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The Sanskrit word *bhujaṅga* is a synonym for *nāga*, the motif on the cover. It is interesting to note that this particular term had been chosen to convey the meaning of "scholar" in ancient Java. The Old-Javanese word *bhujaṅga* "apparently denoted in ancient times in the kingdom of Majapahit a learned man belonging to the clerical order, a more or less official scholar who performed a spiritual and, occasionally at least, a political function."

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"Something More Than a Knowledge of the Perishable Things of Life".

A Study of the Educational Ideals of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan[1]

The educational philosophy of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan,[2] first elected representative of the "Fducated Ceylonese" in the Legislative Council, sometime Attorney-General of the Island, founder of the Ceylon National Association[3]

1. The present essay is the fifth in a projected series of papers in which an attempt is made to examine the development of "a tradition of radical protest" against the system of colonial English education that was prevalent in Sri Lanka during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The first four papers in the series are as follows: "Strangers in their Own Land": An Outline of the Tradition of Radical Protest Against English Education in Colonial Sri Lanka", *Navasilu*, The Journal of the English Association of Sri Lanka, No. 1, 1976; "English Education and the Estranged Intellectual in Colonial Sri Lanka: The Case of James Alwis (1823-70)", *Modern Ceylon Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1976 (in press); "A Generation of Spiritual Bastards and Intellectual Pariahs: A study of Ananda Coomaraswamy's Attitudes to Colonial English Education in India and Sri Lanka", *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1976; and "Decoration Before Dress: A Study of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam's Attitudes to Colonial English Education in Sri Lanka", *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. 25, 1975 (in press).

2. Ponnambalam Ramanathan was born on 16th April, 1851, in the home of his maternal grandfather, Gate Mudaliyar Arumuganathapillai Coomaraswamy, the first occupant of the Tamil seat in the Legislative Council as newly constituted in 1833. Ramanathan's parents were Gate Mudaliyar Ponnambalam and his wife Sellachchi. The latter was the sister of Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy, the great orientalist and statesman, and father of Ananda Coomaraswamy. (For further details regarding Ramanathan's ancestry, parents and birth, see M. Vythilingam, *The Life of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan*, Vol. 1, Ramanathan Commemoration Society, Colombo, 1971, Chapters 1 to 5). Having received his education at the Colombo Academy (now Royal College), and Presidency College, Madras, Ramanathan qualified as an advocate of the Supreme Court in 1873. The following year, Ramanathan married Chellachiammal, second daughter of Nannithamby Mudaliyar, and settled down at "Sukhhastan", his Cinnamon Gardens residence. On the death of Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy (his uncle) in 1879, Ramanathan was nominated by Governor Longdon to represent the Tamil speaking peoples in the Legislative Council. From 1894 to 1896 Ramanathan was the Acting Attorney General of the Island. From 1911 to 1916, and again from 1917 to 1920, he was the first elected representative of the "Educated Ceylonese" in the Legislative Council. From 1921 to 1924, he was again a nominated member of the Legislative Council, and from 1924 to 1929 the elected representative of the Northern Division of the Northern Province—an almost unbroken period of 50 years as a member of the Island's legislature. His death occurred in November 26th, 1930. The zenith of Ramanathan's political career was reached in 1915, when Ramanathan espoused the cause of the Sinhalese and fought the British administration for justice protesting against the excesses and atrocities committed by the authorities during the period of the riots and martial law in 1815. In this connection, see Ponnambalam Ramanathan, *Riots and Martial Law in Ceylon*, London, 1916.

3. The Ceylon National Association was founded by Ramanathan in the 1880s (E. F. C. Ludowyk, *The Story of Ceylon*, Faber and Faber, London, 1967 p. 227); the Association grew out of the Ceylon Agricultural Association founded by C. H. de Soysa to help Ceylonese agriculturalists (E. F. C. Ludowyk, *The Modern History of Ceylon*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London, 1966, p. 129).

and the parliamentarian,[4] religious scholar, philosopher[5] and orator *par excellence* of early 20th century Sri Lanka,[6] may fittingly be epitomised in his own favourite phrase, "something more than a knowledge of the perishable things of life." Moving the first reading of "An Ordinance to Declare the Constitution of Parameshvara College, Jaffna" in the Legislative Council, Ramanathan declared: "Hindu parents in and out of Ceylon....feel that the kind of education that is being given to their boys and girls in the English schools....is not at all satisfactory. They want something more than a knowledge of the perishable things of life, too much of which is pressed on the attention of students as if there was nothing else worth considering and attaining."[7] The main purpose of the present paper is to discuss in some detail the "philosophy" of education that emerges from an examination of Ramanathan's speeches and writings, and Ramanatnan's practical application of his theories and beliefs in setting up two educational institutions during the latter part of his career in Jaffna—Ramanathan College (for girls) and Parameshvara College (for boys). This study would also enable us to place Ramanathan in his proper place in the important "tradition of protest" against colonial English education in Sri Lanka, a tradition that had been inaugurated as early as the 1830s by such eminent Englishmen as George Turnour and D. J. Gogerly, and continued later not only by a succession of native scholars, statesmen, and social reformers like James Alwis, Ananda Coomaraswamy and Ponnambalam Arunachalam, but also by a host of lesser-known Sinhalese nationalists, intellectuals and literary men like Piyadasa Sirisena, John de Silva, Arumuga Navalar, Anagarika Dharmapala and Kumaratunga Munidasa.

It has already been shown elsewhere[8] that the system of "English Education" in Sri Lanka, with its almost exclusive stress on English language and literature, and western culture was, contrary to popular belief, subjected to considerable criticism during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and that both distinguished native Sri Lankan intellectuals and statesmen as well as non-native (principally British) scholars and educators were able, from its inception,

4. S. Namasivayam (in his *The Legislatures of Ceylon*, 1928-1948, Faber and Faber, London, 1951) describes Ramanathan as "a vigilant critic of government, and, during a period when criticism required some courage, he labelled governmental acts on the floor of the House as acts of mis-government. Together with a few other unofficials, he was ceaseless in the pursuit of information for the purpose of ventilating grievances." (p. 27). Sudhansu Bose, who edited a volume of the speeches delivered by Ramanathan from 1879 to 1894 in the Legislative Council, comments on Ramanathan's "extreme readiness in debate, marvellous command of words in English, and singular freedom from fear and favour, ill-will and anger." (*Selected Speeches of Ponnambalam Ramanathan*, Vol. 1, 1879 to 1894, Ceylon Daily News Press, 1929, Editor's Note). M. Vythilingam, Ramanathan's recent biographer, describes him as "a parliamentarian of the highest calibre, perhaps the greatest that ever graced this country's legislature." (*Op. Cit.*, p. 4). S. Arasaratnam describes Ramanathan's agitation for the release of the Sinhalese leaders indiscriminately arrested and detained during the 1915 riots as "one of the earliest attempts at political activity against sections of the government..which provoked people like Mr. (D. S.) Senanayake to enter the arena of nationalist politics..and convinced nationalist elements of the need for co-ordinated agitation if they were to make a mark on the colonial government," (S. Arasaratnam, *Ceylon*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New Jersey, 1964, p. 1967).

5. Ramanathan's published works include the following: *Riots and Martial Law in Ceylon* 1915, London, 1916; *The Culture of the Soul Among Western Nations*, London, 1906, *Special Report of Crime in Ceylon*, (Sessional Paper No. 8, 1898); and *Memorandum on the Recommendations of the Donoughmore Commissioners.*

6. Some of Ramanathan's early speeches have been edited by Sudhansu Bose (see fn. 4 above).

7. *Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon* (*Hansard*), 1925, Colombo, 1926, p. 181.

8. See the four papers referred to in fn. 1 above.

to grasp clearly the pernicious aspects of the system of "Colonial English Education" that had been imposed on the Sri Lankans by their overlords. This dissatisfaction gradually (but clearly and inevitably) percolated from the representatives of the British themselves down to the relatively better-educated and more percipient natives (who were themselves, ironically, the most distinguished "products" of the colonial system of English education that they later debunked and castigated). Thus, in the late 1860s, for example, James Alwis took up arms against the then-prevailing system, labelling it as "a most pernicious system of education now carried on among my countrymen."[9] Ananda Coomaraswamy, too, hardly minced his words when he asserted that "a single generation of English education suffices to break the threads of tradition and to create a nondescript and superficial being deprived of all roots—a sort of intellectual pariah who does not belong to the East or the West, the past or the future."[10] Ramanathan's own younger brother, Ponnambalam Arunachalam, described the inefficacy of the system in terms as unequivocal as the others mentioned: "Our youth are unable, after a dozen years' study, to write or speak English correctly or to feel any interest in any good English literature..They remain strangers to Western culture, however much they may strive, by adopting the externals of Western life—dress, food, drinks, games, etc.—to be 'civilised' in the Western fashion."[11] Though thus united in a broad campaign of total and unequivocal protest against the contemporary system of English education, Alwis, Coomaraswamy and Anrunachalam each evolved his own, often highly individualistic, concept of the nature and content of education. Each of them also worked out for himself a practical scheme or programme for the reform of the educational system of Sri Lanka. As will be shown below, Ponnambalam Ramanathan, too, although he belonged unmistakeably to this "Great Tradition" of radical protest against English education, was, in matters of detail, highly individualistic in his approach towards the nature, content and aims of education in Sri Lanka. He was no mere "disciple" or follower of any of the reformers mentioned above; moreover, Ramanathan was no pure idealist —he was indeed the most practical-minded of the educational reformers who comprise the tradition of radical protest, for, unlike Alwis, Coormaraswamy and Arunachalam (whose ideas remained purely on the plane of theory), Ramanathan was fortunate enough to translate his ideals, at least partly, into concrete reality during his lifetime. He achieved this by establishing two colleges in Jaffna, Ramanathan College and Parameshvara College, through his own initiative and after sacrificing a large slice of his personal fortune.

Like Alwis, Coomaraswamy and Arunachalam, Ramanathan received the best type of colonial "English Education" available at the time. As Ramanathan himself declared, he was, like Coomaraswamy and many others

9. James Alwis, *Memoirs and Desultory Writings*, Ed, A. C. Seneviratne, Colombo, 1939, p. 17.
10. Ananda Coomaraswamy, *The Dance of Shiva*, New York, 1957, pp. 155-56.
11. *Speeches and Writings of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam*, Vol. 1, Cave and Co. Ltd., (n.d.), pp. 261-62.

of his generation, not only brought up and educated in a truly British atmosphere, but also trained to be a loyal British subject.[12]. Having completed his primary education at home, Ramanathan was sent to Royal College[13] from 1861, and studied his lessons in the distinguished company of C. A. Lorenz, the Nell brothers, William Gunatilake, and his (Ramanathan's) own brothers, Ponnambalam Coomaraswamy and Ponnambalam Arunachalam[14]. In 1865, their father, Mudliyar Ponnambalam, sent his two elder sons, Coomaraswamy and Ramanathan, to Presidency College, Madras, for graduation.[15] Ramanathan was then in his thirteenth year. The two brothers were left to their own devices by their father, who gave them Rs. 1000, a Persian horse, a passage to Madras through Rameshwaram, together with "guidance from God." Though somewhat perturbed by being thus ushered forcibly to manhood, Ramanathan was also evidently gratified by his change of school so early. Even at this youthful age he had grasped clearly the essential hollowness and poor quality of the English education he had imbibed at the Colombo Academy, for he said later: "Though by no means proficient in English or in any of the departments of knowledge commonly taught in English schools, I was able to see that the teaching offered in the first educational institution of the Island—the Colombo Academy where I was reading—was of a poor order."[16]

It was, perhaps, the kind of education that Ramanathan underwent at Presidency College (one that appears to have been radically different in many ways from colonial education in Sri Lanka) that laid the foundations for his non-conformist views with regard to colonial English education. Under the benign Principalship of Dr. Thompson, the college, though founded "for the purpose of imbuing the Indian people with a love for the learning and culture of their rulers, and generally for the propagation of all that was good and

12. Of his Western (mainly British) upbringing and his admiration for British traditions of justice and fairplay, Ramanathan himself said: "England, Sir—my heart melts at the sound of England. I feel that my whole life has been protected by England. I have from my infancy upwards been bred by England, taught by England, benefited by England, and I am deeply grateful for it not merely for the benefits which I have personally received, but for the reputation it has for justice, humanity, mercy and honour. However painful my duty may have been, I have discharged it because of the great and good who are standing up for the glory of the British Empire,because they want us to do our duty, in order that England may continue from generation to generation as the greatest, the best and the noblest country on the face of the earth." (Quoted in Zeylanicus,*Ceylon—Between Orient and Occident*, Elek House Books Ltd., London, 1970, p. 159).

13. The present Royal College was then known as the Queen's Academy. Its headmaster was Dr. Barcroft Boake.

14. For further details regarding Boake's stewardship of the Queen's Academy and Ramanathan's schoolmates, see Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80. Vythilingam quotes Dr. Isaac Thambyah, who writes of Ramanathan: "He confined his reading largely to novels. Happening to come across Madame de Stael's saying, "Novel-reading bleaches one's mind," (Ramanathan) betook himself with oriental avidity to more substantial reading." (*Op. Cit.*, p. 80).

