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G. L. Cooray
Editor.

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ROUND THE WORLD

Basil Davidson

War in North Africa: France and the United Nations: A Neutral Middle East?: The Heavy Hand in Cyprus: Prospects for the Foreign Ministers.

FRENCH troops are fighting, as I write, to revover possession from Moroccan rebels in the Rif of several little fortress outposts attacked during the last few days. Next door, in Algeria, about half the active French army is likewise engaged in encircling and "eliminating" Algerian rebels in the mountains of the Aurès, bordering on Tunisia. The inverted commas are necessary because the French have several times announced their mastery of the Algerian rebellion, only to see it break out in flames once again.

In September I went out to Morocco to try and measure what is happening on the spot. What *is* the Moroccan problem? What is the North African problem?

And it turns out, on closer inspection, that the Moroccan problem is the same as the North African problem; and that the North African problem is in no way different from our old friend colonialism. It is true that the French invaders recognised the sovereignty of the Moroccan Empire by their treaty with the Sultan at Fez in 1912; and that the French relationship to Moroccan was to be one of "protectorate." Lyautey, the great French colonial administrator, established the doctrine of "control, not rule"; so that to this day the French administrators of Morocco are called *Controleurs*—the sense of this word in French being not so much *control* as we understand it in English, but supervision and guidance. On paper that would sound good: the French would "help" the "backward Moroccans" towards a higher level of civilisation. And so on and so forth. But in practice this French sense of the word *control* soon degenerated—as it must under the circumstances—into the English sense: and the French *Contrôleurs* of Morocco today are in fact the instruments of *direct rule*. It is they, and ultimately they alone, who take the important decisions, although they may use the "Native

administration" for the execution and even the promulgation of decisions of a sort calculated to be sharply unpopular.

The background to present troubles is one of long-enduring Moroccan discontent and resistance to this French direct rule. A people with noble and independent traditions of their own, deeply imbued with the Muslim faith (in which they follow the Malekite persuasion), the Arabs of Morocco, like the Berbers of the Atlas Mountains, have never accepted the realities of French colonial rule. Little by little they have seen a French settlers' minority grow to power and strength—to the point that *gros colons* like MM. Aucouturier and Roche have strong and sinister influence on French politics in Paris as well as in Morocco—and the promises of self-government and eventual independence within the French Union (enshrined in the Constitution of the Fourth Republic in 1946) reduced to nothing at all. They have reacted against all this.

Independence parties in Morocco have grown up in the last ten years or so out of little nationalist groups of intellectuals formed in the 'Thirties and gradually developed: one of these nationalist parties, the Istiqlal, has great influence today not only among intellectuals but also among workers in the great towns of the coast and peasants of the inland plains. It is primarily a middle-class party which has always been ready to exchange French concessions in the political field for continued or enhanced French privileges in the economic field. But the French, heavily influenced (in ways both fair and foul) by their powerful settlers' minority in Morocco, have held firm to a policy of giving away nothing to the nationalists.

There were some exceptions to this, it is true, in the years immediately after the end of the war, when France was both weak in the international and colonial field and led by a government contianing some genuinely progressive Ministers. But with the setting in of reactionary governments and policies these progressives lost influence and position; and gradually the colonial policies of the "French Union" reverted to those of the old French Empire. Some of the names changed: all else remained essentially the same. And where colonial peoples had made advances towards self-realisation and self-organisation (as for example in the Ivory Coast, in the Haut Niger, in Senegal, and elsewhere) the Foreign Legion was sent in to do once more what was done by the French army in Madagascar in 1946. Villages

were burnt, men and women and children were shot, prisons were filled.

In North Africa, though, it was not so easy to destroy the nascent longings for a new life that stirred the colonial peoples of France as of other imperial countries. For in North Africa there was a highly developed middle class in Tunisia and Morocco; a numerous and strongly organised working class in Algeria; traditions of independence, of warfare, of struggle against invaders, that went back only a few short decades. Here it was more difficult, and here the French hesitated to use their full strength, fearing that they might too easily lose. Also, their full military strength was otherwise engaged: since 1946 more and more French troops and materials of war had been sucked into the calamitous colonial wars of Indo-China.

But last year those wars came to an end, and the French could withdraw their troops. They were and they are obliged to keep five full fighting divisions in Western Germany (obliged, that is, by the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance); but this obligation they now feelable to pass over. In the last few weeks they have, accordingly, withdrawn three and part of the fourth of these divisions and sent them to Algeria and Morocco. The generals who control the fortunes of the French army, led from the *coulisses* of political intrigue by the once-Pétainist Marshal Juin, appear ready to engage on "another Indo-China" in North Africa; and it is they more than anyone else who have sabotaged and made a mockery of the French Government's programme for constitutional reform in Morocco and also in Algeria these past weeks.

So that the stage is set for war. Indeed, guerilla war broke out in the Aurès mountains of eastern Algeria as long ago as last November. Far from being able to suppress these Algerian guerillas, the French now face larger numbers of them, and better organised. Only last week an announcement was made from the "Voice of the Arabs" radio station in Egypt that the "national liberation armies" of Morocco and Algeria were now joined under one command, operating from "somewhere in the mountains of North Africa."

By their dilatory or provoking tactics, the French appear to have united the sympathies of Arabs and Berbers, Moroccans, Algerians and Tunisians (and in Tunisia there is peace, significantly enough, because here at least the French have made constitutional concessions to the idea of Tunisian in-

dependence); and to be facing a more united and more effectively organised Arab-Berber opposition than ever before.

The French like to see this an "an internal affair." They walked out of the United Nations because the General Assembly decided—by only one vote, it is true—to discuss Algeria, which is nominally part of metropolitan France. But to many Frenchmen in France, and perhaps to most people outside France the troubles in North Africa are not domestic to France in the least: they are part of the death throes of colonialism, of an imperialism that is dying all over the world. During the months to come we shall hear more and more of "troubles" in North Africa.

A Neutral Middle East?

The news that Russia and Czechoslovakia have made agreements with Egypt for the sale of modern arms and military equipment, including up-to-date tanks and armoured fighting vehicles and M. I. G. jets, has raised a fine old shindy in the Foreign Office and the State Department, and caused a great many new thoughts in places as far afield as Ankara in Turkey and Baghdad in Iraq.

There is a simple factual background to this apparently complex story. In the matter of Egypt and the Valley of the Nile, Britain and America had long since sunk their rivalries (in the event to America's benefit) and decided for a common front against all and any influences which might seek, for whatever reason, to withdraw Egypt from "the Western camp." It was, however, a cardinal point of American Middle Eastern policy to weaken Egypt in order to strengthen first Israel, and, afterwards, Saudi Arabia; and in pursuit of this rather special Middle Eastern "balance of power" the Americans had shown themselves reluctant to sell Egypt modern military equipment, although they had shown no such reluctance in the matter of Israel. Their argument was that they knew they controlled Israel with some security of tenure: they could claim nothing of the kind in Egypt, especially after the Neguib *coup* and the rise of the sharply nationalist Nasser.

Thus Egypt found itself at a strong military disadvantage over against Israel. Britain would sell arms to Egypt, but mostly obsolescent ones. France would sell arms only if the Egyptians withdrew their moral and political support from the Arab nationalists of Tunisia, Algera, and Morocco. It looked as though Egypt would succeed in obtaining no

arms at all. Then came the Russian-Czechoslovak agreements (which are, of course, impeccable in terms of international practice) and everything at once was changed.

The main point is that Egypt can now fairly claim the possibility of a "neutralist" policy in the Middle East. She need not sell her allegiance to the Western Powers: she need not forego her desire to lead the Arab world: she need not suffer further humiliations through having nothing but old iron to equip her army with. In other circumstances that might be a pity for Egypt, for Nasser's regime is nothing if not militarist and aggressive; yet in *these* circumstances the possibility of a neutralist position is likely to lend Egypt great strength for advance to fuller national independence.

And another main point—quickly understood in London and Washington—is that if Egypt can be neutral, and still well armed and equipped, then why not Iran? Why not Iraq? Possibly, why not Turkey? Hence a threat of dissolution now hangs over the whole Near-Middle Eastern military system erected with such care and toil by the Cold War planners over the past few years.

Cyprus

Into the middle of this imbroglio came the Cyprus conflict. Here, once again, it was the Middle Eastern "balance of power" which was at stake. The question of the military bases now being erected on Cyprus was never important: both Cypriots and Greeks had always made it clear that these bases could continue to exist even if Cyprus were to have its independence.

Why should Britain find it necessary to employ the heavy hand in Cyprus? Why not do the sensible and apparently simple thing of handing this island the right of deciding its own destiny? Why send as Governor no less a military personality than the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial General Staff?

It would seem, at first sight, like hitting a nut with a sledge hammer. But the truth is that the Cyprus nut is going to be a hard one to crack, partly because the Cypriots evidently mean to resist, if necessary by rebellion, and partly because "world opinion" will scarcely enjoy the sight of British military action against Greeks. Yet there is also another reason why General Harding has gone to Cyprus.

Had the British decided for Cypriot independence, this would have meant the fulfilment of *Enosis*, of Cypriot union with the Greek mainland. Had this occurred—which, in freedom, it surely would—the Turkish minority in Cyprus might have felt somewhat aggrieved, but, being a small minority, would presumably have accepted their fate with as good a grace as possible. Not so their brothers on the Turkish mainland. To give Cyprus to Greece, at this moment, might be to drive Turkey out of the North Atlantic military system. For Turkey is a key member of the North Atlantic system, although the waves of that ocean come nowhere near the shores of Turkey. It is in Turkey that the military command for the Eastern Mediterranean is situated; and in Trukey that the Americans have located their forward bombing bases from which to threaten, if they so decide, the cities and industrial regions of southern Russia and the Ukraine and Caucasus. So that peace in Cyprus has been sacrificed to the chance of war in Turkey.

Prospects for the Foreign Ministers

The news of President Eisenhower's heart attack is everywhere regretted. He will be sorely missed during the Foreign Ministers' conference at Geneva, due to begin late in October, because his hand on Mr. Dulles's shoulder had become a sober and restraining one. This is more than can be hoped of the wildly rightwing Vice-President, Richard Nixon, a leading MacCarthite whose knowledge of foreign affairs is both highly conservative and very small.

As before, the fate of this new conference turns largely on the future of Germany. Here the old familiar deadlock is all too likely to reassert itself. As things stand, the West does not seem to have budged from its previous attitude (which wrecked the Berlin conference in 1954) that a reunified Germany will have to be within the North Atlantic military system. This means adding the strength of Eastern Germany (about twenty million Germans) to the strength of Western Germany (about 45 million Germans) and plumping them both into the Western military alliance. To this the Russians have always answered a flat no, and they seem certain to do so again. Why, they ask, should they agree with a policy which will automatically "give the West" another 20 million people?

At present the Western Foreign Ministers (that is, Mr. Dulles and Mr. Macmillan, for the French Foreign Minister,

M. Pinay, has his nose tucked hard into North African affairs) are talking in terms of offering the Russians some kind of "security guarantees" in exchange for Russian agreement to the reunification of all Germany and Germany's inclusion in the Western system of military alliances. So far as one can see from the published texts, these "security guarantees" are likely to be far too thin to interest the Russians.

But we are living in a time of surprises. And the Foreign Ministers may after all surprise everyone—and themselves—by reaching an agreement. At least, an agreement to differ. And any agreement these days is likely to be better than no agreement.

DEMOCRACY IN THE INCUBATOR

Winburn T. Thomas

INDONESIA'S first national elections were carried out quietly and with a diligence akin to religious fervor. 80% of the Djakarta voters are reported to have cast their ballots. If this proportion of the 42, 923, 234 registered voters throughout the nation turned out, they established something of a record in selecting their national Parliament. A large proportion of the men and women were at the polls by 7 a.m., and some were still queued up at 7 p.m. even though the closing hour was scheduled at 2 p.m.

The fact that the elections were held at all was a near miracle. Two months ago a government which over a two year period had made the preparations gave way in semi-disgrace to a caretaker cabinet. The immediate cause of the government's collapse was a conflict with the army. The latter demonstrated considerable restraint in this moment of crisis by standing with the democratic forces of the nation as they organized a new cabinet. The new government has shown real competence in fulfilling its threefold mandate, namely, to eliminate corruption, to stabilize the nation's economy, and to hold the national elections which had been promised ten years ago with the proclamation of the Republic.

To organize 80,000,000 people, three-fourths of whom are illiterate, and who have had little or no prior experience in self-government, to express a national opinion, is not easy. The quality of the Indonesian performance in this first national election was no less startling, because unexpected, than was its hosting the 29 nations gathered at Bandung for the Asian-African Conference earlier in the year. Experiments were tried in the provinces, seeking to perfect an instrument whereby an untrained, inexperienced people could register a bona-fide choice. The ballot finally handed each registered voter on election day, contained approximately fifty symbols of as many parties. The voter opened his ballot in the three-sided-booth and punched a hole in the symbol of the party for which he wished to vote. He

then refolded the defaced sheet, showed the stamp on its face to an election official, and dropped it in the ballot box.

We visited a dozen polling places inside the city, at the port area where communist strength was reported among the dock-workers, at Tanggerang 26 kilometers from the capital, and in numerous villages accessible only by bicycle. In every instance we found the registered voters waiting orderly and quietly in long lines, the women and men separated. We found at least one policeman, and sometimes soldiers stationed at the polls, all of whom appeared bored from inactivity. The election officials permitted the press to examine the premises, to observe the process of checking registrations, and the issuing of the ballot, in fact every step of the operation save peering over the shoulder of the voter as he or she indicated the party of his or her choice.

We reached the first voting point while an election official was opening the sealed package of ballots. Already a large number of voters had presented their registration slips, and had formed queues leading to the desk where their names would be checked against the official register and a ballot given them. After the polls had been declared open, the first male in line proved to have an irregularity in his record, so the first voter there to process her vote and drop it in the ballot box was a mother carrying a baby. As she walked away from the enclosure she smiled at those of us observing the procedure as though to say, "We've never done this before, but we are learning."

The voters displayed a rare patience. They stood in line, many of them throughout the day, with the hot sun beating down upon them. We heard no complaints, even from the many mothers with babies asleep in their arms. Rumors on the eve of the election which villagers reported to us was that if they did not vote they would be arrested. Fear may have prompted some of the voters to exercise the franchise (all persons 18 years of age and over, and all married persons regardless of age, were eligible to vote, provided they were properly registered). More were motivated by the expectancy incident to the national revolution that freedom would bring to them the many things they had been denied under colonialism and the Japanese occupation. While that hope has been somewhat dissipated in the intervening years, it reappeared at election time. The vote also showed a protest against the unsatisfactory housing and

economic conditions, and a demand for a greater share in the wealth of the nation.

By mid-morning we found officials operating more efficiently. The uneducated among the voters were still confused, but instructions were repeated *ad nauseam* by guides and officials whose middle name must have been "Patience." Voters at one polling place were required to plant their right thumb on an indelible inking pad to guard against repeat voting, but generally the expectation seemed to be that once was enough.

In some few places in the city, all the votes had been cast by noon. In others, the process continued throughout the afternoon. As soon as the voting had been terminated, the counting was begun. Around most polling places small crowds gathered to watch the process. In some localities benches had been provided for spectators, and in one village we found an amplifying system over which the headman read out each ballot as it was opened. We noted that ballots were invalidated because there were holes or other defacements at more than one point. In the city areas where the intelligentsia is concentrated there was considerable spread among the parties, with the Roman Catholic, Protestant Socialist, etc., running up significant percentages. In the villages, the Masjumi (Moslem), P. N. I. (Nationalist), and P. K. I. (Communist) names were read with monotonous regularity. One reader, finding a P. S. I. ballot, explained to the audience that it was a vote for the Socialist Party. In none of the rural precincts did we hear the Roman Catholic or Protestant parties called during the readings.

During the morning hours, save for the sections adjacent to the polling places, Djakarta and environs was a ghost city. All stores and offices were closed. The few automobiles in the streets were military vehicles or carried PRESS signs. Bicycle-cabs and bicycles, by which most of Indonesia rides, were strangely absent from the streets. Driving the streets of Djakarta was enjoyable for the first time in our experience because of the absence of the small and unpredictable side traffic.

Nation wide returns will not be completed for some time. Ten regencies with a total of 827,349 voters did not hold elections because of security and other reasons. In certain sub-districts of 26 other regencies no elections were held, but will be within the month.

Observors are studying the returns with a number of questions in mind.

(1) Will the Moslem parties poll a sufficient vote to insist upon a Moslem state? Certain conservative spokesmen have been pressing this issue in recent weeks. President Sukarno countered this emphasis by speaking at length on the eve of the election, in defense of the Pantjasila, the five principles upon which Indonesia is founded, one of which may mean religious freedom. While approximately 90% of all Indonesians are nominal Moslems, many of them are not oriented politically towards the political parties based on religious principles. Among liberal Moslems with whom we have spoken, who favor the Moslem theocracy, there is insufficient awareness of the danger of undergirding political authority with religious presuppositions.

(2) Will the total vote given the P. N. I. vindicate the previous cabinet and its record? Certain friendly critics of the current government fear that the Masjumi may have over- exploited the mistakes of the previous cabinet to its own detriment at the polls.

(3) What proportion of the vote will the P. K. I. (Communist) and other left-wing parties win? No party has been more zealous than the P. K. I. in seeking to make a showing at the polls. Early in the campaign its election posters carrying the hammer and sickle stated that this was the symbol for communists and those who had no party. The Communists emerged from the colonial period and the struggle for independence with a good record, marred only by the abortive coup at Madium, Central Java, in mid-September 1948. They zealously have exploited their record to assume authority.

A large proportion of the pre-and post-election rumors relate to the Communist party and its tactics. Voters are reported to have said that they were offered considerable sums of money if they would vote the Communist ticket, but warned that they would be punished if they sought to double-cross, "the Communist Party has a way of knowing." A common saying was that "The sickle is our emblem, for we are farmers," as are most Indonesians.

Whatever the final outcome for the several parties, irrespective of the proportion of votes scored by the Masjumi, the Nationalist, and the Communist Parties, the elections have demonstrated that the Indonesians can express a mass judgment, that they are moved by political propaganda even as are other people, and that then parties competent to organize and campaign can make a significant showing.

THE AFRICAN AWAKENING

Calvin Rose

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PERHAPS at no other time in history has the rate of emergence of nations claiming political independence been so rapid as in the last few decades. It is a time of awakening after centuries of sleep.

Within the vast continent of Africa the full gamut of indigenous awakening can be found. Some areas like Nigeria are in the process of shouldering the weight of self-government after an apprenticeship of fifty years with British Administration. Much of Africa is the colony of one of many nations, but protectorates (*e.g.*, Uganda) and trust territories (*e.g.*, Tanganyika) as well as British Commonwealth countries can be found.

The Background to The Awakening

To appreciate the extent and rapidity with which change has come to Africa, we must remind ourselves that only half a century ago very little of the continent had experienced any radical changes for thousands of years. At least South of the Sahara, the many different African cultures all appear to have been pre-literate and shared with other such cultures the characteristics of extremely slow development and resistance and often hostility to outside influences, people and ideas. From infancy onwards the individual was coerced to conform unquestioningly to rigidly binding traditional rules. In so far as any explanation of these rules was forthcoming, it was on magical and animistic lines, events occuring by reason of some all-powerful " will," dwelling either in the events themselves or in some outside power. Such explanations apparently held in check man's urge to speculation and the search for general principles so that, whilst these rules were socially beneficial in ensuring tribal stability by controlling individual behaviour, this integration was obtained at the heavy sacrifice of personal initiative and natural curiosity.

In the development of the majority of colonies, use was and still is made of " indirect rule," which was both a re-

cognition of native kingdoms, rulers and traditions, and an economical and convenient form of administration. It had the effect of hardening the authority of chiefs and kings. In some colonies, a new class of educated Africans came up from the schools and began to complain about this rigid authority of the chiefs and the impotence of the literate. When this happened, transition from this simple " indirect rule " to " local government " with the more democratic note of elected or part-elected councils was initiated.

The Political Aspects of the Awakening

The spermatazoon which has brought to birth the African awakening has certainly been the impact of outside (chiefly European) cultures. It can be seen to be an impact of cultures with very different characteristics, the incoming culture so " radioactive " that what has been referred to as an " awakening " is really the transition of the African culture caused by this impact. The rapidity and extent of this transition is causing stresses and strains and, as with the Kikuyu people in Kenya, it can lead to collapse of the African's cultural machinery. Some have bridged the gulf, however, and the extent of the range of personal development is from the professional to the primitive.

Since the chief cause of the transition has been contact with European culture, the extent of development of the African people has depended much on the policy of the European administration with regard to indigenous development. Other factors, such as education by Christian Missions and, of course, the African's own ability to respond to the entirely new situations with which he has been presented, have also been very important.

What are the aims of the European administrations in Africa in respect to indigenous development?

They are different for different nations and different even within the one nation's colonies due to the now rising tide of self-determination and nationalism forcing modifications and even radical changes. In the policy of a colonial government, there are two factors at work which appear to pull in opposite directions. One factor is the colonising power's desire for some economic return for the finance, men and materials it has expended on the colony. The second factor is the quite legitimate desire by the indigenous people that they should govern their own country.

There appear to be three solutions to this dilemma—all being tried at present.

One solution is for the colonial administration to assist the development of the indigenous peoples toward ultimate self-government. Such a government is rather in the position of John the Baptist—" I must decrease but He must increase." This is, of course, the policy of protectorates and trust territories, but it can also become the policy of a colony, as in the case of the British colonies of Nigeria and the Gold Coast.

The second solution (in so far as it is a Solution) is for the colonial administration, whilst guiding and assisting the African, to grow more and better crops, to have the benefits of a suitable education, to take part in local government and so on, yet to affirm that it is and intends to remain the ultimate governing authority. Curiously enough, in some cases where this is the policy, the African appears more content and integrated than his brother who has the assurance of self-government before him. In other cases (such as in the Union of South Africa), it can lead to frustration.

The last solution to this tug-of-war is for opposing teams to mix with each other so that there are no longer two different teams but one team. This solution by assimilation has been reached to some extent in Portuguese and French colonies and in almost insignificant numbers in other colonies.

The Awakening in a Protectorate

Let us consider how the protectorate policy of assistance and training aiming at eventual self-government is working out in the British Protectorate of Uganda, and what are the problems that arise.

The assumption and hope on which the policies and activities of the Protectorate Government rests is that the nature of the future self-government is to be very different from the despotic and cruel systems of the past. One thing is certain, that there are many forces, both internal and external, set steadfastly toward self-government. Looking through the eyes of the British Administration, which appears sincerely to desire the best for the future of Uganda, the biggest problem is that there is so much that really ought to be done, and time in which to do it is fast running out. So the pressure is on to supply the African with as much " progress " as he will take. Primary, secondary and tertiary education is fostered, the Christian Missions still bearing the major burden at the primary and secondary levels;

leadership training courses are run for chiefs; a pyramid of administration with the base as the smallest unit of self-government and the apex the Legislative Council is set up on which training for self-government can be obtained; cash crops, such as cotton and coffee, have been introduced and an export marketing system with price assistance and stabilisation developed; training and advice in better agricultural practices are provided; Christian Missions and Government in conjunction are forwarding intensive medical work and public health schemes.

