොස්දස් කෝරළේ පදිංචි කරවූහ.

කුරුඳු ගැනීමට බැඳී සිටින සාලියවරු මොවුන්ගෙන් පැවැත එන්නෝ යයි කියනු ලැබේ. (ඞී කේසිරෝගේ "ලංකාව ජයගැනීම" ග්‍රන්ථයේ 15 පිට) එහෙත් සලාගම කුලයේ ඇත්තෝ ඔවුන්ගේ සම්භවය පිළිබඳව මීට වඩා වෙනස් විස්තරයක් කරති. "වාලියාවරුන් වන අපි හලාවතට පැමිණි මුස්ලිම්වරුන්ගේ **පඟලාවකින්** මේ දිවයිනට පැමිණියෙමු. අපි

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with whom they peopled the County of *Dolasdas-Corla*[1] and from these, they say, are descended the *Chaleaz* who are obliged to get cinnamon." (De Queyroz: The Conquest of Ceylon, page 15). The members of the Salagama caste, however, give a different account of their origin: "We, the *Chaleaz*, came to this Island in a *paguel*[2] of Moors which came into Chilao. We derive our origin from Chale[3], and the port of Chale took from us the name it has today. We came seven, one went away, and we remain six. We married in this Island in the Court of the King. The first *paraveniya* given to us was Calature, and from there we spread along the coast, as is seen even today. When our descendants had increased, the kings levied from us dues, two *fanams* from each household, and as our duty was to weave cloth, we paid one *tupetim* a year. Those who had service lands and villages, paid their dues like the other natives. The first time we made cinnamon in the island was in the time of Raju King of Ceytavaka, and as what we made was small, we were very well paid." (De Queyroz: The Conquest of Ceylon, page 1018). The port of Chale mentioned in the petition is an old port in Malabar on the South side of the Beypur river.

Unless we admit that a great percentage of Dravidian blood has co-operated in building up the Sinhalese stock, it is rather difficult to explain all the South Indian influences at work in the development of Sinhalese language and literature, Ceylon sculpture and architecture, Ceylon popular religion, and Ceylon society since the caste system of the Island is not based on the Aryan society but on the Dravidian system.

1. The twelve-thousand Korale or County.

2. Mahr. *bagla, bugala,* (Anglo-Indian buggalow) a name which was commonly given on the west coast of India to Arab vessels.

3. Chale, Chalia (Chalyam) is an old port in Malabar, on the south sides of Beypur river and opposite Beypur. The terminal station of the Madras Railway is where Chalyam was.

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වාලේ† සිට එන්නෙමු. වාලේ වරායට අද තිබෙන තම ලැබුණේ අපෙනි. අපි සත් දෙනෙක් පැමිණියෙමු. ඔවුන්ගෙන් එක් කෙනකු ගිය බැවින් අපි හය දෙනෙක් නතරවී සිටින්නෙමු. අපි මේ දිවයිනේ රජ වාසලදී විවාහවුණෙමු. අපට දුන් ප්‍රථම පරවෙණිය කළුතරය. එහි සිට අදත් දක්නට ලැබෙන පරිදි වෙරළ දිගේ පැතුරුනෙමු. අපගෙන් පැවැත එන්නවුන් වැඩිවූවිට එක ගෙදරකින් පතම් දෙක බැගින් රජවරු අපෙන් බදු අය කළහ. අපේ කායීය රෙදි විවීම බැවින් අපි අවුරුද්දකට තාපවීම් එකක් ගෙවීමු. බිම් අදේට ගත් අය හා නින්දගම් ගත් අය ඔවුන්ගේ මේ අනික් සවදේශිකයන් මෙන්ම ගෙවූහ. පළමුවරට අප කුරුඳු සෑදුවේ සිතාවක රාජු රජුගේ කාලයෙහිදීය. අප සෑදූ ප්‍රමාණය සුළුවූ බැවින් අපට ඉතා හොඳින් ගෙවන ලදී." (ඕ කේසිරෝගේ "ලංකාව ජයගැනීම" 1018 පිට)

සිංහල ජාතිය හැදීමෙහිලා ද්‍රවිඩ රුධිරය විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් එක්වී ඇති බව අප තොපිළිගනිතොත් සිංහල භාෂාව සාහිත්‍යය, ලංකාවේ ප්‍රතිමා කලාව, ගෘහ නිර්මාණ ශිල්පය හා දිවයිනේ කුලවාදය ආර්ය සමාජය තොව ද්‍රවිඩ සමාජ ක්‍රමය පදනම් කොට ගත්තක් නිසා ලංකාවේ සමාජයද සංවර්ධනය කිරීමෙහිදී එයට හවුල් වුණු සියලු දකුණු ඉන්දියානු බලපෑම් පැහැදිලි කිරීම දුෂ්කරය.

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1. පගලා, බග්ලා, බගලා, (ඇපග්ලෝ ඉන්දියානු බඟලොප්) අරාබි යාත්‍රාවලට ඉන්දියානු බටහිර වෙරළේ පොදු වශයෙන් ව්‍යවහාර වන නමකි.

2. වාලේ, වාලියා (වාල්යම්) බෙක්සිපුර් නදියේ, දකුණු දෙස හා බෙයිපූරය ඉදිරිපිට මලබාරයේ පරණ වරායකි. මදුරාසි දුම්රිය සන්ධිස්ථාන නැවතුම් පොළ පිහිටියේ මේ වාල්යම් පිහිටි තැනය.

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සැළලිහිණි සන්දේශය

(කොටගමුවේ ශ්‍රී රාහුල ස්වාමීන් විසිනි)

1. සැරදෙ සුලකළ' කුරු—මියුරු නෙපලෙන් රදනා
රජකුල රහසැ මැතිනිය—සියනිහි සැළලිහිණි සඳ.

2. පුල්මල් කෙසරු මෙන්—රන්වනි තෙලෙ සරණ යුග

ස පු ම ල් කැලෙ'වි තුඹ මද රතිනි මතහ ර
නි ලූ පු ල් දෙලෙ'වි සම්වනි පිය පියපත ර

මලින් කළ රුවෙ'වි—එබැවින් නුඹින් එතවර

නිලූද ළද සිදඹුවො දිගුවරලැ නි ලූ
නිලූද වට බිහුපෙළ අද තඹර නි ලූ

ව න දෙව් ලියෝ නොකොළොද සවණ අබර ණ
එ න මඟ දුකෙක් නොවිද සබදිනි සල ණ
සෙනෙ හස බැදුණු තැනැ නොහරින කැරැ දියු ණ
වෙ න සැප කුමට නොප දකිනා එම පම ණ

3. ල ප නොමවන් සඳවන් සොම්ගුණ ගිහි ණි
ඹ ප වැඩිගත හෙල්මැලි සියුමැලි පැමි ණි
සැ ප රිසිදෙන වැනි රසබසැ'නි සිතුම් ණි
නොප දුකුමෙන් අප පින්කළ බව දුනි ණි

4. මිතුරුතු මෝ දුක් සැප දෙකෙහිම පැවැ නි
බිතු සිතු වම් රුමෙන් පිටු නොපාවි නි
යුතු මතු වැඩ මතෙපල එවැනි ගුණ ඇ නි
සිතු නතු කැරැ අස යහළුව වඩන රැ නි

5. ප වි රද කඳ නාලෝ මුල් දිගතු බ ර
ලෙ වි තුරු සුසැදු යස මිණිමුතු මල් පත ර
ස වි සිරි පිරි සුරපුරවන් කැළණි පු ර
දෙ වි මෙනසුන් විබිසණ සුරිදුව පව ර

6. ගනවන් මියුරු නද දෙන ගුවන වන් වි ට
විලසින් මෙමා කරවන මිතුරෙ මන් තු ව
එහසුන් පැසුළු පවසම් රස නුසුන් කො ට
අස දැන් තයන මඟ සලකුණු මෙතැන් සි ට

7. පොහොසද්දන ඇති තුනුරුවනැ බැති පෙ මා
මු ලු ව ද්දන සුරපුර සිරි සිරින් හැ මා
ජ ය ව ද්දන කිරුමෙන් සුසැදි තම න මා
ජ ය ව ද්දන පුරවර දනු මිතුරු තු මා

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SELALIHINI * SANDESA

(THE HILL-MINA MESSENGER)

Totagamuwe Sri Rahula

Translated by H. Jayasinghe and L. C. van Geyzel

(Neither of the translators of the *Selalihini Sandesa* makes any special claims to scholarship. Their colloboration began in a spirit of curiosity and gave them much pleasure.)

1. *Noble Selalihini! Who charms with sweet speech in neatest vocables,*
Discreet as a minister in royal secrecies! Live long with your kinsfolk!

2. *As pollen of blown blossoms, golden those two shanks!*

As a bud of the champak your beak of lovely light red!
As blue lotus petals, deep blue, your beautiful plumage!

So when you came through the air like a figure made of flowers,

Did not young Siddha-wives lay you in long dark tresses?
Did not the bees who live in the lotus surround you?

Did wood nymphs not make of you a ear-ornament?
Dear friend, did you not suffer such annoyance by the way?
Where your love is joined, clinging it increases.
What need of other joys? Your sight alone suffices.

3. *Like the moon without blemish brimming with tenderness,*
Slenderness of the white water-lily, your bright form achieves.
Sweet-spoken as the chintamani that grants longed-for happiness
By seeing you we feel we have stored away good.

4. *True friends, for good or ill alike,*
Like frescoed figures never turn away.
Sweet friend of like virtue, fix your mind on my words.
Give ear to that which holds the future's gain.

5. *Give this message to Vibhisana, that great King of Gods*
In Kelani city, full of all glories, as the city of devas:
His fame is spread forth as flowers full-blown on the World-Tree,
Whose roots are the naga world, Mahameru its trunk, its branches the regions.