15. Mudaliyar Ponnambalam's decision to send his two elder sons abroad was based as much (or even more) on moral grounds than on purely academic grounds. Cf. Ramanathan's own remarks in one of his speeches later: "We had a number of friends from outside our society coming in and instilling into us ideas that created irreverence and frivolity in our minds. My father looked at these things with sorrow and told me and my brother Coomaraswamy, "Sons, you are in great danger in Colombo. You must go out of Ceylon to a country where many more things are to be learnt than could be learnt in Colombo. Are you willing to go?" We said, "Yes, father!" (Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

16. Quoted in Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

great in the civilisation of the West,"[17] did not ignore indigenous Indian culture. Presidency College in fact fostered the study of Sanskrit, the Indian languages, Indian History, Eastern philosophy and Indian religions. (The staff, comprising English professors and Indian scholars, represented a synthesis of *all that was best* in the West and the East.) Facilities were freely available for physical development too, in the form of activities and games such as athletics, riding, wrestling and boxing. Ramanathan was active in the debates of the Union where he developed the forensic powers that were to stand him in good stead in later life as a lawyer and parliamentarian. He won the English essay prize, drawing from Dr. Thompson the eulogistic remark that, as far as he knew, no other undergraduate "wielded the English language to better effect than he."[18] Unfortunately, however, Ramanathan's carreer at Presidency College was cut off prematurely; Mudaliyar Ponnambalam, alarmed by reports regarding his elder son Coomaraswamy's "youthful excessses". was compelled to recall both sons to the Island without ceremony. Ramanathan thus left Madras without a degree, having just passed his Intermediate Examination in Arts.

Back in Sri Lanka, Ramanathan, under the guidance of his uncle, Sir Mutu Coomaraswamy, (perhaps the most influential personality in Ramanathan's intellectual development), became an apprentice student-at-law under Sir Richard Morgan, the Attorney-General. Two years later he was called to the bar as an advocate.[19]

Thus Ramanathan, though he never attended a British university like his brother Arunachalam,[20] enjoyed at least the best colonial education that Sri Lanka and India could offer. His experiences of the educational systems followed in the two countries without doubt led Ramanathan to ponder seriously upon the subject of colonial education quite early. The fact that education was the foremost "national" problem in his mind early in life is attested also by the fact that during Ramanathan's initial years as a member of the Legislative Council,[21] his mind was engrossed by educational matters. Shortly after he took his seat as the representative of the Tamils in the Legislative Council, Ramanathan moved a motion entitled "On the Necessity of making more efficient the Department of Public Instruction" (on 19th November 1879). In proposing this motion, Ramanthan was perhaps impelled by the thought that Sir Mutu's mantle had fallen upon his own shoulders. Sir Mutu had, in fact, already inaugurated a reformist movement in education himself—in 1865, he had brought up the subject of colonial education before the Council and had even succeeded in getting a Select Committee appointed to inquire into the School Commission and the educational wants of the country.[22] Thus when Ramanathan succeeded his uncle as the representative of the Tamils

17. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
19. Ramanathan was examined by Sir Edward Creasy and Mr. Justice Charles Stewart in 1873. Sir Edward was the Chief Justice of the Island from 1860 to 1877.
20. Ponnambalam Arunachalam was educated at the University of Cambridge.
21. Ramanathan was appointed the representative of the Tamils in 1879, on the death of his uncle Sir Muthu Coomaraswamy. The latter had occupied that position upto that time.
22. The Select Committee, with Sir Richard Morgan as Chairman, sat for two years, and in 1867 presented an elaborate report (Sessional Paper No. 8, 1867) with certain far-reaching recommendations—among them, the abolition of the School Commission, the establishment of a state department of education with a responsible Director at the helm, and the revision of the Grant-in-Aid Scheme. See Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

in Council, he no doubt felt morally obliged to carry forward the reformist movement that Sir Mutu had already commenced. In a spirit of adolescent bravado mixed with an adult sense of responsibilty, therefore, Ramanathan moved in Council the necessity of placing the Department of Public Instruction on firmer foundations, almost immediately after entering the Legislative Council. He asked whether the Memorandum of the Director dated 12th May and referred to by him in his report for 1878, would be acted upon.

In his first important speech on education, the first of a series that marked his tenure of office as the representative of the Tamils, Ramanathan stressed two important points: the responsibility of the state for the education of its future citizens; and the ridiculously and criminally low sums of money then spent on education. Said Ramanathan on 19th November 1879: "I don't think it necessary to dilate on the obligation of the government to educate the people. I think that will be conceded, but I do wish to press on you, Sir, the fact that capital invested in education is reproductive."[23] Both these ideas were new and revolutionary in the contemporary colonial context. Having next quoted Sir Charles Macarthy and C. A. Lorenz in support of his contentions, Ramanathan went on to assert, in a tone of bitter self-reproach:

> We who speak of ourselves as rolling in wealth are the niggardliest in our expenditure on so noble a cause as education.... Nothing is more universally admitted than the principle that the Government should provide for the education of the masses. The wealthier classes of Ceylon, absorbed in their own pursuits, do not think of the educational wants of the poor.... The future policy of the Government should be to spend largely on the promotion of vernacular education.[24]

Thus, early in his political career, Ramanathan stressed not only the need for a state-sponsored and-controlled system of education not merely for a rich *elite* but also for the "masses"; he also drew the attention of the authorities to the need for the use of the *vernacular*, as opposed to the exclusive use of English, as the educational medium in the upper forms. Thus Ramanathan was one of the earliest advocates of the use of *swabasha* in education in Sri Lanka.

Like James Alwis before him, Ramanathan saw quite clearly the inseparable connection between contemporary English education and Westernisation with its attendant alienation of the English-educated from his own countrymen. A knowledge of English only made the Sinhalese youth hanker after the more superficial features of Western civilisation, not its really sound elements: "At present the great ambition of the Sinhalese youth, who has picked up a smattering of English in the Anglo-Vernacular schools, is to assume the external phases of Western civilisation only, without caring to aspire to those really sound elements of it which made that civilisation valuable."[25]

To Ramanathan, the ultimate and most obnoxious consequence of pursuing English education as a status symbol was, of course, the estrangement of the intelligentsia of the country from the ordinary masses, and the decay and

23. *Select Speeches of Ponnambalam Ramanathan*, p. 11.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

suppression of traditional customs, religions, cultures and ways of life, especially the pursuit of agriculture as a life-calling. It led, finally, to the degradation of life, and to the loss of personal happiness as well as individual income. Ramanathan evoked vividly the radical transformation (for the worse) in the pitiable recipients of English education thus: "When the Sinhalese youth comes to know a little English, his mind becomes unsettled. He discards the plough, the honourable and useful calling of his ancestors, idles away his time or becomes a petition-drawer or clerk on a miserable pittance. This is not as it should be."[26]

Not only did Ramanathan thus debunk the system of English education in the late 19th century; he also pointed to the self-obvious remedy: "The Government has hitherto devoted large sums of money towards instructing the youths of the country in elementary English education and neglected to give them the opportunity of entering upon a higher course of study in their language. The future policy of the Government should be to spend largely on the promotion of vernacular education."[27] Thus, like James Alwis before him, and Arunachalam and Coomaraswamy during his own generation, Ramanathan, a youth still in his twenties, championed the cause of *swabasha* as a medium of instruction and as a field worthy of higher learning, over three-quarters of a century before the indigenous languages were made the media of education in the Island.

Like James Alwis, Arunachalam and Coomaraswamy, Ramanathan apportioned the blame for the social ills stemming from the faulty educational system between the colonialist ruler and the subject-peoples. While the British rulers were certainly to be blamed for their jaundiced policy of ignoring the languages actually used in the country, the Sri Lankans were equally culpable for the criminal neglect of their own mother-tongues and traditional cultures. In a public speech on "The Denationalisation of the Sinhalese" delivered in 1904, Ramanathan dramatically and sardonically high-lighted the tragic plight of the Westernised, English-educated Sinhalese, tracing it to its deeper causes:

> "First and foremost, (the cause of the denationalisation of the Sinhalese) is the utter neglect of the use of the Sinhalese language amongst those who have learned to speak English. . . . I have asked these denationalised Sinhalese gentlemen, 'Will you tell me what constitutes a Sinhalese man?' Not knowing the answer, they have remained silent. I then asked them, 'Do you take delight in speaking the beautiful Sinhalese language at your homes, and among your friends when you meet in railway carriages and other places, and on public platforms?' They feebly smiled."[28]

Ramanathan concluded this revelatory account of the (to him inexplicable) behaviour of his countrymen in a tone of ironic and pathetic self-resignation: "Ah me! If Sinhalese lips will not speak the Sinhalese language, who else is there to speak it?"[29] Thus to Ramanathan, as to Coomaraswamy and to

26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
28. From a speech by Ramanathan on "The Denationalisation of the Singhalese", delivered at Ananda College, Colombo, on 3rd September, 1904, quoted in Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 479
29. Quoted in *ibid.*

Arunachalam, superficial westernisation was the inevitable corollary of English education, the two together leading to the destruction of everything that was valuable in indigenous culture.

Quite logically, to Ramanathan, the rising tide of westernisation and denationalisation could be stemmed only by a colossal attempt at a realistic self-examination of their unenviable plight by the Sri Lankans themselves. He constantly felt and urged that "Every Sinhalese man, every Tamil man, who knows what he is about, should raise his voice and protest against the denationalisation that is going on in this country."[30] Chastising the Sinhalese in indignant vein for their perverse refusal to learn and use their own mother-tongue, Ramanathan went on to define the national-minded Sinhalese as follows: "The man who speaks Sinhalese....without any admixture of foreign language, who can roll out sentence after sentence in pure Sinhalese, charged with sober sense, inspiring and grand to hear is a Sinhalese man indeed."[31] Ramanathan thereafter proceeded to call every man who could not speak his native tongue a "pariah",[32] a non-Sinhalese, and sounded the death-knell of the entire Sinhalese race in the following words: "(If you)....cannot or will not speak your native language on public platforms, in railway carriages and in drawing-rooms, and will not stand up for your national institutions, then I say none of you deserve to be called Sinhalese, 1,800,000 Sinhalese will soon dwindle to nothing. The nation will be ruined, and we must await with trembling knees the early destruction of the Sinhalese language."[33] This was, indeed, a warning first sounded by James Alwis in the late 1860s, and by Coomaraswamy and Arunachalam during the closing years of the 19th century.[34] Thus, to Ramanathan, as to Alwis and Coomaraswamy, the basic and most urgently-needed reform in the contemporary educational system was the change of the media of instruction from English to Sinhalese and Tamil.

A careful reading of the speeches and writings of Ramanathan indicates that although he never attempted to formulate a full-fledged and self-contained theory of education, his educational thought and reformist activities in later life imply a coherent grasp of certain fundamental tenets of education. It is clear from numerous comments on education in his writings and speeches that Ramanathan had pondered deeply on the subject of education in general as well as on the history of traditional education in the East, and on the unsuitability of the colonial system then in vogue in India and Sri Lanka. Ramanathan had acquired (probably through family tradition and upbringing, his stay in India and his extensive reading) a deep knowledge of the traditional (Sinhalese and Hindu) systems of education. The extent and depth of Ramanathan's study of the traditional Hindu and Sinhalese systems of education[35] are revealed

30. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 481.
31. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 482.
32. Note the common use of the word "pariah" ('outcast') to designate westernised and denationalised Sri Lankans by both Ramanathan and Coomaraswamy. Coomaraswamy described the English-educated youth in India and Sri Lanka as "a nondescript and superficial being deprived of all roots—a sort of *intellectual pariah* who does not belong to the East or the West, the past or the future." (*The Dance of Shiva, New York*, 1957, p. 156). Emphasis added.
33. Quoted in Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 482.
34. For details, see the papers on James Alwis, Ananda Coomaraswamy and Ponnambalam Arunachalam, mentioned in fn. 1 above.
35. Ramanathan described the Sinhala-Buddhist system of *Pansala* (temple) education as "a copy of the *pāṭhasālā* system indigenous to India." (*Select* Speeches, p. 35).

quite clearly in his speech on the "Proposed Revised Code of Education for 1881 and the Grant-in-Aid-System", delivered in the Legislative Council on 6th December, 1880, in which he outlined, vividly though briefly, the traditional Hindu system of education prevalent for ages in India and in the Jaffna peninsula. While conceding at the outset that the education imparted in the school of the hereditary village teacher could not be termed by any means "high or liberal", Ramanathan showed that such traditional education had nevertheless served its purpose quite adequately during the time and in the environment in which it had been used. With obvious approval Ramanathan quoted the following excerpt from the characterisation of the system of traditional Hindu education from a report of the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal: "It (i.e., traditional Eastern education) was not education at all in the proper sense of the word, but rather instruction in some of the most necessary arts of life".[36] It was "so eminently and intensely practical that it neglected everything that had not immediate reference to the daily concerns of a villager's life."[37] According to Ramanathan, the ancient Sinhalese and Tamil peoples of Sri Lanka had always set store by education of this highly useful, "intensely and eminently practical" type.

In clear eulogistic vein, Ramanathan went on to describe some of the features of the ancient educational system practised during the reign of the ancient Sinhalese kings: "It is mentioned of King Vijaya Bahu III, who reigned in 1240, that he established a school in *every village* and charged the priests who superintended them to take nothing from the pupils, promising that he would himslef reward them for their trouble. Such was the policy of enlightened Sinhalese sovereigns, the policy of bringing free education to the very doors of the people."[38] Free and state-controlled mass education was apparently not, therefore, something unusual or revolutionary in the Sri Lankan context.