A criticism of all this progress is sometimes heard. It is that the African is being given too much. Probably, however, there are far deeper criticisms which can be made of all the presuppositions and lack of understanding in the European mind which urge him to press more and more progress into the African. Are we not perhaps demonstrating that the thing in which we have put our faith—the thing we really want above all else to share—is progress, which is therefore our real god?

In the face of all this, the African often wears the frown of perplexity, but more often bears the deep conflict of insecurity. "This progress which you bring may be good, but we want to be sure that this is and always will be our country." This is the fear in the African mind.

It was a wave of this fear, made concrete in the fear of federation, and made alive by the sight of Nyasaland being forced, apparently against African wishes, into federation with European dominated colonies, which wrecked the Governor's well-planned attempt to tackle constitutional problems and resulted in a deterioration in confidence and co-operation. Unless this fear is understood and the deeds, works and relationships of the non-African people and government become such as to still this fear, Uganda will be lost to Britain and the West; lost not only as a Protectorate but as a friend.

An illustration of how this fear works out is that a very considerable section of African opinion is uneasy about all industrial development, and is ready even actively to oppose it. At least one important reason for this is that such development appears, because of the extent of foreign capital, technology and personnel involved, as a stronger link binding Europeans to the country.

In terms of British administration, Buganda is the most developed and wealthy province of Uganda; but to the

Buganda people it is a proud and ancient African kingdom, with its own King (the Kabaka) and Native government. The strongest Afro-European political tension in Uganda was caused by the deportation of the Kabaka to England in November 1953, because of his sustained refusal to co-operate with the British Government.

The relationship between the native government and the Central British Government produces thorny constitutional problems which have recently been the subject of much careful consideration. The solutions proposed, and recently adopted by the Buganda Government, are to alter the nature of the Kabakaship from complete autocracy to that of a constitutional monarchy and for Buganda to participate in the Uganda Legislative Council—the highest-level governing body.

The situation is complicated by the presence of a permanently settled Asian community (composed chiefly of Indians), which is approximately ten times more numerous than the European community. In view of the permanency of this community, feelings are already being expressed concerning future policy. The Buganda Government has declared that it "strongly opposes multi-racial government" and disagrees with the British Colonial Secretary's words that Uganda is to be developed "primarily as an African State." The African argument that the Asian came as a trader and that he has, therefore, no right to participate in the country's government would almost seem to deny him any political right at all and put him in the position of the Indian in South Africa. The Asian peoples have developed, and have control over, much of the country's commerce and most of the skilled trades. This is also a disturbing thought to the African.

Here is the crisis of confidence in Uganda, and not in Uganda only. Can the basis of mutual respect and confidence between the three races be established? Without it—a new form of Mau Mau? But with it—genuine partnership, harmonious development. A sign of hope—such unity and inter-racial co-operation, though rare, has been experienced in Uganda.

THE CASE FOR A SOVEREIGN NAGA STATE

A. Z. Phizo
President, Naga National Council

THE Naga National Council exists to uphold the Naga system of democracy, Naga culture, customs and traditions, and to stand for the truth and for the rights of man. Once again, we wish to state the position of the NNC very clearly to all concerned.

The founder Members of the Naga National Council are: 1. Angami Tribal Council, 2. Ao Tribal Council, 3. Chakhesang Tribal Council, 4. Lotha Tribal Council, 5. Rengma Tribal Council, 6. Sema Tribal Council, 7. Zeliang-Kuki Tribal Council.

Every council is independent and every Naga village is a sovereign republic in its system of administration. Hence, even a single village has the right to secede from the membership of the NNC or from its own regional council.

Nagaland which is situated on the northeastern border of India was not part and parcel of undivided India. The Nagas are of Mongolian stock. A part of Nagaland about 7000 miles in extent and now containing 280000 inhabitants (of whom about 70000 are Christians) was conquered by the British in 1879 and made part of the Indian Empire under the name "Naga Hills." The rest of Nagaland remained independent.

The aim of the Naga National Council is to regain the independence of "Naga Hills." This is and has been our stand, our basic demand. The Memorandum of the Nagas to the "Simon Commission" in 1929 for independence is filed of record. The Nagas of "Naga Hills" declared their independence on 14 August 1947, the day before India was declared independent.

The fundamental policy of the Naga National Council is NON-VIOLENCE, and we have never deviated from the path of "Ahimsa." Our policy of Non-violence was formulated on the personal advice of Mahatma Gandhi who assured us he would sacrifice his life for our independence in case the Government of India were to use force against the Nagas. This was as far back as 1947 after India

emerged as an independent sovereign state. The script of the Nagas' interview with Mahatma Gandhi is filed in the archives of New Delhi. Anation-wide plebescite held in 1952 resulted in 99% of the adult population declaring in favour of independence.

A severe form of political persecution began in April 1953. The Indian government charged the Naga National Council with 1. a terror campaign in the villages 2. campaign for non-payment of house taxes 3. burning schools 4. breaking bridges, and 5. violent activities against the authorities. The Council deny these false charges. If the Government really believes what they say, they do not know their administrative area; we are the people and we know what we do and what our people do or do not do.

There is no necessity to terrorise our own people. The Nagaland is a democratic country. It is the people's will that rules the country. There is no party in Nagaland and what the country has to do is first discussed and agreed to in public meeting, and only then is the NNC directed to take action. NNC never advocated the non-payment of taxes. We felt that these are minor matters. As long as we remain subject, whether we like it or not, we have to pay taxes to the occupying authority as in the days of the British. We pay tax for houses only. There is no land tax in our country because land belongs to the people from time immemorial for which our forefathers suffered much not only for social equality but for economic equality too. And we have been enjoying all the privileges for which they sacrificed much. There is no other form of tax. But non-payment of tax for houses will not help our cause for freedom and independence. We belong to a small nation and we want the master nation to understand our position better and we hope they will come to appreciate our cause and understand our rightful stand for a sovereign Naga State.

The government charged the NNC with burning schools. This is preposterous. Burning school buildings, or pulling them down by the authority in the Mokokchung area is not something uncommon. During the last six years, and even before that, several schools have been burnt down by the disgruntled people who have grudges against the school management. Two of our own national private M. E. schools were burnt down at different places. The Government High School in Mokokochung has been burnt

down five times. The first fire occured in 1947. Once it was burnt by lightning. The Indian Government troops themselves pulled down our schools on three occasions because they did not want the Nagas to run their own school at their own expense. We did not accuse them nor did we demand compensation. We are sure that there is no political reason in burning down schools. Burning all the schools and the Government offices and buildings will not help the cause of a small nation. We know this.

NNC has been further charged by the government for what they call violent activities against the authorities. The Naga National Council is strongly opposed to destruction and acts of violence in any form and we always denounce such acts. NNC has never advocated any form of violence and we shall never do. We are proud of our people and we would feel really sorry if any Naga demonstrate his undisciplined mind and give vent to his anger by commiting dishonourable acts such as burning schools, breaking even the small bridges in the paths, meant to annoy the authorities. This will not serve any good purpose and NNC always advise the people to be calm and patient in all things. We will always denounce any evil system or method which only brings chaos into the country. Whether the actions are committed by the people or by the government, they are to be condemned just the same. In truth the organised government ought to behave better than the people at large, but the reverse is the case in Nagaland.

TUENGSANG

There is another division of Nagaland which has come to be known as the "Tuengsang Division" under "NEFA administration." This division had been much in the news for the last several months. This area of "Tuengsang Division" was an independent sovereign state in their own right even in British times. The British did not subjugate these Free Nagas and they had always been an independent nation from time immemorial. Indian language old maps in Assamese or Hindi will confirm this historical fact of "Sadhin or Azad Nagas"

The Naga National Council is not working in this territory of Free Nagaland for the simple reason that we are a subject people, whereas the Free Nagas were a free and

independent nation functioning under their own government of Kilonsers (government of the Administrative Elders). If the Free Nagas fight against the Government of India in their own territory, it is only in self defence as far as they are concerned. There is no other evil designs or motive behind it.

To say the NNC "top leaders" have been arrested in the "Tuengsang Division" is only to confuse the mind of the public. It is a deliberate misstatement of fact: if that is not so the occupying authority of Free Nagaland has not understood the real position. That is the way it appears to us. We the other Nagas frankly and naturally sympathise with our suffering brothers and sisters in Free Nagaland of the Tuengsang Division. The day the Government of of India stop terrorising the Free Nagas, that same day fighting would stop and hatred would come to an end. If the Naga National Council could be of service to both the Free Nagas and the Government of India, we would do our part by every possible means and work for a friendly atmosphere in as short a time as possible. We believe this is possible. But a great responsibility lies on the Government of India to be just in their dealings with the Free Nagas or call them by any name you like. They are an undeveloped people (as far as the standard of present civilization goes) but they are human beings. We believe the real state of affairs in Tuengsang Division is not known to the high authorities in New Dehi. We believe the New Delhi authorities would not be so indifferent otherwise.

When any country is aroused and the passion of the people is excited through unjust treatment, there is bound to be an upheavel and the people of India could feel this better than any other nation in this world. We praise our people in the Mokokchung Division and Kohima Division that they could remain so quiet and so calm for so long a time.

There is no section in the NNC which may be called "Extremist." There may be a few Nagas who would like to see Assam permanently divided in revenge but be sure, such feeling of revenge does not represent the Naga attitude. NNC will not stoop to a revengeful attitude which will not do any lasting good to any section of the people.

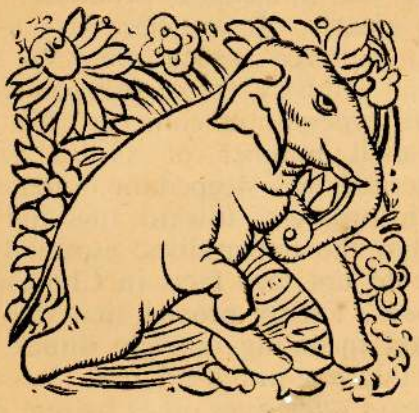
We want to see the Nagas and the Assamese people, as also the rest of the great people of India, develop as friendly peoples for years and years to come and live side

by side as brothers and sisters. If one is intellectually honest and sincere, this human approach of good relationship should not become a problem at any time between the Nagas and the people and also the Government of India.

What we stated here about the Free Nagas (of the Tuengsang area) should not make the Government of India angry. The Heads of the Government of India must come to realise that there is something gravely and terribly wrong in the "Tuengsang Division" or else the Free Nagas would not have risen to defend themselves and choose death and starvation which they have done against the treatment meted out to them by those who exercise authority locally in Tuengsang.

There is nothing that cannot be settled in this world and we pray that if India will not do anything for the Nagas, we be left undisturbed. We are not complaining against anything but we want to live on as human beings which we believe is not unreasonable. And, in the name of humanity, we appeal to the great people of free India, to take our Naga case seriously into consideration. We are entirely at the mercy of India.

August 13th 1955,
Office of the Naga National Council, Kohima.



THE FIRST FIVE YEARS

Soong Ching Ling
(*Madame Sun Yat Sen*)
Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress

FIVE YEARS ago we the Chinese people, one-fourth of mankind, took our destiny into our own hands. We put an end to thousands of years of feudal oppression and a hundred years of imperialist domination. We resolved to banish national humiliation, poverty, fear and ignorance from our midst for ever. We set to work to reverse all the wrongs that had been done us and to build a new economic, political and social structure to serve the best interests of our people and all peoples. A great new beacon was raised to light the way to peace and prosperity for the entire human race.

The task we faced in 1949 was not small. The Kuomintang warlords had taken away as much of the national wealth as they could; and what they could not take away they had tried to destroy. Food production was 20 per cent. below normal. Transport was crippled, inflation raged like a consuming fire, industry and commerce were at a standstill, and unemployment was high. Sectional and national prejudices hindered unity. Some parts of the country were infested with bandits. In the cities, thousands of counter-revolutionary agents were still in hiding.

These were the immediate problems. The long-term ones were even greater. It was necessary to modernize our vast, primitive, scattered agriculture. We had to change our semi-colonial industry to an independent one, capable of producing all types of machinery. We had to increase our pitifully small number of skilled technicians. The Society we inherited was steeped in outdated attitudes, incompatible with progress, toward life and work. It was apparent too that the imperialists, especially the American imperialists, would not face facts in China and allow us to work undisturbed. Events proved that they were ready to use every method including outright attack, to impair our sovereignty and interfere in our affairs.

But these heavy odds were offset by one great favourable factor. The overwhelming majority of our people had

rejected the past, wanted a revolutionary change in their affairs, believed they could carry it out, and were willing to work for it with all their might. Led by the Communist Party and the People's Government, we began to change our country and our life. Difficulties no longer discouraged us. Each difficulty overcome was a milestone of victory. We proved once again that a liberated people is the decisive factor in solving every problem—in reviving a nation, restoring its honour, and propelling it forward.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS

In these five years we have done more than just rehabilitate our economy. By 1952 production, both industrial and agricultural, had reached or exceeded the highest level before the War with Japan. Since 1953 we have been engaged on our first Five-Year Plan of industrialization; the construction of 173 major enterprises was begun in that year alone. In 1954 seventy big newly-built or expanded enterprises went into full operation. They included coal and metal mines, power plants, oilfields, chemical, iron and steel works—all with the most modern machinery and techniques of operation.

In agriculture, in 1953, we produced a record 165 million tons of grain, sufficient both for our own needs and export. We are raising enough cotton for our growing textile industry. These and other increases are the result of improved methods, which are readily accepted by an enthusiastic peasantry freed from feudalism by the great land reform which was completed in 1952. Further advances are in the making as whole villages and districts organize voluntarily to move from individual cultivation of small plots to more efficient co-operative farming. A wide-spread network of marketing-and-supply and credit co-ops is eliminating middleman profit and usury. Likewise of importance are the many State farms which practise the most advanced methods of cultivation, often with modern machines, and serve as an object lesson in modern, large-scale, highly productive agriculture.

A great deal has been done to fight and forestall natural calamities. Dams and reservoirs built during the past five years on the Huai and Yangtze rivers helped save such cities as Wuhan, Nanking and Pengpu in the flood in 1954, when the waters rose higher than they had for a century. On the Huai river, the first hydro-electric generators are being installed. Our irrigation system is growing. Afforestation

is being promoted. Such measures will gradually put an end to disasters and make natural resources work for the people. Where calamities do occur, prompt relief measures are taken and people are re-equipped to produce the means of life. Despite exceptionally unfavourable natural conditions in many localities, nationwide harvests have continued to rise year by year.

In transport, all existing railways and highways have been rehabilitated from years of war damage and neglect and considerably improved. New railways, such as the Chungking-Chengtu and Tienshui-Lanchow lines, have been completed. Others, including some linking our country with its neighbours, are being built. We have greatly extended our systems of highways, inland shipping and airlines and of communications by telegraph, telephone, radio and post.

Since 1950, currency and prices have been stable, ending the twelve-year scourge of inflation. China is no longer economically divided. Internal trade between province and province, country and city, has grown mightily.

During the last four years, China's national budget has been balanced, with an annual surplus for reserve. The budget outlays for 1954, demonstrate the character of our State and its dedication to peaceful rebuilding. The sum ear-marked for economic construction is six and a half times that in 1950, the first year after liberation. That for culture, education, health and social welfare has grown nearly fivefold.

People in Power

Politically, war and chaos have been succeeded by peace and public order throughout the land. From the villages to the national capital, power is in the hands of elected people's congresses to whom all public officials are answerable. Never before did the ordinary Chinese citizen have so much say in the affairs of his own neighbourhood, and of the whole country, as he does today. Never were the relationships between people of various nationalities and creeds so cordial, never did they have the equality and freedom to develop their own culture and life that they do today. Never was the unity of all China as rock-like as it is today.

It was on the basis of this unity that our National People's Congress met to promulgate the country's first constitution, which was discussed by our whole population before enactment. This momentous document reflects the changes in our land in the past five years, sets up a new State

machinery and details the rights and obligations of citizens during this period of transition to socialism. It declares before the whole world that our people's democracy, led by the Communist Party, will eliminate exploitation and poverty and has made the noble cause of world peace its law of life.

A Richer Life

Our people are living better than ever before. The average money wage in 1953 was 84 per cent. above that in 1950, the purchasing power of the peasant population 76 per cent. higher. Labour insurance covers nearly 5 million workers and employees together with their families; while partial provisions, such as free medical service, cover a larger number. Nurseries and creches, maternity homes, hospitals, rest and vacation homes are increasing in all areas. Today more food, clothing and footwear are produced and sold, and more housing is being erected than ever before in Chinese history.

Tens of millions of workers and peasants are in literacy classes; hundreds of thousands are already getting more advanced schooling. Our primary schools this year have 55 million pupils. The system of higher education has been expanded and reformed to train great numbers of specialists for our new industry and agriculture, for medical, public health and other services. The Chinese Academy of Sciences has increased its research staff sevenfold, its expenditures, elevenfold, since the liberation.

Our masses have gained access to the best of Chinese and world culture. Books are published in all the many languages of China's nationalities, often in editions of hundreds of thousands. Never have there been so many newspapers and periodicals with such large circulations, so many drama troupes, theatres, moving picture houses. Exhibitions of our own and foreign artists draw huge crowds. Folk arts and handicrafts, long in decline, have been infused with new life. Great numbers of new libraries, public parks and athletic stadiums have been built. Sports attract mass participation.

Effort for the common good—the socialist attitude toward labour and public property—this is our new morality. A vast movement, spearheaded by model workers and peasants, creates extra wealth for investments in construction. It increases productivity of labour, promotes efficiency, lessens waste, gives rise to inventions and improvements of

all kinds. Challenges ring from factory to factory, from worker to worker all over the country. Those who produce more and better receive nation-wide honour; ordinary men and women yesterday, they are our public prominent figures of today.

As the new ethic of service to the people rises, old selfish outlooks are swept away. A great mass movement in 1952 struck at remnants of corruption, waste and bureaucracy. Self-seeking, dishonesty and carelessness, the blemishes of the old society, are universally regarded as shameful. So is the old feudal attitude toward women, which another nation-wide movement has combatted. Due to the complete equality of rights that they have gained, and to the new Marriage Law, the emancipated women of China are winning prominence in every field of life and work.

In Foreign Relations

In foreign relations, the People's Republic of China, from the very first day of its existence, has followed a policy of peace. Twenty nations with a total population of over a thousand million have established diplomatic relations with us. First to do so was the Soviet Union—the warm and long-standing friend of our people and our liberation struggle, the pioneer in the ideals we both share. In February, 1950, our two countries signed their historic Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. This treaty brought a new factor into the affairs of the Far East and the entire earth, establishing an indestructible base for the preservation of peace and the promotion of mankind's progress. The Soviet Union gives unstinted aid to the industrialization of our country. It inspires our people with its example of life under socialism.

There are some elements in international life, however, that seek gains from conflict rather than from friendship. The attempted embargo did not prevent the growth of China's foreign trade to record proportions and, in fact, helped to stimulate the growth of our own industries. The refusal to seat China in the United Nations has impaired the ability of that organization to do the job for which it exists and which the peoples expect of it—the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

For Peaceful Co-existence

At Geneva, while helping to achieve peace in Indo-China, our Foreign Minister Chou En-lai declared: "The

Chinese people consistently love peace and hate war. We have never committed, and will never commit, aggression against any country. But we most emphatically shall not tolerate aggression against us by any country. We respect the rights of all nations to choose and preserve their own way of life and their own State system without interference from outside. At the same time, we insist that other countries treat us in the same way. We believe that, so long as the nations of the world observe these principles and cherish the mutual desire for co-operation, nations of the world with different social systems can live together in peace."

This is the basis of our foreign policy; this is the creed by which we live with the rest of the world. It has struck a deep answering chord particularly among our neighbours in resurgent Asia, whose determination to develop and guard their independence is a new and tremendous factor on the world scene. Of immense and historic significance were the statements issued by Premier Chou En-lai of China and Prime Ministers Nehru of India and U Nu of Burma, which put forward the following five principles: 1. Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2. Non-aggression; 3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; 4. Equality and mutual benefit; and 5. Peaceful co-existence.

Obviously, these principles are applicable not to Asia alone but to relations among all nations in the world today. As such, they have attracted the attention of statesmen and people of goodwill everywhere. After the Geneva Conference, former Prime Minister Clement Attlee came to Peking at the head of a delegation of leaders of the British Labour Party which spoke out for peaceful co-existence. A cultural delegation from Great Britain brought a statement signed by 672 scholars, scientists, musicians, architects and others, many of them foremost in their fields. "It is our earnest wish," they wrote, "to see an end to all the dissensions which at present threaten to separate us. With these aims in view we are determined to work for the fullest scientific and cultural exchange between our two countries. We feel sure that we can look forward to your co-operation." Indeed they can, for this is what we too want, not only with Britain but with the scientific and cultural groups of every land.

From India, Japan, Indonesia, Argentina, France, Italy, Chile and other countries whose political system is different

from ours, as well as from our fraternal people's democracies, delegations have come for trade and cultural purposes. Our international contacts and friendships increase all the time—and nothing can stop them.

When the fifth birthday of our People's Republic was celebrated, people everywhere rejoiced just as we did. They had good reason. It is only because our people have stood up that we are able to establish healthy relations with our neighbours, who embrace a considerable portion of the earth's territories and population. This in turn has created an area of peace which helps to extend such relations throughout the globe. The example of what a people can do, once liberated, once it faces the future unfettered, inspires all Asia and all nations still colonial or dependent.

Our march forward is for ourselves and for others. Hence our glad vigour; hence our certainty of success.

MUSIC IN EDUCATION

Roy H. Bowyer Yin

THE report of the notable and insufficiently publicized International Conference on the Role and Place of music in the Education of Youth and Adults is both stimulating and depressing to the reader in Ceylon. Stimulating, because it is heartening to learn what tremendous strides have been made in musical education in other parts of the world during the last two decades; depressing, because no similar progress has as yet been made here.

The Conference was attended by some 385 delegates, representing almost all the member nations of UNO, of whom three were from Asian countries, namely India, Japan and Korea, though the lastnamed representative did not speak. The plenary sessions dealt broadly with the general aims and outlook of musical education, and provided a symposium by the representatives of the place of music in their respective educational systems. What were presumably smaller gatherings engaged in technical discussions upon such subjects as music teaching methods, the use of radio, gramophone and film, adult education in music, the training of teachers, and even the use of music in clinical therapy.

Two essentials stand out amidst the mass of detail in the report (which runs to some 300 pages). The first is the acceptance by all present of music as not merely an optional extra but as one of the basic materials of education; the second is the emphasis throughout the Conference upon music as a communal and not an individual activity. Thus, M. Georges Duhamel, of the Acadèmie Francaise, in his opening address, "Where reading, writing, and arithmetic are concerned, education overrides the capricious inclinations of schoolchildren. No pupil, unless he is ill or mentally defective, is ever dispensed from learning how to read, write and count. I very much hope that instruction in music will be made compulsory and that proper tests in music will be introduced, so that it may be given weight in the final assessment of our future citizens. Music, I repeat in conclusion, should in no case be regarded as an optional

subject, which a child may or may not study. It is one of the most powerful forces at the teacher's disposal for the training of character." And Leo Kestenberg, of the Music Teachers Training College, Tel Aviv, "Music education lays the main emphasis not upon the excellence of individuals but upon the harmonious co-operation of the group."