6. *As rain-clouds give pleasure to pea-fowl as they go through the sky*
So, friend, your appearance gives pleasure to me,
In a while I shall give you that message, its charm all intact.
Now listen to the landmarks of your journey from here.

7. *Mark, noble friend, the great city, Jayavaddana*
Where are rich men who love and pursue the Triple Gem;
Whose wealth puts the deva's city to shame
Whose name is well-founded on triumphs that ever advance.

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* The common grackle, Eulabes Religiosa Indica (Sinh. *Sela-lihiniya*). It could be taught to talk.

The *Selalihini Sandesa* of Totagamuwe Sri Rahula was composed about the middle of the 15th century. A *selalihiniya* or hill-mina is sent with a message to God Vibbhusana whose temple is at Kelaniya. This message of Prakrama Bahu VI's Prime Minister is a prayer for a male heir to be granted to the King's daughter.

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8. සැදි රත තඹර පෙළ රත කිසරුන් රුවැ නි
වි දි දිය දහර ලෙළදෙන දිහු තරු පවැ නි
රැඳි රළ රැලැති හොය දිය වන්නෑ නමැ නි
ඇඳි පුර අඟන පවසළු සිරි රූපැසි නි

9. සමතොළ මුහුළ මහ සමුදුර මෙවුල් බ ර
සුළු කළ පුවළ ලකඟන සිරි ගොවුන් ව ර
තර කළ විසල් වාසල් යතුරු මෙනුව ර
බැඳ හල රුවන් තනපට කිය ලිය පවු ර

10. දුව න බඳ කිකිණි හයකුර පහර න ද
සව න තලනිනද ගිජිදුන් සෙමෙර බ ඳ
රව න නොයෙකා තුරු ජය සක් හඬ නොම ඳ
දෙව න මුහුදු මෙන් ඝුම් ගනි පුර නිබ ඳ

11. සිහිල් සපු සුවඳ ගෙන එන උයන්ව ල
සිහිල් තෙලෙන් හඬවන මිණිකිණිණි කැ ල
විපුල් රත්සෙමෙර බඳ රන් දද සස ල
ළකල් මෙපුර තුළ වළහා රිවිතැවු ල

12. තරසර භූවි මහල් මෙහි පහ පෙළ නිතො ර
සුරසිදු විදුදරන් සැදි සඳලු මතඟ ර
කරවත මහුල් කෙළියෙන් නොමැති අවස ර
පුර සිරි බලන ලෙස බට සුරවිමන් යු ර

13. සිසි වත වුවන ඉහසුඟ ගතහැකි මිටි න
නිසි පුළු ලුකුළ රියසකයුරු කිසර ත න
දි සි රතලියෙ'ව් රුසිරියුත් මෙපුරඟ න
ඇසි පිය හෙලන පමණින් නොවෙති දෙවඟ න

14. සොඳුරු සිය නදන් අනතුරු දෙස සිවි න
කිනුරු නිස සරන් සාදඟස වෙත නොව න
ඉසුරු දනද සිය නිකෙලෙස් තැන රඳ න
උතුරු දිගිදු පුර දිනි මෙපුර වැජඹෙ න

15. උදේ සැපත් සුරගුරු අලුකැරැ අව ට
සදේ මුදුන් පත අස්විද නැකතැ සි ට
නදේ සිතින් තම කුල දෙවිඟ සිහි කො ට
යෙදේ ගමන් යහළුව මෙ පුරෙන් තොප ට

16. නල මුදු සුවඳ පිරි කුඹු මියුරු අඹ ගෙ ඹි
පුල හෙළ කුසුම ලිය පිය තෙපල රන් කෙ ඹි
සල සුදු සෙමෙර සේසත් ගිජිදුනොද වැ ඹි
බල සුබ නිමිති පෙර මඟ නැකතටත් වැ ඹි

17. ලොවැ විහිදු සුදු පැහැ සඳ රැසෙවි සැ දි
දෙනතොමදු සිරිසඟ මොක් සැප නිසැ දි
ලදමුනිදු දම් කද පහස මන බැ දි
වදුදළදු හිමි තෙමහල් පහඟ රැ දි

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8. *The stream called Diyavanna with its ripples and its wavelets*
Seems a silk garment worn by the woman city,
Worked with rows of red lotus, and figures of golden swans,
Its spreading cascades the long rippling waist folds.

9. *The walls of this city, has its broad gates like the buckles*
Of the gem-studded breast-band discarded with young days
By Lanka, decked out and proud;
Samanala her hair-knot, the great sea her girdle!

10. *With bells on trotting horses and clatter of hoof-beats;*
With flapping of yak-tail decked ears of King-elephants;
Din of varying music and blasts of triumphal conches;
Like another sea's the incessant roar of the city!

11. *Tied with huge red yak-tails and innumerable bells*
That tinkle in breezes that waft from the gardens
Scent of champak and sandal, gold pennants that flutter
Stem the fires of the sun in the beautiful city!

12. *In rows of storeyed palaces, so strong and so lofty,*
The balconies, lovely with carvings of gods and sky-dwellers,
Are like mansions of gods who come down to behold
This glorious city which keeps unending festival.

13. *With faces like moons, and slim waists to be clasped in a closed fist;*
With broad hips well-turned like the wheel of a chariot;
Swan-breasted, the city's women like creepers of gold
Are not goddesses only in that they blink their eyes.

14. *This flourishing city which stands in the principal region,*
Rich in much hidden treasure, where the thieving and base never come,
Full of the generous and powerful, standing on ground free from affliction
Is finer far than the home of the Lord of the North.

15. *When the star of Brihaspati rises shedding wide its light,*
And the moon ascends to the zenith from Asvini's house,
It is right, my friend, that you go from this city,
With heart full of joy, and mind fixed on your clan's guardian-god.

16. *Mild scented breezes, pitchers brim-full, and sweet mango fruit;*
Full-blown white blossoms, maidens sweet-spoken, and golden urns;
Waving white yak-tails, white parasols, lusty King-elephants;
Look for these on your way, luckier than conjunction of stars.

17. *Bow down to the Sacred Tooth Relic that stands in its three-storeyed temple,*
Spreading over the world, rays white as the beams of the moon;
That always gives full bliss of heaven, supreme bliss of Nirvana;
Which has felt the great Dhamma stored in the mind of the Sage.

18. *Now leave this place; fly at once to the palace*
Where precious stones blaze from a pinnacle of gleaming gold.
From the eaves smooth festoons of pearls sway in the breezes
And great walls of moon-crystal stand in their ranks.

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18. ගත රන් කොතින් දිළිහෙන මිණි රැස් විහි ද
පව නින් ලෙලෙන පල අග මුතුලැල් සිනි ද
සද කැන් මිණෙන් බඳ යුතු බිතු පෙළින් රූ ද
එත නින් ගොසින් සැණෙකින් රජ විමන් ව ද

19. රිවි කිම් බා යුරු රිවිකුල කමලක ර
පියු ම ම් බා නිතොරව රැඳි උරමැදු ර
මෙත රම් බා හිම් රැසිරිනී පැහැස ර
පැරැකුම් බා තරනිදු සඳ දකු මිතු ර

20. උ නු නොව බරණ සිව් සැට වොටුනුත් පැල ද
වෙහු මෙන් පසක් උන්සඳ සි හසුන් මැ ද
ම නු රජ කුලෙන් පැවතෙන පිළිවෙළ නොසි ද
ග නු අවසර එනිරිදු සිරිපතුල් වැ ද

21. පෙරව සඳ කිරණ පිපිකුමුදු මල් ව වින්
පරව තඹරපෙති ගිලි දිය තලා පි වින්
තරව සිහි ඇතිව පරතෙරට යන අ වින්
කරව පියාසර සකි කොන්ත ගම් තො වින්

22. කළු වැල් කපුරු දුමතුළ ලෙලෙන දද පෙ ළ
සු වි සල් මිහිගුසක්සන් මිණිහඬ පත ළ
කැරැ ලොල් සතන් පවසන තියුගී දෙම ළ
ම න කල් ඉසුරු කෝවිලැ ලගිනේ ලඝ ළ

23. වෙස හත තුතු තත යුග රොන් කොකුමහ ර
පි ස එත මද පවන් හැදූ විල් ලිහිණි ස ර
ගොස අළුයම පසතුරු සවනතෙහි කා ර
ඇ ස නිදි ගැට හැරැ නැගි සිටු උදැ හි ර

24. උ දැ ගිරි කසුන් රිවිවැට හිස බැඹ ළි
එ දැ සහසකර පහතෙ'වි කරත හෙ ළි
ගොදැ නුවන් ඉසුරුට කරන පුද කෙ ළි
වි දැ පියා නිලඹර යන් නොවී මැ ළි

25. සුර රද සමන් සමගින් සුරඟත එව ර
පැහැනද මදුරා පරසතු මල් පත ර
කර පුද වඳින රැඳි මුනි සිරි පා තඹ ර
සකි සඳ පෙනේ සමනොළ ගල නැනෙනහි ර

26. ග නේ මිණි බැබළි කිරණෙ'වි සත පාය
ර නේ යවග සැවුලිදු දද ගළ පාය
අ නේ ලකර කළ පුර අප තර පාය
පෙ නේ දකුණු මහසෙන් දෙවුරද පාය

27. වලදින අදහසින් මෙන් සුරඟත අඟ න
තලබල සසල දළ රළ පෙල නුඹ නැගෙ න
වෙලළසැ ගැවසි මුතුසක් පබළු බබල න
බල මහ මුහුදු එම සඳ උතුරෙන් පෙනෙ න

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19. *There, friend feast your gaze on the great Lord Prakrama-Bahu*
Who is to the Sun's Race, as the sun to the lotus-pond;
In whose bosom-home Lakshmi the goddess lies always;
Radiant, his beauty unblemished, like Ramba's lord.