State-sponsored and state-controlled education for the masses, in Ramanathan's opinion, could only be achieved through a system of small government schools:

> "The wealthier classes of Ceylon, absorbed in their own pursuits, do not think of the educational wants of the poor, nor are the labouring classes sensible enough or able to help themselves. It is therefore the duty of the Government to urge the masses to educate themselves and also to contribute largely and freely to the cause of such education. The circumstances of the colony permit of such education mainly by means of small schools, and the withdrawal of the grants from such schools will seriously affect the educational opportunity of the people."[39]

Ramanathan opposed vehemently the Government's attempts at the time to reduce the number of schools (by closing down small schools). The state's hopes of establishing larger schools with better teachers and tighter discipline Ramanathan surmised, was only "a vain hope."[40] "What is immediately,

36. *Select Speeches*, p. 35.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

required," he asserted, "is a network of small schools throughout the country. The people of this country do not appreciate education so greatly as to send their children to distantly situated large schools."[41]

To Ramanathan, the contemporary system of colonial education was unsatisfactory in several other important respects. Its gravest limitation was that it was weighted heavily towards the material aspects of life, not towards the religious and spiritual, which the orthodox Hindu valued very highly. This lop-sidedness, asserted Ramanathan, was an inevitable consequence of the slavish imitation of a foreign and alien educational system: "The curriculum of studies prescribed in the universities and schools in the west, except in theological circles, are confined to the things that relate to the perishable side of life."[42]

Ramanathan proceeded to describe how the adoption of the western system of education had led, within a half-century, to dire consequences. It had wrought a complete moral, ethical and spiritual change in the younger generation, and directed their minds to a striving for sensual gratification. Indeed, it had reversed completely the system of life-values upheld throughout the ages by tradition, custom and religion. Ramanathan's apprehensive vision of a newly-emerging immoral and irreligious generation emerges in passages such as the following:

> "Everywhere the complaint is that boys and girls are not as they were some 50 years ago. Formerly there was some peace reigning in their hearts. They respected their elders in their homes and societies and the rulers of the country, in councils of state and on political platforms. They were willing and ready to put into practice the principles they had been taught at their homes and schools. They loved to be self-controlled, obedient, thoughtful and helpful to others. They spurned selfishness and irreligion."[43]

What the new "English education" brought in its wake was the reversal of the virtues mentioned and an attendant growth in the sensual aspects of life: "There is now a vehement desire for the gratification of the senses at any cost, an extraordinary regard for pleasure, and a proportionate contempt for duty. The principles which make life a thing of beauty and joy forever have all been forgotten."[44]

To Ramanathan, the greatest loss suffered by pupils as a result of the decay of traditional education was the neglect of morality and religion. He complained bitterly that even teachers in "great colleges," "do not know how to teach God and morality."[45] To Ramanathan, education was essentially the pursuit of the truth, which could be achieved only through religion...i.e, through faith in God, the universal creator. Education was one pathway to the Divine Truth, and therefore all education had ultimately to provide answers to the people's questions on God and the universe:

41. *Ibid.*,
42. *Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon* (*Hansard*), 1925, Colombo, 1926, p. 182.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*

> "People want to know who God is, and what is God doing for us, how are we to know God, and what is our duty towards God. They also want to know what is Ethics or Morality, on what is it founded. What is the reason of the difference between things which are permitted and things which are not permitted, and what relation does pleasure bear to duty. Such questions, if not answered intelligibly, produce a doubtful and controversial state of mind, which ultimately leads to materialism and other sin."[46]

Thus, the neglect of religion, morality and ethics in 19th century education led, *ipso facto*, to the production of a generation who had lost faith in moral and religious values, and whose sole purpose was to

> "seize every opportunity to please oneself in every plane of the senses. The meaning of pleasing or enjoying oneself is to gratify every desire or passion that creeps into the mind. The result is a life like that of the butterflies, dogs, cattle, and other animals, which have no codes of religion and ethics, and which have no power to hear and understand them."[47]

Religion and morality were thus the cornerstones in Ramanathan's concept of an ideal liberal education. He did not, however, conceive of education being (of necessity) religious in the narrow sectarian sense. To Ramanathan, all major world religions were at bottom alike, in that they all upheld the same fundamental set of moral and ethical principles, "the principles of imperishable or eternal life....(which are taught) in order to save human beings from the dangers of worldly life"[48] as he described them. All religions emphatically assert that the "life eternal is not something high up in the skies, but is attainable in our own hearts amidst our worldly surroundings, and that a knowledge of the principles and practices of Eternal life is the only safeguard against the corruptions which beset our path on earth."[49] The function of educators and education was therefore "to bring afresh within the reach of our children the great traditions which have been crowded out of our schools and colleges by the advent of what is called modern civilisation."[50] Elsewhere, Ramanathan showed that the chief aim of education was to enable youth to save themselves from "the perils of selfishness and sensuousness combined, called worldliness."[51] A sound and effective system of education would (while giving the pupils a knowledge of the nature of "the perishable things of life") have to make a serious effort to "inculcate also some of the principles relating to the imperishable things known as God and Souls, and to teach the part which Evil plays in the destruction of humanity."[52]

When Ramanathan spoke of "the Life Eternal" and "God," he was not restricting himself to any one god in the Hindu pantheon or to the Christian God. To him all religions were different aspects of a single universal faith, and God was really an abstraction, though identified and worshipped under specific names and guises in the different religions. This notion finds explicit statement in the following passage:

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46. Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, 122.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*

"There is only one God for all nations. He is the only lord of all hosts, who can be worshipped by human beings. The methods of worship in the case of the great religions of the world may be different, but the object worshipped is identically the same."[53]

Only an ideal system of education which gave a predominant place to the inculcation of religious, ethical and moral principles could produce "really good men and women, really good citizens", the ideal products of a satisfactory system of education. The chief object of education, according to Ramanathan was, therefore, to make good citizens of pupils, and by "reminding them of our Spiritual Traditions,....to make them real assets to us and to the British Empire."[54] In other words, "education" was synonymous with the building up of good character, and cultivating in pupils "lofty ideals" as Ramanathan described them in this passage which epitomises his philosophy of education:

"Education in the proper sense of the term implies something that is systematically neglected by our educationists....The more important side of Education is the training of boys and girls to lofty ideals of character, perfection in work, heartfelt devotion to God, and loyalty to the king."[55]

According to Ramanathan, however, the development of a "lofty character" was no easy or simple process—it could be attained only through a rigid control of the senses as well as of the mental faculties, supplemented by "abundant study and thoughtful action." Goodness of character, the avoidance of evil, was no inherited or congenital trait for the majority of the people in any country. For the masses, therefore, what was required was "a kind of education..that will lead them out of the mazes of wickedness."[56] It was the business of education to teach boys and girls that "indulgence in any desire, not permitted by law, conduces to debase one's character and brings about spiritual ruin;" that "the desire for gratifying each of the five senses should be carefully limited and controlled lest the mind, running promiscuously with the senses, be spoilt by the mire of sensualism;" that "an impure mind becomes the ally of evil, and the enemy of the soul"[57] and that there are certain principles and practices of Eternal Life a knowledge of which is indispensable to all men and women.

The second essential feature of a good educational system, according to Ramanathan, was the inculcation of the value of "perfection in work." A perfectionist himself all his life, Ramanathan believed that nothing really worthwhile could be achieved without hard work and infinite pains: "Perfection in work is not to be obtained except by taking infinite pains: and endeavouring to complete and polish up in every detail the work in hand."[58] Yet again, physical work could not be divorced or separated from mental activity, nor could intellectual excellence be attained without spiritual perfection. Moreover, there was no distinction between so-called "little things" or "great things"

53. Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
58. *Ibid.*

which men are called upon to perform: "in the case of everything," declared Ramanathan, "our duty is to turn out excellent work, and we shall have our reward which is steadfastness of purpose, poise, purity of heart, and prosperity in peace"[59]—for the great God, the Creator of the Universe, has provided man with excellent models and examples of structural perfection, beauty and co-relation of the various constituent parts.

The third of the main ideals of Ramanathan—loyalty to the King—was obviously dictated by the contemporary social milieu into which Ramanathan and his contemporaries had been born and in which they had to live. Ramanathan and his generation had to live, willy-nilly, under the yoke of British colonialism at a time when there was not even a distant prospect of self-government or *swaraj* and it is not surprising that Ramanathan was obliged to pay lip-service to loyalty to the king and the British Empire. In asserting the neccessity of this "virtue" of loyalty, Ramanathan declared (with his tongue in his cheek, perhaps): "We still make much of this virtue. If the throne and its surroundings are disturbed, there will be confusion in society, and many great dangers will stare us in the face."[60]

Ramanathan was quite explicit regarding the subject of educational reform and the necessity for educational "experts". From his youth to the end of his life Ramanathan never had any doubts regarding the necessity for overhauling the educational system of Sri Lanka. Just four years before his death, in 1926, Ramanathan said "Some effort should be made to recast our system of education upon better lines."[61] Speaking on the subject of educational expertise in the Legislative Council during the debate on "The Educational Policy of Government," on February 25, 1926, Ramanathan emphasised the view that mere book-learning or familiarity with the writings of the philosophers could not make an "educational expert"; instead, the "expert" needed was a man of practical experience:

> "Because a man is familiar with the writings of Plato and other philosophers he is no expert. The expert we want, sir, is a man with a ripe understanding, who having the power to act independently of likes and dislikes, is pure in heart, and has a clear perception of the goal of education, which is God. That is the man we want. He must also be a man with a world-wide practical experience of the affairs of human nature. We do not want a man who is simply learned in books."[62]

This passage again shows that Ramanathan was no ivory-tower idealist with his head high in the air, that he was an idealist-cum-realist of the best type.

59. Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon* (*Hansard*), 1926, Colombo, 1927, p. 379.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 374-75.

Like James Alwis,[63] Ananda Coomaraswamy[64] and Arunachalam,[65] Ramanathan too had to re-define the place of English *vis-a-vis* the indigenous languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, in the Sri Lanka educational system. Ramanathan accepted the general view that "there ought to be a proper balance maintained between English and the local languages", but inquired how such a balance could be maintained when the Department of Education was not providing any facilities for the promotion of bilingualism. An advocate of bilingualism as the panacea for many of the administrative, social and psychological ills of contemporary Sri Lankan society, Ramanathan pressed for the restoration of the native languages[66] to their rightful place of equality in status with the official language, English:

> I for one cannot condemn the deeper study of the English language. I would say that the local language, Tamil or Sinhalese, should be taught to the same extent..that sort of bilingual facility is essential and should be developed. I should like a Tamil or Sinhalese man born here to know English as well as his own language. Thus we may be great co-operators in the work for the good of this Island. The production of this bilingual facility in our schools, would be good for Ceylon and for the rest of the British Empire.[67]

And this bilingual facility, said Ramanathan, should "go on from the lowest stage of a school up to the highest."[68]

In Ramanathan's view, the preservation and fostering of the native literatures, cultures and customs of the various communal or linguistic groups in Sri Lanka, too, was one of the vital functions to be entrusted to the country's educational systems; as Ramanathan put it, each race should safeguard its traditions, language and literature. "There is no other way for its leading men to teach, uplift, and preserve their people. We must be loyal to our ancient traditions and customs....Every right-thinking man would say, 'Let us preserve those ancient traditions'..We must really encourage the efforts made by our members to bring about a revival of her ancient traditions."[69] Here, once again, Ramanathan was treading the beaten track already followed by his predecessors, Alwis and Coomaraswamy.

As has already been shown, the hallmark of Ramanathan's ideal system of education was the primary role that the "spiritual" or religious element would

63. See the paper on James Alwis mentioned in fn. 1.
64. Coomaraswamy's attitude towards English *vis-a-vis* the native language of the pupil is exemplified by the following comments: "Do not think that I am at all opposed to the study of English in addition to the mother tongue; on the contrary, the people of India will do well to take every advantage of their opportunities of becoming a bilingual people ..Let him..know well his own tongue and also English.." (Ananda Coomaraswamy, 'Anglicisation of the East', *The Ceylon National Review*, No. 2, July 1906, p. 185).
65. Ponnambalam Arunachalam too advocated bilingualism for the Sri Lankans, as indicated by statements such as the following: "Every Sinhalese or Tamil should be compelled to devote some time to the systematic study of his mother tongue, so as to be able to speak and write it correctly." (P. Arunachalam, *The Census of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, Colombo, 1902, p. 133; Describing the study of English as "a subject of essential importance to us," Arunachalam declared that "a knowledge (of English is necessary for the earning of a living—but more important still it is our only avenue to Western culture." (P. Arunachalam, *Speeches and Writings*, Vol. 1, Colombo, n.d., pp. 260-61).
66. *Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon* (*Hansard*), 1926, p. 375.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 378.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*

play in it. Pupils under this ideal system should be trained to "prefer always the needs of the soul to the cravings of the body."[70] Only such a spiritual education could wean young people away from "indulgence in selfishness, unrestrained gratification of sensual desires, and the preference of pleasure to duty[71] —what Ramanathan characterised as "a bondage to evil and its subtle corruption." The cultivation of love (which would ideally be threefold) should be the ultimate goal of such an educational exercise—"to protect the little leaven of love and light that is in every man, and to develop them successfully, first into neighbourly love, and then into philanthropic love, and then to Godly love."[72] In short, the spiritual bias in education was for Ramanathan a *sine qua non* for the "direction of the higher desires"—but, unfortunately, the colonial system of English education which "thrust aside religious ethics"[73] was woefully incapable of achieving such a lofty aim.