It is a little strange to find that all the delegates assumed, without contradiction so far as the records go, that the first introduction to sight-singing will be through the medium of sol-fa, and that there was no advocate of direct initiation into staff notation. Yet it is widely accepted in the realm of industrial psychology that in the acquisition of what are technically classified as 'skills' the introduction of any form of mnemonic is inimical to proficiency at the higher speeds, involving as it does an additional thought-process between the formula and its realisation in action. Nor was there much reference, except by implication, to the value of music in education for precisely this reason, namely that it is a 'skill', a type of training in which our present educational systems are almost wholly lacking. Shorthand, touch-typing (at speed), the reading and sending of Morse code, and mental arithmetic with a rigid time limit are other examples in this category, namely the co-ordination of mental and physical processes which have to be carried out *up to time*. For this reason, those who are taught music tend to acquire an agility of mind which increases the speed with which perform other mental operations. Time spent upon music is therefore not, even from the most mercenary standpoint, 'wasted'.

Of the Asian delegates, Professor V. Raghaven gave a long and impassioned account of the place of Indian classical music in his own country, but whilst pleading for its wider dissemination, he offered no practical suggestions as to how this might be done so long as by its very nature it can only be imparted by aural emulation without the aid of a written notation. (One is tempted to ask at this point whether there is anything of particular ideological or cultural value in the 'oriental' method of holding a violin, a method which was known, and abandoned, in the West centuries ago, for no other reason than that it was just plainly inefficient.)

It will surprise many, as it did the writer, to learn that in Japan Western music, sight-reading and all, is compulsory in all grades of school up to the age of about 16 years, though the speaker admitted that there was a good deal of disparity

between official policy and practice, largely due to the dearth of adequately trained teachers. However it is clear that the will is there. Music teaching is also universal in the United States and Canada. I quote from the Report, "In 1938, Lowel Mason demonstrated to the School Board of Boston that music was a profitable subject of instruction, that it was 'a relief to the wearisomeness of constant study', that it seemed 'to renerve the mind and to prepare all for more vigorous intellectual action.' Following this demonstration the board included music in the curriculum for the first time on a par with reading, grammar and arithmetic—a happening of tremendous significance often referred to as the Magna Carta of American music education. 'Through vocal music,' said the Boston Board of Education, at that time, 'you set in motion a mighty power which silently but surely in the end will humanize, refine and elevate a whole community.' "

The teaching of music in Ceylon is up against the great difficulty, noticeable in other fields besides music, of the conflict between two cultures. The Conference very properly laid stress upon the value of introducing children to music through the medium of the folk-music of their own land. In all countries of the West this can lead on later to the understanding and practice of more complex musical forms. The trouble is that in the East this is not so. It is true that greater proficiency can be acquired in the arts of improvisation and arabesque, but the intellectual concepts of harmony and counterpoint have no place in Eastern music. Moreover a child whose introduction to music has been through the medium of oriental technique and intonation is thereafter (at least, so I have found) incapable of satisfactory adaptation to western technique. This means that the child must choose at the start between one of two worlds. In practice, of course, the choice will be made for it, in most cases by the accident of parentage or schooling.

The widespread dissemination of folk music in schools must inevitably be attended by the same difficulties which Dr. Raghaven has experienced in India, the chief of which is the absence of written notation. Some attempts which have been made to commit Sinhalese folk-songs to staff notation are far from successful: that they were unlikely to succeed might have been prophesied, without undue pessimism, from the start. Any attempt to trim down oriental music in order to fit into a rigid diatonic framework

must inevitably rob it of its specific ethos. The endeavour to make the best of both worlds has only so far succeeded in making the worst of both. An example of the case in point may be heard on the wireless every day.

So far as Western music goes, the long lists of candidates in the annual examinations conducted by the various English schools of music bear testimony to a considerable amount of individual teaching, both vocal and instrumental. It is to be doubted, however, whether such teaching can be regarded as of much value from the point of view of musical education properly so called. Even at its best, it suffers from the essential drawback of individualism. But what is worse is the fact that only a very small handful of those practising as teachers are competent to relate the particular pieces taught to the wider context of music as a whole, or to instil in their pupils any degree of intelligent comprehension or critical appreciation of what they perform. The result of this is that although, year by year, some hundreds of pupils pass successfully through the various grade examinations, the general standard of musicality even amongst the so-called educated classes, remains almost static, and deplorably low.

Such a state of affairs cannot be remedied in one generation or two. It will first be necessary to produce a number of teachers who themselves have had a wider musical education than most have received at present. There will be a pre-eminent need for teachers who are capable of organizing group musical activities—singing classes (including sight-reading), part-song groups, percussion and recorder bands and perhaps, later, small school orchestras. Any shift from the individual to the group activity is to be welcomed. With this must go the introduction of pupils to a wider field of music by means of radio or gramophone heard under conditions of attention and concentration, and accompanied by suitable explanatory exposition. The term "musical appreciation classes" is avoided because it too often carries the implication of pupils being told what they ought to like and why, judgments with which they may very properly disagree.

What is needed in this country is nothing less than a complete change of outlook in regard to the place of music in education, and indeed in the community as a whole. So long as music continues to be regarded as 'learning pieces,' a polite social accomplishment for young ladies, so long will musical education remain at its present low ebb. Official

enthusiasm for the achievements of a few talented individuals, generally accorded after the event, is no substitute for a policy for education in music. Such achievements prove nothing except the fact that Ceylon children, irrespective of their community, are as capable of assimilating musical education as the children of any other nation, a fact which none of us who have had to do with the teaching of music in Ceylon have ever for a moment been disposed to doubt. They can even be a positive danger if they are regarded as an acceptable substitute for a general education in music and the encouragement of group musical activities on a wide scale.

(*A review of the Report of the International Conference on the Role and Place of Music in the Education of Youth and Adults, held in Brussels from* 29 *June to* 9 *July* 1953. *The Conference was the result of close Collaboration between Unesco, which was responsible for its organisation, and the International Music Council, which drew up its plan of work. It forms part of an extensive programme undertaken from* 1949 *onward in order to determine the place of arts in general education and their importance in the formation of personality*).

A SUPREME COMMONWEALTH COURT

The Rt. Hon. The Earl Jowitt

At the Guildhall banquet at the conclusion of the historic Commonwealth and Empire Law Conference the suggestion was made for the setting up of a Supreme Commonwealth Court. Here, a member of the Privy Council and former Lord Chancellor, makes proposals for the effective continuation of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in a changing Commonwealth.

I do not suppose that there has ever been a Court which exercised such a far-flung and wide jurisdiction as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Every system of law was grist to their mill. They have had, in the course of their long history, to consider and apply the Roman-Dutch law, the French law of Louis XIV as modified by the Statute of Quebec, Hindu and Mohammedan law, and all sorts of ancient customs such as those of Normandy in the Channel Islands, of the Gold Coast, and indeed customs from all parts of the world, in addition to the Common law of England.

The jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee was wider and more embracing than that of any Court which ever existed in any country in the world. Questions of constitutional law, of criminal law, of civil law and of ecclesiastical law all came within its jurisdiction.

This Court represents a noble tradition. It derives its authority direct from the Sovereign, who is the primary link of our Commonwealth and Empire. It has strengthened and emphasised the imperial unity. By passing through one channel of interpretation so many legal systems of such diverse origin, it has encouraged the development of those basic principles which are fundamental to any system of justice and has led them towards ultimate reconciliation.

It might well have been supposed that British Judges would have lacked experience in deciding constitutional questions: for here at home they can hardly, if ever, arise. We live under a unitary system of government. Our legislature, consisting of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and

Commons in Parliament assembled, is supreme. Our Parliament, it has been said, can do anything except change a man into a woman. We have (with the exception of the Parliament of Northern Ireland, which is a comparatively recent innovation) no competing legislatures, each confined to its own proper sphere of activities and unable to trespass on to the territory of the rival legislature.

In the United States of America, for example, each State has its own legislature and there is the Congress of the United States. Congress cannot legislate on matters reserved to the States by the constitution; and the states cannot legislate on matters over which Congress, by that same constitution, is made supreme. There must, therefore, be a Supreme Court, to consider whether laws passed are, or are not, "constitutional"; and in deciding such questions it is inevitable that the Judges should have to consider issues which are not merely legal but partly political.

It must be so under a federal system; and for a vast area, such as the United States, I do not doubt that such a system is inevitable. There is, however, always the danger that the Judges may come to be regarded as belonging to some particular school of political ideology; and thus there is a danger of their being drawn into politics and losing in consequence that esteem and respect which they should—and in this country do—enjoy.

There is not, and perhaps there cannot be, under a federal system any clear dichotomy between political and legal issues. The constitution is enshrined in a document which does not change, save in so far as it may be amended. But though the words to be construed remain the same, the surrounding circumstances may alter; and every student of the Law knows that any document must be construed in the light of the surrounding circumstances. It was considerations such as this which induced that great Judge, Mr. Justice Holmes, to say of the Supreme Court of the United States, of which he was such an ornament, that the best the Supreme Court could ever do was " to anticipate the moral climate of the time."

For this reason it has always seemed to me that Judges deciding constitutional questions must have a greater latitude than Judges deciding other domestic matters; for a constitution is in a real sense a living thing which grows and expands with the history of the people.

The Judicial Committee has throughout its history steered a wise course. It has never allowed itself to become engulfed in the seas of political controversy, yet it has never forgotten the principle of growth and expansion. In deciding constitutional questions, whether arising from Canada or from any federal territory within the British Commonwealth, the Judges of the Privy Council had this supreme advantage: that they were far removed from any particular political agitation which might surround those within the territory.

Controversies, sometimes embittered, have arisen for example in Canada, as between the provinces and the Federal Government. These disputes were resolved in the last resort by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting in their Court in Whitehall. They did not give a judgement, as they would have done had they been sitting in the House of Lords, which is the final Court of Appeal for England and Scotland. They " humbly advised " the Sovereign of the decision they recommended, and this was adopted by the Sovereign by Order in Council.

Moreover, the decision pronounced was the decision of the Board: whereas in the House of Lords each Judge would deliver his own separate judgement, which is technically his " speech." In this way it was emphasised that the conclusion reached by the Privy Council was, in fact, the conclusion of the Sovereign; and that an appeal to the Privy Council was, in fact, and in law an appeal to the Sovereign.

For many long years this jurisdiction continued, and the due and impartial administration of the Law was the greatest gift that the people of these small islands were able to hand on to their daughter States, who have now in so many instances become their sister States. It is, I confess, a somewhat melancholy reflection that this jurisdiction, so widely and benevolently exercised, has recently become limited in scope.

Why has this happened? Why, for example, has Canada recently abolished this right of appeal? Why have India and Pakistan followed suit? Why are appeals no longer brought from the Union of South Africa?

It is not, I feel confident, that it is felt in any quarter that the Judicial Committee has failed in any way. On the contrary, those countries who have abolished the appeal have paid sincere tributes to its work.

When the Government of India, consequent upon the passing of the Indian Independence Act, determined to abolish

the Appeal to the Privy Council, they recorded their views about the Judicial Committee in a statement in the following terms, which was made public on the 8th February, 1950:

> "The Government of India take this opportunity to place on record their deepest appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the Privy Council to India over a period of more than two centuries. During their long connexion with Britain and British institutions nothing has impressed the people of India more than the high sense of detachment, independence and impartiality which has invariably governed the deliberations and decisions of the Privy Council."

I may illustrate the position in Canada by considering a particular case. In spite of the immense changes which have taken place, Canada is still governed by the British North America Act. She passed first to Dominion Status and then, by the Statute of Westminster, was recognised as having attained complete independence. The Privy Council had to decide whether it was open to Canada to abolish the appeal to the Privy Council.

Here was a situation which had never been contemplated by the legislature. When the British North America Act was passed Canada was subordinate to the legislature of the United Kingdom; and while she was subordinate, it was manifest that she could not legislate to weaken or destroy the powers of the superior legislature. But her legislature had become equal in status and authority with the legislature of the United Kingdom. The words of the British North America Act had remained unaltered, but the circumstances had completely changed.

The Privy Council decided that Canada had the right to abolish any appeal if she was so minded: and she has now taken that decision.

The judgement of the Privy Council has been criticised as being political; but this, I think, is an undue simplification. It was necessary to consider the words of the relevant Act, but to interpret them as enshrining a living constitution changing with the changing circumstances of the time.

The reason which made Canada and India abolish the Appeal to the Privy Council was not any doubt as to the skill and competence of the tribunal. It was, I feel sure, that spirit of nationalism which is prevalent throughout the world today. These countries had attained their full nationhood.

They rejoiced in their strength and in their independence, and they wanted to emphasise these facts to the World.

No one could doubt that they were fully able to construct a legal system which would possess sufficient authority to deal finally with their own legal problems. The fact that their citizens had the right to go to a Court in another country thousands of miles away seemed to them in some degree to qualify their independence. This, I am convinced, was the reason underlying the abolition of the Appeal, although valid criticisms were made as to the expense involved in an appeal, and the delay which was occasioned thereby.

Could this break-away have been avoided?

It was the fact that the members of the Judicial Committee were drawn almost entirely from Judges of the United Kingdom. There have been, and still are, some eminent Judges from other Commonwealth territories who have made, and are making, important contributions to the work of the Judicial Committee; but it remains true to say that, broadly speaking, the Court is staffed by Judges drawn from the United Kingdom.

Would the Court have been more acceptable had it been differently constituted? Would Canada, for example, have had more confidence in it if it had been composed of Judges from all parts of the Commonwealth, and had not been overweighted by Judges from the United Kingdom?

Would it have been better if the Court had been peripatetic, wandering about the Commonwealth administering justice?

When I became Lord Chancellor in 1945, it was obvious to me, as it had been to my predecessor Lord Simon, that the extent of the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee was threatened. I discussed with distinguished statesmen from the Commonwealth the question of possible changes alike in the composition of the Court and in its place of sitting.

The advice I received was unanimous: it was too late to make any such changes. If such alterations had been made many years ago, and if the system had established itself to the general satisfaction, the present problem might not have arisen. Nothing, therefore, was done, and indeed it was quite obvious that nothing could be done save by general consent.

Perhaps it was unfortunate that, by reason of our historical development, we had one Court—the House of Lords—which disposed of final appeals in this country, and another

Court—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—which disposed of final appeals from the Commonwealth and Empire. The distinction between the two Courts was little more than a distinction in name, for they were manned by the same Judges. Nonetheless, it existed. No Judge from Canada or Australia or any of the British territories, sat in the House of Lords to decide our domestic cases: yet our Judges sat in the Privy Council to decide their cases.

If we had constituted a Commonwealth Supreme Court of Appeal, should not that Court also have heard cases arising from within the United Kingdom? For unless we had sufficient confidence in it to submit to it our own cases, how could we have maintained the position that it should hear their cases?

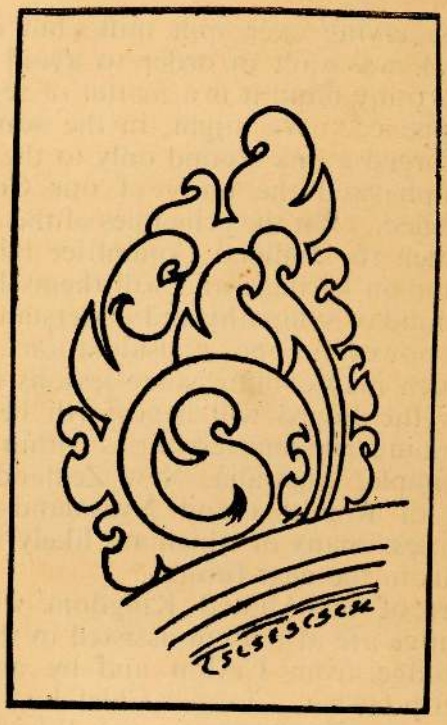
It is no use crying over spilt milk, but it is useful to see why the milk was spilt in order to avoid spilling more in the future. To my mind it is a matter of regret that these things have happened. We might, in the administration of the law, have forged a link second only to the Crown which would have emphasised the unity of our Commonwealth. That hope has failed. But the principles of the administration of the law, which the Judicial Committee laid down, have become our common heritage and will themselves be seen in the future as a bond of sympathy and understanding.

There is, however, one consideration derived from past history which may contain some lessons for the future. Cases heard by the Board will henceforth be drawn either from the existing independent territories within the Commonwealth—for example, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland—or from the Colonial territories, many of which are likely to achieve full Dominion Status in the near future.

The Judges of the United Kingdom who sit in the Judicial Committee are at present assisted in their work by a distinguished Judge from Ceylon and by an equally distinguished English lawyer, a former Chief Justice of Bombay. Apart from this most valuable assistance, the work is, save on exceptional occasions, entirely carried out by Judges of the United Kingdom. We should all welcome more frequent assistance from other Commonwealth Judges, if difficulties of time, distance and expense could be surmounted.

Would it not be a good plan to enlist the help of other men who have had judicial experience in Colonial territories? I feel sure that this question should receive the careful con

sideration of those responsible for the administration of justice. We have at present no Judge who is a member of the Judicial Committee who has had judicial experience in our Colonies; and it is, I believe, from these territories who do not yet possess independent status, that the majority of the cases in the future will come. (*New Commonwealth.* London)



THE CONCEPT OF MAN

Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad

I

IN the last 6,000 years or more, the human being has travelled over a vast region from his early beginnings in primitive society. This period has seen man overcome many hidden obstacles and meet the challenge of inanimate nature and the animate world. In spite of all the vicissitudes which man has had to face during this period, there has, on the whole, been continuous and steady progress in wresting from nature some of her greatest secrets. Veil after veil has been torn asunder from the hidden face of nature and secrets that are still unknown are yielding to his quest.

While man's triumphant progress in unveiling the face of nature has been steady and continuous, can we say with equal confidence that he has succeeded in unveiling the lineaments of his own self? Can we say that after 6,000 years of quest of the real, man today sees himself as he essentially is? I think you will agree that we have to make a sad confession in this matter. The mirror that man has fashioned reflects all aspects of the world but not his own inner self. We have to admit that man has not yet been able to form a clear picture of his own nature. The secrets of the universe are clearer to him than the secrets of the self. For some 3,000 years or more, philosophers have again and again. asked: what is man, whence does he come, and wither does he go? The questions still remain largely unanswered. It is obvious that man cannot achieve a satisfactory solution of the problems of the individual, society, nations and international relations till he knows clearly the nature of his own self and determines what the place of man is in the vastness of the universe.

The basic issue before us is the consideration of this problem. We have met to discuss the concept of man as it has been enunciated by thinkers in the East and the West. I would, at the very beginning, like to emphasize that in speaking of the East and the West, we are thinking only of certain special features in the thought of these regions.

This cannot and does not mean that there are not large areas of common and agreed ground. Man all over the world has adopted common methods of reasoning and thought. The human reason is one and identical. Human feelings are largely similar. The human will operate in more or less the same manner in similar situations everywhere. It is therefore natural that the human's way of looking at himself and the world is largely common in different parts of the world. His attitudes towards the unknown mysteries of existence are also largely similar. The Greeks who looked with admiration and awe upon the peaks of Olympus shared the same feelings as the Indians who meditated in the valleys of the Himalayas and looked upon their eternal snows.

In spite of large areas of agreement, human minds in different regions of the world have adopted a different approach to some of their common problems. Even where the approach has not been different, there has been a tendency to place a different emphasis on the different aspects of common problems and common solutions. No two situations are exactly alike. It was inevitable that people in different regions should pay greater attention to different aspects of common problems. In is on account of such differences in emphasis that we describe a particular mode of thought as characteristic of a particular nation or region. It is from this point of view that I will try to formulate what are the differences that distinguish the East from the West. I think you will all agree that even where the solutions are similar in pattern and outline, there are differences in shade and colour which justify us in calling some of the solutions Eastern and others Western.

There are, as I have said, many points in common between the views of philosophers in the East and the West but the emphasis is different in India, Greece and China as strikes us from the very beginning of recorded history. In India, the emphasis of philosophy has, on the whole, been on the inner experience of man. Philosophers here have sought to understand man's inner nature, and in this pursuit have gone beyond the regions of sense, intellect and even reason and sought to assert the identity of man with a deep hidden reality. In Greece, the philosopher has been interested mainly in understanding the nature of the world outside. He has sought to determine the place of man in the outer world. His view has therefore been, on the whole, more extrovert than in India. In China, on the other hand,

philosophers have not worried about the inner nature of man nor about external nature but have concentrated on the study of man in relation to his fellows. These differences in orientation have exerted a profound influence on later developments of philosophy in each of these regions. We find therefore that there are striking differences in their respective concepts of man.

The Greeks approached the concept of man from an external point of view. Hence we find that from the earliest times, Greek philosophy devotes far greater attention to what man does rather than to what man is. It is true that some of the earlier Greek philosophers thought of man as essentially a spiritual entity, and we find that this is perhaps the prevailing mode of thought till the time of Plato. With the advent of Aristotle, there began, however, a new orientation in which the attention is diverted from the idea of man to man's activities in the world here and now. Under the influence of Aristotle who defined man as a rational animal, philosophy became more positive. In course of time, this positive, empirical and scientific attitude became the prevailing climate of thought in the West. Rationality distinguishes man from other animals, and it is through the exercise of rationality that he has advanced far beyond his early animal origin. Nevertheless, he remains essentially and fundamentally a progressive animal. Rarely has this thought been expressed so beautifully as by the German philosopher, Riehl. While he admits that man has descended from the animal, he points out that he has now reached a stage where he must look above and not below. He is the only animal that stands erect and can continue to do so only if his look is upward. God is the goal towards which man must strive if he is to retain his present stature.

It is true that the influence of Christianity and the persistence of the Platonic tradition remained a powerful element in European thought. Thus we find that the scholastics in the medieval ages were at times more theologians than philosophers. Even in the modern period, there is a strong religious idealistic strain in European thought. Since the beginning of the modern age, this strain has, however, steadily yielded place to a philosophical outlook dominated by the concepts of science. The triumphant progress of science began in the seventeenth century and increased man's power over nature. The success of science dazzled the Western mind and induced a faith in its unfailing efficacy. The

West sought to apply the concepts and methods of science in all fields of human experience and treat man also as an object among other objects. In course of time, a materialistic and scientific temper became the pervasive outlook of the West. We find a culmination of this development in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Darwin sought to establish that man is descended from animals while Marx argued that his mentality is largely the resultant of his material environment. Freud in the twentieth century went a step further and taught that not only is man descended from animals, but his mentality retains even today traces of his animal origin.

As opposed to this conception of man as a progressive animal, we find in the East a completely different concept of man. The East has from the very beginning emphasized man's intrinsic spirituality. The contemplation of the inner reality of man gave rise to the philosophy of Vedanta in India and Sufism in Arabia. This spiritual concept of man has deeply influenced the mentality of man throughout the East and is not unknown even in the West. According to this outlook, we cannot understand the essence of man if we regard him as only a material entity. The real nature of man can be understood only if we conceive of him as an emanation of God. There was in Eastern philosophy a strong pantheistic strain. In different schools of Indian philosophy, all things are regarded as expressions of God's being but even then man belongs to a special category. For he is the highest manifestation of God's being. In the words of the Gita (XI: 18):

Thou art the Imperishable, the Supreme to be realized.
Thou art the ultimate resting-place of the universe.
Thou art the undying guardian of the eternal law.
Thou art the Primal Person.