20. *Wearing all sixty-four kingly insignia, including the crown,*
Like Vishnu incarnate, he graces the Lion-throne.
Bow low at his gracious feet and take leave of this king
Who comes down from Manu in unbroken line.

21. *With mind set in intent to cross to the further shore*
Fly, friend, from Kontagam's ferry where dead lotus petals
Have fallen on the face of the waters, and lilies
That opened enfolded in moonbeams, stand all around.

22. *Now perch in the beautiful Ishvara devale. Here*
In fumes of camphor and aloes rows of banners wave.
Thunder of conch and mridanga, and clangour of bells fill the wide air,
And people, devoutly, sing Tamil hymns of praise.

23. *When you hear the five instruments making dawn music*
Scatter sleep from your eyes, awake with the dawn
When the soft winds arise that bring cries of the lake-swallow,
And waft powder of saffron from the harlot's full breasts.

24. *When like a lantern on a palisade of gold, the sun*
From Udagiri's crest fills the day with light,
Observe the forms of the ritual performed before Ishvara,
Cast off your sloth, through the blue sky take wing.

25. *Dear friend, at that hour you will see to the East*
Samanala rock imprinted with the Buddha's Holy Lotus Foot,
Which Saman the God-King adores in a train of heavenly maidens
With heaped blooms of mandar and parijat, brilliantly hued.

26. *To the south of the seat of our King there appears*
Skanda's temple variously decked, as with cock-blazoned banners
That float from the tips of gem-crusted standards of gold
That gleam like the shafts of the sun.

27. *Behold also the sea that shows then to the North,*
With beaches that glisten with chanks, coral and pearl;
Whose huge ranks of waves skywards are hurled by the winds,
As though yearning to embrace the river-maiden of the sky.

28. *Where Sihingenda trees spread their shade on the wide sands*
Rest here and there, for you are delicate. Then go on with joy
Asking the right direction of your journey
From parrots that carry gold ears of corn.

29. *See Prince Sapumal, lord of the army, astride his black charger*
With forces intact after capturing Jaffna.
His gem-crusted ornaments make his white parasol gleam.
He appears, it would seem, in the form of the Sun-god.

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28. ස න් න න් සිහින් ගෙදි සෙවනලු වැලිතෙලෙ න
තැන් තැන් වලම සැතපී සියුමැලි බැව් න
ර න් ව න් කරල් ගෙන එන නිරවුන් අති න
ය න් ම න් තොසින් මග තොරතුරු නියම දැ න

29. නිල තුරහුට තැහෙමින් රිවිදෙව් සිරි න
දුල කැරැ සේසත් මිණිබරණ කිරණි න
බල පිරිසෙන් සහ යාපා පටුන් ගෙ න
බල සේනානායක සපුකුමරු එ න

30. අග පිපිමල්මලිගියලිය කැ ලේ යා
වග බැඳගෙන රජහස පුල් වි ලේ යා
ළඟ තුරුමල් ගිලිහුණු රොනවූ ලේ යා
මඟ බැස යව පළ හෙළ වැලිතෙ ලේ යා

31. අ යි රාවණ වුවත් නවතන රිසින් එ න
අ යි රා දහස් දිලි දුනු කොන් සිපත් ගෙ න
ක යි කාවලෙහි දැක සෙබළුන් රැක සිටි න
ව යි යා කරන් මල්තුරැගත වනඹිසි න

32. නිමල් සඳපහන් වැනි වැලිපිට උදු ළ
සුපුල් මල්යහන් ලියමඬු ලියගෙපෙ ළ
එකල් කෙළින වනදෙව්ලිය දැක කොම ළ
ළසල් රැකෙක සැතපෙව ළපලුසිහි ල ළ

33. ම ල් ද ම් සුවඳ දුම් දුන් සොඳ වරල සිනි
ක ල් ගි ම් නිවා සැනගෙන සිහිලස ර සිනි
කොල්ලම් ගසින් නිල් ඉවුරැති පොකුණ සිනි
ව ල් අ ම් බලම දැක යාගන් සඟතො සිනි

34. කස්තුරි තිලක සැදි නළලත සුම වාන
පුල් මහනෙල් මල්දම් හිස දව වාන
සලෙළුන් යනෙන නිති කැරැ නෙළි කව වාන
රිවි මුදුනත වන මැද වදු සුමු වාන

35. මහනිලම්න් සිටි නා දෙඹ නී පිය ල
පිය සලම්න් මලගෙහි කෙළැ රොනිතව ල
තතුඛලම්න් බිද විලිකුන් මිසුරු ප ල
ඉසුඹු ලම්න් යෙහි සැල දඹ පඳුරුව ල

36. රිවි තැ වූ ලේ පිපි කමලේ මිල් ගැව සි
මත කොවූ ලේ තුරු වදලේ ඛඩන නි සි
ව න සැ වූ ලේ මඟ අසලේ පොර සැල සි
ගු රු බැ වූ ලේ යව අවුලේ තොවී කි සි

37. වනසිරි පියුම්රා බඳ රනබරණ යු රැ
වව පිරි සුපුල් දුනුකේ මල්මුරුත තු රැ
කිතුසිරි වැරැ ඔලුපුලැඹුලවල තඹු රැ
හිමසරි සිඹිල් දියනෙඹ දැක යන් මිතු රැ

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30. *Fly on, dipping down to the road that goes over the sandy white stretches*
Strewn with pollen from flowers on the trees that stand by;
Where are flowering lakes on which the king-swan alights
And thickets of creepers of full-flowering jasmine.

31. *Behold at Kaikavala the warriors on guard,*
With more than a thousand bows and spears and swords,
Firm to repel the onslaught of even Airavana.
Then fly swiftly away over thick-flowering woods.

32. *There look! The sweet forest-nymphs play on couches of flowers*
In creeper-hung arbours and thickets on sands
That shine pure as the light of the moon. Rest now
On a tender sal-tree, that breathes coolness from all its young leaves.

33. *Here now, Vallambalama, fly with joy by the pond*
Whose banks are dark green with the jamala tree
Where maidens with beautiful flower-entwined hair-knots
That are scented with incense take their ease.....fires quenched in cool waters.

34. *Enter at noon the Sumutana forest*
Where young bloods come and go and sport and make merry,
Their brows adorned with the smooth Kasturi-tilaka,
And wreaths of red lotus bound round their heads.

35. *Now flutter your wings and play on the pollen-thick crests of the flowers*
Of na-trees and ni-trees, and domba and mora that make the road green.
Thrust your beak in and eat of the sweet ripened fruit,
Then in jambu-trees rest, bird, and go on your way.

36. *With nothing to hinder go to Gurubewula*
Where wakened in sun's warmth, the lotus spreads over the lake.
Here jungle cocks make their wars by the roadside
And drunken cuckoo-birds sing in the arbours depths.

37. *See, friend, and then go, the deep icy pool*
Filled with lily and lotus, and red and white nymphaeae where many bees swarm.
Ringed with screw-pine in flower, and flowering muruta
A gold jewel it seems, ruby-set, of Lakshmi the forest.

38. *Gurulukethа fields stand ripe now for harvest. See them and go*
Where free from malice the peasant girls play.
Bright bosoms spattered with pollen of red lotus
And blue water-lilies stuck in their ears.

39. *A woman's necklace of coral, bright emeralds and pearls, seems*
This ring of arecas with its nuts and flowers. The woman a village.
The sight will seduce you. Indulge not in transports.
Glance at Velandagoda, stay but a while and go on your way.

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38. සලා දූලා පියෝ වූරු තඹර රෝත් ර ත
පුලානිලා උපුලන් ලාගෙන කත ත
කලාපිලා නොව ඇල්ගෙවි කෙළින ඉ ත
බලා පලා යව අස්වන් ගුරුළුකෙ ත

39. බත් නේ මරුම්ණි දුල පබළු මුතුප ව
වැන්නේ ගමඹුගෙලෙ පලමල් කුමුකුප ව
ගන් නේ තසිත එබැවින් නොවැද කෙළිය ව
යන් නේ වෙළෙඳගොඩ දූක මදහාලක් සි ව

40. අවට සුපිපි පසු දුනුකේ සල ලා න
හඬන තැනින් තැන විලිකුළු කිර ලා න
පැසී තැම් තරල් රත්හැල් සහ ලා න
වඩින මැතවි මහවෙල මැද වෙර ලා න

41. ප ත් ගත පුල්මල් දෙඹතුරෙක පියක රු
සි ත් පිතවා ඉද සැලලිහිණින් අතු රු
ග ත් සරතැස හැර විඳ සුවඳ මඳ ම රු
කිත් සිරිමේ වෙහෙරව වඳුව පස්ව රු

42. සොඳ මුනිරද පිඹුකළ යස මෙරද ස ම
පු ද කළ ඔහු නෙත් නිල්කැලුමෙවි බැර ඹ
ස ඳ ගුරු සඳවෙලෙන් රැඳි රැසිරු මනර ම
ව ද නෙහි නෝ දහඟැප් මහබෝ පිළි ම

43. ස ල් සපු කිණ දෙඹ රැරඟ නා මිදෙ ලි
පු ල් එරහැදි හෝ පලු මී අඹ පලෝ ලි
පොල් පුවකිගු රඹමලබුලත සලිම ලි
නි ල් ගනසා සෙවණලු දෙතෙර මනක ලි

44. ග ව සා සුපුල් කඩුපුල්මල් නිල් වර ල
ස ල සා උකුළුවට රසුදුළ මිණිමෙවු ල
ස ක සා දෙතන හර සදුනෙන් කැරැ සිහි ල
දෙ ප සා ඉසින නිල් පැහැ නෙහැ දිහුපුළු ල

45. ම න හර තාමණෙවියනිද ළවැලි පි ට
ගෙන මිණිවෙණ තත්තියගින් මැද රුව ට
ක න හෙවැ කියන බුදුගුණ ගී මිහුරු කො ට
සැ න හෙව කැළණිගඟබඩ මද කලක් සි ව

46. ස පු ම ල් යොහොඹු ලා බැඳ වරල මතර ඟ
පැහැ දුල් දෙඹ කැකුළු හර කර ලා නත ග
රොනවුල් නා කුසුම් කතලා සොඩොල් ර ඟ
ද ඟ ව ල් උයන් කෙළිකෙළෑ සලෙළුන් සම ග

47. නු ව නි න් නිල් උපුල් මදහසිනි හෙලැඹු ල
වූ ව නි න් කමල් පෑ ලවනතිනි රතුපු ල
ප ව නි න් අඹල රතලියවන් ලියන් කැ ල
රැ ව නි න් ලකළ ගඟ දිස කෙළෑ නිමුණු ක ල

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40. *Go, friend, through Veralana's broad rice fields.*
Where the ears of the rat-hel now sag in their ripeness.
Cries of lapwing and wild fowl are heard here and there
Among blossoming champak, and hora, and screwpine that stand all around.