It is for crucial reasons that Ramanathan, when he introduced his motion to establish Parameshvara College included a section in it laying down clearly that, in addition to the usual curriculum of studies, the religious traditions of the Hindus should be carefully taught to every Hindu boy there. However, Ramanathan was no religious fanatic; perhaps to prove beyond doubt his religious tolerance,[74] Ramanathan employed some Christian teachers in addition to Hindus at Parameshvara College, and also made it possible for boys belonging to all religions to gain admission to the school. Ramanathan pointed out that Hinduism was in fact an all-embracing and tolerant faith which "inculcates that the souls of boys and girls and men and women, of whatever faith or race, are all children of one and the same God, that parents as well as teachers are trustees of God, that God exists in the heart of every human being, and that all the affairs of this world must be interpreted in terms of the prevailing power and grace of God."[75] Indeed, Ramanathan was himself the perfect embodiment of the broad, humane tolerance typical of the Hindu religion.

In keeping with the basic tenets of his educational philosophy (based as it was in large measure on local traditions, especially the spiritual traditions, as shown above), Ramanathan paid only passing and secondary attention to the necessity for education to be employment-oriented. In any case, said Ramanathan, it was not really practicable to make education" enable an outgoing student to find a livelihood for himself" at the primary stage between 6 and 14 years of age. If at all, such job-orientation, "the training for a clerkship or other vocation for earning a living wage"[76] would be possible only in later years, say, between 14 and 19 years. However, Ramanathan clearly subordinated the type of "education that is required to gain a livelihood, so as to keep body and soul together"[77] to the other ideals of his that have been outlined previously.

Ramanathan differs from the other prominent representatives of the tradition of radical protest against English education in Sri Lanka from another crucial point of view. He and he alone was capable of translating his precepts

70. *Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon* (*Hansard*), 1925, p. 185.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 185
73. *Ibid.*
74. The fact that Ramanathan had no religious fanaticism is also exemplified by his scholarly studies of other religions, especially Christianity. (e.g. *The Culture of the Soul Among Western Nations*, 1906).
75. *Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon* (*Hansard*), 1925, *p.* 187.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-85.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

into tangible form though only towards the tail-end of his career. Ramanathan, who had early in political life confined himself to the criticism of the *status quo* in education, ventured farther afield than Alwis, Coomaraswamy and Arunachalam, by taking the practical step that was unfortunately beyond the reach of any of his compatriots. He established two educational institutions by his own efforts, grounded on the theoretical foundations that he had built up gradually over the years. These tangible symbols of Ramanathan's educational ideas and ideals were Ramanathan College (for girls) and Parameshvara College (for boys), both in Jaffna.

On his return from his lecture tour of America,[78], Ramanathan decided to "devote (himself) to national work amongst (his) countrymen and whatever resources were in (his) hands, (he) hoped to devote to the service of his country." He continued: "I am afraid that to my own generation, I cannot be of much use, but I certainly hope to be able to do some good at least to some of your children and children's children."[79] The idea of founding a national Buddhist-Hindu college in Colombo, to serve as a model for other institutions which it was part of his plan to establish in various parts of the island, however, had been conceived by Ramanathan as early as 1890. Such an educational institution would, he believed, provide facilities for the higher education of the Buddhist and Hindu youth against a predominantly Buddhist and Hindu background, and ultimately provide a common haven for Buddhist and Hindu culture—the essential foundation for a united Sri Lanka. However, Ramanathan's hopes were dashed to the ground at the initial stage as a result of a serious split between the leaders of the two communities on the question of management. When the plan thus proved abortive, Ramanathan turned his attention to the establishment of an institution of higher learning for Hindu girls in Jaffna. Ramanathan turned to practical educational reform in preference to purely political work, after he had realised the ephemeral nature of all political activity. Ramanathan explained the way in which he took to the founding of colleges as follows:

> "The idea of founding a college for girls has been in my mind for about 10 years.... Great as political work is, I am not satisfied with the results attained through labour on the platform. It is mostly of ephemeral value and does not deeply affect the real welfare of the people in their everyday life. I think purely educational work is far more important."[80]

After a lapse of several years caused by the difficulty of finding a suitable site,[81] the foundation stone for Ramanathan College was laid at Chunnakam by Ramanathan himself, on 3rd June 1910. The buildings, which were completed in 1913, were formally declared open on 20th June 1913.[82] The staff was representative of the best aspects of the cultures of the East as well as the West. Ramanathan provided a synopsis of his philosophy of education when he defined his aims and objectives of establishing the College as follows:

78. For details regarding Ramanathan's lecture tour of America in 1905-06, see Vythilingam *op. cit.*, chapter 35, pp. 509-33.
79. Ramanathan, quoted in Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 541.
80. Ramanathan, quoted in Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 545.
81. Considerable opposition had to be faced from the Christian missionaries who believed that Ramanathan was attempting to oust them from their strongholds in the Jaffna peninsula. For details, see Vythilingam, *op. cot.*, p. 547.
82. The principal of the college was an English lady, Mrs. Florence Farr Emery, a product of Cheltenham Ladies' College.

> "To give the girls such a training as would make them not only thoroughly efficient at home and in society without being denationalised, but also devoted to God, loyal to the king and desirous of the welfare of the people; and to embody in practical form the ancient Indian system known as *Guru Kula Vasam*, wherein the privileges of residence and constant association with cultured teachers was deemed essential to the development of the moral, intellectual and spiritual qualities of the pupil."[83]

As becomes quite clear in the final sentence of the above quotation, Ramanathan's system of education was based largely upon the traditional Indian system called the *Guru Kula*.[84] It was this same system that had been revived by Rabindranath Tagore in his Vishvabharati university at Shantiniketan in India.

The curriculum at Ramanathan College included training in the *Jñāna Śāstras*, *Dharma Śāstras*, *Purāṇas*, and *Itihāsas*, and "ancient legends of God's mercies and national stories of famous dynasties intended to illustrate sound principles of political and social life."[85] With the very young, "a combination of the ancient Tamil system with the (German) Kindergarten and the (Italian) Montessori systems"[86] was to be used. English, too, was to be taught, side by side with Tamil. Thus Ramanathan's practical education scheme was eclectic, and drew freely upon the traditional as well as on the best and most up-to-date educational methods, techniques and theories then current in the West. In no sense could it be said that Ramanathan was conservatively harking back to a decadent tradition.

Nor did Ramanathan disregard completely the necessity for education to be (at least in part) employment-oriented for, within the premises of Ramanathan College he set up a Śaiva Training School for girls who, after completing their collegiate education, chose to become teachers.[87] The College also had a farm of its own at Kilinochchi, which supplied provisions for the school.

Religion at Ramanathan College was considered to be at the heart of education. Morning and evening worship at the College temple was considered an integral part of student life. The entire atmosphere and way of life at the school was the traditionally Hindu one, above all, Ramanathan himself was personally present at religious gatherings, and directed the students and their teachers in worship and joined in the singing of hymns of the Śaivite saints in the traditional manner. Ramanathan wished the products of Ramanathan College to become models of the best models of Hindu womanhood, as exemplified by women like Sītā, Sāvitrī and Damayanti. Of course, Ramanathan's concept of the woman's place as being legitimately in the home (where of necessity she was the sole mistress) was more traditional and orthodox than "modern" or "revolutionary".

The other concrete symbol of Ramanathan's ideas in education was Parameshvara College, Jaffna, for boys. On June 18, 1925, Ramanathan (now Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Kt., K.C., C.M.G., and Member for the Northern Province, Northern Division in the Legislative Council) moved the first reading of "An Ordinance to Declare the Constitution of Parameshvara College, Jaffna, and to Incorporate the Board of Directors of the said College".

83. Ramanathan, quoted in Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 550.
84. The *Guru Kula* system is referred to in several Jataka tales.
85. Ramanathan, quoted in Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 551.
86. Ramanathan, quoted in Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, p. 551.
87. Vythilingam, *op. cit.*,p. 553.

The lengthy and inspired speech that Ramanathan delivered on this occasion was a synopsis, as it were, of all that Ramanathan had thought, written and practised during a lifetime of devoted service to his nation and to the Tamil community. The need for education to impart to pupils and citizens "something more than a knowledge of the perishable things", Ramanathan's constant *leit motiv* regarding education, runs through his epoch-making speech. Addressing the Speaker of the Legislative Council, Ramanathan once again reiterated his lofty aims and ideals in establishing Parameshvara College as follows:

> "I have thought for many years that it was my duty to help Hindu parents in this country and India to attain their heart's wish. This is the reason, Sir, why Parameshvara Vithyalayam was founded. Vithyalayam means a house of learning, and Parameshvara means the most high. Any student who is admitted there will be given facilities to know something more of life than the perishable side of it."[88]

Parameshvara College was expressly designed to "lead (children) out of the mazes of wickedness, through an appropriate spiritual training and development", and as a model which could "widely direct the higher desires and endeavour to find peace in the culture of one's own personality", to enable pupils (ultimately and ideally) to pass from "the kingdom of earth to the kingdom of God, from the things of perishable life to imperishable life or the Life Eternal."[89] It is with such phrases that Ramanathan fittingly concluded his impassioned speech on this important occasion.

The fact that Ramanathan was no mere ivory-tower educational dreamer with his head in the clouds may be further demonstrated by reference to the sentiments expressed by him a few years later, on the occasion of the debate and battle regarding a site for the establishment of a University for Sri Lanka. On that occasion, he sided firmly with that group of legislators in Council who supported the Buller's Road site (i.e., the champions of the Colombo site as opposed to those who advocated a hill-country site). Significantly, Ramanathan, the educational realist that he was, preferred human beings to beautiful but inanimate Nature as agents and instruments of education, for he showed that the ivory-tower seclusion of the salubrious hill-country (Peradeniya or Dumbara) would hardly be conducive to serious education. Speaking in support of the Colombo site, Ramanathan said:

> "If we want the ability to uplift peccant humanity and draw them up from the vanities, crudities and wickednesses of life, *inspiration must be drawn from the best men by being in the midst.* What is there at Dumbara to equip our boys effectively for the best manner of performing the various duties of life in society and in business circles? *Can going down upon their knees and contemplating the clouds and the falling streams help them in the contemplation of life and in the perfection of actions?*"[90]

To our own generation with its hindsight, the above sentences with their characteristic tone of ironic and sarcastic venom today seem replete with a deep sense of farseeing prophecy.

Ramanathan was, therefore, not only an educational idealist but also a highly practical educational reformer of rare calibre. Unlike most other representatives of the tradition of radical protest against colonial English education in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, he was fortunate enough to see

88. *Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon*, 1925, p. 183.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
90. *Debates in the Legislative Council af Ceylon*, 1927, Debate on the site for the Ceylon University, Oct. 27, 1927, p. 1575.

his ideals translated (at least partly) into reality. Unfortunately, however, he did not live sufficiently long to witness the final fruition of his life-long endeavours: he died on November 26, 1930 a few years after he had established Parameshvara College.

The following passage in which Ramanathan outlined his objectives of founding Ramanathan College may be taken as an epitome of his aims and ideals in education in the specific context of late 19th and early 20th century Sri Lanka:

> "Every effort will be made to create in the pupils an intelligent devotion to God, loyalty to the king and public spirit, to foster national ideals, and promote the harmonious development of mind and body. In these courses of instruction, particular attention will be paid to impart to the students, by a graduated series of lessons, the principles of the Saiva faith and all the ideals and practices necessary for the maintenance of the national life of the Tamils. Every endeavour will be made to revive interest in Tamil literature, music and other fine arts."[91]

The present account of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan's ideas and ideals of education indicates that he was thinking, writing and acting firmly within the context of the "tradition of radical protest" against colonial English education in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Sri Lanka, a tradition which has been defined and described in more detail elsewhere, for at the same time, however, Ramanathan was not a blind follower or disciple of any one of his predecessors on the tradition, nor a complete conformist (to traditional Hindu educational ideals). Ramanathan's concept of an ideal Sri Lankan education carries its own special and individual flavour, although (as has already been pointed out above) his views and ideals show obvious marks of cross-influence and fertilisation from several others who preceded him in the tradition (especially James Alwis and Ananda Coomaraswamy).

Thus Ramanathan was, without doubt, writing in a well-established tradition of protest when he (like Alwis and Coomaraswamy) opposed unequivocally the *status quo* in contemporary English education, as described in the first part of the present paper. While he spoke in almost the self-same voice as Alwis, Coomaraswamy and Arunachalam in pleading for the restoration of the indigenous languages (Sinhalese and Tamil) as the principal media of instruction, for the cultivation of bilingualism, and for the recognition of the cultures and traditions of the pupils in the educational structure, Ramanathan distinctly differed from the others named above in that he highlighted the religious (or, more appositely, the "spiritual") and moral limitations of the prevalent system of colonial education. This was an aspect of educational policy that had been largely ignored by the earlier representatives of the tradition. The hallmark of Ramanathan's philosophy of education was the necessary centrality of religion and spiritual development—the axis round which all education worthy of its name should revolve. It was only a spiritual education of the type that he advocated that could ultimately produce citizens of unimpeachable "moral" character, persons who would lead the nation to spiritual regeneration, and, through the latter, give birth to an ethically immaculate and therefore viable, nation, a nation that would not be lured away into ruin by its concentration upon the merely "perishable things of life."