Similarly we find that according to the Sufis, man is a wave of the boundless sea that is God. He is a ray of the Sun that is God. Man can regard himself as different from the Eternal Being only so long as his vision is clouded by the evil of ignorance. Once there is enlightenment, all these distinctions dissolve and man recognizes himself as a moment in the being of the eternal.

The concept of man which the East has framed regards him as not merely an animal superior to all earthly creatures but as essentially different in nature. Man is not first among equals but has a being which is higher than that of any other

creature. He is not only a progressive animal, but reveals in his being the lineaments of God Himself. In fact his nature is so high and elevated that nothing higher is conceivable to human reason. In the words of the Chhandogya Upanishad (9: 4):

That is Reality. That is Atman (Soul). That art thou.

This doctrine has also been beautifully expressed in Arabic:

Man arafa nafsahu faqad arafa rabbahu.[1]

The same principle, when further developed, gives rise to the idea that man is not an isolated individual but contains in himself the entire universe. In the words of the Gita (XI: 7):

Here today, behold the whole universe, moving and unmoving and whatever else thou desirest to see, O Gudakesa (Arjuna), all unified in My body.

A Sufi poet has expressed the same concept in the Arabic verse:

Watahsab annaka jarmun saghir
Wa fika antavi alemun akbaru.[2]

It will be readily agreed that there can be no higher concept of man. God marks the highest limit of human thought. By identifying man with God, the Eastern concept of man elevates him to godhead. Man has therefore no other goal but to re-establish his identity with God. He thus becomes superior to the entire creation.

II

We have till now discussed the conceptof man from the point of view of the philosophies in the East and West. We now wish to review briefly what religion has to say on the question. If we consider the attitude of Judaism and Christianity, we find a clear statement in the Old Testament that God created man in His own image. From this it would follow that man shares in the attributes of God. A strong element of spiritual mysticism has characterized the attitude of Christianity and has acted as a check to the predominance of extreme materialistic tendencies.

In Islam we find traces of the influence of the same outlook. In fact the Koran has gone a step further in its

1. He who knows himself knows God.
2. Thou thinkest that thou art a small body : thou knowest not that a universe greater than the physical world is contained in thee.

exaltation of man. The Koran proclaims that not only is man created in the image of God but is His regent on earth. In speaking of the creation of Adam, God says (2: 29):

Inni jaelun fil arde khalifat[3]

This idea of the viceroyalty of man profoundly influenced the Arab philosophers. Two things may be noted in this connection. As regent of God on earth, man has an immediate affinity with Him. This also makes man superior to all creation and makes him master not only of animal life but also of the forces of nature itself. The Koran proclaims again and again (XIII: 45):

Whatever is on the earth or in the heavens has been made subject to man.

It is generally recognized that Aristotle deeply influenced most of the Arab philosophers, but even in their interpretation of Aristotle, they show clear indications of the influence of the idea of man's viceroyalty of God. Avicenna (Ibn Sina) and Averroes (Ibn Rushd) are metaphysically Aristotelians but their spiritual orientation in Islam makes them recognize that since man shares in God's attributes, there is no limit to the heights which he can attain in both knowledge and power. Muslim scholastics like Al Ghazzali, ar Razi, ar Raghib Ispahani and others have further elaborated this idea in their various philosophical writings.

We must, however, admit that while the conception of man in both Vedanta and Sufism gives him a lofty status, neither of these philosophies can escape the charge that if, on the one hand, they set no limit to human capacity, they, on the other hand, imply an element of fatalism that circumscribes man's power. The explanation of this paradox is to be found in their concept of the relation of man to God. Since man is an emanation of divinity, whatever man does is ultimately God's doing; whatever happens is due to the will of God. From this it is but another step to think of man as a mere toy in the hands of fate.

It has been said that while the concepts of Vedanta and Sufism in their pure form have been responsible for some of the highest spiritual attainments of man, they have to some extent acted as an impediment to human progress on the secular plane. Emphasis on the unity of man with God made society relatively insensitive to human suffering,

3. I want to create my viceroy on earth.

as such suffering was regarded as mere illusion. We find, therefore, that Eastern societies have often been indifferent to the removal of the causes of social malaise. This explains why some modern thinkers are seeking for a formulation of the philosophy of Vedanta without its fatalism.

There is a similar paradox in the Western concept of man. A philosophy of materialism would, *prima facie*, seem to indicate a determinist outlook on life. Since the law of causality reigns throughout the material world, the same law would tend to hold in the field of human action. This tendency culminates in the psychological theories of the Behaviourists. The Western mind, however, asserted itself against such a deterministic concept and exhibited an energy of spirit which has rarely been equalled and perhaps never surpassed.

One of our main tasks should be to examine how we can combine these two concepts which have so profoundly influenced both philosophy and religious outlook in the East and the West. The Eastern conception of man's status, if combined with the Western concept of progress, would open out to man the possibility of infinite advance without the risks implicit in the misuse of science. It may also indicate a way out of the fatalism which otherwise seems to follow from the Eastern conception of man's identity with God. The Eastern conception of man's status is not only consistent with the progress of Western science but in fact offers an intelligible explanation of how scientific progress is possible. If man were merely a developed animal, there would be a limit to his advancement. If, however, he shares in God's infinity, there can be no limit to the progress he can achieve. Science can then march from triumph to triumph and solve many of the riddles which trouble man even to this day.

There is a further reason why a synthesis of the Eastern and the Western concepts of man is of the greatest importance to man's future. Science in itself is neutral. Its discoveries can be used equally to heal and to kill. It depends upon the outlook and mentality of the user whether science will be used to create a new heaven on earth or to destroy the world in a common conflagration. If we think of man as only a progressive animal, there is nothing to prevent his using science for furthering interests based on the passions he shares in common with animals. If, however, we think of him as an emanation of God, he can use science only

for furthering God's purposes, that is the achievement of peace on earth and goodwill to all men.

III

I have tried to indicate that the Eastern and Western concepts of man are in some ways complementary. If the one has emphasized the intrinsic excellence of his being, the other has laid stress on the progress he has achieved and can achieve through his own efforts. If the one has stressed the spiritual elements in his nature, the other has pointed out that spiritual excellence must also have a requisite physical basis. If in spite of differences in emphasis, the Western and the Eastern concepts of man can be reconciled, there is no reason why the philosophy of education in these two regions should not also be fitted into a wider philosophy of education for the world.

In both the East and the West, the prevalent systems of education have given rise to various paradoxes. The East puts a disproportionate emphasis on individual salvation. Man sought knowledge as a means to his own redemption. The Eastern mode of thought with its preoccupation with individual salvation has at times paid inadequate attention to social welfare and progress. In the West, on the contrary, there has been a greater emphasis on the need for social progress. In fact, considerations of social welfare have at times led to the growth of totalitarian societies in which the individual has been suppressed. Today when East and West have been brought nearer one another through the operations of science, it is necessary that the bias, whether in favour of the individual or of society, should be rectified and a system of education evolved which will give due regard to both individual and social values.

Herein lies the importance of education in the modern world. Experience has shown that education can profoundly affect the development of individuals, and through individuals, of societies. If the individual is not an integrated personality, society cannot be harmonious. The function of education in the modern world is therefore to build up integrated individuals in an integrated society and the concept of both the East and the West must contribute to such development.

Before I conclude, there is one other problem to which I would like to draw your attention. The question often arises whether education is a means or an end. I would

say that on the whole the West has looked upon education as a means while the East has looked upon it as an end. If education is regarded as a means, the question arises what is the end for which it is a means. The West has often regarded social welfare as the end, but social welfare is a concept which can be interpreted in different ways. In any case, the tendency to regard education as a means leads to some diminution in the value of education. I am inclined to think that the Eastern concept shows a truer understanding of its real nature. By regarding education as an end in itself we recognize knowledge to be one of the ultimate values. I do not think that any Western philosopher would deny the importance of knowledge but its value cannot be fully appreciated unless education is recognized as an end in itself. Further, such recognition would raise the status of man. From this point of view also I am inclined to think that we should look upon education as an end rather than as a mere means to some external good.

IV

To sum up. In the Eastern concept, man as an emanation of God shares in His infinite attributes and is capable of achieving mastery over the entire creation. In the Western concept, man is no doubt an animal but there is no limit to the progress that he can achieve in the material field. His scientific achievements are visible proof of his superiority over the rest of creation, and have given him domination over the sky, sea and earth. We may, therefore, say that Western practice has substantiated the claim which Eastern theory has made in respect of man. Since, however, the Western concept has not emphasized the spiritual origin of man, his triumphs in the scientific field have themselves become a source of danger to his survival. If, therefore, the achievements of Western science can be utilized in the Eastern spirit of man's affinity with God, science would become an instrument not of destruction but for the establishment of human prosperity, peace and progress.

I hope philosophers from East and West will succeed in reconciling the concept of man as a spiritual entity with the concept of man as capable of infinite material progress and thus help in the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth.

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CULTURES AND WORLD COMMUNITY

Jean d'Ormesson

IT is no new thing for individual civilizations to come to realize that they are not the only ones in the world—that other cultures exist. Following the work of Spengler and Toynbee, and of numbers of orientalists, sociologists and anthropologists, no one today would any longer entertain the notion of a culture confined to a particular section of mankind or to a single region, with the alien forms of the civilizations beyond those limits dismissed as superstitions or anachronisms. What has gone for ever is, of course-not the eternally subsisting possibility of opting for a particular variety of belief or tradition but the exclusive "right, ness" claimed dogmatically for the traditional culture.

Unesco was bound to concern itself with the multitudinous problems raised in our day at once by the legitimate diversity of cultures and by the exigencies of their mutual relations. A committee recently met in Paris under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (ICPHS) and with Unesco's assistance, to examine the possibilities of broadening the teaching of the "humanities."

The whole question was of singular delicacy. Of all subjects for study, Man remains the most elusive. There is a constant temptation to try to arrive at a knowledge of mankind by inference from oneself, and man is thought of more readily as a competitor or an associate than as an object of scientific study. Objective interest in the art, religions and customs of civilizations other than one's own is often complicated by a certain admixture of amour propre, a vague sense that they are rivals, sometimes even an active competitive reaction or an assumption of superiority. The colonial expansion of the West, while on occasion it provided facilities for objective and disinterested study of other cultures, was all too often accompanied by the growth of a tendency—born either of uneasiness or of self-satisfaction, of narrow mindedness or of suspicion—to depreciate "lower" or dangerous cultures. Race prejudice, obviously, did nothing to improve matters.

An attempt had also to be made to appreciate the often commendable motives of those whose task it was to propagate and teach the traditional cultures. Accretions to a culture cannot be regarded as on the same footing as the acquisitions of science. Science (in the sense of the natural sciences) is by nature permanently receptive of new ideas. It is on the look-out for the new and the revolutionary. It is happy to see old theories exploded: the introduction of new elements involves a process of recasting the framework of knowledge which gets rid of the old and automatically superseded elements. Culture on the other hand is a specific combination of selected ingredients to which nothing can be added by technical advances. It is elective, and any extraneous addition disrupts its unity, alters it and robs it of some of its originality, tending to weaken its structure and mar its characteristics. Science presupposes change while culture means fidelity to a particular concept of man.

For long the West was rejected by the cultured Chinese, and Western thought was viewed with suspicion and hostility by the Hindu pandit or cultured Arab. And even between the Eastern cultures themselves examples occurred of reserve and hostility between the various religions, beliefs and traditions. However, it is indisputable that the East, more often than the West, has inclined to assimilate extraneous humanisms. It is no exaggeration to say that Western culture has in many cases been assimilated by the Eastern humanist. This assimilation may indeed have taken place solely because with the Western culture there went techniques essential for the modern world and which, in a certain sense, are the absolute opposite of humanism of any sort. But whatever the motives and, ultimately, the long-term outcome of that assimilation, the fact is that for the present more than one oriental scholar draws simultaneously upon two or more cultures. It is above all the West which has gaps to fill and which must broaden its views.

The Dangers of a "Hybrid" Humanism

The committee which met in Paris in June 1955 first agreed on an essential point—that it was desirable that each civilization should have a fairly broad acquaintance with world culture as a whole. Either culture means nothing at all or it must, in our day, cease to be purely regional.

It then remained to consider whether this theoretically desirable broadening of purview was in practice possible.

From the outset, the committee was anxious to remove one uncertainty. Extending the perimeter of the classical humanities cannot and must not be confused with the creation of a "hybrid" humanism representing a synthesis of the existing humanities. Trying to combine the learning of two different traditions in a single amalgam involves a risk of disrupting and losing both. In no case should knowledge about the civilizations external to a particular traditional culture be acquired at the price of warping or mutilating that culture itself.

Another difficulty lay in the over-crowding of educational programmes. With a schedule of studies already so overloaded as to alarm parents and even teachers, where could space and time be found for new subjects?

It was with these considerations in mind that the committee declared itself in favour of instruction in the outlines of the "exotic" civilizations. It found, further, that this teaching should (*a*) be graduated; (*b*) start at a very early stage; (*c*) do nothing to dissociate the children from the culture of their own environment; (*d*) be made to fit naturally into the traditional pattern of schooling and take the form of informal talks rather than didactic lectures.

The ideal way of imparting such instruction is through the medium of folk and fairy tales, legends, tales of travel and the lives of great men. This enables two contradictory requirements—a foreign flavour and familiarity—to be met and reconciled. Fortunately, the civilizations of the East are particularly rich in literature of this type. It is for Western education to make the most of the abundance thus offered and to use the treasures that are to be found, even for very young children in the Indian Mahabharata and Ramayana or the Arabic Sinbad the Sailor and the Arabian Nights.

Broadening the Cultural Background of Adolescents

But, however great the importance of starting children on the right lines, the committee concentrated above all on the adolescent sector—the 12-18 age group, representing the stage of education lying between the primary school and the university.

It is between those ages that the pupil is taught about the latest advances in modern science and technology. The teaching of the humanities has lagged behind. This is particularly so in the West, and even in the East no general picture of mankind as a whole is ever presented.

The committee was unanimous in considering that "his background instruction in general culture between the ages of 12 and 18 should furnish every pupil with a minimum notion of mankind as a whole".

Cautiously and even hesitantly, the committee made a list of the regions of whose civilizations and cultures every pupil should, in its view, have some notion—Greece and Rome, Europe in the various stages of its development, Egypt, Western Asia, Mesopotamia, Iran, the Americas, India, China, Japan, Central Asia, South-East Asia, the South Sea Islands and Africa.

In principle, there is no question of creating new courses but of adjusting existing ones. The object is to draw attention to the existence of these civilizations and to the part they have played in history. Literature, history, geography, art and art history, are specially suitable for conveying these ideas without overloading the curriculum. Modern teaching aids—gramophone records, wireless, films—will be of considerable assistance to the teacher. They should not, however, lead to any omission of direct contact with the great literary works of exotic civilizations. It is this contact above all which remains the goal to be reached. It alone can be get familiarity, understanding and sympathy.

Training of Teachers and Teaching Material

Lastly, two particular problems arose for the committee's consideration. First the training of teachers. If pupils between the ages of 12 and 18 are to learn something about pre-Colombian America or the civilization of Central Asia, their teachers or prospective teachers must know a good deal about these subjects. This brings us back to the problem of specialized instruction; the instruction given to the teacher must be excellent in order that the general culture reaching his pupils through him may be good.

The second problem is that of making the necessary information, texts and translations available both to teachers and to pupils. Here Unesco's contribution should, and can be considerable. More particularly, access to the "History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind" compiled by Unesco may be invaluable. Of the utmost usefulness, too, are the translation and distribution of the chief classics of the various cultures.

The foregoing is a brief summary of the work of the committee of experts convened by the International Council

for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. Much still remains to be done. In the sphere of the humanities nothing is ever permanently achieved or preserved. Hardly is the problem of better mutual acquaintance between the civilizations of East and West outlined, than we find ourselves faced with the further urgent question, of the place and role of the humanities as a whole in the education and civilization of today.

Once the cultures of East and West have learnt to know each other better, they will still have to make a common stand against the invader—technology, the machine—whose looming bulk and prestige threaten them all alike. What would be the use of comparing the teachings of Francis of Assisi and the Buddha if charity were to lose all meaning in a mechanized world?

But that is another story.....

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VILLAGE SQUIRE IN CEYLON

John Seymour

THE conception of village squire was to me exclusively English till I found in the hilly Kandyan country of Ceylon squires who filled all the requirements of the *genre* except in such superficial matters as port-swilling and fox-hunting. The last time I was there, at Epakanda, I had the pleasant experience of sharing the family life of one of them.

This village is in paddy and coconut country, fairly level though with an occasional jungle-clad hill rising sharply, and is reached by a long winding motor-road. Its squire is a benign-looking middle-aged man with fair round belly, generous white moustache and a twinkle that seldom leaves his eye. He wears a white cloth sarong-fashion about his legs, a white shirt and a white collarless tunic, all spotlessly clean. His hair, now somewhat scanty, is done up at the back in a bun and on state occasions has a curved comb in it. His family have made various attempts to induce him to wear shoes when he goes to town but so far without success; he will tell you that he never has worn shoes and never intends to. If he knows any English he keeps it a secret. His lips and teeth are reddened by chewing a mixture of betel-leaf, areca-nut and lime, and for spitting I would back him against any American hill-billy. Yet he has dignity, and you would only have to meet him to know that he is what used to be called a gentleman.

His house is built on a peculiar pattern, like most squires' houses in Ceylon. Standing out a long way in front is a large covered porch. In that hot climate one could almost live in the porch. But apart from that, at paddy-planting and harvest (and at Epakanda both occur twice yearly) anything up to fifty men, women and children have to eat in the squire's house at his expense; it is part of the complex and unchanging relation-ship between a Sinhalese land-owner and the people who work on his land. They all sit cross-legged on coir mats in the porch, the squire among them, and eat rice and curry from banana-leaf plates with their fingers.

Entering from the porch you come first to a smaller veranda with wicker tables and chairs, and then into a large,

rather dark room, full of heavy curly brown Victorian furniture. There the Monarch of the Glen himself stares down from the wall beside a score of fly-spotted wedding photographs and a tinted picture of the squire resplendent in Kandyan costume; and leaning against the wall are some beautiful ceremonial fans woven from the fronds of the talipot palm, with long lacquered handles. In the middle of the room is the enormous mahogany table which the family use only when there are important and westernised guests.

Leaving this concession to the West we come to a courtyard open to the sky, surrounded by cloisters, where the women of the house stay and take their ease. Not that they are kept in any sort of seclusion—there is nothing like that among the humane and Buddhist Sinhalese—but they prefer to entertain themselves secure from the public gaze. When guests arrive the women consort in the courtyard, while the men sit on the veranda or porch. Opening off the cloisters are the bedrooms. The beds are of hard boards with no mattresses but clean sheets.

At the back of the house is the kitchen, the room generally used for eating, and a big storeroom. In one corner of the kitchen is the stove, consisting of half a dozen roughly-built low brick fireplaces with no chimney. The fires are fed with coconut shells or with the thick parts of the fronds of coconut palms. The walls, of brick plastered with mud, are blackned by the smoke of years. Squatting before the fireplaces the kitchen women stir the curries, of which there must be at least half a dozen for every meal. On the biggest grate, which stands apart, is an enormous cauldron of rice. High on the wall above the fireplaces are large racks on which are stored some of the ingredients of the aromatic dishes—chillies of different sorts, red onions, dried fish and a dozen kinds of spice. The floor of rammed mud and cow-dung is as hard and clean as concrete, and a large flat stone is let into it for the preliminary hulling of the paddy to extract the rice.

The whole household turns upon rice. The untreated grain is small, rough and brown, like barley, with as hard a husk. It is parboiled in a big copper pot and then laid out on mats to dry in the sun. After that it is winnowed by being flung into the air with a little basket-scoop, pounded first on the stone in the kitchen floor and then with pestle and mortar, and finally winnowed a second time to remove the husks. It is now ready to be boiled and eaten.

Normally the squire takes his meals in the room adjoining the kichen in company with the other men of the family and all the men regularly employed on the estate. There are never less than a score to dinner. All sit about one long table, and the squire sees to it that everybody gets his fair share—that is, as much as he can eat. More rice than is required is always cooked so that if a neighbour drops in there is a meal for him. What is uneaten goes to the dogs or the family elephant. The women wait on the men and have their meal when the men have finished, though the squire's lady, being modern and emancipated, eats with a knife and fork in a smaller room with her children. The squire,like the rest of the company,usually eats with his fingers.

The three meals a day all consist of rice and curry. The squire and his sons breakfast on the front porch and are joined by the family elephant, which comes lolloping up and breaks into a run as it nears the house, its mahout sitting high on its neck. It tries to get under the roof of the porch while the squire, never failing to roar with laughter, stuffs into its mouth whole bunches of unpeeled bananas. When these are finished he roars for the servants to bring a pineapple, and this is sliced up and fed to the elephant, which then gets the remains of the previous day's rice—a bucketful perhaps. Then it ambles off to its work of knocking down old rubber trees.

The squire's eldest son has a car and drives about all day at his job of rural development officer. Though he could well afford it, the squire himself has never owned a car, preferring a small hackery pulled by a trotting bull. There are several of these pretty little bulls about the place, usually tethered to coconut trees where they can graze on the short green grass beneath. They have gentle eyes, and their flanks are marked by ornamental brands and their horns tipped with brass. They are as tame as dogs and will trot at a good pace for miles. The squire is very proud of them and sometimes enters them for hackery races. On most days he drives off to the near-by town in his hackery to ransact business or to engage in litigation. Kandyan landowners usually divide their estates equally between their sons and daughters, and after the father's death a lot of time is spent in litigation: one's brothers, perhaps, one can get on with; but when one's sister marries—maybe a foreigner from the hated low country near the coast—it is time to go to law and teach the odious brother-in-law a lesson.

My friend's estate consists of forty-five acres of paddy land—level ground in the valley bottom, separated into beds by small earth bunds so that it will remain flooded when the paddy is growing—and over two hundred acres of 'high' ground: that is, only slightly higher than the paddy land but not level enough for rice. The paddy land is easy to manage, being let out on a share-crop basis to the men of the village. The squire privides the seed and occasionally some fertilisers, and the villagers do the work, finding the ploughs and water-buffaloes. After harvest the cultivators get half the paddy and the squire the other half. He stores his share in three huge egg-shaped baskets, higher than the house, made of split bamboo and thatched with paddy straw. The village laundryman, blacksmith, carpenter and mason are each allotted a certain amount of paddy land which they farm for themselves. In return, throughout the year, they must do whatever work the squire's household may require in their trades. There is never any argument about the amount; the men simply do what is necessary.

Very little money is handled. The squire's son bought his car (a small English model) through a trader in the village, promising to pay in future cocunut crops. The men who work regularly for the squire—coconut pluckers, for example, or the men who cart the coconuts, or those who husk the nuts and split them and dry them to make copra—are paid with a proportion of the crop they have harvested or otherwise worked on. At harvest the whole village turns out to reap the squire's fields, and all are similarly paid with a share of the crop. Not only at planting and harvest but on other days during the year all the villagers share the traditional right to be fed at the squire's expense. In addition to the able-bodied workers on the estate, a number of hangers-on—men and women past effective work, and one deaf and dumb from birth—also receive food and shelter there and are quite happy. If one of them comes and asks for money for some special purpose, such as a pilgrimage, it would never occur to the squire not to give him what he requires, and it would never occur to the man to ask for more than he needs.

My friend the squire is a survival from feudalism perhaps, but there is something to be said for the simplicity, honesty and traditional humanity of his relations with his fellow villagers.