41. *Perch in a lovely domba tree, thick-leaved and full of flowers;*
Among hill-minas ease your heart.
Enjoying scented airs, discard the weariness of flesh,
Then go, when it is afternoon, to Kit-siri-me temple.

42. *There worship the stupa, massed glory it seems of the Wise One;*
The Bo-tree, dark as lustre of His eyes once fixed in salutation;
The image whose beauty fills the mind with rapture
As the moon that rests upon a bank of evening cloud.

43. *On river banks made lovely with the shade of dark green branches*
Of sal, sapu, kina and domba, reranga, na and midalla,
Flowering ehela, palu, asoka, mi, mango and areca.
Plantain, sugar-cane and coco-palm, and silk-cotton betel-entwined;

44. *With kadupul blossoms adorning their dark hair;*
And bright jewelled girdles swathed round their hips;
Their breasts assuaged with sandal-paste and pearls,
Casting dark beams from wide eyes this way and that;

45. *The lovely naga maidens couch on the clean sands*
And sing of the Buddha sweet songs of praise,
Their finger-tips caressing the strings of jewelled vinas;
Listen awhile by Kelani river and be refreshed.

46. *Threading sapu and yohomba flowers prettily in their hair-knots;*
On the tips of their breasts the shining domba buds are wound like strings of pearls;
Wearing pollen-scattering na-flowers in semblance of ear-studs,
After dallying all day with gay youths in gardens;

47. *Their eyes the blue nymphaeae, white lilies their smiles,*
Their lips the red water-lily, lotus-faced they seem;
When this crowd of young women like gold vines swaying in the breeze,
Finish their games in the bright jewelled water,

48. *The sun's disc seems a ripened fruit, dark red,*
That nears the time of severance from its stalk, the Western Rock,
Of that vast tree the sky, lovely as sapphire, blue on blue,
Washed by the evening winds that play about its region-boughs.

49. *Then with the sun the day will also fade,*
As if to prove the rule that holds among all virtuous men,
That when distress shall come the friendly patron
Who gave great help must never be cast off.

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48. වදිමින් සවසතල හැසිරෙන දිගතුව ල
සොබමන් සුනිල්මිණි නිල් නුබතුරු විපු ල
පතසන් අවරගිරි තැටියෙන් වැටෙන ක ල
විලිකුන් සුරත් පලවැනි වේ රිවිමඬ ල

49. මඟ තුන් ගසළ තමනට යස පිහිට ලෙ ස
නිසැකින් නොහළ යුතුබව පැමිණෙත වෙගෙ ස
සුදතස් පැවති සිරිතැයි දන්වත විල ස
නුබමින් සමග ගෙවෙනුය දහවල් දව ස

50. සැදූ ළෙන් වරුණ දෙවිරද මුහුද වි සූ
සදූ සහසකර එන මහවත සැල සූ
විදැ උපුල් පිළමෙන් රත්පවින් වැ සූ
සැදැ වළාපෙළ පැළදිග පෙනුණු ප සූ

51. උදුළ සොම්කැලුම් නිසයුරු හිම් පුව ළ
පහළ වත බැවින් තම වෙත නිසඹු දෙ ළ
ලකළ ගුවන්තල සිරියහතැ නිකස ළ
අතුළ කුසුම් විලසින් සැදෙත තුරුවැ ළ

52. දතගෙන වුස් දමන ගොදුරට නොහැකි ශ්‍රී ය
පැනපැන දියෙන් ඔවුනොවු කැහෙනි පෙරැ ශ්‍රී ය
ලෙහෙලුන කෙළින කැරැ පෙණපිඬු රළරැ ශ්‍රී ය
එතැනිත පියාසර කැරැ දකු මස්කෙ ශ්‍රී ය

53. පැහැසරණිය මිණිපැමිණිය නොත් අග ට
බඳකිනිණිය දදගිහිණිය විමන් ව ට
නොවපැරැණිය වතරමණිය විවින් වි ට
සැළලිහිණිය වදුකැළණිය පුරවර ට

54. දියකද ගැඹුර පිරිපුවතර මහ සයු ර
මුවරද ලෙසින් වත අගතිසි කරතඹ ර
මනතද කරත මිණිගතමෙන් දිසි එව ර
පැහැතද පහන් එනි මහවෙයැ බල මිතු ර

55. උදයග පියුම්රැ පැහැ වැද මෙන් ඇ ලු ණු
පෙරදිග පෙනෙත සඳ සඳකැල්මෙන් දි ලු ණු
මතරඟ එපුර සඳකත ගෙහඹින් ගැ ලු ණු
සුරගඟ පතිනි දම්රැකුමෙහි මා නියැ ලු ණු

56. සුනිල් වලා නවසඳ නිලුපුල් පබ ළ
විමල් සක් ගිජිදුකුඹු සිරිවස බැබ ළ
විපුල් පුලින රඹ සිකිගල මුතුලද ළ
ලකල් රනලියන් සරනා බල යහ ළ

57. ඔද වැඩි කෙළිමහුල් ලැබ තුටු නිසා ක ල
සද සක්මදෙසිනැද දෙත දුනුකැත් දුහු ල
සොඳ පුරහත පහසුමුගින් පැහැ උදු ල
සෙද දුනඹරමතු ඇය රැස්මිණිමෙවු ල

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50. *When in the West, the evening clouds are seen, a ruby pavement*
With red silk spread by sea-dwelling God-King Varuna
In all devotion upon the path his kinsman takes,
The Sun-God of a thousand rays;

51. *And the stars in array seem like flowers*
Strewn on the glorious couch of the firmament, lovely and pure
By night, filled with desire because her lord comes to her,
The moon that glistens with a soft effulgence;

52. *Fly thence, see Maskeliya, where the Lelu fish play*
And leap in the water, making it bubble and foam,
As they reach and roll over each other to seize without fear
Food which the crowds of people have thrown.

53. *Enter, O Selalihini, the great city Kelaniya,*
Whose beauty from moment to moment is ever renewed.
Forests of bell-hung banners enclose its fine dwellings,
And glittering gems are set on its pinnacles tips.

54. *See, friend, in the great highway, the lovely coloured lamps*
Like the enchanting hoard of gems laid bare
When all the vast depths of the famed oceans waters became
A honey-drop in sage Agastya's lotus palm.

55. *When to the East the moon appears transfigured by the evening clouds,*
Washed, it seems, by Udagiri's ruby light, the river of the sky
Swollen by floods that drip from the lovely city's moonstone houses
Seems devoted to observing the virtues of a spouse.

56. *Look, friend, women like gold creepers go, crescent browed with dark clouds of hair;*
Eyes, blue-lotus; lips, coral; teeth, white chanks; as bosses on elephant heads
Their bosoms with Vishnu's bright hair mark; thighs, plantain trunks; laps wide as sand-plains;
Their calves, peacocks necks; pearly-nailed, the young leaves their fingers.

57. *When lady-night, charmed with such festal gaiety pours*
Silk stuffs so shimmering-bright from that chest of chank, the moon,
The gracious lady-city makes swift return, a girdle jewel-bright
Rays from her casket of gleaming palaces, flung upon the sky.

58. *Amorous husbands and wives, each with no thought but for the other*
Wearing exquisite garlands of special fragrance,
Their bodies anointed with sandal-paste and saffron
Lie in that city's moonlit balconies.

59. *Go the length of the streets where are gardens adorned*
With plantains lolling their flower heads, and rantambilis heavy with bunches.
Turn, friend, to the South, go and enter the Temple,
Mind set on the chant of the Buddha's Nine Virtues.