SARATHCHANDRA WICKRAMASURIYA

91. Ramanathan, quoted in Vythilingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52.

Place - Names and Ethnic Interests: The Case of Tirukonamalai

Editing a Tamil slab inscription of about the 10th or the 11th century from the modern Trincomalee district, S. Gunasingham has the following comment to make about the place-name *Tirukōṇamalai* occurring therein:

> "The first reference to the place name *Tirukōṇamalai* is to be found in the present inscription. It is noteworthy that the name *Tirukōṇamalai* by which Trincomalee is known among the Tamils to this day occurs in precisely the same form in this inscription. *The persistence of this name over a period stretching for nearly a thousand years is strongly indicative of a remarkable continuity in the Tamil connection with Trincomalee. Considering the vicissitudes to which the names of some other centres seem to have been subject over relatively shorter periods of time, This may be indicative of the stability of the Tamil population in Trincomalee.*"[1]

Similar claims, attempting to utilize place names to draw conclusions which are advantageous to ethnic communities, are familiar to students of contemporary history of Sri Lanka. Thus, for example Svāmi Gunaratana says in *Säṅgavuṇu Yāpanaya* ("the Hidden Jaffna"): "The fact that the Sinhalese populated the Jaffna peninsula is evidenced by the place names which are in vogue even today, and by the various historical ruins (found therein)."[2] Svāmi Gunaratana then proceeds to give, a classified list (running to five printed pages) of place names in the Jaffna peninsula, which indicate a Sinhalese etymological origin.[3]

While Gunasingham speaks of the "stability of the Tamil population" and the "continuity of Tamil connection" with a place on the evidence of the persistence for a thousand years of the Tamil appellation given to it, Svāmi Gunaratana's claim goes further and maintains that the original inhabitants of another area, presently occupied predominantly by the Tamils, were Sinhalese because the place names used up to date have Sinhalese etymological origins. This latter idea has been spelt out more strongly by other writers. For example, Ven. Paṇḍita Kaḍavädduve Nandārāma and Dompē Pieris Samarasinghe say in their *Säṅgavuṇu Utura* ("The Hidden North")

> "In place of the Sinhalese (village) names which were there in the Northern and Eastern provinces what we find today are half Sinhalese and half Tamil names which in appearance look Dravidian.... In fact that most of these transformations occurred during the Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva periods is attested by history. Just because something was wrested away (from somebody) the robber does not become the owner. Nothing mentioned above has so far been handed over legally to the Tamils."[4]

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1. S. Gunasingham, "A Tamil Slab-Inscription at Nilāveli" *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. 1, No. I, 1975, pp. 61-71. My Italics. While Gunasingham dates the inscription at early eleventh century, K. Indrapala editing the same places it in the tenth century. See K. Indrapala "A Tamil Inscription from Nilaveli, Trincomalee District," *James Thevarasan Ratnam Felicitation Volume*, Jaffna, 1975, pp. 64-69.
2. Translated from Svāmi Gunaratna, *Säṅgavunu Yāpanaya*, (in Sinhalese), Colombo, 1955 p. 127
3. op. cit., pp. 127-132
4. Translated from Ven. Pandita Kaḍavädduve Nandārāma and Dompe Pieris Samarasinghe, *Säṅgavunu Utura*, (in Sinhalese)

Another Buddhist monk Ven. Hendiyagala Sīlaratana, presenting a Buddhist viewpoint says in his *Uturudiga Lankāva* ("The Northern Lanka"):

> "The whole of the Northern Province was earlier a Buddhist power centre adorned by *Caityas, Vihāras* and *Bōdhi* compounds and illuminated by the yellow robe."[5]

To substantiate this idea he next gives a list of modern Jaffna place-names such as *Sankātthanai, Budda Valavva*[6] etc. which indicate an original Buddhist connection.

In the above instances one may notice the attempt, in a greater or lesser degree as the case may be, to identify place names with ethnic (and sometimes religious) interests. Here group consciousness in the ethnicist or, in a broader sense, nationalist[7] sense has prompted "the attachment of secondary symbols to primary ideas of information."[8] The ethnic or the nation is conceived and the concept perpetuated by the appellation given it—more particularly by that accepted by the group concerned. Also the group's history, heroes, literature and folklore, verbally articulated and manipulated by agents of mobilization contribute towards reinforcing and intensifying the collective sentiment. Similarly topographical features, natural or man made, too, assume the status of rallying points for group consciousness. Here one can cite the classic example of the significance of the city of Jerusalem and its "wailing wall" for the Jewish people. Group emotion thus identified with a place might sometimes far exceed the practical value of the object involved. The violent demonstrations and casualities over the port of Trieste after the second world war is a case in point. Although Trieste in modern times has little economic or strategic value its symbolic significance has goaded peoples into rivalry and conflict.[9] In situations of collective deprivation an ethnic (or ethno-religious) group might cling passionately even to the memory of a place-name. For example,

> "The birthplace of Ashkenazic Jewry and its language was the territory that extends from the left bank of the Middle Rhine toward the Franco-German language border. Until the fourteenth century, the territory is frequently designated in Jewish sources as *loter*. This, of course, is but a variant of the name of the king after whom *regnum Lotharii*, or Lotharingia, Lorraine, was named. The kingdom of Lotheringia, though it lasted only a few decades as a political entity, may be said to have been a pivot in general history as well, what with the crucial importance of Franco-German relations to the Western world ever since the Verdun treaty of 843. Still,

5. Translated from Ven. Hendiyagala Sīlaratana, *Uturu Diga Lańkāva*, (in Sinhalese), Colombo, 1955—p. 35.
6. According to Ven. Sīlaratana *Sańkāttanai* was originally *Sangha-sthāna* ("The place of the Sangha"). For *Buddha Valavva* he gives no explanation; perhaps because its meaning ("Buddha's residence"?) is obvious.
7. As Joshua A. Fishman puts it, ethnicity is "a primordial wholistic guide to human behaviour....uncomplicated by broader causes, loyalties, slogans or ideologies," and nationalism is "transformed ethnicity with all of the accoutrements for functioning at a larger scale of political, social and intellectual activity." Joshua A. Fishman, "Varieties of Ethnicity and Varieties of Language Consciousness" in Charles W. Kriedler ed., *Monograph Series in Linguistics*, No. 18, Georgetown, University, 1965, pp. 69-79
8. Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication*, Second Ed., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966, p. 172
9. Joseph Bram, *Language and Society*, N.Y. 1966, p. 49

there is significance in the specific Jewish name and it is worth preserving: it indicates that there are specific points in Jewish culture even in fields as neutral as geography."[10]

To come back to Sri Lanka, it was seen above how linguistic identification is often utilized as a strong basis for possessive claims by ethnic interests. Religion too is sometimes brought in. When ethno-religious values come to be bound up with a geographical phenomenon, we notice that its significance undergoes a transformation. A place with a certain name then becomes "sacred;" it becomes an object worthy of fighting for and, perhaps, dying for.

Two of the three Sinhalese books from which the earlier quotations were taken have suggestive titles: *Säňgavuṇu Yāpanaya* ("The Hidden Jaffna") and *Säňgavunu Utura* ("The Hidden North") i.e. the Northern Province of Sri Lanka. These titles indicate the motive of the authors—to unravel something which has so far been hidden or obscure. The central theme, as it were, of these works is to point out that what has of late been called "the traditional Tamil area" by some political interests[11] is in fact original Sinhalese and Buddhist territory. Perhaps it is no mere coincidence that Buddhist monks were involved in the authorship of these propagandist works. For it is of crucial significance for the destined mission of the Sinhalese-Buddhists [12] that the indivisibility of the geographical phenomenon, the *Dharmadvīpa*,[13] be kept intact and the authenticity of this concept be preserved, at least even in principle.

We may also take notice of the dates these books made their appearance. *Säňgavunu Yāpanaya* and *Uturudiga Laňkāva* were published in 1955 when inter-ethnic tension between the Sinhalese and the Tamils was most keenly felt over the question of national language. And *Säňgavunu Utura* was written in 1967 when there was another period of Sinhala-Tamil suspicion and rivalry over the *Raṭa Sabhā* issue.

Now, if we are to focus our attention on Gunasingham's paper, we notice that the paragraphs leading to the quotation cited above contain a historical account of the place "Trincomalee." It is of interest to note that incidents which have no direct bearing on Tamil or Hindu connections have been kept out of this account. (It appears that Mahāsēna's (A.D. 278-308) activities in the place are mentioned in order to prove the antiquity of the Hindu shrine.) Left out in this manner are several incidents connected with the place which find mention in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, its commentary *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, and in the *Cūlavaṃsa*. For example, Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the second king of the Vijayan dynasty, arriving at Gokaṇṇa-tittha while on his way to Upatissagāma;[14]

10. Max Weinreich, "Yiddishkayt and Yiddish: On the Impact of Religion as Language in Ashkenazic Jewry", in Joshua A. Fishman ed., *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, Mouton, The Hague, 1968, p. 382-413. Max Weinreich gives further example of what he calls "Jewish Geography". See *op. cit.*, p. 387, fn. 6
11. See for example the speech of Mr. C. Vanniasingham, M.P. in the House of Representatives on 17th June, 1957. *Debates of the House of Representatives*, Vol. 28, Session 1957-58, esp. column 373. Also see the manifesto of The Federal Party, *Ceylon Daily News, Parliament of Ceylon*, 1965, p. 176.
12. For details see Kitsiri Malalgoda, "Millennialism in Relation to Buddhism", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*", xii, 4, 1970, pp. 424-41.
13. For a discussion of this idea see L. S. Perera, "The Pali Chronicles of Ceylon" in C. H. Philips ed., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London, 1961, pp. 29-43
14. *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, PTS edition, ch. vii, lines 23-24.

Bhaddakaccānā, the future queen of Paṇḍuvāsudēva, disembarking at Goṇagāmaka,[15] the performance of magical rites at Gokaṇṇaka with a view to installing Mahānāga (*circa* 569-571) on the throne of Lanka[16]; Mānavamma (684-718) propitiating god Kumāra at Gokaṇṇaka in support of his political ambitions,[17] the building of a *padhānaghara* at Gokaṇṇaka-vihāra by Aggabodhi V (718-724)[18] and so on.[19]

Obviously these incidents are left out of Gunasingham's paper because they have no direct bearing upon the thesis he is trying to present. However, it must be said that if these incidents too are taken into consideration there will emerge a more comprehensive historical picture of this place, an important sea-port for a long time, with a cosmopolitan population and shrines of varied religions.

With regard to the Hindu shrine at "Trincomalee," Gunasingham states that its origin is obscure.[20] This is not an unusual fact. For we know that as far as ancient Sri Lanka is concerned, those religious edifices whose origin can be dated with certainty are usually the Buddhist ones founded by Sinhalese kings and hence recorded in the Buddhist chronicles. Discussing the known history of the Hindu shrine in question, Gunasingham then presents a quotation from *Vāyu Purāṇam*, which is generally assigned to the third century A.D., as an early mention in a literary source. Here, I should mention that I found Gunasingham's quotation as well as his translation defective. The *ślōka* in the *Vāyu Purāṇam* appears in the following manner:

Tasya dvīpasya vai pūrve tīrē nadanadīpatēḥ
Gōkarṇanāmadhēyasya śaṃkarasyālayam mahat[21]

(Verily in the eastern sea-board of that island (i.e. Malayadvīpa) there is a great abode of Śaṃkara, who is known by the name Gōkarṇa.)

Gunasingham's purpose in presenting this *ślōka* is to prove that "by the early centuries of the Christian era the temple was well-known in India." Thus he says that here the *Vāyu Purāṇam* "mentions the existence on the eastern coast of Sri Lanka of a great temple of Śiva known as Gōkaraṇēśvaram."[22]

There are two things in this statement of Gunasingham which call for further examination. Firstly, the accepted opinion among Puranic scholars is that this particular Gōkarṇa shrine is in the western coast of South India. For

15. *Mahāvaṃsa*, Geiger's translation, ch. viii, verses 24-25. Paranavitana doubts whether this is the same place as "Gōkaṇṇatittha" (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. V, pp. 170-3). But Nicholas believes that this is "a synonym or slip" for the same. (See "Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon", JRASCB, NS, vi, Special number, 1963, p. 44)
16. *Cūlavaṃsa*, Geiger's translation, ch. xli, verse 79
17. *op. cit.*, ch. lvii, verses 5 and 6. This Kumāra has been identified by Geiger as Skanda or Kataragama Deviyo. An interesting aspect of this deity, who is the most propitiated deity in modern Sri Lanka, is that both the Tamil-Hindus and the Sinhalese-Buddhists make possessive claims about him. For the view that he is a Sinhalese-Buddhist see Ven. Heṇḍiyagala Sīlaratana, *op. cit.*, p. 25
18. *Cūlavaṃsa*, Geigor's translation, ch. xlviii, verse 5
19. For further details see the Table below
20. Gunasingham, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
21. H. N. Apte ed., *Vāyu Purāna* (Text), Poona 1929, ch. 48, verse 30. Also see Rajendralala Mitra ed., *The Vāyu Purāna*, Calcutta 1888, Vol. I, ch. 48, verse 30. I am grateful to Dr. E. W. Marasinghe for helping me in locating these references and in making the translation.
22. Gunasingham, *op. cit.*, p. 66

example, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar in *The Purana Index* describes this place as "....sacred to Siva, in extent half a Yojana on the western sea.... nearby is the river Tāmaraparṇī".[23]

And secondly, it needs be noted that the *ślōka* in question refers to "an abode of Śaṃkara (an appelation of Siva) who is known as Gōkarna." The grammar of the *ślōka* is designed to say that Gōkarṇa is a name borne by Śaṃkara. In this connection we must make note of the fact that the God Śiva has been given various appelations by his devotees,[24] and that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* in another place has mentioned that "Gōkarṇa" is one of his "manifestations" or *avatāras*.[25] It might be that the place in the eastern coast of Sri Lanka obtained the name "Gōkarṇa" by being associated with the worship of Śiva in this particular form—in the same manner as Bhuvanesvar in India derived its name by having a shrine dedicated to Śiva in the form of Tribhuvanēśvara ("Lord of the three worlds").[26] In any case, whether it happened thus or not is of peripheral interest to the point I am trying to make. We are aware that as far as the Sri Lanka sources of history are concerned this particular place in the eastern coast of the island has been identified in Pāli and Sanskrit by what might be deemed variant forms of a particular name. The table below is a listing of these references up to about the thirteenth century.