(By Courtesy of the Editor, *The Countryman*. Burford Oxfordshire.)

THE WHITE ISLAND OF NIGHTINGALES

Neville Braybrooke

THE first impression is of a pyramid—save that the stone is the colour of salt. For the last half hour we have been hugging the Northern shores of Ibiza,* watching the dawn throw its long lassoos of light over the black, barbaric rocks of the coast-line; here, more than at either Barcelona or Valencia, the land sweats under the sun. Then suddenly swinging round into the harbour, the rows of houses—gay with hangings—seem to meet in a three-cornered fiesta hat. There has been a momentary quivering of the holds, a spurring hard of this horse, since that is quite literally what the *Princess Mahon* is to her Spanish crew—a sea-horse, until now, by comparison, all is calm as two small skiffs carry our ropes to the posterns at the water's edge. The Civil Guard order and counter-order instructions about the gangways. The fences that earlier this morning penned the garrison goats to the castle walls are hastily brought, set at one angle, then another—all in the vain hope of imposing a brief customs check in the next few minutes. Tempers rise as the ship's bell sounds; but already the notes appear sour in the hot, perspiring air; the pure milky tones that beat out the watches of the night have been lost. There is something harsh and wooden in the bell-metal—the right music for Ibiza, the most savage of the Balearic Isles.

Our hotel proprietor drives us to the centre of the port, asking us to wait "*uno momento*." An hour later he returns laden with things—among them boot laces; scissors; razor blades. There has been the time to acclimatize ourselves to the slow, jogging rhythm of the island where the roads flower from the capital, each separately, so that every journey means a return to this centre—the noon-day dust dictating its own limit of 20 miles an hour. Half way down the Jesus Avenue, leading to Saint Eulalia del Rio, the proprietor's cousin joins us. She is dressed in black, her skin the colour of dates. Work in the fields has pressed the juice of existence

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* Ibiza, the third smallest of the Balearic Islands, called by its inhabitants "The White Island of Nightingales."

dry, and this is a community where primarily the young and the old count. Beneath the great white bridal blossoms that line the route, crouching squaws like black dots litter the plain—and indeed the Phoenician, Greek and Red Indian invaders have all left their mark. Blindfolded and harnessed, horses turn water-wheels throughout the day. A few chickens run into the road. And then it is the same all over again—the white blossoms, the horses, the chickens.

As we sweep round into Saint Eulalia, we cross the one and only river with its tributaries dispersed for miles by a vast irrigation scheme through the terra cotta soil. This is the second largest village (the port is the island's one town), and already the foundations for three new hotels are laid. An open air arena for dancing is under construction—though in the meantime an arrow points to a side entrance advertising, BEER AND HAM SANDWICHES. But at the *kiosko*, in the main square, the turkeys strut in and out of the tables. Here the Costa Brava influence is still far away, and *paulo*, with its syrrupy taste—not quite port, not quite metatone—remains the local aperitif: its chief rivals are pernod or brandy at a *peseta* a glass, or *limonados naturala* at two and fifty *centavos*. The daily bus has drawn in and a woman steps off it in trousers, a sloppy joe slung around her shoulders. Another lowers her pitcher to watch. The men who are playing dominoes stop; the recaptured moment of Catalan strategy in 1936 is forgotten. Their teeth assume the quality of melon seeds for the spitting, and a violent hissing ensues. The modern world is curiously alien in this biblical setting. Not so long ago they stoned a woman who, unaccompanied, drove this way.

From the hotel carts have worn grooves into the paths that divide the crops from us and the sea; the jackass is munching in his stable, and over the derilect cross bars that were once a gate a huge, giant convolvulus has threaded its purple trellis, green shoots flowering as a decade's moist decay turns into this year's sap. The horizon is clear and now in all the penetrating glare of the Mediterranean there comes the nostalgia for the grey waters of the Camden Town lock or the cosy cups of tea drunk in bed-sitting rooms off Notting Hill Gate. There is a feeling of nakedness and exposure. The eye needs its own dark-room since too much light blinds the retina. This is the traveller's paradox—the need to be blinded to see, the need to take home the negative on trust. The photographs that we have taken

will become more than mementoes when later they are fixed into the loose corners of 18th century prints of Dr. Johnson or laid along the mantelpiece. Instead they will become the fixed reality. Only a memory of the whiteness of the blossom will stay, the heavy sagging petals cascading with a whiteness as of snow before roof-tops have smirched it.

And the sound of the nightingales. As the afternoon draws into night and darkness suddenly clamps down, so we sit, as crouched over a winter gas fire, trying to read by the 10 watt. bulbs. Out in the bay the pilot lights come on one after the other, stringing a necklace from shore to shore. Above the verandah the bamboo shoots whisper with their own secret life. The proprietor's son is tuned into Barcelona, his black pupils swelling with remembered pride at a boy's first encounter with the big city—the six weeks he spent with an uncle. Yes, the rumbas, the girls in *las ramblas*, the price dropping with the hour—our eyes meet. He knows, we know. The fourteen hour sea-journey to the mainland drifts away as the rhythm becomes hotter, growing to the insistent beat of the big-stick boy at the drums. Then a call from the kitchen. The meal is ready, " Messieurs et mesdames, quand vous vaudrez..... "

" . . . quand vous vaudrez. . . " The same heavy lisped French, handed from father to son. This time the proprietor is waiting to drive us back. When we motor into the port it is just four o'clock. The siesta is over, and in two hours we shall be leaving. For a last view we climb by the zig-zagging streets towards the garrison and church. On the way, low arched entrances keep the upper rooms cool. Children look out, their bare feet surrounded by clucking hens, for here the farmyard penetrates to the centre of every home. Already ambling down these cobbled paths the fences from the goat pen are being carried to the quay for our departure. Then as we reach the peak of this Moorish fortress and lean over, we can see the *Princess Mahon* being loaded with her cargo of salt from the island's mines. The yellow sandstone of the parapet has been pocked and marked by machine-gun fire. The white is an off-colour, and everywhere the walls are pealing. By the door of the Cathedral some one has drawn two hearts—ANTONIO Y. MARIA. There is a feeling of skins, a town shedding its life as every morning the sun brings decay a little closer.

But what of the first impression, the white pyramid we saw a month ago? Was it an illusion? A month later the photographs on the mantelpiece say that it was not.

JAINA PHILOSOPHY *

A. M. K. Cumaraswamy

PEOPLE who speak of Hinduism as *a* religion overlook the patent fact that in the ordinarily understood sense of the term, Hinduism is not *one* religion, but a mosaic of many faiths and philosophies, some-when complementary, some-when conflicting. Americans manifest a shrewd judgment in giving the word *Hinduism* its correct connotation, for by a *Hindoo* (sic) they understand a *native* of Hindustan, *i.e.*, India.

Jainism, like Saivism or Vaishnavism, is *one* of India's religions, and though its adherents are not so numerous as Saivites or Vaishnavites, yet it has claimed the allegiance of some of India's noblest souls. Mahatma Gandhi himself was a Jain. There is, of course, a common cultural background for all the higher religions which are popularly lumped together as Hinduism, as also fair agreement in respect of the ceremonial law. Jainism, in theory, accepts Karma and Metempsychosis, but its God is definitely Personal, though some Jains fight shy of this adjective in the mistaken fear that it savours of anthropomorphism.

It is interesting that Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, was a Senior contemporary of Gautama Buddha. That the founder of Buddhism, despite his denial of the Soul and his refusal to admit a Supreme Father-God, yet learnt much from the founder of Jainism is affirmed by the Jains of India, and not seriously disputed by Indian Buddhists. The Buddha's argument for the non-existence of the Soul, and Mahavira's refutation of the doctrine of Anatta are succinctly referred to by Mohan Lal Mehta in this wise:—

1. *Atheistic thesis*, on the basis of Anatta. "Even implication does not help us in proving the existence of Soul. There does not exist any such object seen or heard whose postulation can prove the independent existence of soul. Thus, when the existence of soul cannot be proved by any one of the five means of valid cognition, each of which establishes the existence of an object, it automatically follows that it

* Outlines of Jaina Philosophy by Mohan Lal Mehta (Jain Mission Society, Bangalore. Rs. 5 (10s. 6d.)

comes within the range of negation (ABHAVA), the sixth means of valid cognition whose function is to establish non-existence. Thus it is proved that the Soul does not exist."

2. "Lord Mahavira refutes the arguments of the opponent in the following manner.":

"O Gautama! the soul is indeed directly cognizable to you also. Your knowledge about it which consists of doubts, etc., is itself the Soul. What is proved by your own experience should not be proved by other means of cognition. No proof is required to prove the existence of happiness, misery, etc. Or, the Soul is directly experienced owing to the AHAMPRATYAYA (realisation as I) in "I did, I do, and I shall do," the realisation which is associated with the functions pertaining to all the three tenses. If there is no Soul, how do you realise AHAM? How can there be a doubt whether the Soul is or is not?"

This last point naturally brings to mind the dictum in Western Philosophy, "COGITO, ERGO SUM."

While Jainism does not tolerate Anatta and Atheism, and while its arguments for the existence of the Soul are very similar to the arguments of Jewish, Christian and Muslim philosophers, its assertion of Theism takes a line very different from the Semitic approach. The entire "otherness" of a Transcendental Deity has, as a tenet, seldom been natural to any of the religious philosophies native to India. This explains how even Jainism ends up with the taint of an emphasis, savouring of Advaita and Monism. The ultimate destiny of the emancipated Soul is thus described:— "When the Karmas are completely annihilated, the liberated Soul goes to the end of the universe. It dwells there without visible shape. There it enjoys infinite, incomparable, indestructible, supernatural happiness of salvation. A Soul in its perfect nature is God. It is the individual effort, the personal endeavour that constitutes the path to the state of God."

BOOKS NEW AND OLD

Alan Bird

What is precious is never to forget
The essential delight of the blood drawn from ageless springs
Breaking through rocks in worlds before our earth.
Never to deny its pleasure in the morning simple light
Nor its grave evening demand for love.
Never to allow gradually the traffic to smother
With noise and fog the flowering of the spirit.
Stephen Spender

ERNEST Hemingway was born on 21st July 1898. He spent an adventurous youth roaming about America and, when war began in 1914 and before America entered it, Hemingway worked in Europe with an American Ambulance unit and later joined the Italian Army. He proved himself brave and gallant. After the war, he became a newspaper correspondent. He was friendly with Gertrude Stein, in Paris, and it is claimed she greatly influenced his style of writing. Hemingway has been married several times, lives in Cuba and is passionately interested in bull-fighting, fishing, ski-ing and shooting—and writing. In 1954, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

It is impossible to deny that Hemingway is greatly talented, is, in fact, something of a genius. He has great narrative gifts and his writing is certainly remarkable for its individuality. Here is a typical sentence: 'There was a stream alongside the road and far down the pass he saw a mill beside the stream and the falling water of the dam, white in the summer sunlight.' One notices the (seeming) simplicity of the sentence, the use of 'and,' and the avoidance of adjectives. Another extract will further illustrate this style: 'In the fall the war was always there, but we did not go to it any more. It was cold in the fall in Milan and the dark came very early. Then the electric lights came on, and it was pleasant along the streets looking in the windows. There was much game hanging outside the shops, and the snow powdered in the fur of the foxes and the wind

blew their tails. The deer hung stiff and heavy and empty, and small birds blew in the wind and the wind turned their feathers. It was a cold fall and the wind came down from the mountains.' It would be silly to deny that English is being used in a very special way here. The average writer might have made one complex sentence of this paragraph and would hardly have used 'and' so often or repeated words like 'fall,' 'wind', and 'cold' in neighbouring sentences. This device, which is most effective, is more related to poetry than prose. At the same time, although at first it gives the impression of strength and taciturnity, it is really quite verbose; Hemingway button-holes one and there is no escaping. For a while he drags us into his world of boxers, fishermen, soldiers and bull-fighters—ordinary and yet extra-ordinary people—which he somehow persuades us is heroic and significant. But it is no world, only a small section of humanity; and his heroes are under-dogs and failures. For all his toughness, Hemingway is very much in the same line of thinking as the makers of American films. No one is bad or wicked though he may be a criminal—he is just mis-led or, through goodness of heart, has fallen foul of the law. Dickens was also sentimental with a distinct sympathy for the under-dog but what a genius he was, and what a range of observation and sympathy and humour—a quality not very evident in Hemingway's work!

Despite these reservations, Hemingway remains a justly celebrated writer. 'For Whom the Bell Tolls' (the title comes from a sermon by John Donne, the seventeenth century poet and divine) gives a savage picture of the Spanish Civil War; 'A Farewell to Arms' is a very personal and, at times, moving account of the author's experiences in the 1914—18 war; 'To Have and Have Not' shows brilliant insight into the life of a fisherman who is overwhelmed by the strains and misfortunes of life; and 'Men Without Women', a collection of short stories, gives most aspects of Hemingway in miniature. For him (and his heroes) the world is not a very kind place: in many ways it is Elizabethan, dark and malignant, and only during brief moments of intimacy between men and women and men and men is the darkness banished and a brief shaft of comforting sunlight admitted to the somber scene. Life is a struggle but man is great, born to a magnificent heritage of individuality and supremacy so that he alone, of all the creatures, can stare Fate in the eye and brazenly oppose it. If, in the end, thwarted

Fate comes screaming down on its victim and drags him away, destroys, obliterates him, the struggle has not been in vain and fruitless. It has set an example; it has proved man's humanity and greatness. Human personality has asserted itself. Whatever his failings or weaknesses, Hemingway deserves credit for his attempt to see greatness in the lowest and frailest of men. He is not always convincing but he is rarely dull. Every aspect of humanity interests him; and this interest redeems the faults of his writing. Within him there is some part of the life-force that burns so fiercely in the hearts and souls of the truly great masters—only a little part—but that little is not to be despised in these days of threadbare, pretentious and life-lacking talents!

Dylan Thomas, who died recently, was a poet of very considerable fame though perhaps he received more praise after his death than he enjoyed during many years of his life. At the time of his death he was working in New York for his work was also well-known in America. He always remained, however, a poet of Wales and drew his inspiration from his childhood there. According to some accounts he could be short-tempered and boorish and very possibly he had good reason to be so. However, a poet's work counts more than his personality; or, rather, it is his personality as expressed in his work that matters ultimately. A charming man may be a poor poet; a monster of iniquity and vice may be great and eternal in his work!

Thomas's poetry has great beauty though it is often complicated and difficult to understand: it was influenced by seventeenth century metaphysical poetry and also by contemporary trends in verse, prose and painting. In the past, a poet wrote for his public and himself; Thomas, like so many living poets, wrote largely for himself. This applies to his prose as well, for it has a very personal significance. Yet one can't help wondering whether Thomas wasn't sometimes deliberately complex. Could he not have often expressed himself more simply? 'A Prospect of the Sea' contains essays and stories chosen and collected by Dylan Thomas. It must be said that much of the writing is highly artificial and derivative. Here is the beginning of the story 'A Prospect of the Sea' (from which the volume takes its name): "It was high summer, and the boy was lying in the corn. He was happy because he had no work to do and the weather was hot." Surely even this brief extract sounds rather like Hemingway? The stories in this book are extreme-

ly personal and sometimes incomprehensible. They seem to offer a private map of love for which we have no key. We rarely have Ariandne's thread to this personal labyrinth. Thomas uses many private symbols such as idiots (the Irish poet Yeats also did), hills, trees and winds but they do not mean so very much to us. Sometimes the symbols seem to click with an experience of our own which memory has concealed, transmuted, and now yields up to us. More often we read and feel an emptiness of meaning, a flow of words without significance, surrealist and fashionable prose without value. Yet there are also beautiful and breath-taking moments as in, 'The Orchard,' and moments of sheer terror as in 'The Enemies.' Most of the material in 'A Prospect of the Sea' hardly deserves preservation. Dylan Thomas was a most interesting poet and this slight volume is hardly worthy of him. I would like to quote one of his better-known poems which, more than anything I can quote from 'A Prospect of the Sea,' will give some idea of his great gifts:

The force that through the green fuse drives the flower
Drives my green age; that blasts the roots of trees
Is my destroyer.

And I am dumb to tell the crooked rose
My youth is bent by the same wintry fever.

The force that drives the water through the rocks
Drives my red blood; that dries the mouthing streams
Turns mine to wax.

And I am dumb to mouth unto my veins
How at the mountain spring the same mouth sucks.

The hand that whirls the water in the pool
Stirs the quicksand; that ropes the blowing wind
Hauls my shroud sail.

And I am dumb to tell the hanging man
How of my clay is made the hangman's lime.

The lips of time leech to the fountain head;
Love drips and gathers, but the fallen blood
Shall calm her sores.

And I am dumb to tell a weather's wind
How time has ticked a heaven round the stars.

And I am dumb to tell the lover's tomb
How at my sheet goes the same crooked worm.

Hemingway to explain his title 'For whom the Bell Tolls's quotes from John Donne, one of the best-known of early seventeenth century poets:

No man is an Island, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the Continent, a part of the maine; if a Clod bee washed away by the Sea, Europe is the lesse, as well as if a Promontorie were, as well as if a Mannor of thy friends or of thine owne were; any mans death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde; And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee'. Dylan Thomas was also influenced by the early seventeenth century poets. One of them, however, though much loved by a few, has been generally neglected: Richard Corbett, Dean of Christ Church, Bishop of Oxford and then of Norwich.

Corbett was not a great poet but he was a charming, witty and accomplished man who was certainly (to quote Donne) 'involved in Mankinde'. John Aubrey relates a story about him which illustrates this point: Bishop Corbett and his friend and chaplain, Thomas Lushington, were very fond of wine and so, 'The bishop sometimes would take the key of the wine-cellar and he and his chaplain would go and lock themselves in and be merry. Then first he lays down his episcopal hat—"There lies the Doctor." Then he putts of his gowne,—"There lyes the Bishop." Then 'twas, "Here's to thee, Corbet", and "Here's to thee, Lushington." Corbett was not a lover of hard work or misery and he strove in every way to lighten his path through life. While still a young man, tall, good-looking and perpetually gay, he was famed for his wit and his jokes. This easy and gay quality is evident in all his verse which seems to have never entailed effort or agony. Perhaps we have lost much with the romantic agony and the idea that a poet is a cursed creature who must suffer birth-pangs every time he produces the slightest poem. Corbett wrote his poems as easily as he drank his wine.

Richard Corbett was born in 1582 and died on 28 July, 1635 'like a Roman, bravely. As they prayed about him, he joined with them; prayers ended, he bid them all good night, and died.' His last words, most appropriately, were, 'Good night Lushington.' Strange to think Corbett lived during Shakespeare's life-span; for Corbett is so very personal a poet and Shankespeare so universal and remote a genius! A new edition of Corbett (the first since 1807) contains 49 poems which are very probably by him though he took so

little care to preserve his work that we cannot be sure whether these poems are definitely his. The editors of this Oxford edition do not seem to care for Corbett: and it rather seems as though their interest are biographical and historical rather than poetical for they have little to say about the quality of his verse and not much good to say of the poet or his friends. They perform their task well and, unless signed or definitely attributed manuscripts are discovered, another edition of Corbett will never become necessary. Yet, to this reader at least, there is more to be said for Corbett and his verse than they allow. It is the verse of a witty and cultured and tolerant man; it is the perfect expression of a personality. Both his wit and personality are evident in this poem on the death of John Dawson, the butler at Christ Church—

Weepe, O his cheeses! Weepe till you be good,
Ye that are dry, or in the sunne have stood:
In mossy coats and rusty liveries mourne,
Untill, like him, to Ashes ye shall turne.
Weepe, O ye barrells! Lett your drippings fall
In trickling streames: make waste more prodigall
Than when our drinke is bad, that John may floate
To Stix in beere, and lift up Charon's boate
With wholesome waves———

Corbett's 'Iter Boreale' is delightful, his 'Farewell, Rewards and Fairies' is charming; but the poem I like most —and it is the most perfect maintaining its inspiration to the end—is the poem written to his son Vincent Corbett:

What I shall leave thee none can tell,
But all shall say I wish thee well:
I wish thee (Vin), before all wealth,
Both bodily and ghostly health.
Nor too much wealth, nor wit, come to thee:
Too much of either may undoe thee.
I wish thee learning, not for show,
But truly to instruct and know:
Not such as Gentlemen require,
To prate at Table, or at Fire.
I wish thee all thy mother's graces,
Thy father's fortunes, and his places.
I wish thee friends, and one at Court,
Not to build up, but to support:
To keepe thee, not in doing many
Oppressions, but from suffering any.
I wish thee peace in all thy wayes,

Nor lazy nor contentious dayes;
And when thy soule and body part,
As innocent as now thou art.

He was not a great poet but he was a unique personality who could express himself quite perfectly in slight but delightful verse. In verse, as in life, Corbett was happily involved in mankind.

This brings me to the Pelican Guides to English Literature. So far two volumes have appeared: The Age of Chaucer and The Age of Shakespeare. The whole series is to be edited by Boris Ford who has proved himself a capable editor in these two volumes. The Age of Chaucer most sensibly provides extracts from some of the texts under discussion. In both volumes, there is an avoidance of the trivial and superficial, an effort to be praised—though some essays (Professor Muir's essay on Changing Interpretations of Shakespeare, for instance) are rather too slight. The editor says in his introduction that, "this Guide has been compelled to take stock of what L. H. Myers has described as 'the deep-seated spiritual vulgarity that lies at the heart of our civilization.' An age that can solemnly produce ...'a 'comic' 'illustrated version of Macbeth.....' is one that is evidently out of sympathy with, indeed is radically hostile to, the kind of imaginative and moral exploration that Shakespeare's work amounts to. The intimate relations between art and popular culture which provided so rich an element in Shakespeare's strength is something that is not possible today, when popular culture has come to have such very different connotations." These Guides are a deliberate attempt to prvide intelligent and learned comment on the great writers of the past for the benefit of the common reader of today. Mr. Ford has so far succeeded admirably and the whole venture deserves congratulations and support. No lover of English literature can really afford to be without these inexpensive and absorbing volumes.

A Farewell to Arms, *Men Without Women*, *To have and have not*, *For whom the Bell Tolls*, Ernest Hemingway (Penguin Books, Ltd.)

A Prospect of the Sea, Dylan Thomas, (Messrs J. M. Dent—distributed by Messrs Macmillan and Co. Ltd.)

The Poems of Richard Corbett. ed Bennett and Trevor—Roper, Oxford.

The Age of Chaucer, *The Age of Shakespeare*, (Penguin Books, Ltd.)

THE NEW LANKA CLUB

At the fourth meeting of The New Lanka Club at 51 Turret Road, Colombo, The Hon. Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan, Minister of Industries, Social Services and Housing delivered a lecture on "The Language Problem in Ceylon Today" with the Rt. Rev. Lakdasa De Mel, Bishop of Kurunegala, in the chair. There was an interesting discussion and at the conclusion of the meeting a Social.

THE NEW LANKA REVIEW AND THE NEW LANKA CLUB

(*Ceylon Observer*, *June* 26, 1955)

There was nothing rabid or fanatical, loud mouthed or hysterical, methanandian or kularatnian about the journalistic venture, New Lanka, which Mr. G. L. Cooray founded a few years ago as his contribution to the cultural development of Ceylon.