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58. තවර කැරැ කොකුම් සඳුනෙන් තුනුසිය ල
පවර සුවඳ මල්දම් පැලඳ මනක ල
බැහැර සිතුනොලූ හිමිනඹුවො කෙළිලො ල
එපුර ඉදිනි සඳපානේ සඳලුව ල

59. මුවලඹ රඹ වලුබර රන් තැඹිලි තුරු
සැදි ගෙළයන් ගෙවමින් වේ මග අ තුරු
කරකැවෙමින් දකුණව අවුදින් මි තුරු
වදු වෙහෙරට සිහිකැරැ නවගුණ ම තුරු

60. දියනෙක් පැහිර සිටි බුදුගුණ කියා හැ ම
සගමොක් ලබනුවස් පියයුග ඔබා බි ම
සිසස් පුරා දුටුමෙන් තුටු වැ මුනිතු ම
වදුලක් තිලකගෙහි වැඩලන් මහපිළි ම

61. පෙරදල නිදු දියකඳ රවඹිම් ගල ත
සුරකුල හිමි රකිනුව ලඟ මැවූ ස ත
මනකල ඒ සමුදුර පැහැයෙන් දිමු ත
වදුසල පිළිමහිමි සිරිසරණ සියප ත

62. ගිලිය නොදී සැවමහණන් බව මහ ණ
මලිය දෙව්තෙරිදු වැඩහිඳ දෙසූ බ ණ
දිලිය පස්මහල් පායෙහි මිණිකිර ණ
බැලිය හැකි වි නම් දැක වැඳ යා කල ණ

63. පෙරළුවිදෑ ගෙනගිරිදෑ සිදු සල ත
නැගිපැහැදෑ පෙණසමුදෑ සැවි තුමූ ත
මෙනලළිදෑ පැහැවිහිදෑ නෙදිගුඹි ත
සැදිවටදෑ ගෙහිවදුදෑ ගැබ දිමු ත

64. දිගුනෙත් නිලුපුලෙ'වි රතදර පබළුර හ
සිරිමත් සුපුන් සඳ වැනි වුවන මතර හ
පැහැපත් ලඟල රන්වන් විලසින් ලොව හ
වැදඟොත් පිළිමහිමි වදු පෑයැ පැළදි ග

65. අඟසින් අවුත් මිණිඅක්තයිදු යැදුම ව
රහතන් මැදෙහි මුනි ඟිද මිණිපලඟ පි ව
දහමුත් දෙසූ තැනැ කළ සැට රියන් සො ව
මහදඟැප් හිමින් වදු සොළොස තැන් සි ව

66. සවන සතියැ වැසි වසිනා දස දි ගෙසි
පෙණිත සෙවෙනි මුදලිදු නා දරණ ගෙසි
සවන හිඳිනු දනතදනා නෙතු යු ගෙසි
වදින මැතව් පිළිමය නා පිළිම ගෙසි

67. සසරින් මුදු ලෙව් සදහම් අ මා දී
එකඟින් මුනිදු උන්වැනි නිසර මා දී
ලකුණෙන් සපිරි පිළිමය දැක ස මා දී
වැදඟන් මිතුර තුන් සිත කැරැ ස මා දී

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60. *Tell over all virtues world-famed of the Buddha. Dipping your wings*
To the ground, worship the Lord's great image in Lankatilaka,
As though your eyes had seen Sakya-Muni himself,
That heavenly bliss may be yours and bliss of Nirvana.

61. *Worship the holy lotus-feet of his lovely stone image*
Bright with the colour of the very sea,
Made by the Lord of Heaven to succour Lanka's creatures
When, long ago, the ocean's great waters ran over land.

62. *In the five-storeyed mansion, where Maliyadeva the Great Monk*
Sat and expounded the Dhamma lest sixty theras be lost
In the sea of becoming, if you can see the gems dazzling glitter,
Look, friend, make obeisance and go.

63. *Worship the gleaming stupa in the circular relic-house*
That casts on all sides the colour of moonbeams,
Never losing its likeness of foam-spate that rose when Lord Vishnu
Laying hold of Mandara churned up the sea long ago.

64. *Bow in the Western Hall before the image of the Lord recumbent.*
Unequalled his lovely, bright, golden form;
Whose long eyes are blue lilies, whose red lips are coral,
Whose charming countenance is gracious as the full moon.

65. *Stand at the sixteen points and worship the mighty stupa*
Reared sixty cubits high where Sakya-Muni sat,
When besought by King Miniak, he came through the heavens
And preached the word among saints upon a jewelled throne.

66. *Please, then, to worship the image in the Naga image-house*
Which shows to all men the Omniscient as he sat
In shelter of Naga Muchalinda's hood, in the house of his coils,
When, in the sixth week, rains streamed from all ten directions.

67. *See his perfect image in Samadhi posture*
As though the Lord Himself sat in calmest contemplation
When with the nectar of his word, He had saved the world from Samsara,
And friend, worship, your mind's three states in accord.

68. *Worship the King of trees, that parasol of fine sapphire,*
Furnished with a staff of lustrous silver,
Gift of the gods to our Lord in the Day of Enlightenment,
Then take to thy soul the fruit of such devotion.

69. *From the South gate whose pinnacle the moon grazes, hear without flinching*
The clash of a myriad instruments making devotional music.
Then, going down, after adoring the Trivanka images
That are made without blemish, and bright with the marks of good fortune,

70. *Worship, facing always, the Sivuru Dagoba,*
Built where he stood, wrapped in three bright robes, the Unattached, the Buddha,
When he bathed in cool water of Kelani River, that seems
The stretched-out trunk of Samanala Rock, that mighty King-elephant.

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68. අප මුනිඳු බුදුවන දින මුරුන් පි ය
පැහැවිහිදූ දිලි කලදෝ යටින් යෙ ය
සැදි සිනිදූ ඉඳුනිල්මිණිසතෙක බ ය
වැද දුම්දු වන පින්පල ත අත් බ ය

69. වි වංක පැනිලිදු දකුණස දෙරටුයෙ න
නිසංක යෙන් පුද තන් තුරු ගොසසම් න
කලංක නොවැ කළ සුබ ලකුණු බබළ න
නිවංක නම් දෙපිළිම තැමද බැසග න

70. සම තොළ ගිරි ගිජිඳු දිගුකළ සොඩෙක සැ පි
සි හි ල ළ ගඟ සිලිල් සතහා මුනි නොගැ පි
පැ හැ දූ ළ තුන්සිවුරු ඇඳ පෙරවැ වැඩ සි ටි
තැනැකළ සිවුරු දැගැබ වදු නොපැ පි ටි

71. නි රි ඳු න් කැළණිතිස් නිවැරදි රහත් තැ න
සැක යෙන් ලැවූ හුණුතෙල් සැළ තුබූ තැ න
බැති යෙන් පිතැතියන් කළ විසිතුරු විම න
වැ ඩ ඵ න් පිළිමහිම් නමදින් යහදස න

72. පි රි සි ඳ නොහැකි මෙවැදුම් පුදපින්පඬු රෑ
ම න බැඳ රැගෙන දෙනලෙස දූක එසුරවි රෑ
සු ර ර ද පාඨවන් විජයොත් නම් මහ රෑ
ඒ ම ස ඳ වඩන රජගෙට මිතුර වැඩක රෑ

73. පු ලා සුවඳ මල්'වුල් කැරැ වරල් බැ ද
දූ ලා රන්පතින් සරසා සවන් සො ද
නී ලා දිගු නුවන් රසඳුන් තනා ඇ ද
බ ලා සිටු රහත රඟමඬල කල්ඛ ද

74. වි දෙ ත ලෙලෙන නරුඹර පුළුලුකුළැ රැ දී
හෙ ළ ත තඟන අතැ නුවතග බැලුම් දි දී
රැ වි න දිලෙන අබරණ කැලුම් ගතැ යෙ දී
සැ ලෙ ත පඟන සිළු වැනි රඟන ලිය සැ දී

75. ළ ක ල පුළුලුකුළැ බඳ මිණි මෙවු ල් ලා
ස ම ඟ රන්සලඹ රැවිදී වෙවූ ල් ලා
ව ඝ න පදව තබමින් පද කම ල් ලා
ර ඟ න ළඳුන් බල රැසිරි සිය ල් ලා

76. ව ස් දඹු බිගු කොවුල් විණා නද මියු රැ
රැ ස් වූ සෙයින් සත්සරරස හී සොඳු රැ
අ ස් වන ලියන් දූක ලිය කිඳුරඟන යු රැ
තොස් කර තසිත සවනත නුවනත මිතු රැ

77. මෙ සේ පැවැති අතතුරු හී රැහුම් පු ද
තොසේ සිතින් වැඩසිටි සුර විමන් මැ ද
ඝ සේ පතළ දියතුළ උතුළ මතත ද
ඇ සේ පුරා දකු විබිසණ සුරිඳු ස ද

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71. *Bow, charming one, to the image seated in the lovely hall,*
Built in devotion by the worthy on that place where stood
The seething pot of oil, into which, in frenzy of doubt,
King Kelanitissa flung the innocent saint.

72. *Storing in mind merit immeasurable drawn from such homage,*
Taking it to make offering when you see him, the great god,
Useful friend, go, then, to his royal dwelling,
That is like Vijayot Prasada, the home of Heaven's King.

73. *Stand and gaze at the dancing-girls in the dancing arena,*
Whose hairknots are bound with scented confusion of flowers full-blown,
Their pretty ears decked with shining gold leaves;
Their long, dark eyes painted with finely made salve.

74. *Flickering lamp-flames they seem these dancers in array,*
On whose broad hips hang the heavy waistfolds that ripple and flare,
Who shoot sidelong glances at their arms as they rise and they fall.
Transfigured their forms in the glare that beats from their jewels.

75. *Drink in the charms of these women who dance,*
Stamping feet of lotus to beaten out rythms
To swing the girdles that are swathed round their lovely wide flanks,
And their anklets hung with bells that wake into sound.

76. *Friend, give delight to mind, ear and eye! See the women*
Like Kinduru maidens who sing lovely songs
Contrived of the seven notes' flavours as though there were blended
Sweet sounds of the flute and the vina, the cuckoo-bird and the bee.

77. *After such offering of music and dancing, fill your eyes*
With the sight of Vibhisana, that great God-king,
Whose fame spreads through and flows over the world,
Who stands, well-pleased in the midst of house.

78. *On his head who is World-Refuge and King of Gods appears*
A crown of gold with gems and strings of pearls that gleams
As when above the summit of a darkling crag
Comes up the planet-glory of Rohini's car.

79. *From darkest dark the storm-cloud grows pallid.*
Has the lightning love-lorn, therefore, fled in distraction
To flash as the gold circlet on the brow of the God-king
Who wears the storm-cloud's hue changeless through time?