Place name	Source	Date of reference	Incident
Gōkaṇṇatittha	*Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* vii, 23-24	5th century B.C.	Arrival of Paṇḍuvāsudēva
Gōnagāmaka[27]	*Mahāvaṃsa* viii, 24-25	5th century B.C.	Arrival of Bhaddakaccānā
Gōkaṇṇa	*Mahāvaṃsa* xxxvii, 41	3rd century A.D.	Mahāsena replacing Hindu shrine with Buddhist temple
Gōkaṇṇagāma	*Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* xxxvii, 15-16	3rd century A.D.	Same as above
Gōkaṇṇaka	*Cūlavaṃsa* xli, 79	6th century A.D.	Magical rites in which Mahānāga was involved
Gōkaṇṇaka	*Cūlavaṃsa* xlvii, 5	7th century A.D.	Magical rites by Mānavamma
Gōkaṇṇaka	*Cūlavaṃsa* xlviii, 5	8th century A.D.	Aggabōdhi V building a *padhānaghara* at the Gōkaṇṇaka Vihāra

23. *The Purana Index*, Vol. I, Madras, 1951, p. 544. The river Tāmraparṇī is in South India. (See Dikshitar, *The Purana Index*, Vol. ii, Madras, 1952, p. 16) Earlier scholars such as John Garett (*Classical Dictionary of India*, Madras, 1871, p. 230), John Dowson (*A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature*, seventh edition, London, 1950, p. 113) and Sir Monier-Williams (*A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1872, p. 296) also have taken this "Gōkarna" as being in the Western coast of South India.
24. He is supported to be having 1008 names or epithets. See Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World*, Vol. II, London, 1968, p. 408.
25. This name occurs in a list of 48 *avatars* mentioned in chapter 23. See Devendra Kumar Rajaram Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purana*, Poona, 1946, p. 61, for a succinct account of these *avatars*.
26. See Kanwar Lal, *Holy Cities of India*, Delhi, 1961, p. 177
27. See fn. 15 above.

Gōkaṇṇa	*Cūlavaṃsa* lxxi, 18	12th century A.D.	Parākramabāhu I stationing forces
Gōkarṇṇa	Thirteenth century (fragmentary) slab Inscription from Trincomalee (*EZ*. Vol. V, pp, 170-3)	13th century A.D. (i.e. contemporary)	Arrival of one Cōḍagaṅgadeva

Thus we see that the name of this place occurred in Pali are Gōkaṇṇa, Gōkaṇṇaka, Gōkaṇṇagāma, Gōkaṇṇatittha, and (perhaps) Gōṇagāmaka and in Sanskrit as Gōkarṇṇa. But now we are faced with a new find. The Nilāveli Inscription of about the tenth or the eleventh century written in Tamil identifies the place as 'Tirukōṇamalai.'' And the natural question that would arise is: How did this name come about?

Now, if we are to take the list of Pāli names and leave out those elements which mean "village" and "port" (i.e. *gāma* and *tittha*) and also the pleonastic suffix "*ka*", we are left with the form "*Gōkaṇṇa*" which is the same as that found in *Mahāvaṃsa*, chapter xxxvii, verse 41 and in *Cūlavaṃsa*, chapter lxxi, verse 18. The Sanskrit Gōkarṇṇa found in the fragmentary inscription of the thirteenth century is the corresponding Sanskrit form of Pāli Gōkaṇṇa. Pāli Gōkaṇṇa and Sanskrit Gōkarṇṇa (meaning "sambhur") is *Gōṇa* in Sinhalese. With the regular $g > k$ transformation taking place when Sinhalese words are pronounced and consequently transliterated in Tamil *gōṇa* has become *kōṇa*. And *malai*, meaning "hill" in Tamil, is added referring originally, as Gunasingham himself acknowledges, to the place of the three peaks where the temple stood, to be extended later to the whole locality. Also, the prefix *tiru* (from Sanskrit *Sri*), as accepted by Gunasingham again, was added as this was a place of religious sanctity. Here it needs mention that while commenting on the origin of the elements *malai* and *tiru* in the word *Tirukōṇamalai*, Gunasingham has desisted from examining the origin of the element *kōṇa*. In fact *kōṇa*, is the most important element in the name: It is the one that provides the link with the earlier names. May be it was judicious on the part of Gunasingham to have refrained from the exercise. For, if one is eager to speak of the validity of a certain ethnic interest on the strength of a place name which came into prominence at a comparatively recent date, it is best that any mention of its possible derivation from an earlier name in the language of the "rival" ethnic group be avoided.

Whatever be the reason Gunasingham left out examining fully the origins of the name "*Tirukōṇamalai*," his conclusions on the Tamil ethnic connections with the place on the basis of the continuity of this place-name for about a thousand years invites criticism and speculation. Speculation, because historical material, some of which we have now examined, can be manipulated to put forward claims counter to the ones sponsored by him.[28] I have mentioned at the beginning of the present discussion the writings of Svāmi Gunaratana, Ven.

28. This has been done even previously. A book (in Sinhalese) by Professor Tennakoon Vimalananda attacking D. M. K. activities in Sri Lanka, *inter alia* has a chapter on the Sinhalese and Buddhist claims to Trincomalee. See the chapter entitled "Gokarna Hevat Trikuṇāmalaye Himikaruvō Kavarahuda" ("Who are the owners of Gōkarna or Trincomalee") in Tennakoon Vimalananda, *Dravida Munnētra Kazagam Vyāpāraya Hā Sinhalayāgē Anāgataya*, Colombo 1970, pp. 121-132. Incidentally, this book was published in May 1970, on the eve of the 1970 General Elections. Also see the reference to the Sinhala Mahajana Paksaya below.

Nandārāma and others who have eloquently presented the thesis, based on "original" place-names that the northern and eastern provinces, now populated predominantly by the Tamil-Hindus, were Sinhalese and Buddhist to begin with. Now writers with similar convictions can concentrate on the so called "Tirukōṇamalai" and argue on the basis of the history and etymology of this place-name that the Tamil people there are usurpers of a locality originally settled by the Sinhalese. It needs be remembered in this context that Trincomalee, which today is predominantly populated by the Tamil people, has been in the recent past an arena of Tamil-Sinhalese political conflict. To give one example, in the 1970 general elections Mr. R. G. Senanayake, the leader of the Sinhala Mahajana Paksaya[29] ("The Sinhalese Peoples' Party") unsuccessfully contested the Trincomalee seat. And it is most likely that claims for statutory recognition of the Sinhalese and Buddhist interests in the area were taken into consideration in the creation of the Seruvila electorate by the Delimitation Commission of 1976.[30]

Finally, if Gunasingham's argument is pursued to its logical conclusion the question might arise whether the persistence of a place-name is always to be taken as indicative of the continuity of an ethnic interest or the stability of a particular population. Instances to the contrary are many—in Śri Lanka as well as in other parts of the world. In the south-western coast of Sri Lanka there is a place called "Nallūruva," bearing an obviously Tamil name, although throughout known history this area has been predominantly populated by the Sinhalese. Similarly, in France and Spain place-names with Basque connections such as Gascony have continued long after the Basques have been confined to a smaller geographical area; in northern England, Scandinavian place names such as Langtoft, Birbeck and Hallikeld have remained although the conquerors had left hundreds of years ago; and finally there are the well known American Indian place-names such as Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Michingan, Chicago etc. which remain only because of some caprice on the part of the present day citizens of U.S.A.

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29. The political manifesto of this party stated among its aims the desire to change the name "Lanka" to "Sinhalē" ("The land of the Sinhalese people"). See *Riviräsa*, July 9, 1968. Also see *Ceylon Daily News, Seventh Parliament of Ceylon*, 1970. Colombo, 1970, p. 199.

30. The report of the Delimitation Commission of 1976 is not yet available. Hence I am depending on newspaper reports.
Seruvila is in fact in the present Mutur electorate, which adjoins the Trincomalee electorate. Seruvila is the site of a *stupa* whose origin is connected with Kākavaṇṇatissa, the father of Duṭṭāgaminī, the Sinhalese-Buddhist monarch *par excellence*. It is considered as hallowed by the visits of the past Buddhas Kakusaṅda, Kōṇāgamana and Kāsyapa. And the *stupa* is said to contain "the fore-head bone" of Buddha Siddhārtha Gōtama. See E. de Z. Gunawardhana, *Map of Sri Lanka Showing Places of Historical Interest*, Balapitiya, 1957. The Delimitation Commission of 1959 has mentioned about the claims of the Sinhalese interests in the region. See *The Report of The Delimitation Commission*, 1959, Government of Ceylon, Gazette Extraordinary, No. II, 562 of February 21, 1959, p. 125.

The Story of Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā

Ideally, Buddhist society is without caste. As Edmund Leach has observed, Buddhists "might be expected, on religious grounds, to repudiate caste altogether."[1] However, South Asian Buddhist societies have accepted caste as a fundamental social institution. The aim of this paper is to examine an imaginative work of the Buddhists, a Jātaka story, to show how it encapsulates the contradiction in South Asian Buddhist societies posed by the rejection of caste on religious grounds while accepting it as a principle of social organization. The story must be narrated at some length.

Diṭṭamaṅgalikā is proud of her high birth and would not marry anyone, even of her caste, and refuses each prospective husband sent to her by her parents. After seeing each, she washes her eyes to cleanse herself of the impurity of having seen each particular young man. One day she prepares for a "day out" with her friends to go swimming in the river and to have sweetmeats afterwards. The *bodhisattva*, due to past *Karma* was at that time born as an outcaste named Mātaṅga and lives in a leather hut in the western part of the city. When he goes out he wears a dark cloth and sounds a bell with a stick, shouting, "I am an outcaste. Keep away," so that the pure would be spared the pollution of seeing him. On the day Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā is on her way to the river, she hears the bell and peeps out to see what it is and sees Mātaṅga. She shudders, spits in horror and asks for water to wash the eye that saw Mātaṅga, and the tongue that spoke his name. She abandons the picnic and returns to her chamber. Her friends, angry at losing the fun and the dainties, catch Mātaṅga, beat him and abandon him as dead. Regaining consciousness, Mātaṅga realizes that Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's pride made him suffer and resolves to make her his servant.

The law of the land then was that if a wrathful outcaste lay down and died within a room, all occupants of that room became outcastes; if he lay down in a house and died, all occupants of the house became outcastes; if he lay down at the door of the house, all occupants of the two houses on either side became outcastes; if he lay down in the courtyard and died, all who lived in fourteen houses, seven on either side became outcastes. Mataṅga decides to lie down on the courtyard of Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's house, saying he will not rise unless Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā is given to him as his servant. Her parents get alarmed and try to persuade Mātaṅga to go away, offering him increasing sums of gold. Mātaṅga uncompromisingly states that he wants no gold, but Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā. Then, fearing that Mātaṅga would die and they would become outcastes, he is offered food and drink and guards are stationed to see that the enemies of the family do not kill him. Mātaṅga, however, refuses to eat and drink. The householders on either side of Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's courtyard, who are also threatened with degradation, then bring pressure on her parents to give her to Mātaṅga. Unsuccessful, they forcibly catch the girl, strip her of her golden ornaments and finery, make her hair like an outcaste's, deck her in ornaments of lead, give her an outcaste's kerchief and ask her to 'go away with her husband.' Mātaṅga still refuses to get up, forcing Diṭṭhamaṅgalika to carry him on her shoulders. He refuses to give her directions forcing her to wander through the entire city so that many people could see her pride broken. Finally, as she arrives at the hut made of leather located outside the western gateway, Mātaṅga tells her that it is his dwelling.