This quiet spoken scholar, full of ambition and hope, sought the assistance of a number of persons who are interested in Ceylon, its past, the present and the future, and he set out on his idealistic experiment which recently received warm praise from the Governor-General himself as being a very valuable contribution to the life and letters of the community.

There is no worshiping of false gods in order to earn a little cheap popularity but a solemn and strict adherence to the principles of faith which were learnt in the past at the feet of those whose integrity could never be doubted.

A venture of this kind by Mr. Cooray could not have surprised those who knew him or his family which has made its own forceful and fascinating contribution to this country. And now, from the journalistic venture which had to fight hard against heavy odds in an age of commercialism has emerged the New Lanka Club, another bold and welcome experiment where those who are interested in Ceylon, its traditions and cultural patterns can meet together and listen to a careful student who has made an intesive study of his subject expound the story of the past or give guidance and direction to those in need of this assistance.

Most members of this group have not set their chins against the wide and lively world that exists outside the shores of Ceylon nor has their nationalist fervour induced them to shut their eyes on anything and everything that is not from their own homeland. But they can find tneir way about their own country and appreciate and enjoy the best things which a country with so romantic a history and so glorious a past can offer them.

There can be little doubt that the wide measure of support which Mr. Cooray receives will encourage him to carry on his crusade in the interests of culture and that the movement he was responsible for will grow in strength with the years and gather to its fold more and more of those who like to spend a quiet evening enjoying a lively discussion on some topic of real interest.

The New Lanka Club will then be a worthy tribute to the man who in a fevered age had enough hope and faith in his people to achieve for them by his own efforts an institution which can play a vital part in the life of the nation.

THE SINHALESE: THEIR LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

II

CULTURAL BEGINNINGS

V. Perniola, S. J.

GEOLOGISTS, anthropologists and historians have been at work to reconstruct the history of Ceylon prior to the third century B. C., but most of their conclusions are mere guesses. Real history begins with the advent of Buddhism in about 247 B. C.

Buddhism was introduced into the island from North India by monks. The monks brought with them not only their religion but the whole literature enshrining the doctrine of the Buddha and contained in the books that go under the name of Tripitaka. We speak of books nowadays, but there were no books at that time. The monks knew the doctrine by heart and handed it down to their pupils. In fact the two chief duties of the monks were meditation and learning the words of the Master by heart. Writing however was known and the monks that came to Ceylon from North India during the reign of the emperor Asoka brought with them the script which the emperor had used in the various inscriptions set up throughout his vast domains. Such a script went under to name of Brahmi lipi to differentiate it from another script more generally used in the North Western regions of India and called Karosti. The Brahmi script enabled the monks to engrave on rocks the expression of their gratitude to the men and women that supplied them with their first dwelling places, the caves at Vessagiriya to the South of Anuradhapura. This script also enables us to form an idea of the language used in Ceylon at the beginning of the second century B.C. and then to follow its development for several centuries. It is the same script that was gradually modified till it became the script that we still use in Ceylon. The growth and modification of the script were partly due to local conditions and partly to the influence of the script of South India. The country on the Bay of Bengal just above modern Madras was important since it lay on the high road between the North and the South.

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වී. පර්නියෝලා ඇස්. ජේ. පියතුමා විසිනි

(**පරිවර්තනය**: සිරිපාල තිලකසේන)

භූගර්භ විද්‍යාඥයන්, මානව විද්‍යාඥයන් හා ඉතිහාසඥයන් ක්‍රිස්තු පූර්ව තුන්වෙනි සත වර්ෂයෙන් පෙර ලංකා ඉතිහාසය නැවත ලිවීමෙහි යෙදී සිටියහ. එහෙත් ඔවුන්ගේ නිගමනයන් වැඩිහරියක් අනුමාන මාත්‍රයන් පමණෙකි. ක්‍රිස්තු පූර්ව 247 වෙනි වර්ෂයේදී බුද්ධාගමයේ පැමිණීමත් සමගම නියම ඉතිහාසය ආරම්භ විය. බෞද්ධ භික්ෂූන් විසින් බුද්ධාගමය දිවයිනට ගෙන එන ලද්දේ උතුරු ඉන්දියාවෙනි. උන් වහන්සේලා ආගම ධර්මය පමණක් නොව බුදුන්ගේ ධර්මය අඩංගු ත්‍රිපිටකය නමින් හැඳින්වෙන ග්‍රන්ථ සහිත සම්පූර්ණ සාහිත්‍යයද ගෙන ආහ. අද අප පොත් භාවිත කළ ද එකල භාවිතයට පොත් නොවිය. ධර්මය කටපාඩමින් දැන සිටි බෞද්ධ භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේලා එය තම ගෝලබාලයින් අතපත් කළහ. කරුණු සහිතව දක්වන විට භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේගේ ප්‍රධාන කෘත්‍යයන් දෙකට පැවැත්තේ දැන බැවුම් වැඩීමත්, ශාස්තෘන් වහන්සේගේ ධර්මය කටපාඩම් කරගැනීමත්ය. කෙසේ හෝ වේවයි ලිවීම දැන හැඳින ගත්තා ලදින් අශෝක අධිරාජයින්ගේ අවධියේ ඔහුගේ පුළුල් අධිරාජ්‍යය පුරා පැවති නොයෙක් ශිලා ලිපි සඳහා භාවිත කළ අක්ෂර විශේෂයක් මෙහි ගෙන එන ලදී. ඉන්දියාවේ වයඹ දිග පළාත්වල වැඩි වශයෙන් භාවිත වූ ඛරෝසති තමින් හැඳින්වුනු තවත් අක්ෂර විශේෂයකින් වෙන්කොට හඳුනා ගැනීමට උවමනා වීම නිසා මෙය තම්වූයේ බ්‍රාහ්මී ලිපි යනුවෙනි. අනුරාධපුරයට දකුණු දිගින් පිහිටි වෙස්ස ගිරි ගුහාවන්හි තාමන්ට පළමු වාසස්ථාන සපයාදුන් සත්‍රී පුරුෂ ජනයා වෙත ඤාතඥතාවය ගල්වල ලියා පල කිරීම භික්ෂූන්ට මේ බ්‍රාහ්මී අක්ෂරයන් නිසා හැකිවිය. එසේම මේ අක්ෂරයන් නිසා ක්‍රිස්තු පූර්ව දෙවෙනි සත වර්ෂයේ ආරම්භයේ දී ලංකාවේ භාවිතවූ භාෂාව ගැන අවබෝධයක් ඇතිකර ගැනීමට අපට හැකි වනවත් හැර සත වර්ෂ කිහිපයක්ම එය විකාශනයවූ හැටි ඉගෙනීමට හැකි වෙයි. අද ලංකාවේ අප තවමත් භාවිත කරන අක්ෂරයන් හැටියට හැඩගැසෙන තෙක්ම ක්‍රම යෙන් සකස් වෙමින් පැවැත්තේ මේ මූලික අක්ෂර විශේෂයම ය. අක්ෂරයන්ගේ වැඩීම හා හැඩගැස්ම අඩි වසයෙන් දේශීය තත්ත්වයන් අනුව වූ අතර අඩි වසයෙන් එසේ වූයේ දකුණු ඉන්දියානු අක්ෂරයන්ගේ

Through it passed preachers of new religious doctrines; through it travelled merchants with their goods; in it flourished several schools of art. It was from this country that Mahayana Buddhism came to Ceylon; it was to this country that Ceylon owed the first artistic inspiration. This country saw two flourishing kingdoms almost successively: the Kingdom of the Andhras and the Kingdom of the Pallavas. It was to the Pallava King that the Sinhalese prince Manavamma fled for help to regain the throne of Anuradhapura of which he had been deprived in 650 A. D. This country had adopted the same Brahmi script which had been brought to Ceylon. Both under the Andhras and under the Pallavas the script underwent several modifications. The influence of the Adnhra script on the Sinhalese script is evident in the fourth century inscription found at the Jetavana at Anuradhapura; the influence of the Pallava Grantha script is clearly discernible in the Sinhalese inscriptions of the sixth and seventh century A. D. The straight horizontal lines and the angular forms began to be avoided and the curved lines and the circular forms became increasingly common. This development seems to have been due both to the influence of the Pallava Grantha script and also, according to Dr. D. S. Paranavitana, to the fact that ola leaves began to be used for ordinary purposes. The straight lines incised by a pointed stylus would have easily split the ola leaves which have horizontal fibres; hence to avoid such a danger curvilinear writing was used. The curvilinear writing was soon adopted and it has come down to us with a few modifications.

The presence of a definite script made it possible to write down the Pali books. Tradition has that the Tripitaka was written down at Alu Vihara near Matale during the first century B. C. The handing down of the doctrine of the Master from teacher to pupil was subject to many and great inconveniences. Most of the books were in prose and it is much easier to tamper with prose than with poetry books. Famines and foreign invasions several times forced the monks out of their monasteries in their search for food to support their life. The sudden death or departure of a monk might have meant the loss of a portion of the sacred text. Further discords were already arising among the monks with reference to the interpretation and meaning of some of the texts and even with reference to their genuineness. Such controversies led to the rise of the Dhammaruci

බලපෑම හේතුකොට ගෙනය. මදුරාසියට ඉහළින් පිහිටා තිබෙන බෙංගාලයේ බොක්කට යාබද ප්‍රදේශය වැදගත් සථානයක් දරන්නේ උතුරේ සිට දකුණ දක්වා ඇති මාගීය නිසාය. මේ මාගීය ඔස්සේ අලුත් ආගම් දෙශථා කළ දෙශකයෝ ගමන් කළහ. වෙළඳුම පිණිස බඩු රැගෙන ගිය වෙළෙන්දෝ එය පසුකර ගියහ. මේ අතරතුරේ විවිධ කලාවන් පිළිබඳ මධ්‍යසථාන සශ්‍රීකව පැවතුනේය. ලංකාවේ කලා ප්‍රබෝධයක් ඇතිකිරීමට පොහොසත් වූ මේ රටින් මෙම දිවයිනට මහායාන බුඬාගමයද ගෙනඑන ලදී. ඉනා දිසූණු වූ ආන්ද්‍රා සහ පල්ලව රාජ්‍යයන් මෙහි පිහිටියේය. ක්‍රි: ව: 650 දී අනුරාධපුර රාජධානියෙන් තෙරපනු ලැබූ මානවම්ම නමැති සිංහල කුමාරයා එය නැවතත් ලබාගැනීම පිණිස ගියේ මේ රජු වෙතය. ලංකාවට ගෙන එනු ලැබූ බ්‍රාහ්මී අක්ෂර විශෙෂය මේ රටේදී භාවිත කරන ලදී. ආන්ද්‍ර පල්ලව රාජ්‍යයන් යටතේ මේ අක්ෂර නොයෙක් අන්දමට හැඩ ගැසුනේය. සිංහල අක්ෂරයනට ආන්ද්‍රා අක්ෂරයන් බල පෑ අයුරු අනුරාධපුරයේ ජේතවනයේ පිහිටි සතර වෙනි සහ වර්ධියට අයත් ශිලා ලිපියෙන් පැහැදිළි වෙයි. පල්ලව "ග්‍රන්ථාක්ෂර"යන්ගේ ආභාසය ක්‍රිස්තු වර්ෂයෙන් යට සයවෙනි හා සත්වෙනි සත වර්ෂ වලට අයත් සිංහල ශිලාලිපි වලින් මොනවට පැහැදිළි වෙයි. මේ අක්ෂරයන්ගේ සෘජු හරස් රේඛා සහ තෝනාකාර හැඩය ක්‍රමයෙන් ඉවත්ව ගිය අතර අර්ධ හෝ සම්පූර්ණ කවාකාර හැඩය වැඩියෙන් සුලභ විය. මෙසේ වීමට හේතුව පල්ලව ග්‍රන්ථාක්ෂරයන්ගේ ආභාසයත් ආචාර්‍ය ඩී.ඇස්.පරණවිතාන මහතා කියන හැටියට සාමාන්‍ය කරුණු වලදී පුස්කොළ ලිවීමට පටන් ගැනීමත් නිසාය. කරහට වැටුණු කෙදි සහිත පුස්කොළය මත තියුණු පන්හිදකින් කෙළින් ඉරි ඇඳීමෙන් පුස්කොළය ලෙහෙසියෙන් පුපුරන්නට හැකිව තුබුනේය. එවැනි අනතුරු වලකාලීම සඳහා කවාකාර රේඛා සහිත අක්ෂර භාවිතයට පටන් ගන්නා ලදී. මේ අක්ෂරයන් අප අතට පත්වී ඇත්තේ කිහිප වාරයක්ම වෙනස් වීමෙන් පසුවය. සථාවර අක්ෂර මාලාවක් සකස් වීම පාලි පොත් ලියා තැබීමට පහසුවක් විය. ක්‍රිස්තු පූර්ව පළමු වෙනි සත වර්ෂයේ මාතලේ අළුවිහාරයේදී ත්‍රිපිටකය ග්‍රන්ථාරූඪ කළ බව වෘත්තාන්තයන්හි සඳහන් ව ඇත්තේය. ආචාර්‍යවරුන්ගෙන් ගෝලබාලයන් අතට බුදුන් වහන්සේගේ ධර්මය පත් කිරීමේදී විඳින්නට වූ බරපතල දුෂ්කරතා බොහෝ ය. ග්‍රන්ථ වැඩි හරියක් ගද්‍යයෙන් ලියා තුබුනේය. එසේ ලියන ලද්දේ ඒවායේ ඇති අඩුලුහුඬු සකස් කර ගැනීමේ පහසුව සඳහා ය. අනර සොයා භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේ සවකීය ආරාමයන් කෙරෙන් පිටත යැවීමට තරම් සාගතයන් හා විදේශීය ආක්‍රමණයන් ප්‍රබල විය. බෞඬ භික්ෂුවගේ හදිසි මරණය හෝ උන්හිටි තැන් හැරයෑම ත්‍රිපිටක ග්‍රන්ථයක කොටසක් නැතිවූ හා සමාන විය. බෞඬ ග්‍රන්ථ පිළිබඳ අර්ථ ව්‍යාඛ්‍යාන නිගමනය කිරීමේදී හා ඒවායේ සත්‍යවාදී බව ඔප්පු කිරීමේදී බෞඬ භික්ෂූන් අතර භෙද ඇති විය. මහාවිහාර පාර්ශවයට පවහැනිව අභයගිරි විහාරයේ මූලසථානය පිහිටුවාගෙන සිටි ධර්මරුචි නිකාය පහළවූයේ මේ මතභෙදයන් හේතුකොට ගෙන ය. මේ කරුණු සියල්ලක්ම ධර්මය ග්‍රන්ථාරූඪ කිරීමේ තීරණය කරා එළඹීමට හේතුභූත විය. භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේලා පන්සියයක් අළුවිහාරයට රැස්ව සියලු ධර්ම කොටස් සජ්ජායනා කොට ඒවා රන් තහඩුවල ලියවා අළුවිහාර පර්වතයේ නිදන් කළහ යන පැරණි

sect of monks which had its head-quarters at the Abhayagiri Vihara in opposition to the Mahavihara. All these factors led to the decision of writing down the text of the doctrine. We may or may not take literally the tradition that five hundred monks assembled at Alu Vihara and recited all the texts and had them engraved on sheets of gold and enshrined in the rock of Alu Vihara. But it seems evident that writing down the texts began very early in Ceylon.

The script enables us to follow the development of the Sinhalese language from the second century onwards. We find the first inscriptions above the drip ledge of the caves at Vessagiriya. These inscriptions usually consist of a few words to commemorate the gift of a cave for the use of the monks. Such are *Gapati-Naga puta Tisaha lene sagasa*, The cave of Tisa, son of the householder Naga (is given) to the monks; and again; *Taladara nagahaputa Devaha lene agata anagata catudisa sagasa*, the cave of Deva son of Taladara naga (is given) to the monks of the four quarters present and future. These short inscriptions go on lengthening out with the passing of the centuries up to the ninth century. But practically all the inscriptions deal with gifts made to the monks, gifts of caves first; then of monasteries and fields and channels and tanks. The only inscriptions that are popular in tone and contents are those scratched by ordinary people on the shining plaster wall of the staircase at Sigiriya.

The first inscriptions reveal a language that was very similar to the dialects existing at the same time in India, called Prakrits. Then a period of growth began, chiefly under the influence of Pali; far reaching changes took place between the fourth and the eighth centuries, and the result was the Sinhalese language which is often called Elu. A few facts may illustrate some of the most important philological changes. All the vowels that were long in Sanskrit or Pali or the Prakrits were shortened in Sinhalese or Elu. For Sanskrit grāma and Pali gāma Sinhalese has gama. Long vowels however are found in Sinhalese, but they are either the result of a contraction of two vowels or the later ending of the nominative singular and of the verbal noun: paṅhala or pāla; ḍaṇā; dannava. Further the influence of the vowel i or ī on a preceding vowel has given rise to a new sound in Sinhalese: ä or ā. This change has been called with a German word *umlaut* since a similar phenomenon takes place in German; thus mandira and vapi become mädiri and väv. Sanskrit and Pali have a set of aspirate

මතය අප සම්පූර්ණයෙන් පිළිගන්නට හෝ නොපිළිගන්නට පුළුවන. එහෙත් ලංකාවේ ලියවිලි ලියා තැබීමට පටන් ගන්නා ලද්දේ බොහෝ මුල් අවධියේ බව ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂ ලෙස පැහැදිළිය.

දෙවෙනි සත වර්ෂයේ පටන් සිංහල භාෂාවේ වැඩීම ගැන දැනගැනීමට අක්ෂරයන් නිසා හැකි වෙයි. පළමු සෙල්ලිපි වෙස්සගිරියේ ගල් ගුහාවන් මත කොටා තිබෙනු අපට දක්නට ලැබෙයි. භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේ තමකට ගල්ගුහාවක් පරිහරණය පිණිස පූජා කිරීමේ සිද්ධිය අනුස්මරණය කිරීම පිණිස ලියූ වගන්තියක් සාමාන්‍යයෙන් මේ සෙල්ලිපිවල අන්තර්ගත වෙයි. "**ගහපති නාගපුත තිසහ ලෙන සඝස**" නාග නමැති ගෘහ මූලිකයාගේ පුත්‍ර තිස්සගේ ගුහාව භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේට (පිරිනමන ලදී) යන්න මෙහි තේරුමයි. යළිත් "**තලදර නාගහපුත දේවහ ලෙන අතත අනාගත චතුදිස සඝස**" තලදර නාගගේ පුත්‍ර දේවගේ ගුහාව වර්තමාන හා අනාගතයේදී සතර දිගින් එන මහා සංඝයා වහන්සේට (පිරිනමන ලදී) යනුයි. මේ කෙටි සෙල්ලිපි සත වර්ෂයන්ගේ ඇවෑමෙන් නවවෙනි සත වර්ෂය දක්වා ක්‍රම ක්‍රමයෙන් වැඩී ගියේය. එහෙත් සෑම සෙල්ලිපියකම පාහේ සඳහන් වන්නේ භික්ෂූන්ට කළ පරිත්‍යාගයක් පිළිබඳව ය. පළමුව ගල්ගුහා පිරිනැමීමත් දෙවනුව ආරණ්‍ය තෙත් වතු ඇල හා වැව් අමුණු පිරිනැමීමත් ගැන මේවායේ සඳහන් වෙයි. අර්ථය අතින් හා රසය අතින් ප්‍රසිද්ධියක් උසුලන සෙල්ලිපි මහාජනයා විසින් ලියා ඇත්තේ සීගිරි පියගැට පෙළ පසෙකින් වූ කැටපත් පවුරේය.

පළමු සෙල් ලිපි වලින් අනාවරණය වන්නේ එවකට පැවති ඉන්දීය ප්‍රාකෘතයනට සමාන භාෂාවක් තුබුණු බවයි. පාලි භාෂාවේ ආභාසය ලැබීමෙන් භාෂාව සංවර්ධනය වීමේ අවධියක් උදාවිය. සතර වෙනි හා අට වෙනි සත වර්ෂ අතරතුර දී භාෂාවේ බොහෝ වෙනස්කම් ඇතිවූ අතර එහි ප්‍රතිඵලය වූයේ "**එළ**" බස තමින් හැඳින්වෙන සිංහල භාෂාව පහළ වීමයි. වාග් විද්‍යාව අනුව වෙනස්කම් විස්තර කිරීමට මෙහිදී කරුණු කිහිපයක් දැක්විය හැකිය. සංස්කෘත හෝ පාලි හෝ ප්‍රාකෘත භාෂාවන්හි සවර දීර්ඝ වන අතර සිංහල හෝ **එළ** භාෂාවේ ඒවා හ්‍රස්ව වීය. සංස්කෘතයේ **ග්‍රාම** යන වචනය පාලියෙහි **ගාම** යනුවෙන්ද සිංහලයෙහි **ගම** යනුවෙන්ද එයි. දීඝී අක්ෂර සිංහල භාෂාවේ එතත් ඒවා සවර දෙකක් සම්බන්ධ වීමෙන් හෝ ප්‍රථමා විභක්තියෙහි ඒක වචන ප්‍රත්‍යය වීමෙන් හෝ කෘදන්ත නාමයන්ගෙන් මෙය සිදු විය හැක. නිදර්ශන වශයෙන් දක්වන විට **පහල** හෝ **පාල, දනා** හෝ **දන්නවා** යනුවෙනි. තවද, **ඉ ඒ** යන සවරයන්ට පෙර **එන ඇ ඈ** යන සවරයන් නිසා සිංහල භාෂාවේ අලුත් ශබ්දයක් ඇතිවීමට හේතු වූයේය. ජර්මන් බසේ ද මෙවැනි වෙනසක් දක්නට ලැබෙන හෙයින් මෙයට උම්ලවුට් යනුවෙන් ව්‍යවහාර කරනු ලැබේ. මේ අනුව **මඳිර** යනු **මැදිරි** යනුවෙන්ද වාපි යන්න **වැව්** යනුවෙන්ද වෙනස් වේ. සංස්කෘත හා පාලි භාෂාවන්හි ව්‍යංජන හා මහප්‍රාණ අක්ෂර ඇතද එම භාෂාවන්හි **එන** මහප්‍රාණ අක්ෂර සිංහලට බිඳී එන අවස්ථාවේදී සාමාන්‍ය ව්‍යංජන බවට පෙරළේ. නිදර්ශනයක් වශයෙන් සඳහන් කරතවා නම් සිංහල **ඝන** ශබ්දය සංස්කෘත හා පාලි භාෂාවේ **ඝන** ශබ්දයෙන් බිඳී ආවකි. පාලියේ **එන** බැඳි අකුරු සිංහල

consonants corresponding to the simple ones; all these aspirate consonants lose their aspiration in Sinhalese which has gana for Sanskrit and Pali ghana. All the double consonants are simplified: upan corresponds to Pali uppanna and Sanskrit utpanna. All the single intervocalic consonants of the guttural or dental class drop and, according to the vowels that come together, the consonants y, v or h are inserted: mukha, ākasa and paduma become respectively muva, ahasa, and piyum.