80. *In this beautiful God-king's ears that seem like jewelled swings*
Are lodged bright cylinders of heaviest gold that flash
Like twin golden mirrors of Lakshmi and Saraswati
Who flourish continually in his face.

81 *Two thick clouds lustrous-dark, the lines of the God-king's eyebrows*
Thrust from the rock-flank of his brow, that give
Balm of cool water to the rice-fields of his adorers;
To the forest of his mighty enemies a sudden thunder-bolt.

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78. පැ මි ණ සිටි අදුන් ගිරිකුළු මුදුන් වෙ ත
රෙහෙණ නකත් ඟැළ සිරි විලසින් දිමු ත
ස ර ණ මුළු ලොවට එසුරිදු සිරස ප ත
ඝ ල ණ කිරුළ දිසි මුතුලැල් රුවන් යු ත

79. සු නි ලේ පැහැය හැර සුදුවනුය ගත වෙ ලේ
වි දු ලේ එසින් විසොවට පැමිණ වියවු ලේ
නිස ලේ එමේසිරි ගත් සුරිදු හැමක ලේ
උ දු ලේ දෙහෝ රන්පට මෙන් නළල් තෙ ලේ

80. රැ වි නේ උතුම් එසුරිදු මිණි ඊල මෙ නේ
ස ව නේ රැදුණු රස'දුළ නෝඩු ගතර නේ
වූ ව නේ වැජඹි සිරිසරසවිය හැම දි නේ
සොඛ නේ කතා කැටපත් යුවළ විලසි නේ

81. ත ම ඝ ළ සත හැලේ සිහි ලේ සැප සිලි ලි
ඛිය සෙණ රැසූ කැලේ තුමූ ලේ දෙන තොකොං ලි
න ළ ල ත ගිරි තෙලේ සුනි ලේ රැසිනිපි ලි
සු ර ර ද දෙඛැම ලේ ගත ලේ සිරි කිය ලි

82. ස තු රු සුර අදුරු එක පැහැර දුරු ක ළ
මි තු රු තඹුරුවත නිරතුරු පුබුදුක ළ
අ තු රු තුසර සිදුවත දුකුමෙන් පහ ළ
ළ ඣි රු සිරින් දිලිහිණි හිම් නෙත් සහ ළ

83. ඝ ස ඟා න කළ තැන තැන සිඳහනන් සැ දි
තොළඟා එහිම් දිගුතුඟ නැඟෙයව වොරු ඳි
ස ම හා රදුන් දෙවියන් සෙවුම්න් නිසැ ඳි
මු ර හා අහෝ මිණිකාලම වෙහෙස වි ඳි

84. සි රි ස ර හිඟුල්විලැ සේඝසවැළෙවි ග ත
සු ර ව ර සලෙළ රතලවනත දළ දුල ත
ම න ඟර සඳවලාපෙළ කෙළවර පෙනෙ ත
පැහැ සර ළසඳ යුවළෙක් ඇත්නම් එමෙ ත

85. ක නා මිණි වළලූ නැති රැස් මල් කැනැ ති
ම නා දිහු ඇඟිලි තව තඹ ළපලු ඇ නි
ද නා කැමැති දෙන පළඹත එසුරප ති
දි නා දිමුතු අතු සිරි සුරතුරු පැව නි

86. පා නා සෙනේ සසිනිදු මඳලස බැ ල්ම
ගා නා නිමහමෙව් දෙවඟන නෙත් කැ ල්ම
නා නා සුරිදු පුළුලුර සිරිසඳ ඇ ල්ම
නූ නා කෙළන ගලතල වැනි ඉදුනි ල්ම

87. ළ කු ළු පුළුලුකුළු වටකිම එසුරවි රැ
වෙ ර ළු මිණිකැළුම් පතරින් මෙවුල්තු රැ
නැ ඹු ළු සොඳුරු සසිලිටු වටොර රඹතු රැ
බැ බ ළු සිලිල් ඉසිනා විලස සිරි දැ රැ

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82. *The eyes of the lord like twin suns rising glower*
To scatter at one stroke the darkness of enemy gods,
And even bring to flower the crowded lotus-thicket of his friends
Drying with one glance the dews of manifest danger.

83. *The jewelled horn that cannot rival the high, long, handsome nose*
Of the God whose praises Siddha goddesses sing forth
Grouped here and there in fine array, tires itself out, ah! woe,
Shrilling in the service of kings and other gods.

84. *At the corners of the God's red playful lips are gleaming tusks.*
Dense rows of white swans on a pool of rich vermilion!
Two young bright moons, if such there be, that show
At each end of a bank of lovely sunset cloud.

85. *With light like flowering sprays, that springs from jewelled armbands,*
And fingers long and fine, copper of tender leaves,
This God-king's drooping arms that grant what men desire
Outshine in glory, the glittering boughs of Heaven's tree.

86. *A sapphire plain where Lakshmi in unending love disports*
The spreading shoulders of the King of Gods who bathes
In light from looks of manifest desire from Goddess' eyes
Languorous and most soft, that deepens as with lac.

87. *His handsome thighs like plantain trunks, massive and most sleek*
Seem, from the light that beats from cat's-eyes studded in the belt
That binds the region of his fine broad hips,
In aspect as though splashed with water cool and bright.

88. *Hue of pale copper, young Asoka leaves seem shaken with affright*
That the lotus is trodden by the soles of the Lord's feet
Which are lovely with that radiance delicate as lac
Prisoned in glare of gems that tip the crowns of bowing gods.

89. *Can one mouth end the tale of the beauty of this God-king,*
Who like the sea has his charm, brilliant, pure, profound;
Alluring, yet inspiring, all beholders with awe,
Endowed with the goddess Lakshmi, and with unblemished gems?

90. *How is it that Heaven's Tree, Heaven's Cow, and Wishing Gem*
Be held to him who grants the world's desires on mention only of His name?
Heard in learned talk only, the names of the heavenly healers!
But he casts out sorrow and disease, sin's fruit, as water from the lotus leaf.

91. *Because he grants as soon as wished whatever heart desires*
Of wisdom, glory, wealth and fame, great armies, victory, kingship,
Office and all success, long life and natural force
This God-king in our time is recompense for good that men have done.

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88. ව ද නා සුරන් කිරුළග රුවන කැලුමේ නා
ඛ ද නා සොමළ ලතුවිලසළ රතින් ම නා
ම ඛ නා බැවින් සියපත එහිම් පතුලෙ නා
ඛියෙ නා ළතඹ හෝපලු සදිසි වෙවුල නා

89. වෙසෙසින් පහත් පැහැසර ගැඹුරු පිවිතු රු
බැ ලූ වන් ඇලුම් කරවන යළිදු ඛියක රු
සි රි පි න් රුවන් පිරි එසුරිදු සසුර යු රු
මුවෙ කින් කියා නිමවිය හැකිද රු සි රු

90. ලෙවි හට තමන් තමකිව රිසිදෙන වි සිනි
දෙව් තුරු සුරඛී සුරමිණි සරිද කොලෙ සිනි
ප වි රෝ දුකුදු දුරලන පොකුරඹ හ සිනි
දෙව් වෙද ඇසෙන පමණෙකි විඝතුන් ඛ සිනි

91. ම න් පිනවන යසසිරි හෙද නැණ විපු ල
සෙ න් සුදජය රජබව තනතුරු සිය ල
දෙ ණ් තෙන් පැතුවිට සුඛවැඩ දිගා ඛ ල
සි න් තම් සතුන්කළ දෙවිරජමඝ මෙඝ ල

92. තුන්ලෝ තමා තතුකළ රවුළු සොහොවු රු
තුන්කල් බලා රම්දුටවූ ඉටු මිතු රු
තුන් වේ ඇදුරු පුලතිසිකුල මිණි මිතු රු
තුන්විටෙ කම වඳුව එසුරිදු පා තඹු රු

93. අත තුරු බලා අදහස අවසර විග ස
සු හු සු ලු නොවී සලකා පසු පළමු ඛ ස
පෙර දැ රි කොට සුරිදුට තියු වදන් ගො ස
සැ ලි කර තඹිය කටයුතු සිට එකත් ප ස

94. ත ර ඝ ර සුතෙ ර තද තෙද දිමුතු දිව යු ර
පු ව තර ගැ ඹ ර සමුදුර කැලුම් නිලඹ ර
සොම් බර ප ව ර නිසයුර නුවණ සුරගු ර
සු ර ව ර දෙසැ ර විබිසණ නම් කැලණි පු ර

95. ර ජ කු ල සුපුල් විලැ රජගසවත් සර න
පෙර ම ල වියාවන් රැසිරෙන් මන තද න
හැම් ක ල විපුල ඝව්සැපතින් නොඅඩු ව න
තෙද බ ල විකුම් ගුණමිණිබරණින් තෙවු න

96. ග රු ත ර තන්නුරුතුනයා නමැති මැ නි
සි ඟි කර නිතර මහපුද පඬුරු දී රු නි
නොවි සි ර ඔබට දන්වනලෙස කී සිතැ නි
සු ර ව ර මදක්කල් එපවත් ඇසිය යු නි

97. රි වි කු ල ලමැණිගොත් පිරිසිදු ගුවන් මැ ද
පැහැ දු ල සරාකල්පත් සහසකර බ ඳ
කිවි කැල ගලව මුතුහරවන් යස පබ ඳ
සි රි ක ල කුලනිවෙස් දිය පතළ තද තෙ ද

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92. *Bow three times at the lotus feet of this King of Gods,*
Ravana's brother who bent the three worlds to his sway;
Who scanned the three aspects of Time and became the loved friend of Rama;
Jewelled lamp of sage Pulasti's line, master of the three Vedas.