After a few days, Mātaṅga thinks that if he has the true compassion of a future Buddha, he has to restore Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā to her purity of status destroyed by him, and resolves to do so. He plans to arrange things in such a way that the water that washed her feet would annoint all the kings. Realizing that to do this he has to give up lay life and become an ascetic, he leaves his house, makes a robe from cloth picked from a graveyard, goes into the forest, starts meditating and speedily achieves a high spiritual state. He then moves through the air and descends in the western side of the city where outcastes live and begs his food outside his house, where Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā lives. She bids him go away saying that she is an outcaste, who therefore cannot come into contact with a sacred person. Mātaṅga refuses to go, and Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā recognises him, weeps, rises and gives him food to eat. He then tells her of his intention to restore her to purity of status by making the water that washed her feet fit enough to anoint kings. He asks Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā to go proclaiming that her husband is no outcaste, but Mahābrahma (great god, creator) himself, and on the next full moon day, he

1. Leach, E. R. "What should we mean by caste?" in *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and Northwest Pakistan*, Leach, E. R. (ed.), Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, No. 2, Cambridge University Press, 1960.

will descend to earth from the moon. First, the citizens laugh and mock at her. But as the day of the full-moon draws near, they notice no lack of confidence in her and start preparing for the eventuality that her husband might indeed be Mahābrahma. They go to Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's leather hut and cover it with clothes, canopy, flowers, garlands and scents.

Mātaṅga, by his magic powers, breaks the disc of the moon as it rises above the trees, and descends where people were assembled, in the form of Mahābrahma, four *yojana* (16 miles) tall. According to his wish all people see him and realise that Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's words were true, and they all worship him. Then he circles so that all could see him and, reconstituting himself into the size of a man, he enters the leather hut of Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā in the sight of all men. People draw curtains around the hut and Mātaṅga magically makes Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā conceive, by touching her navel. He reiterates that, by this act, the water that would first wash Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's feet and then annoint the king's of India would be created, re-assumes his previous collosal form and re-enters the moon to be seen by all.

The Brahmins of the city, noting that the wife of Mahābrahma should not dwell in the area of the city where outcasts live, deck her in finery and set her in a golden carriage. They get the carriage, borne by people, pure up to the seventh generation (on each parent's side), give her scented flowers and offerings and bring her into the city. They also start building a special house for her, since she is too pure to live in even a Brahmin's house. As a temporary abode for her, a pavillion is constructed. Those who wished to come within her sight, within hearing distance of her, close enough to worship her at proximity, to touch her feet must pay proportionately increasing sums of gold. Kings offer thousands of millions of gold as she enters the city and receive water which she uses to wash her feet. They pour it over their heads. As she continues to stay in the city, a son is born to her, and since he was born in the pavillion, he is named Maṇḍappa (Pavillion).

The child grows up amidst adoration of the Brahmins and is brought up according to Brahmanic strictures. He worships Brahmin priests and feeds eighty thousand of them each day. Mātaṅga, is practising ascetism in the Himalaya forests, intends seeing his son Maṇḍappa and saving him from the hands of the Brahmin priests who hold false doctrines. Attired in rags and carrying a begging bowl, he appears at the scene where Maṇḍappa is feeding the Brahmin priests, and asks for food. Maṇḍappa refuses saying that Mātaṅga wears no golden ornaments, is not pleasant to the sight and, therefore, not worthy of gifts or reverence. Maṇḍappa insists that his food is for high caste Brahmins, gifts to whom alone would ensure his future well-being. Mātaṅga repeats his requests for food stating that the Brahmins are drunk with pride of birth, and lack virtue.[2] At this, Maṇḍappa is infuriated and orders the guards to beat the ascetic and 'cast him out of the seventh gateway.' But Mātaṅga rises to the skies and departs, and descending to the city later begs for food and sits down to eat. The gods are wrathful at Maṇḍappa's rash act of ordering to beat Mātaṅga, and seize his neck and twist it so that his face is turned backwards. The same is done to the multitude of Brahmins at the feeding site. The event is reported to Maṇḍappa's mother, Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā, who understands what has happened. She goes in search of Māntaṅga, sits at his feet, worships him and washes his hand in the golden bowl brought by her and her attendants, pouring water from a golden pitcher. Then she asks for forgiveness for her son. Mātaṅga places a portion of his left-over food in the golden bowl and pours into it some of the water that washed his hands, and prescribes the food and water as the medicine that would restore Maṇḍappa and the Brahmins to normality. Having done this, Mātaṅga rises to the skies and disappears into his forest hermitage. Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā takes the golden bowl on her head, goes to Maṇḍappa and places Mātaṅga's left-over food and water that washed his hands in his mouth. He is restored to normality, as are the Brahmins when they are treated similarly. The Brahmin population of the city, claiming that Mātaṅga's Brahmin priests have eaten the left-over food of an outcaste and drunk the water that washed his hands, cause the Brahmin priests to leave in shame for another city. Maṇḍappa however is acceptable to the citizenry and stays behind.

The recurrence of certain events in this story is striking. It is a story built on certain basic aspects of caste behaviour. It is also dramatic in its contradiction of caste principles—people cross caste barriers constantly. This is most obvious since the two opposed actors are the highest (Brahmins) and the lowest (outcastes). Associated features are emphasized too. The Brahmins dwell in

2. This recalls the well known rejection of ascribed caste status in the Buddhist corpus: "Not by birth is one an outcaste, not by birth is one a Brahmin; by act is one an outcaste, by act is one a Brahmin."

the pure direction (east), wear silk and golden ornaments, use golden utensils; the outcastes dwell outside the city in its inauspicious quarter (west) in huts made of leather, which is polluting. They wear black clothes and lead ornaments. The story presents a series of events in which people go from high caste ('in-caste') to low caste ('out caste')—expressed also in terms of physical movement to or from locations of purity or impurity as the case may be. Similarly, people also go from outcaste to 'in-caste' which is theoretically impossible in reality. Even the most cursory glance at the story shows such features of caste as food giving and taking, food refusal, maintenance of distance, superordination and subordination, purificatory acts and ritual valuation of things and acts. Finally, through resort to a series of weird acts, the fundamental rules of castes so well-outlined in the story are thoroughly and deliberately confused almost to the point of absurdity but not quite, and it is here that much of the interest of the story for our present purposes lies.

Some of the oppositions elaborate the above statements and deserve pointing out at length, because they make it quite clear that sociologically, the story of Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā is one that cannot be lightly dismissed. 'Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā' means 'auspicious to the sight,' but she does not want herself to be seen by anybody lest the glances blemish her state of ritual purity. She goes to the river for bathing (purification) and is met by an outcaste (impurity). Mātaṅga, the outcaste, determines to make her his 'servant' (reverse the hierarchy) and by making her his wife reverses the only possible grounds on which intercaste union is possible (hypergamy). Food is offered to Mātaṅga (outcaste) by Brahmins (high caste) and is refused by the former, again a reversal of the accepted order of caste relations. Note also the symbolic parallel of the Brahmins offering gold, the ritually purest metal, to the outcaste, and Mātaṅga's refusal of it. The Brahmins overpower the strong-willed Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā and make her (who is of pure caste) an outcaste. She is stripped of her silk and gold and dressed in a black robe and lead ornaments. Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā (of pure caste) takes Mātaṅga (of impure caste) upon her shoulder and walks headlong in the direction of impurity, indeed to its very midst, the leather hut situated in the inauspicious quarter of the city.

While Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā thus becomes outcaste (impure), Mataṅga, the outcaste, becomes pure by his attainment of high spiritual states. Hence, Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā, now outcaste, bades Mātaṅga, now 'in-caste,' go away from her impurity as he comes begging for food, lest *she* pollute *him*, This recalls in reverse Mātaṅga's cry asking the pure to keep away from him. Mātaṅga accepts her food, thereby 'polluting' himself in a strict caste sense, but in the story the situation is a somewhat ambiguous, which is indeed the point at issue. It however seems to be the case that whenever Mātaṅga separates himself from the mundane world, he is in some way 'above' caste and therefore pure, and whenever he becomes a part of the web of mundane social relation—not to mention the physical relationship of being husband to Diṭṭhamangalikā—he reverts to his impure caste status.

Mātaṅga resolves to reverse the caste order most dramatically again by adopting two lines of attack: (1) making Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā the wife of Mahābrahma and (2) by making the purest in the kingdom annoint themselves in the water that washed Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's feet. The Brahmins first disbelieve Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's claims that her husband is Mahābrahma, but are intimidated by her confidence and, decorate the leather hut. Here again, the caste barrier is crossed when Brahmins enter the leather hut. The leather itself is covered

with canopies of flowers and pure cloth and symbolically removed of its pollution. Mātaṅga demonstrates his spiritual powers and enters the leather hut; again a barrier is crossed, for although the leather is covered with canopies, it remains there, and the hut is where it was, namely in its inauspicious location. Above all by "re-uniting with Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā," Mātaṅga temporarily loses his ascetism and re-enters his original lowly web of social relations.

The Brahmins re-deck Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā in silk and gold and take her in a carriage to reside within the city. The carriage is carried by the purest Brahmins—pure on the side of each parent for seven generations. The crossing over to the city is also a crossing, again, of caste barriers. It is a movement from an impure to a pure location. Those citizens of the city ('in-caste') who want to get close to Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā pay gold, the more they pay the closer they get to her. The symbolic parallel is clear. By giving up the ritually purest metal, the Brahmins are losing some of their ritual purity and Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā is gaining it, in a sublimely ironical act of "mutually satisfactory" exchange. Next, the ritually purest of men, the kings, come and annoint themselves in the water that washed Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's feet.

Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's son grows up among Brahmins and imbibes their values. Mātaṅga resolves to transform him and re-assumes ritual impurity. The gods, wrathful of the behaviour of Maṇḍappa and the Brahmins, twist their necks. To restore them to normality, golden vessels are brought to Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā. The transforming "medication" is the left-over food of Mātaṅga and the water that washed his hands, both polluting substances, Mātaṅga being now in the impure context of being with Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā (in the mundane world). The substances are poured into the mouths of Maṇḍappa and the Brahmins, thus polluting them. The other Brahmins, the onlookers, exlpicitly state that "these Brahmins drank water where an outcaste washed his hands" and say that therefore they are "no longer Brahmins." The Brahmins, that is, have again crossed over to impurity.

The structure of the story also presents certain ironies, oppositions and parallels which by virtue of their conspicuousness, immediately attract attention. First, Mātaṅga is beaten up by Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's servants and then is protected lest he would die in the courtyard. He is offered food and gold which he refuses. Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā helps the beaten Mātaṅga to rise, but it is she who is ultimately helped by Mātaṅga to rise spiritually. The Brahmins who first stripped Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā of her silk clothes and golden ornaments (and her caste), subsequently re-deck her in them (and accord her high status), paralleling Mātaṅga's own instance of being beaten up and then 'helped' by Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā. Seven houses on either side of Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā's courtyard would have been polluted if he were allowed to die there. To parallel this, Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā is carried into the city (and to pure status) in a carriage borne by Brahmins pure up to seven generations on either side (paternal and maternal). Maṇḍappa, the son of Mātaṅga, claiming high birth, ironically accuses his own father of being an outcaste. The wrathful gods twist the head of Maṇḍappa and his Brahmin friends, thus distorting them, and objectivising the distorted sense of values they hold that equates high birth with virtue. Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā carries in a golden vessel on her head, the purest part of the body, the letf-over food of Mātaṅga and water that washed his hands.

All these, as we noted above, make a great confusion of caste rules. Could this not be interpreted as a pure and simple Buddhist satirical attack on caste by reducing it to absurdity, thus pointing out that it has no real validity? I believe such an inference to be reasonable but what is of great interest to us—this is our theme in this essay—is that the attack itself is clothed in a caste idiom and made within a caste framework. The effect is, ironically, to re-validate caste.

To understand caste in Buddhist society, it is essential to understand this ambivalence. It is this ambivalence that is the source of the epithets caste in Buddhist society has elicited from its sociological observers—'resilience,' 'flexibility,' 'mildness,' and the like.[3] Many writers have raised the question as to how caste in Buddhist societies differs from Hindu caste.[4] The simple answer is that whereas in Hindu India, caste is a fact of religion, in Buddhist society such as the Sinhalese, it is a principle of social organization. The Buddhist religion rejects it but the society needs it. The result is the ambivalence to caste we are here concerned with, that is as much apparent in the story of Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā as in the observations of the sociological writers.

There is hardly a need to labour to explain what I mean by this story clothing the attack on caste in the idiom of caste itself and accepting it in its very rejection. This could be done briefly and enumeratively. First, to attain purity Mātaṅga has to renounce the world, and become an ascetic. Second, according to the story, the Bodhisattva is born as an outcaste because of his past *karma*. Third, Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā becomes acceptable to the Brahmins not by a denial of caste, but by a proclamation that her husband is *not* an outcaste but Mahābrahma himself. Fourth, the Brahmins are polluted by making them eat and drink the left-over food of an outcaste and water that washed his hands. After this act, the other Brahmins sever connections with those thus 'polluted.' Fifth, leftover food is used as a 'polluting substance.' Sixth, as a concomitant of the first point mentioned above, when Mātaṅga is with Diṭṭhamaṅgalikā (that is, when he temporarily gives up his ascetism), it is strongly suggested that he is in his original state of caste impurity. Seventh, gold is used as a symbol in striking correlation with high caste status, which again parallels reality in caste society. In sum, events in the story from which the above statements are derived affirm caste values quite unambigously.