The alphabet became thus very much simplified; all the harsh or difficult sounds were eliminated, and the language gained in agility and melody though it lost in strength. This Sinhalese or Elu contains twelve vowels and twentyone consonants. But as soon as the process of simplification was accomplished, the language came under the influence of Sanskrit and Tamil. Sanskrit had been revived in India especially during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. when the Gupta emperors extended their patronage to the cultivation of literature and of all fine arts. Treatises on science, medicine, astrology, logic were composed in Sanskrit and from that time onward those branches of learning had to be studied in their original language. Further Sanskrit had been adopted also by Mahayana Buddhism which had its influence on Ceylon. The Tamil influence was felt owing to the Tamil invasions or to the presence of Tamil mercenary soldiers in the capital or to the fact that kings often married princesses from South India. Hence many words were borrowed directly from Sanskrit or Tamil and these borrowings re-introduced into the language all the sounds it had lost. On account of these borrowings Sinhalese can in a certain way be compared with English in which the same idea can often be expressed in Saxon words and in words derived from Latin and Greek. In Sinhalese we find, for instance, side by side the pure Elu words and the one borrowed from Sanskrit: mukha and muva; grāma and gama; ākāsa and ahasa; mandira and mädiri. The alphabet was thus enriched, counting seventeen vowels, thirtyfour consonants and three half consonants. Comparing the Sinhalese alphabet with the Roman we find that the *f* and *z* sounds are missing in it.

Besides the inscriptions there seems to have existed a voluminous composition in Sinhalese, but it has not come down to us. The monks of the chief monastery at Anuradha-

යට පෙරලෙන්නේ තනි අකුරු වසයෙනි. සිංහලයේ එන උපන් යන ශබ්දය පාලියේ එන **උප්පන්න** හෝ සංස්කෘතයේ **උත්පන්න** ශබ්දයෙන් බිඳී ආවකි. ඛණ්ඩජ හා දන්තජ වර්ගයට අයත් එමෙන්ම සවර දෙකක් මධ්‍යයේ ඇති තනි ව්‍යංජනාක්ෂර මැකී යන අතර ඒ වෙනුවට "ය" යන්න හෝ "හ" යන්න හෝ "ව" යන්න ආදේශ කරනු ලැබේ. නිදර්ශනයක් වසයෙන් සඳහන් කරණවිට මුඛ > මුව ආකාශ > අහස පදුම > පියුම් යන වසයෙනි.

අක්ෂර මාලාව මේ ආකාරයෙන් ලිහිල් විය. කියවීමට අමාරු ශබ්දයන් ඉවත් කරන ලදී. භාෂාවේ ප්‍රාණවත් භාවය නිතර් ගියත් සවර මාධුර්‍යය අතින් උසස් විය. ලිහිල් කිරීමේ ක්‍රමය සම්පූර්ණ වෙනවාත් සමගම භාෂාව සංස්කෘත හා දෙමළ භාෂාවන් ගෙන් ආභාය ලබන්නට පටන් ගත්තේය. ඉන්දියාවේ සංස්කෘත භාෂාව සතරවෙනි හා පස්වෙනි සත වර්ගයන්හිදී පුනර්ජීවය ලද්දේ ගුප්ත අධිරාජයන් සාහිත්‍යය හා ලලිත කලාවන් පිළිබඳව ඔවුන්ගේ අනුග්‍රහය දුන් බැවිනි. විද්‍යාව, වෛද්‍ය කර්මය, නක්ෂත්‍රය හා තර්කය යන විෂයයන් පිළිබඳ සංග්‍රහයන් සංස්කෘත භාෂාවෙන් ලියා තුබුණු අතර මෙකල සිට ඒ විෂයයන් ඉගෙනීමට සිදුවූයේ සංස්කෘත භාෂාවෙන් මය. මෙකල ලංකාවේ බලයට පැමිණ සිටි මහායාන බුද්ධාගමයේ මාධ්‍යය වසයෙන් තවද සංස්කෘත භාෂාව යොදා ගත්තා ලදී. ද්‍රවිඩ භාෂාවේ බල පැවැත්වීම ඇතිවූයේ ද්‍රවිඩ ආක්‍රමණයන් නිසා හෝ එවකට ප්‍රධාන නගරයෙහි නතර වී සිටි කුලී සොල්දාදුවන් නිසාත් රජවරුන් දකුණු ඉන්දියාවේ කුමාරිකාවන් සරණපාවා ගැනීම නිසාත් වන්නට පුළුවන. මේ අනුව සංස්කෘත හා ද්‍රවිඩ භාෂාවන්ගෙන් උපුටා ගන්නා ලද බොහෝ වචනයන් නිසා සිංහල භාෂාවෙහි නාති වී ගිය ශබ්දයන් යළිත් එයට එකතු විය. මේ වචනයන් උපුටා ගැනීම ගැන සලකනවිට සිංහල භාෂාව ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවට සම කළ හැක්කේ සැක්සන් වචනවලින් ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමට පුළුවන් අදහස ලතින් හා ග්‍රීක් භාෂාවලින් බිඳී ආ වචනයන්ගෙන් ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමට පුළුවන් නිසා ය.

නිදර්ශන වසයෙන් දක්වනවිට සිංහලයේ එක් පැත්තකින් පිරිසුදු එළු වචනත් අනෙක් පැත්තෙන් නගට ගත් සංස්කෘත වචනත් තිබෙන හැටි අපට දක්නට ලැබෙයි. මුඛ හා මුව ග්‍රාම සහ ගාම ආකාශ සහ අහස මන්දිර සහ මැදිරි යන වචන ගැන බලන්න. අක්ෂර මාලාව මෙසේ ක්‍රම යෙන් වෙනස් වී ගොස් සවර 17 කින් හා ව්‍යංජන 34 කින් හා අඩි ව්‍යංජන 3 කින්ද සම්‍රීකකොට ගන්නා ලදී. සිංහල හෝඩිය, රෝම හෝඩිය සමග සමකර බලනවිට f සහ z යන ශබ්ද සිංහල හෝඩියට ඇතුළු වී නැති බව දක්නට ලැබෙයි. සෙල්ලිපි හැරුණුවිට සිංහල ග්‍රන්ථ කාණ්ඩ රාශියක් තුබුණු බව පෙනේ. එහෙත් මේවා අප අතට පත්වී නැත. මහා විහාරය තමින් හැඳින්වුණු අනුරාධපුරයේ පිහිටි ප්‍රධාන ආශ්‍රමයේ භික්ෂූන් වහන්සේලා යම් යම් සිද්ධීන් පිළිබඳ වාර්තාවන් සැපයූ අතර ධර්මය තේරුම් ගැනීමේ හා දෙශනා කිරීමේ පහසුව සලකා බෞද්ධ ග්‍රන්ථයන් පිළිබඳ විස්තර සම්පාදනය කොට ග්‍රන්ථයක ඇතුලත් කොට නැබුහ. මේ සංග්‍රහය හදුන්වන ලද්දේ අට්ඨකථා නොහොත් සිංහලට අත්ත කථා යනුවෙනි. සිහලට්ඨ කථා දැනට සුරක්ෂිතව නැතත් ඒ සහ වර්ගයන්හිදී අට්ඨ කථා අනුසාරයෙන් ලියන ලද ග්‍රන්ථ කිහිපයක් අද අප අතර ඇත. මේවායින්

pura called Mahavihara kept a chronicle of events and at the same time added all the explanations of the sacred texts that they wished to keep as a guidance in the understanding of the doctrine and in their preaching. This composition was called the Atthakathā or the Sihala atthakathā. Though itself has not been preserved, we have several works in Pali that were based on it and were compiled during these centuries. The most important are the two epic poems the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa. Both can be defined as the history of Ceylon written by a Buddhist monk from the Buddhist point of view and for the sake of glorifying Buddhism. Hence what is not connected with Buddhism receives scanty attention or no attention at all. The Mahavamsa has just one line on Sigiriya.....The greatest writer of this period, however, is Buddhaghosa who came from India at the beginning of the fifth century and either translated from the Sinhalese into Pali the commentaries of the sacred text or composed them himself and closed his researches by writing a work of synthesis, the Visuddhi Magga.

Side by side with the literary development there went also the artistic development. The first artistic manifestation inspired by religion was the Dagaba or Thupa. The Dagaba soon became an indispensable feature of every Buddhist temple since the Dagaba was supposed to contain relics of the Buddha or of his disciples. Usually at the four quarters of the Dagaba there was what is called Vahalkada and a little shrine where the people went for worship. These Dagabas varied in size and ornamentation according to the centuries. The first Dagaba was built by King Devanampiyatissa about the end of the third century B. C. and was small in size and came to be called the Thuparama. A century later Dutugemunu built the Ruvanvali saya measuring 300 feet in height and 298 feet in diameter, while still later, though still in the pre-Christian period, King Vattagamani built the Dagaba of the Abhayagiri Vihara measuring 350 feet in height and 355 feet in diameter.

Sculpture came into prominence with the ornamentation of the Vahalkada and of the shrines at the Dagabas. The ornamentation of the Vahalkada of the Kantaka Cetiya at Mihintale is perhaps the best of its kind. Sculpture in Ceylon bears clear marks of influence from India and in a special way from the schools of art that flourished under the Andhra, the Gupta and the Pallava Kings. The Andhra influence is seen in the bas-relief of the seven-hooded cobra

ඉතාමත් උසස් කොට ගණන්ගනු ලබන්නේ දීපවංශය හා මහාවංශයයි. බෞද්ධාගමය උසස් කොට පෙන්වීම සඳහා බෞද්ධ මතධාරී බෞද්ධ භික්ෂුවක් විසින් ලියන ලද මෙම ග්‍රන්ථ දෙක ලංකා ඓතිහාසික කෘතීන් දෙකක් හැටියට විග්‍රහ කළ හැක. එබැවින් බෞද්ධාගමයට සම්බන්ධ නොවූ සෑම දෙයකටම එයින් මද සැලකිල්ලක් ලැබුනා හෝ කිසිදු සැලකිල්ලක් නොලැබුනේය. මහාවංසයෙහි සීගිරිය පිළිබඳව සඳහන් වන්නේ එකම වගන්තියකි. මේ යුගයේ සිටි උසස්ම ලෙඛකයාවූ බුද්ධඝෝෂ හිමියෝ පස්වෙනි සියවසරේ ඉන්දියාවේ සිට මෙහි පැමිණ සිංහල අට්ඨාවන් පාලියට නැඟීම හෝ තමන්ම ඒ අට්ඨා පාලියෙන් ලිවීම කළ අතර තමාගේ පර්යේෂණ හමාර කෙළේ විශුද්ධිමාර්ගය නමැති සංග්‍රහිතාව ලිවීමෙනි. ලංකාවේ සාහිත්‍යික දියුණුවත් සමග කලා දියුණුවද සම පෙළේ සිට ඉදිරියට ගමන් කෙළේය. ආගමයේ ප්‍රබෝධයෙන් නිර්මිත ප්‍රථම කලා කෘතිය දාගැබ් හෝ ස්තූපයයි. දාගැබෙහි බුදුන් වහන්සේගේ හෝ උන්වහන්සේගේ ශ්‍රාවකයින්ගේ ධාතූන් ඇතුලත්වූ හෙයින් එය සෑම බෞද්ධ පූජ්‍ය ස්ථානයකම අත්‍යාවශ්‍යක අංගයක් විය. දාගැබෙහි සතර කොන්වල සාමාන්‍යයෙන් වානල්කඩ තමින් හැඳින්වෙන්නක්ද මිනිසුන් වන්දනාමාන කරන කුඩා පූජ්‍යස්ථානයක්ද තුබුණේය. මේ දාගැබ් ප්‍රමාණයෙන් හා කැටයම් වැඩ අතින් සත වර්ෂවල ඇවැමෙන් වෙනස් විය. පළමු දාගැබ ක්‍රිස්තු පූර්ව තුන්වෙනි සත වර්ෂය අගදී දෙවානම්පියතිස්ස රජු විසින් ඉදි කරන ලදී. ප්‍රමාණයෙන් කුඩාවූ මෙය ථූපාරාමය යනුවෙන් හැඳින්වුනේය. සත වර්ෂයකට අනතුරුව දුටුගැමුණු රජු අඩි 300 ක් උස අඩි 298 ක වටප්‍රමාණයක් ඇති රුවන්වැලිසෑය ඉදි කෙළේය. මීටත් පසුව ක්‍රිස්තු පූර්ව යුගයේදී වට්ටගාමිණී රජු අඩි 350 ක් උස අඩි 355 ක වට ප්‍රමාණයක් ඇති අභයගිරි විහාරයේ දාගැබ ඉදි කෙළේය. විහාර හා දාගැබ්වල වාහල්කඩ කැටයම් කිරීමට පවත් ගැනීමත් සමගම මූර්ති කලාව කල එළියට පැමිණියේය. වාහල්කඩ කැටයම් කිරීම අතින් ඉතාම උසස් තැන ගනු ලබන්නේ මිහින්තලේ කාන්ඨක චෛත්‍යයයි. ආන්ද්‍රා ගුප්ත හා පල්ලව යන රජවරුන් යටතේ සමෘද්ධිමත්ව වැඩුනු කලා ශිල්පීන්ගෙන් ලංකාව ලැබූ කලා ආභාසයේ සලකුණු ලංකාවේ මූර්ති කලාවේ සටහන්ව ඇත්තේය. අනුරාධපුරයේ ගල් පුවරුවක නෙලා ඇති පෙන සතේ නාග රූපයෙහි හෝ බෝධිසත්ව ශීර්ෂයෙහි ආන්ද්‍රාවේ ආභාසය දක්නට ලැබෙයි. මේ කෘතීන් නෙලන ලද්දේ හුනු ගලිනි. පසුව මේ වෙනුවට වඩා ශක්තිමත් ද්‍රව්‍යයක්වූ කළුගල් හා වෙනත් දැඩිවූ ගල් විශේෂයක්ද යොදා ගන්නා ලදී. ගුප්ත යුගයේ වඩ වඩා උසස් ගුප්ත කලාවන්ගේ ආභාසය අනුරාධපුරයට දකුණු දිශින් පිහිටි ඉසුරුමුණියේ මිනිස් හා ගැහැණු රූපවල හෝ පෙම් යුවලගේ ප්‍රතිරූපවල හා අනුරාධපුරයේ රජ මාළිගය අභිමුඛයේවූ ගල් කැටයම් සහිත සඳකඩ පහනේද දක්නට ඇත්තේය. පල්ලවයන්ගේ කලා මීට වඩා තාත්වික මෙන්ම මට සිළුටුවූ අතර එහි ආභාසය ඉසුරුමුණියේ හස්ති රූප වලත් මිනිස් රූපයේ හා අශ්ව රූපයේ ශීර්ෂයේත් දක්නට ලැබෙයි. වැලිගම කුෂ්ඨ රාජ ගල යනුවෙන් හැඳින්වෙන ගලින් නෙලන ලද රූපයේද මේ බලපෑම් පැහැදිළිව ඇත.

on a slab at Anuradhapura or in the sculpture of the Bodhisattva's head. The material used in these works is limestone. This however was soon replaced by a much harder material, granite and gneiss. The influence of the more perfect Gupta art is evident in the bas-relief of the man and woman or the two lovers at Isurumuniya, to the South of Anuradhapura, and in the fine moonstone carved at the entrance of the Queen's Palace at Anuradhapura. The Pallava art was more sober and almost cold and it influenced the carving of the figures of the elephants and of the man and the head of the horse at Isurumuniya and the high-relief statue at Weligama that goes under the name of Kustarajagala.

It is not clear whether painting was used extensively in Ceylon or not. What remains to us are the paintings found lately when the relic chamber of a Dagaba at Mihintale was opened and the famous paintings of Sigiriya which are so well known that a line or two here could not possibly do justice to them.

But perhaps the most outstanding feature of ancient Ceylon civilization is the Irrigation system, a masterpiece of engineering skill. Many a time during these last few years our highly qualified engineers, making use of the most modern instruments, have calcuated the course of a canal for irrigation purposes, and what has not been their wonder and astonishment in finding that the canals built by the ancient Sinhalese Kings were exactly at the same spot or just a few inches or a few feet distant.....In olden days there were no roads and no fast means of communications; there was no commerce or hardly any. Usually every country had to try to be self-supporting as regards food. And the Sinhalese saw to it that food was produced in the island sufficient to meet the needs of the people. Hence both kings and subjects bent their energy to build tanks and store up water. At first the tanks were small and usually fed by the rainfall. Such were the tanks built at Anuradhapura, Tissa väva, Abhaya väva and Nuvara väva. With the growth of population and with the need of growing more rice, much bigger tanks were built like Minneriya in Tamankaduva, Nacchaduva to the South East of Anuradhapura, Giant's Tank near Mannar. But even such tanks were not enough since they too did run dry. Hence the next project was to connect various tanks and rivers by means of a network of channels, each bigger tanks feeding many

චිත්‍ර ඇඳීම ලංකාවේ බහුල පැවැත්තේ දැයි පැහැදිළිව පෙනෙන්නට නැත. අප සතුව පවත්නා චිත්‍ර කිහිපය සමූවූයේ පසු කාලයේදී මිහින්තලයේ දඟැබඤ ධාතු ගර්භයක් විවෘත කිරීමෙහිදීය. සීගිරියේ සුප්‍රකට කිතු සිතුවම් කිහිපයත් මේ ගතයෙහි ලා ගැණෙන අතර ඒවා දරන ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ හැටියට වගන්තියක් දෙකක් සඳහන් කිරීමෙන් සැනීමට පත්වීම යුක්තිය, ඉටු කළා නම් නොවන්නේය.

පුරාණ ලංකාවේ ශිෂ්ටාචාරයේ ඉතාම විශිෂ්ට අංගය නම් ඉංජිනේරු විද්‍යාවේ අසමාන දක්ෂකම් විදහා පාන වාරි මාර්ග ක්‍රමයයි. පසුගිය අවුරුදු කිහිපය තුළ අපේ මතා උගත්භාම් ඇති ඉංජිනේරුවන් නවීන උපකරනවල ආධාරයද ඇතිව වාරිමාර්ග ක්‍රම සඳහා ඇලවල් තැනීම පිණිස බිම් මැනීමේදී බොහෝවිට ඔවුන්ගේ පුදුමයට හේතුවූ කාරණයක් නම් තමන් නිලකොට ගත් තැන පුරාණ සිංහල රජවරුන් ඇලවල් කැනූ තැන් වීම හෝ එසේත් නැත්නම් ඊට අඟල් කිපයකට හෝ අඩි කිහිපයකට වඩා දුර නොවීමය. පුරාණයේ මාර්ග නොතුබුණු අතර සිඟුගාමී පණිවුඩ හුවමාරු ක්‍රම ද නොවීය. වෙළඳුමක් ද නොතිබිණි. ආහාර අතින් සවයං පොෂිතවීම පිණිස තැත් කිරීමට සෑම රටකටම සිදුවිය. සිංහල මිනිස්සු දිවයිනේ සෑම කෙනෙකුටම අවශ්‍ය ආහාර වගා කර ගත්හ. එම නිසා රජවරුන් හා වැසියන් විසින් ඔවුන්ගේ ශක්තිය යොදා, වැව් අමුණු බැඳ වතුර රැස්කර ගන්නා ලදහ. මුල් කාලයේ වැව් කුඩාවූ හෙයින් එවාට ජලය සැපයුනේ වර්ෂාවෙනි. අනුරාධපුරයේ බඳින ලද නිසා වැව, අභය වැව සහ නුවර වැව මේ ගණයට අයත්ය. ජනගහනයේ වැඩිවීමත් සමගම වැඩියෙන් වී වගා කිරීම අවශ්‍යවූයෙන් තමන්කඩුවේ පිහිටි මින්නේරිය වැව, අනුරාධපුරයට අග්නිදිගින් පිහිටි ඇව්වදූව හා මන්නාරම අසල යෝධ වැව ඉදිවුනේය. නිතරම වියළි යාමට වීම නිසා මේ වැව් ද ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවීය. එම නිසා මිළඟ කාර්‍යයවූයේ නොයෙක් වැව් හා ගංගාවන් අල මාර්ගයෙන් එකට සම්බන්ධ කොට ලොකු වැව් වලින් එන ජලය කුඩා වැව්වල පුරවා ඒ මගින් කුඹුරු වලට ජලය සැපයීමය. එවැනි වාරි මාර්ග ක්‍රමයක මධ්‍යස්ථානය වූයේ දඹුල්ලේ පිහිටි කලා වැවයි. මීට දෙළ මාර්ග කිපයක්ම හරවා තුබුණු අතර ගංගා තුනකින් ජලය ලැබුනේය. කලා ඔය, මෝදර ගම් ආරු සහ මල්වතු ඔයෙන් ජලය ලැබ නවීවදූව වැව, නුවර වැව, අභය වැව, තිසා වැව සහ යෝධ වැවටත් සෙසු කුදු මහත් වැව් වලටත් මේ කලා වැවෙන් ජලය සැපයුනේය. කලා වැවේ සිට අනුරාධ පුර නගරයටත් ඉන් පිටතටත් ජලය ගෙන එන ඇල මාර්ගය ඉංජිනේරු ශිල්පයේ නිපුනත්වය මොනවට හෙළි කරන්නකි. ජය ගඟ නමින් හැඳින් වුණු මෙය අගනුවර දක්වා සැතැප්ම 54 ක් දික්වූ අතර අඩි 40 ක් පුළුල් විය. මෙහි පළමු සැතපුම් 17 තේ බැවුම් සැතැප්මයකට අඟල් 6 බැගිනි. මෙය පස්වෙනි හා සතලිස්වෙනි සැතැප්ම ලඟදී ඉවුරු දෙකක් අතරින් ගැඹුරු බැවුමකට වැටී ගලා යාමට සලස්වා තුබුනේය. මේ වැව්වල ප්‍රමාණය තේරුම් ගැනීම සඳහා ඉතාම විශාල වැව නොවූවද වඩා ප්‍රකට මින්නේරිය වැව ගැන සලකා බලමු. මින්නේරිය වැව පිරුණුවිට අක්කර 4,560 ක ප්‍රදේශයක් ජලයෙන් වැසියයි. අඩි 40 වත් 50 වත් අතරවූ වැව් කණ්ඩියක් එයට ඇතුවත් හැර එහි දිග ප්‍රමාණය

smaller ones and many fields. The centre of such a network was the Kalāvāva near Dambulla into which several streams were canalized and which fed the three rivers: Kala Oya, Modaragam Aru, and Malvatu Oya and supplied water to the Nacchaduva Tank, to the Nuvara väva and Abhaya vava and Tissa väva; to the Giant's tank and to so many other small and big tanks. The channel leading the water from the Kala väva to the city of Anuradhapura and beyond was a feat of engineering skill. It was called Jaya Ganga and up to the capital was 54 miles long and 40 feet wide. For the first 17 miles the gradient was only six inches per mile and at the fifth and fortieth mile it had to cross a saddle through a deep cutting. To give an idea of the size of these tanks, we may take the Minneriya tank which is perhaps the best known though not the biggest. The Minneriya tank, when full, covered an area of 4,560 acres; it had a dam 40 to 50 feet high and 6,200 feet long; and a capacity of 70,730 acre feet of water, an acre foot of water being 272,140 gallons. But even such huge tanks were not enough to secure constant supply of water especially during the dry season. Then they conceived a bold plan and they put it into practice. The central hills of Ceylon enjoy a double monsoon and the rivers that flow from them are richest in water. Hence the idea of connecting the tanks of the dry zone with the rivers of the wet zone. The waters of the Ambanganga, an affluent of the Mahāväli ganga, were thrown back into the Nalanda Oya below Dambulla and then canalized into the Kalā Väva. Naturally such enormous schemes required constant upkeep and the Kings of Anuradhapura made it their first duty to look after them. But the invasions from South India in the tenth and eleventh centuries led to a period of neglect and allowed the tide of the jungle to cover everything and to bring with it malaria, disease and death.