93. *Wait then an opening on the God-king's pleasure.*
Eschewing haste, mark well the sequence of your words.
Offer a paean of praises to the King of Gods,
Then, standing on one side, unfold the burden of your charge.

THE SANDESA

94. *Mount Meru in firmness and strength! Bright sun in great majesty!*
In depth the famous sea! The blue sky in brilliance!
In serenity, great moon! In wisdom Instructor of Gods!
Live long, O Vibhisana! Great God of Kelani city!

95. *He who moves as a king-swan on royalty's full flowering waters;*
Whose beauty ravishes, as of old, the God of Love;
Whose well-being is whole at all times, and never decreases;
Who shines with the jewels of majesty, heroism and power;

96. *Who ever holds you in thought, who makes vast and desirable offerings,*
The excellent minister, Nannuru Thunaya,
Bids me earnestly tell the wish of his heart.
Deign, O great God, to give ear to his message awhile.

97. *Who to the Lameni line of the Sun's Race is as the bright sun*
That mounts to the clear zenith in autumn's season, whose great fame
Is as a string of pearls about the throats of a host of poets,
Whose glory is world-wide, who is Lakshmi's abode;

98. *Who learning the Buddha's Threefold Word, has put aside evil;*
Who, has crossed the ocean of poesy, drama, and all warlike arts;
And, crushing the pride of fierce foes, showing knowledge of strategy
Brought all Lanka to the shelter of a single parasol;

99. *Whose beauty is like fine salve laid on the eyes of all men;*
Who displays the glory of Indra come down among mortals;
Who in prowess is chief of the Princes of India;
Upon the daughter of him who is our Lord Prakrama-Bahu.

100. *Upon her who is like Lakshmi, whose blessings grow great and flourish;*
A Wishing Gem in lavishness to beggars who cry;
Who in wisdom is like Sarasvati manifested on earth;
Who is greeted with love as the new moon by all people;

101. *Who has one thought for women friends in her own happiness,*
And in kindness rains wealth on menservant and maids;
Who observes the chaste vow and all excellent rules,
And practises the Ten Virtues as with intellect born;

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98. ඟ ළ දුසිරි දැන තෙවළා මුනිදු බ ණ
කෙළ පත් සියල් අවිසිප් කිවිනළු සතා ණ
ඔ ළ මොළ රුපුන් දප මැඩ පෑ උපානෑ ණ
ක ළ මුළු ලක්දිව එකසේසත් සෙව ණ

99. සතතෙත දුන් රුසිරු රස අ දුන් වන
පත නරලොව පුරදරසිරි හ දුන් වන
විකුමෙන් මෙදඹදිවැ නිරිදුන් මු දුන් වන
අප පැරැකුම් නිරිදුට දූ ල දුන් වන

100. සිරි සඳ වන් සවිසිරි දියුණුවැ රද න
සිතුමිණවන් යදි යදිහට දනින් දෙ න
සර සවි වන් නුවණින් පහළවැ පෙනෙ න
නව සඳ වන් ලෙව්වැසි අදරින් ඔද න

101. යෙනෙළින් තෙරේ සකිසැප සමඟ සි ත්මේ
කුලුණෙන් දැසිදසුන් චෙතැ වසින ව ත්මේ
රකි මින් පතිනි දම් සඟපත් සිරි ත්මේ
සිනිණෙන් නිපත්වන් දසපින් පැවැ ත්මේ

102. මි හි රි තෙපලා තන්වැසි කිවිසාම් පුරු දු
ඉ නි රි බැනි පෙමැති පෙළ දහමෙනි මුනි දු
නොහැරි පෝය අටසිල් රැකුම සිරිසි දු
ස සි රි උලකුඩය දේවිහට පසි දු

103. දි ත් රුපුකිරුළු මල්දම් සුවඳ මී වැ ස
නෙ ත් සිරිපායුත් සුරිදුනි තිලෝ ඇ ස
සි ත් පිනවත ඇති ආසිරි නුවණ ය ස
පු ත් රුවනක් සොඳ දුන මැනවි නිසි ලෙ ස

104. බිසොවට පළමු රත්නාවලී නම් සොදු රු
සහතුට දෙවූ මිහි දිවැසින් කුළුණු පි රු
මෙලකව ඉසුරු වී පැරැකුම් රජකුම රු
පළකොට තිමෙක ඔබ සොඳ තෙදබල මහ රු

105. එ සෙ සින් දැසමන් මහනෙල් කුසුම් ගෙ න
පු ද ම් න් එසුරවර සිරිසරණ වඳිම් න
බු හු ම න් කරන රජ දූ සඳුට මෙකිය න
දූ න පි න් සමඟ යසසිරි වසි පුත් රුව න

106. මෙන සුන් සුරිදුහව සැලකැරැ මේ සේයා
ව දි ම් න් බැතින් පැදකුණුකොට තො සේයා
ද කි ම් න් බිසෝ දෙවියන් නොවල සේයා
කි ය ම් න් ඔදින් සකිසඳ මෙම ලෙ සේයා

107. පෑ හෑ ප ත් පුන් සඳෙ'වි කිරිසමුදුරු පළ ට
සිය ගොන් බබුළුවන දෙවි රජ කුමර හ ට
නෑ ව ත ත් එකලාව අවසර ලැබුණු වි ට
මෙ ප ව ත් කියව සැලකරනුව සුර රදු ට

108. මේසිය ලුම අදඟස කුලුණෙන් ගිහි ණී
සේසිය පත සලසා උදයැ දිනම් ණී
නෑසිය ඉටු මිතුරු සමගින් සැලලිහි ණී
වා සිය පවතු සිතුලෙස සැපතින් පැමි ණී

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102. *Who is well-versed in poesy's art and skilled in polite conversation*
And has love over-flowing for the Word of the Lord of Sages;
Who never fails to observe pure ata-sil on the moon-days;
On Ulukudaya Devi, the lovely, the famous;

103. *Great God, who seems the one eye of the three worlds, whose lovely feet*
Are wet with honey rain from scented wreaths on diadems of Gods
Be pleased, justly to bestow that jewel fair, a son well-favoured,
Blessed with long life and wealth, wisdom and fame.

104. *Of old, with insight divine full of pity, the Lord Prakrama-Bahu,*
By your grace, with joy, to the great Queen Ratnavali was given.
Who became ruler of Lanka. What need
To publish your excellence, your great glory and power!

105. *So grant to this princess of whom I speak, the jewel of a son,*
To her who bows to the beautiful feet of that God,
Making offering of jasmine and water-lilies,
And your merit will increase with your fame and your glory.

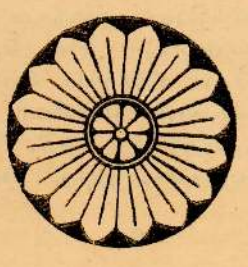
PARTING WORDS

106. *Fine friend, thus give this message to the King of Gods.*
Walk round him with delight presenting your right side,
And worshipping with love. Then straightway appear
Before his Goddess Queen to sue in that same way.

107. *That she may tell the God-king when he is alone at leisure.*
Next to the God-Prince deliver your message;
To him who to his dynasty adds lustre
As the bright full-moon that shines upon the milky sea.

108. *As the sun at dawn unfolds the lotus-flower*
With abounding love all my intent unfold.
Go live, O Selalihini, a hundred years with friends and kinsfolk,
Just as you may please with blessings attained.

(The Translators wish to acknowledge their indebtedness to W. Rahula Thero for the great help he gave them in correcting their translation of the *Selalihini Sandesa.*)



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அநுதாபம்

ஏ. எம். கே. குமாரசுவாமி

நம்மானிட சுபாவத்திற்கண்ட குணசிலங்களுள், அநுதாபம் விசித்திரம் வாய்ந்துளது. என் அயலான்பாடு அவன்பாடு, என்பாடு எனக்குப்போதும் என்றுணர்வது மனுஷீக குணமன்று, மிருக குணமாகும். மனுஷீக குண மானது, எதுவென்று கேட்பின், கடவுள் மனிதனைத் தமது சாயலில் சிருஷ் டித்தார் எனும் புராண மொழிக்கிசைய, மானிட ஜீவியத்திற் பிரதிவிம்பித் திலங்கும் தெய்வீக குணமாமென்பது மிகையாகாது. நமது நாட்டில் "அஹிம்ஸை" எனும் நீதி கண்ணியம் வாய்ந்துளது. "வருத்தாமை" மிகநுட்பமாய் அநுசரிக்கப்படுகின்றது. ஆயின், வருத்தாமைக்கும், அநுதாபத் திற்குமிடையில் வெகுதூரமுண்டு. அமெரிக்க பிரஜாதிபதி மகாத்மா ஆபிர காம் லிங்கன், தேசாபிமானி எவன் என்பதை வற்புறுத்தற்குக்கூறிய வரை விலக்கணம் நாம் எல்லோரும் சிரமேற் கொள்ளற்பாலது: "தேசாபிமானி எவனெனில், தன் ஜனத்தின் கவலைகளையும் குறைவுகளையும் தனது கவலையாகவும் தனது குறைவாகவும் கணிப்பவனே". அகிம்சைக்கும் அனுதாபத்திற்குமிடையிலுள்ள பேதத்தை விளக்குதற்கு, இவ்வார்த்தை களின் மூலார்த்தத்தைக் கவனிப்பது நன்று. ஹிம்சை என்பது வேதனைப் படுத்தல். சிங்கள பாஷையில் හිංසා කරම එනும் மொழியும் இதுவே. பிறனுக்கு வேதனையுண்டாக்கும் எதையும் நான் செய்யமாட்டேன் என்பதே அகிம்சைப் பிரமாணத்தின் சித்தாந்தம். இது விலக்கற் பிரமாண நீதி. கொலை, களவு, கள், காமம், குருநிந்தை, இவற்றை அகற்றி நடந்து, பஞ்சமா பாதகங்களுக்கும் தப்பி நடப்பேன் எனும் நற்பிரமாணமும் விலக் கற் பிரமாணமே. நற்பிரமாணத்தை விசித்திரமுறையிற் கூறிய சின முனிவர் சொன்னவாக்கியம்: "பிறன் உனக்குச் செய்தல் தகாது என்று நீ நினைக்கும் எதையும், நீ பிறனுக்குச் செய்யாதே." இதிற் சிறந்த நீதி, ஆங்கில பாஷையிற் பொற்பிரமாண நீதி எனப்படும். இப்பொற் பிரமாண நீதியை விசித்திரமுறையிற் சொன்ன, யூத முனிவர் கூறிய வாக்கியம்: "மனுஷர் உங்களுக்கு எவைகளைச் செய்ய விரும்புகிறீர்களோ, அவைகளை நீங்களும் அவர்களுக்குச் செய்யுங்கள்". இ.·.து விலக்கற்பிரமாண மன்று, வேண்டற் பிரமாணமாகும். இப்பிரமாணத்தைச் சிரமேற் கொள் வோமாகில், நற்பிரமாணமும் இதற்குள் அடங்கும்.