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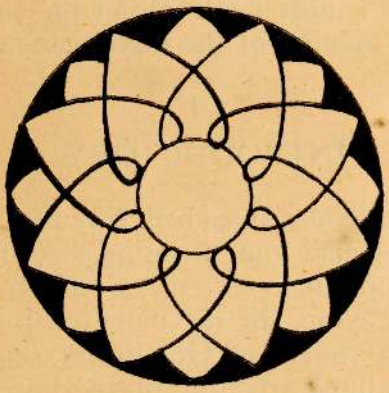
අඩි 6,200 ක් වන්නේය. අක්කර 70,730 ක ජල ප්‍රමාණයක් මෙහි වන අතර අක්කර අඩියක ජල ප්‍රමාණය ගැලොම් 2,72,140 ක් වෙයි. එතරම් විශාල වැව් පවා විශෙෂයෙන් වියලි සෘතුවේදී ජලය සැපයීමට ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවේ. එවිට ඔවුන් කෙළේ මහා ව්‍යාපාරයක් පවත් ගෙන ක්‍රියාවේ යෙදවීමය. ලංකාවේ මධ්‍යම කඳුකරයට මෝසම්සුළං කාල ගුණ දෙකක් ලැබෙන අතර එහි සිට ගලන ගංගා, ජලයෙන් ඉතාමත් ආඪ්‍යය. එනිසා වියලි කලාපයේ වැව් තෙත් කලාපයේ ගංගා සමග එක් කිරීමට අදහස් කරන ලදී. අඹන්ගගේ ජලය හා මහවැලිගගේ අතු ගංගාවක ජලය නාලනූ ඔයට ගෙනවුත් අනතුරුව තල මාර්ගයෙන් කලා වැවට ගෙන ආවේය. එවැනි ශෝධ ව්‍යාපාරවල යෙදී සිටින ජනයා තඩත්තු කිරීම සවහාවයෙන්ම තළ යුත්තක් හෙයින් අනුරාධපුරයේ රජවරු ඊට වග බලා ගැනීම ප්‍රධාන කෘත්‍යයක් ලෙස සැලකූහ. එහෙත් දකුණු ඉන්දියානුන්ගේ ආක්‍රමණ දසවෙනි හා එකොළොස්වෙනි සත වර්ෂයන්හිදී මේවා පාළුවට හැරීමට කරුණු සැලැස්වූහ. තවද එසේ වීම හේතු කොට ගෙන ඒ හැම වන ප්‍රවාහයෙන් වැසී යාමට ඉඩ ලැබුණු අතර ඒ සමග මැලේරියාව වැනි ලෙඩ රෝග හා මරණය ද ළඟා විය.



THE ROLE AND PLACE OF THE TAMILS IN CEYLON'S HISTORY

T. Muttucumaru

(The aim of the these studies presented in the pages of *The New Lanka* is to examine the part the Tamils played throughout the ages in the shaping of Ceylon's Civilisation and Culture. Hitherto, the historians of Ceylon have written as if the Tamils did not exist. Practically - all the references made to the Tamils were as "invaders" or disturbers of the even tenor of life of the Sinhala race. Thanks to the Mahawamsa, Ceylon has, unlike India, a recorded History of events of over 2500 years. And the Mahavamsa is a faithful Buddhist Chronicle of Sinhala Royal Dynasties and Theravada Buddhism.

Writers of history do not seem to think that the history of the Tamils in Ceylon is an integral, and not the least interesting part of the history of Ceylon. The Tamils have existed in the Island from time immemorial. And a study of history in its true perspective would show what a great contributions the Tamils made along the long corridors of time towards the making of the Ceylonese Nation.)

I

INTRODUCTORY

CEYLON "is a lately detached fragment of the South Indian Peninsula" and "forming part of the large Indo-Afro-Australian continent of the Southern hemisphere." [1] The Deccan and Ceylon, the surviving portions of land of the now submerged continent of Gondwana, are perhaps two of the oldest inhabited regions of the world that reached a high water mark of civilised life. And the Tamils, according to some research scholars, are "the most ancient civilised population of India who occupied practically the entire peninsula."

1. *Making of Ceylon* by D. W. Wadia (Spolia Zeylanica Vol III Part I)

தமிழர்

இலங்கை வரலாற்றில் செய்த உதவியும் அவர்தம் நிலைமையும்.

புதிய இலங்கா என்ற இதழ் மூலம் தமிழர் இலங்கையின் நாகரீக வளர்ச்சிக்கும் பண்பாட்டிற்கும் எவ்வகைப் பணிகள் ஆற்றியிருக்கிறார்க ளென்பதை விளக்குவதும் மக்களின் அபிப்பிராயத்தை அறிவதுமே இக்கட்டுரையின் நோக்கமாகும்.

இன்றுவரையில் இலங்கைச் சரித்திரகாரர், தமிழர் இங்கு வசிக்க வில்லை என்ற கருத்துப்பட எழுதியிருக்கின்றார்கள். தமிழரைக் குறிக்கும் போது அவர்களை ஆக்கிரமிப்பாளர்களென்றும், சிங்கள சமூகத்தினரின் சமா தான வாழ்வுக்கு இடையூறு விளைவிப்பவர்க ளென்றும் கூறியிருக்கின்றார்கள். இந்தியாவைப்போலல்லாது இரண்டாயிரத்து ஐந்நூறு(2500) ஆண்டுகட்குமுன் நடந்த நிகழ்ச்சிகள் மகாவம்சத்தில் கூறப்படுகின்றன. சிங்கள அரச வம்சங்க ளைப்பற்றியும், தேரவேட புத்த சமயத்தைப்பற்றியும் உண்மையான செய்தி களைக் கூறுவது மகாவம்சம். இலங்கைச் சரித்திரத்தோடு தமிழர்களின் வாழ்க் கையும் இணைந்திருக்கிறதென்பதை ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் உணர்வதில்லை. இலங்கையின் உண்மையான சரித்திரத்தை ஆராய்ந்தால்: ஆதிகா லந்தொட்டே தமிழர் இலங்கையில் வாழ்ந்து வருகிறார்களென்பதும், இலங்கைத் தேசிய இனத்தின் வளர்ச்சிக்குப் பன்னெடுங்காலமாக எத்தகைய தொண்டுகள் ஆற்றியிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதும் பெறப்படும்.

இந்தியக் குடாநாட்டிலிருந்து சமீபத்தில் பிரிக்கப்பட்ட பகுதியே இலங் கையாகும். இது பூமத்திய ரேகைக்குத் தென்பாலிருந்த மிகப் பெரிய கண்ட மாகிய இந்திய, ஆப்பிரிக்க, அவுஸ்திரேலியாக் கண்டத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாக விருந்தது. இப்போது கடலுள் ஆழ்ந்திருக்கும் ''கொன்ட்வானா'' என்ற கண் டத்தில் எஞ்சியிருக்கும் பகுதிகளாகிய டெக்கான், இலங்கை ஆகிய நாடுகளே மிகப் பழங் காலத்தில், மக்கள் முதன் முதல் குடியேறிய நாடுகளுள் மிகச் சிறந்த நாகரீகத்தை உடையனவாயிருந்தன. சில ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்களின் கூற்றின்படி தென்னிந்தியக்குடா நாடு முழுவதிலும் வாழ்ந்த தமிழர் மிகப் பழங் காலத்திலேயே உயர்ந்த நாகரீகத்தை உடையவர்களாக வாழ்ந்தார்கள்.

"All the weight of geological, anthropological, historical, literary and linguistic evidence point to the existence in Ceylon of a people" side by side with the Sinhalese," "with racial and cultural affinities with inhabitants of South India.[2]"

For a period of seven to eight-hundred years beginning from the 5th century B.C., the Tamils dominated the political life as well as the trade of India[3]. *Important* historical sources, internal and external, are available for this early period of Tamil history. Epics like *Sillapadikarum* and *Manimekalai* and references by Megasthenes, Periplus and Ptolemy, to mention a few, "show that Tamil kingdoms figured most prominently in Indian and world history."

The way of life, the culture and civilisation of the Tamils in the dawn of history in South India, find parallels in Ceylon as well, when History opens its first pages here. Ancient Tamil society knew no caste system. The natural regions of the land, they lived in, and the division of labour made up the different social groups of the Tamils, all of equal rank and status. Kurunji (hilly tract of land), Neydal (maritime region), Mullai (pasture ground), Palai (desert region), and Marutham (fertile region) divided Tamil society into five classes. Their home regions marked out the different social characteristics of these classes.[4]

The geography of the area influenced greatly their religious beliefs and superstitions. The contemporary literature brings out "the commendable state of religious toleration prevailing in the Tamil Kingdoms." The common people worshipped Kali and Murugan. But there were all over the South, at the time when Mahinda brought the Gospel of Buddhism to Ceylon, Buddhist Viharas; and intellectuals like Ilanko-Adikal were devout Buddhists.[5]

It is a remarkably distinctive racial characteristic that the ancient Tamil alone made outpourings of his heart in lyrics of love and war, as against all other peoples East or West who gave expressions to their first ideas in epics or sagas.[6]

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2. Swami Gnanaprakasar in *Tamil Culture* Vol. I Nos. 1—4.1952

3. Ibid and authorities mentioned in paragraph 3

4. *Tolkappiam* (the ancient Tamil Grammar) composed earlier than the 4th century B. C. carries material helpful to reconstruct Ancient Tamil History.
See Nambi: Akapporulvillakkam in Sen. Tamil publication (1913)

5. Asokan Ediets and South Indian Inscriptions

6. *Ahanannuru and Purananuru,* 2 of the 8 poems known as Eduttokai in the Sangam Anthology of Poems

தரைநூல், மனித இனவளர்ச்சி, ஆராய்ச்சிவரலாறு, இலக்கியம் மொழி ஆராய்ச்சி, என்பன, தென்னிந்தியாவில் வாழ்ந்த மக்களுடன் இனத்திலும் பண்பாட்டிலும் நெருங்கிய தொடர்புடைய ஒரு சாதியினர் இலங்கையிலும் சிங்கள மக்களுடன் வாழ்ந்தனர் என்பதற்குச் சான்று பகர்கின்றன.

கி. மு. 5-ம் நூற்றாண்டு தொடக்கம் ஏறக்குறைய ஏழு, எட்டு நூற்றாண்டு களாக, இந்தியாவின் அரசியலிலும் வியாபாரத்திலும், தமிழர் பெரும் பங்கு கொண்டனர் என்பது தெரிகின்றது. உள்நாட்டிலும் வெளியிலுமுள்ள பல வரலாற்றுச்செய்திகள் இதற்குச் சான்றுக விளங்குகின்றன. சிலப்பதிகாரம், மணிமேகலை போன்ற காவியங்களும் மெகஸ்தனிஸ், பெரிப்புளூஸ், டொலமி ஆகியோரின் குறிப்புக்களும் இவற்றுட் சில.

தென்னிந்தியச் சரித்திரம் தொடங்கும்போது, அங்குள்ள தமிழரின் வாழ்க்கை நிலை, பண்பாடு, நாகரிகம் ஆகியவை என்ன நிலையிலிருந்தனவோ, அதே நிலையை இலங்கைச் சரித்திர ஆரம்பத்திலும் இங்கு காணலாம்.

பழந்தமிழர் வாழ்க்கையிலே சாதிக் கட்டுப்பாடே கிடையாது. அவர்கள் வாழ்ந்துவந்த நிலத்தின் தன்மையும், தொழிற்பிரிவினைகளுமே, சமநிலைமை யுடைய சமூகத்தில் பாகுபாடுகளை உண்டாக்கின. குறிஞ்சி (மலைப்பிரதேசம்) மருதம் (கடலும் கடல்சார்ந்த இடமும்) முல்லை (காடும் மேய்ச்சல் நிலமும்) பாலை (வனந்திரம்) மருதம் (செழிப்பானபூமி) ஆகிய நிலப்பிரிவுகள் தமிழ்ச் சமூகத்தினரை ஐந்து பிரிவுகளாகப் பிரித்தன. அவர்கள் வாழ்ந்துவந்த நிலத் தின் தன்மை, அவர்களின் குண இயல்புகளின் வேறுபாட்டைக் காட்டியது. அவர்கள் வாழ்ந்த பகுதிகளின் (பூமி சாஸ்திரம்) தன்மை மத நம்பிக்கை களையும் மூட நம்பிக்கைகளையும் பாதித்தது. தமிழ்நாட்டிலிருந்த சமய சமரசத் தை அன்றைய இலக்கியங்கள் காட்டுகின்றன. சாதாரண மக்கள், காளையையும் முருகனையும் தொழுதார்கள். புத்தமத உண்மைகளை மகிந்தன் இலங்கைக்குப் பரப்பவந்தபொழுது தென்னிந்தியாவில் அநேகம் புத்த விகாரைகளிருந்தன. இளங்கோ அடிகள் போன்ற சிறந்த அறிஞர்கள் பௌத்த சமயத்திலிருந்தனர்.

கிழக்கிலும், மேற்கிலுமிருந்த மற்றைய மக்கள் தங்கள் இதயஎழுச்சிக்கு, காவியங்கள், அற்புதக் கதைகள் மூலம் உருவம் கொடுக்க, பண்டைத் தமிழன் தன் இதய எழுச்சிக்குக் காதற் கவிதைகள், போர்க்கவிதைகள் மூலம் உருவம் கொடுத்தமை தமிழனுக்கே உரித்தான சிறந்த குண இயல்பைக் காட்டுகின்றது.

தமிழரின் அரசியலமைப்பு மிகச் சிறந்து விளங்கியது. மக்கள் எல் லோரும் அறம், பொருள், இன்பம் ஆகிய முப்பயன்களை அடையவேண்டு மென்பதே அரசியல் வாழ்வின் நோக்கமாகவிருந்தது. தந்தை வழிவந்த முடியரசு, மத்திய அரசாக விளங்கிற்று. பகுதி ஆட்சி மன்றங்கள் ஜனநாயக தத்துவத்தையும், சொந்த ஆட்சியையும் அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டிருந்தன. பஞ்சாயத்துக்கள் (கம்பாவா) ஆலயமன்றம், பாடசாலைமன்றம் ஆகியவை அவற்றுட் சில.

The Tamils had a highly developed polity with political and administrative institutions aiming at helping the people to realise the *Muppal* or the three objects of life *Viz*: Dharma (அறம்) Artha (பொருள்) and Kama (இன்பம்). The simple organisation of patriarchal monarchy evolved itself in time into a complex organisation of central government with local institutions (practically democratic and self-governing) like the panchayets (gamsabhawa) temple committees, school committees,[7] etc. etc.

2

A correct reading of history as "the philosophy of human action" and interpreting aright the underlying spirit of unity of 'the passing shows' of the seeming human conflicts would show that History has joined together the Sinhalese and the Tamils as the twin-branches of the Ceylonese nation. Geology and geography show that there is a fundamental unity of the land from the Vindhyas to Dondra Head. Anthropology and ethnology bring out a close kinship between the Sinhala and Tamil races. The origin, growth and development of the Sinhalese Language,[8] and the religious beliefs and superstitions of the common man whether Sinhalese or Tamil display as it were the 'facets' of 'the pearl set on the brow of India.'

3

History as seen from the Mahavamsa, other Sinhalese and Tamil literature, inscriptions, references to Ceylon by foreign travellers and pilgrims, and above all the mutual influence, exerted by the Sinhalese and Tamils on their respective way of life should receive the careful attention of historians whose duty should be to interpret the past to the present.

Vijaya and his successors, history tells us, received practical aid from the Tamils across the Palk Strait by the introduction of a thousand families in eighteen classes grouped on the basis of division of labour, together with paddy cultivation, the irrigation system, central and local govern-

7. *Tholkappiam*, Thirukkural and Hindu Polity

8. Origin of the Sinhalese Language by W. F. Gunawardena, Swami Gnanaprakasar in Tamil Culture Vol. I Nos. 1—4 (1952)

மனிதர் செய்யும் செயல்களின் தத்துவமே சரித்திரமென்றும், அது மேலெழுந்த வாரியாகப் பார்க்கும்போது தோன்றும் வித்தியாசங்களின் அடிப்படையில் இருக்கும் ஒற்றுமையைக் காட்டுவதென்றும், கருதினுல்; அது இலங்கைத் தேசிய இனத்தின் இரட்டைப் பிரிவுகளான சிங்களவரையும் தமிழரையும் ஒன்று சேர்த்திருக்கின்றதென அறியலாம். விந்திய மலை தொடக்கம் டொன்ரு ஈருகவுள்ள நிலப்பரப்பில் அடிப்படை ஒற்றுமை காணப்படுகின்றதென்று தரை நூலும், பூமிசாஸ்திரமுங் கூறுகின்றன. மனித வளர்ச்சி சாஸ்திரமும், இனங்களை ஆராயுஞ் சாஸ்திரமும் தமிழர்கட்கும், சிங்களவர் கட்குமிடையில் நெருங்கிய தொடர்புண்டென்பதைக் காட்டுகின்றன.

மகாவம்சம் தரும் வரலாற்றுச் செய்திகள், சிங்கள தமிழ் இலக்கியங்கள், கல்வெட்டுக்கள், பிறநாட்டுப் பிரயாணிகளும், யாத்திரீகர்களும் தரும் குறிப்புகள் என்பனவற்றையும் தமிழரால் சிங்களவரின் வாழ்க்கை முறையில் ஏற்பட்ட சிறப்புகளையும் சிங்களவரால் தமிழரின் வாழ்க்கை முறையில் ஏற்பட்ட சிறப்புகளையும் வரலாற்று ஆசிரியர்கள் நன்கு கவனிக்க வேண்டும். பழைய சரித்திரத்தைப் புதியவர்களுக்குச் சரியான முறையில் சொல்லி விளக்குவதே அவர்கள் கடமை. தொழில் முறை, நெற்செய்கை, நீர்பாய்ச்சும் முறை, மத்திய அரசாங்கப் பகுதி ஆட்சி மன்ற உறுப்புகள் ஆகியவற்றின் அடிப்படையில் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்ட 18 பிரிவுகளையுடைய ஆயிரங் குடும்பங்களை இலங்கைக்கு அனுப்பி விஜயனுக்கு உதவி புரிந்தனர் பாக்கு நீரிணைக்கு அப்பாலிருந்த தமிழர் எனச் சரித்திரம் கூறுகின்றது. எழுத்தில் வடித்த இலங்கைச் சரித்திரம் ஆரம்பமாகும் தேவநம்பியதீசன் காலந் தொடக்கம், துட்டகைமுனு, மகாசேனன் வரைக்கும் மிகச் சிறந்த புகழுடன் இலங்கை விளங்கியதற்குத் தமிழர் பலவகைகளில் உதவி செய்தார்க ளென்பதற்குச் சான்றுகள் இருக்கின்றன. இஃதேபோன்று மத்திய காலமாகிய பொல்ல நறுவைக் காலத்திலே, பராக்கிரமபாகு மன்னன் ஆட்சியில் இலங்கையின் பண்பாட்டிற்கும், நாகரிகத்திற்கும் தமிழர் செய்த தொண்டுகள் பல. போர்த்துக்கீசர், ஒல்லாந்தர், ஆங்கிலேயர் இவர்களின் கொடுமைக் கெதிராக முற்போக்கான தமிழர் அளித்த முக்கியமான எதிர்ப்பையும், தற்கால இலங்கையை உருவாக்குவதில் அவர்கள் செய்த தொண்டுகளையும். இலங்கை சுதந்திரமடைவதற்கு அவர்கள் உழைத்த உழைப்பையும் இதுவரை சரித்திர ஆசிரியர்கள் அவ்வளவாகக் கவனிக்கவில்லை.

ment institutions [9] etc., etc. From Devanampiya Tissa, when recorded history in Ceylon begins, to Dutta Gamini, and then to Mahasena, there are evidences to show what great share the Tamils had in building up 'the Glory that was Lanka.[10]' Similarly during the Middle Ages *i.e.* the Plonnaruwa period, the pages of history reveal the role of no mean importance, the Tamils played in the culture and civilisation of the age of Parakrama Bahu the Great. And the stout resistance, the conservative Tamil gave to the onslaughts of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British on the ways of life of the Ceylonese, together with the contributions they made in the building up of Modern Ceylon in its march to Freedom,[12] presenting an enthrallingly interesting story, have failed to receive due notice from historians so far.

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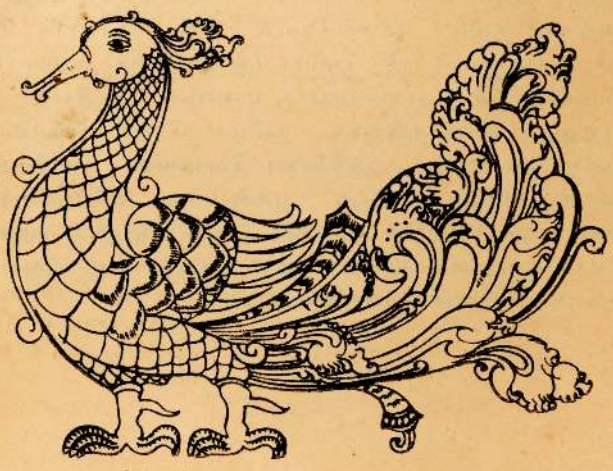
9. Mahavamsa Chap. VII
Sketches of Ceylon History by Sir P. Arunachalam
Hindu Polity by K. P. Jayaowal

10—12. A Short History of Ceylon by H. W. Codrington



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Further information can be obtained from Henry Usborne, M. P., Hon. Secretary, Parliamentary Group for World Government, House of Commons, S. W. 1.

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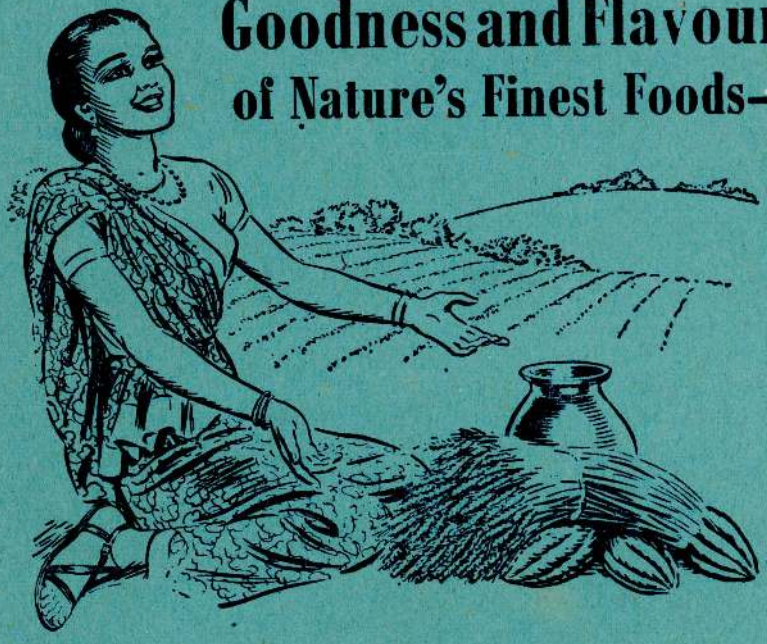

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