பல விஷயங்களில், மேலத்தேசத்தவர்களிலும் பார்க்க நாம் விசித்திர முடையவர்களாயிருக்கலாம். இதைப்பற்றிச் சிந்திப்பதில் நன்மையில்லை. சிலவிஷயங்களில் நாம் விசித்திரம் குறைந்தவர்களாயிருக்கிறோம். இவை களைக் கவனிப்பதில் நன்மையுண்டு. நான் சிறுவனாயிருந்த காலத்தில், கிராமவாசியாயிருந்தேன். சிறிய வீடுகளும், பெரிய வளவுகளுமே பொது வாகக் கண்டுள. ஒரு கண்ணுடிப் பாத்திரம் உடைந்தால் துண்டுகளைக் கவனமாகப் பொறுக்கி ஒரு கடுதாசியிற் சுற்றி, வேலிக்குமேலால் அயலான் வளவுக்குள் எறிவது எம் வழக்கமாயிருந்தது. அயலாரும், இவ்வண்ணமே,

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CONSIDERATENESS

A SYNOPSIS IN ENGLISH

A. M. K. Cumaraswamy

CONSIDERATENESS is a prince among virtues. "My troubles are enough for me, my neighbour's troubles aren't my concern" is a sub-human dictum. Man who is the image of his Maker is inherently considerate. Considerateness is a Divine virtue. Its absence is parodied in the adage, "Each man for himself, the Devil take the hindmost." Considerateness is wider and deeper than Ahimsa or Non-harming, which is a great virtue. Abraham Lincoln described a patriot as one who makes the sorrows and disabilities of his people his own. While Ahimsa emphasises the negative side, Considerateness puts the accent on the positive side of the self-same virtue, but the gulf is wide between the Chinese Sage's "Do not do to others what you do not wish them to do unto you" and the Hebrew Sage's "All things, therefore, whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them." The first is the good rule, the other is called the Golden Rule. The second embraces the first.

It may be that in many respects we are superior to the people of the West. Contemplating these merits does not do our souls much good. It will do us good to examine the few points on which we can learn from the West. As a boy I lived in a small village in Jaffna. Small cottages and large gardens was the norm. Any broken bottles it was our custom to throw over the fence into our neighbour's garden. Our neighbour's broken bottles were regularly thrown into our garden. In all innocence I asked my father if he could not arrange for everybody to keep his own broken bottles. My father laughed hilariously, and shouted to his friend the neighbour. He came over, and the two and my mother sat round and chewed betel and laughed with hilarity. I was mystified, but the interchange of broken bottles stopped that day. Both families started practising the Good Rule.

This is a trivial point, but when I lived a few weeks in a village in Cornwall, England, I noted how far below the English

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தங்கள் வேண்டாப் பொருட்களை எங்கள் வளவுக்குள் எறிவார்கள். நான் என் தகப்பனுரை நோக்கி, "அப்பா, எங்கள் ஊத்தைகளை நாங்கள் வைத்துக் கொண்டு, அயலாரும் தங்கள் ஊத்தைகளைத் தாங்கள் வைத்திருந்தாலென்ன?" என்று கேட்டேன் நான் சிறுவனுயிருந்தபடியால், இதன் பகிடி எனக்கு விளங்கவில்லை. என் தகப்பனுரோ, குலுங்க நகைத்து, அயலானையும் கூவியழைத்து, இருவரும் தாம்பூலம் அருந்தினர். சிறிது நேரத்தில் இருவரும் குலுங்க நகைத்தனர். என் தாயாரும் ஓடிவந்து கூட நகைத்தனர். அந்நேரம், இவர்கள் சிரித்த காரணம் எனக்கு விளங்கவேயில்லை. ஆனல் என் தகப்பனுரும், அயலாரும், அன்றுதொட்டு நற் பிரமாணத்தை ஒழுகி அனுசரித்தனர்.

இது ஒரு சிறு காரியம். ஆயின் இந்த அனுதாப விஷயத்தில் நமது நிலை, ஆங்கிலேயர் நிலையிலும் குறைவுடைத்து என்பது, நான் சிலகாலம் ஓர் ஆங்கிலேய கிராமத்தில் வசித்தபொழுது என் மனதைத் தாக்கியது: கடைகளிற் பண்டங்கள் வாங்கும்பொழுதோ, வாகனங்களில் ஏற எத்தனிக்கும் பொழுதோ, நாம் பலனிமுறை அனுசரியாது, நமக்கும் பிறருக்கும் கஷ்டத்தை விளைவிக்கிறேம். ஒரு ஜீவ பிராணியைக் கொலைசெய்ய நாம் கூசுகிறேம். இது நல்ல குணமென்பது வாஸ்தவமே: ஆங்கிலேயன், மிருகக்கொலை செய்யக் கூசமாட்டான். உணவுக்கு வேண்டிய பிராணியையோ, காயப்பட்டுத் தரிக்கும் ஒரு மிருகத்தையோ, கூசாமற் சுட்டுக் கொல்வான். அல்லது வைத்திய சிகிச்சை செய்ய எத்தனிப்பான். நாம் கொல்ல அஞ்சுவோம். மிருகம் அனுபவிக்கும் கஷ்டத்தை நிவிர்த்தி செய்வதிலோ ஜாக்கிரதை குறைந்துள்ளோம். நமது இல்லங்களிலும், பாடசாலைகளிலும், வியாபார ஸ்தலங்களிலும், பகிரங்க சாலைகளிலும், பிரயாண வாகனங்களிலும் மாத்திரமன்று, நாம் சுவாமி கும்பிடப்போகும் கோவில்களிலும், புண்ணிய ஸ்தலங்களிலும் தாமும், பொற்பிரமாணத்தையல்ல, நற்பிரமாணத்தையே நாம் கைக்கொள்வதனுல், பலருக்கும் பல கஷ்டங்கள் நேரிடுகின்றன.

"என் சகோதரனுக்கு நான் காவலாளியோ?" என்று முதன் முதல் கேட்டவன், தன் சகோதரனைக் கொன்ற "காயீன்" எனும் பாதகனென்பதை எவருமறிவர். நமக்கும் பிறர்க்கும், அன்யோன்யம், சம்சர்க்கம், இன்றியமையாத சிலங்கள். சின முனிவர் கூறிய ஓர் அரும் பதம் "வானத்தின் கீழ், ஏக குடும்பம்" என்பதாம்.

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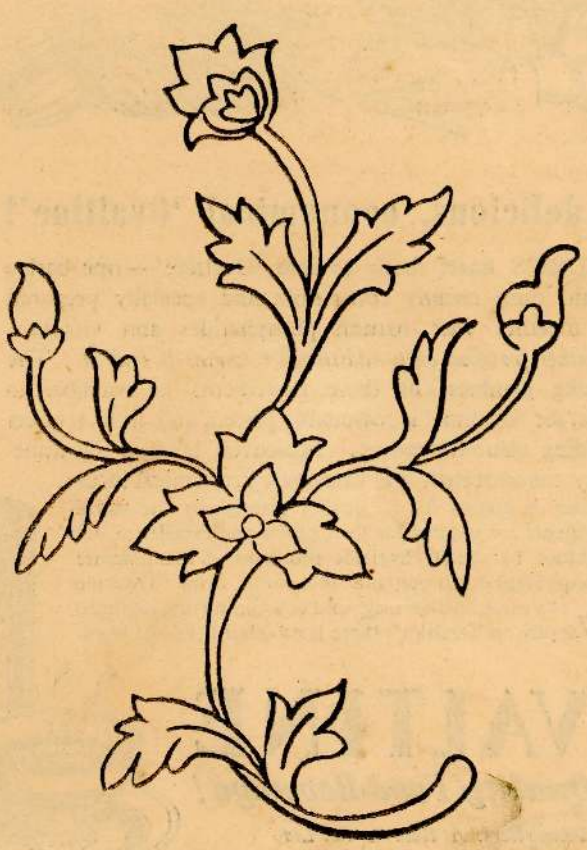
villager we were in this matter of considerateness. In shops, in public vehicles and the like, the great queue system is only slowly capturing the fancy of our villagers. We are averse to killing animals, and in this we do show respect for life in a philosophical way. The Englishman kills an animal for food; or destroys an ailing animal to save it from pain. We who are so averse to killing are often callous to the sufferings of working animals or ailing animals. A few DO NOT'S less, and a few DO'S more will make us a more considerate nation "Am I my brother's keeper?" are the words of Cain, the first murderer. Brotherly love and fellowship are primary social virtues. The Chinese Sage, Confucius, has proclaimed, "Under Heaven, One Family."



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