H. L. SENEVIRATNE.

3. See for example, Yalman, N.: "The flexibility of caste principles in a Kandyan community" in Leach (ed.) *op. cit.*, and Ryan, Bryce: *Caste in Modern Ceylon*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1953.
4. For example, Leach (ed.), *op. cit.*

The Vēḷaikkārar in Medieval South India and Sri Lanka

1. *The Vēḷaikkārar under the Cōḷas and their Feudatories in the Tamil Country.*

The formation of the groups of professional fighting-men was one of the characteristic features of medieval Tamil society, especially during the period of Cōḷa rule. The rise and expansion of the Cōḷa power during the tenth and eleventh centuries was accompanied by the development of a large, powerful and complex army consisting of many groups and communities of warriors. The most notable among them were the Vēḷaikkārar, the Akampaṭis, the Kaikkōḷar and the Vanniyar who played an important role in politics and society until the Vijayanagara conquest of the Tamil country around 1370. A study of the military system and tradition developed by the Cōḷas, about which very little is known, may throw some new light on the political and social formations in medieval South India.

The Vēḷaikkārar were perhaps the most important military group in South India during the period of Cōḷa rule. They were spread over almost the entire area that came under Coḷa administration. Several inscriptions mention the names of Vēḷaikkāra regiments which were maintained by the imperial Cōḷas. They were also employed by feudatory princes, village assemblies and other public institutions. Although the South Indian inscriptions refer to some of their activities they hardly give any information about the recruitment, maintenance and organization of the Vēḷaikkāra armies.

The characteristic feature of the Vēḷaikkārar, as could be gleaned from inscriptions, was their high sense of loyalty. They banded themselves together to protect their master in the battlefield and off it even at the risk of their own lives and made oaths to the effect that they would not survive their master if he happens to die.[1] Their practices anticipated in a way the Jauhar of the medieval Rajputs. Medieval commentators and modern historians have explained the expression Vēḷaikkārar in different ways. The commentary on the *Sivachanabhūshanam* describes the Vēḷaikkārar as "the servants of the King who chastise those who prove traitorous to him."[2] But, this is very vague and does not accord fully with the evidence from inscriptions. The explanation of Periyavachchanpillai, the commentator of Nammālvar's *Tirumoḷi* that the Pū Vēḷaikkārar are "those who, when they see the King being without flower (garlands) at the time he ought to wear them, had vowed to stab themselves and die"[3] appears to be based on a proper understanding of some of the traditions which regulated the activities and behaviour of this group.

1. The *Madras Tamil Lexicon* (*MTL*) defines the Vēḷaikkārar as "devoted servants who hold themselves responsible for a particular service to their king at stated hours and vow to stab themselves to death if they fail in that." (MTL, VI, 3844).
2. S. Paranavitana, "The Polonnaruwa Inscription of Vijayabāhu I", *Epigraphia Indica* (*EI*), Vol. XVIII, p. 334.
3. *ibid.*

In the opinion of Gopinatha Rao they were not mercenaries but "persons who had pledged themselves to do certain duties, failing which, they would voluntarily undergo certain penalties, which in most cases was death."[4] Krishna Sastri felt that the Vēḷaikkārar included all working classes.[5] These views, based on slender evidence, do not adequately explain the meaning of the expression Vēḷaikkārar. The notion that the Vēḷaikkārar included all the working classes arises from the confusion between Vēḷaikkārar and Vēlaikkārar. The suggestion that they were volunteers enlisted on particular occasions (*veḷai*) is also unacceptable. As Nilakanta Sastri contends the Vēḷaikkārar were the most permanent and dependable body of troops in the service of Kings, feudatory princes and some public institutions.[6] Their inscriptions reveal that they were bound together by common interests and their designation implies that they were ever ready to defend their master and his cause with their lives when occasion (*vēḷai*) arose. In their functions they were similar to the military groups called *Tennavan āpattutavikaḷ* in the service of the Pāṇḍyas[7].

The Vēḷaikkārar had certain distinctive features and differed from the Kaikkoḷar, Akampaṭis and others in many ways. They were not a community in the sense that the others were. They were, like the *Perumpaṭai*[8] of the thirteenth century Pāṇḍyas, a composite group consisting of several communities and ethno-linguistic groups. Another striking feature about the Vēḷaikkārar is the corporate basis of their organization and activities as in the case of the Ayyāvoḷe and other mercantile bodies. They functioned as a sort of a military guild—the *sreṇi-bala* of Indian tradition. Apart from "household warriors" armed retainers and other types of soldiers there were even members of the Imperial and feudatory families who had the designation Vēḷaikkārar. Therefore, the problems concerning the nature and origins of the Vēḷaikkārar are much more complicated than has hither to been recognized.

The Vēḷaikkārar in the royal Armies of the Cōḷas

The Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I and Rajendra I refer to the names of about seventy regiments of soldiers. Among the most prominent of these regiments were those of the Vēḷaikkārar. The Vēḷaikkārar regiments mentioned in the Tanjore inscriptions may be listed in the following order:

1. Peruntanattu Valaṅkai Vēḷaikārappaṭaikaḷ
2. Aḷakiya Cōḷatterinda Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārappaṭaikaḷ.
3. Aridurga langana terinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārap paṭaikaḷ
4. Candra parākrama terinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārar.
5. Kṣatriya śikhāmaṇit terinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārar.
6. Mūrtta Vikramābharaṇa terinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārar
7. Nittavinōta terinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārar

4. *ibid.*
5. *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (ARE). Madras, 1913, p. 102.
6. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Second Edition, (Revised) 1955, p. 454.
7. According to Marco Polo the latter always kept near the king and had great authority in the Kingdom. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Pāṇḍya Kingdom 2nd edition, Madras, 1972, p. 173.
8. An inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya states that the *Perumpaṭai* consisted of *Vanniya Vaṭṭam*, Canarese, Telugus, Āriyar, Kaḷḷar, Villikaḷ (bowmen) and Uṭankūṭṭam (Sahavāsīs?). *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* (*SITI*), II, p. 662.

8. Rājagaṇṭhirava terinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārar
9. Rājarajā terinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārar
10. Rājavinōta terinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārar
11. Vikramābharaṇa terinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārar.[9]

These regiments, like many others, were named after the titles or epithets of the Cōḷa king and each of the names, in the opinion of Nilakanta Sastri, clearly commemorated the time when the regiment was constituted and it possibly recalled, to the minds of contemporaries, the exact occasion for it.[10] As the inscriptions recording some of the transactions of these regiments are from Tanjore it may be assumed that most of them were maintained at the Cōḷa capital so that they could be sent on any military expedition whenever the government desired.

Vēḷaikārar and Feudatory Princes

Some of the Cōḷa feudatories are also known to have maintained Vēḷaikkāra forces. The Malayamān chiefs who exercised authority over *milāṭu*[11] otherwise called Jananātha Vaḷanāṭu from the centres of Kiḷiyūr and Āṭaiyūr maintained a number of Vēḷaikkārar as a sort of "household warriors." The Vēḷaikkārar served some of these chieftains as body-guards. Several inscriptions from the Oppilāmaṇīsvara temple at Arakaṇṭanallūr in the Tirukkōyilūr Taluk of South Arcot district record the oath of loyalty taken by members of the Vēḷaikkāra group to the Malayamān chief called Saṟṟukkuṭātān.[12] The Vēḷaikkāra folk who belonged to him pledged to be loyal to him and to perish with him in the event of his death. Some inscriptions provide the interesting information that the Malayamāns themselves were Vēḷaikkarār. An inscription which records a compact between Iraiyūran Saṟṟukkuṭātān and others asserts that Cētiyarāya Malayamān and Kōvalrāya Malayamān Palavāyudha Vallabha of Kiḷiyūr were Vēḷaikkārar.[13]

Inscriptions show that the Vēḷaikkārar had close connections with some of the chiefs who had the title Vanniyanāyan (the chief of the Vanniyar). As the Malayamān family of chiefs who had a claim to the title Vanniya(r)nāyan[14] had maintained Veḷaikkāra forces and because some of the Malayamāns are known to have been Velaikkārar it may be inferred that some of the Vēḷaikkārar were Vanniyar. In fact an epigraph from Tirukkōvalūr refers to a certain Vēḷaikkāri as Vanninācci.[15] Vanniyarnāyan, the masculine form of Vanninācci, could therefore be a Vēḷaikkāran.

The Bāṇas and Kāṭavas are two other feudatory families within the Cōḷa empire who were closely connected with the Vēḷaikkārar. The Bāṇas who

9. T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, Madras, 1955, p. 258.
10. *The Cōḷas*, p. 454.
11. Milāṭu appears to the abbreviated form of Malayamānāṭu, which was subject to the authority of the Malayamān chiefs.
12. *ARE*, 1934/5: Nos. 122, 126, 136, 142, 144, 147, 153-159.
13. *ARE*, 1934/5: Nos. 145, 153, 202.
14. Rājārāja Cētiyarāyan and Rājārāja Kovalrāyan are two Malayamāns of Kiḷiyūr who had the title Vanniyarnāyan. Another Malayamān, Narasimhavarman Karikāla Cōḷan of Āṭaiyūr had the title *Vanniyarmakkaḷnāyan*. see—*ARE*, 1934/5, pp. 61-63; Nos. 125, 186, 188, 190; *ARE*, 1937/8, No. 381 and *South Indian Inscriptions* (*SII*) VII, Nos. 117, 120.
15. *ARE*, 1934/5, No. 122.

exercised authority over the division called Perumpāṇappāṭi and were connected to the Cōḷa dynasty by ties of marriage, appear to have had the designation Veḷaikkāra. The chief queen of Rājarajā III (1216-1253) who was a Bāṇa princess is described in the Cōḷa *praśasti* as a Veḷaikkāri who was the ornament of the Bāṇa lineage.[16] An inscription from Udayendram[17] which records the gifts made by a Kāṭava chief Ponnan Irāman to a Vaiṣṇava temple states that he was one among those who led the Vēḷaikkārar.[18] The Kāṭavas, who probably had a claim for the epithet Vanniyarnāyan, apparently had Vēḷaikkāra warriors serving under them.

South Indian inscriptions contain references to other groups of Vēḷaikkārar such as (1) Tiruccirrampala Vēḷaikkārar (2) Tiruccūla Vēḷaikkārar (3) Kaḷḷa Vēḷaikkārar (4) Rākṣasa Vēḷaikkārar and (5) Tācca Veḷaikkārar.[19] It would appear that the first two among these groups, as suggested by their names, were employed as guards of Saivite temples. The precise functions of the last three groups are not clear and at present we can only speculate about them.

Our examination of the evidence relating to the Vēḷaikkārar shows that they were essentially a group of fighting-men who were employed on a permanent basis by kings, feudatory princes and public institutions. They served in the royal armies in large numbers and were sometimes employed as bodyguards of kings and chieftains. They were distinguished by their fighting quality and high sense of loyalty and were bound together by common interests and ideals and possibly belonged to a school of militarism which was considered to be of an exceptional quality.

The Vēḷaikkārar who provide the best example of a *sreṇibala* or "military guild" described in ancient Indian literature were a composite group consisting of many ethno-linguistic groups and communities or castes which were functionally affiliated. The Vēḷaikkāra regiments, like the mercantile group of Ayyāvoḷe, functioned on a corporate basis and regulated their own affairs by means of primary assemblies which promoted a sense of unity and fellowship among the many groups of diverse origins which were included within such regiments.

The designation Vēḷaikkāra did not signify any position of rank in society or administration. Members of royal and feudatory families and commoners were among the Vēḷaikkārar. But a sense of honour and prestige appear to have been always attached to this designation. The care taken by court officials to mention the expression Vēḷaikkāra along with the epithets and titles

16. That portion of Rājarāja's *praśasti* which refers to his chief queen runs:

Ula kuṭaiya perumāluṭan okka muṭi kavittāḷ Irājarājan piriyā Vēḷaikkāri. . Irājarājan tiruttāli peṟṟuṭaiyaḷ. . urai ciṟanta taniyāṇai uṭanāṇai peṟṟuṭaiyāḷ puvaniyēḷ tanatāṇaiyir purakkum—antappurap-perumāḷ. . Vāṇar-kula-nila-viḷakku. See *The Cōḷas*, p. 439 ff. 13.

It would appear from the evidence of this passage that Rājāraja's chief queen was associated formally with him in the government of the Cōḷa kingdom.

17. In the Gudiyattam taluk of North Arcot District.

18. *. . Irājātittanaṭiyār Vēḷaikkāra nāyakan Ceyvārkaḷil Irāman Ponnanāna Kāṭavarāyanēn. . SII*, V, p. 85, No. 230.

19. T. V. Mahalingam *South Indian Polity* (Madras, 1955), pp. 259-60; *ARE* 1914, No. 368 of 1914; *ARE*, 1921, No. 393 of 1921.

signifying great honour and distinction in their description of some members of imperial and feudatory families shows that it was considered an honour even on the part of the royalty to bear the epithet Vēḷaikkāra. Traditionally chivalry and martial prowess are the virtues of the ruling classes and the kings and princes who claimed to be Kṣatriya would have naturally considered it honourable to be the followers of a school of militarism which was distinctive in some ways. Some of the Cōḷa generals were feudatory princes and those who commanded Vēḷaikkāra forces had a claim to the epithet Vēḷaikkāra by virtue of being the leaders of such troops. It was presumably on that basis that some of the Malayamāns and Bāṇas came to be known as Vēḷaikkārar.

The expression Vēḷaikkāra was not restricted to denote groups of fighting-men only and there is some evidence to suggest that it had a wider connotation. The fact that the chief queen of Rājarāja and some other ladies had the epithet Vēḷaikkāri shows that in course of time the word Vēḷaikkāra had acquired an additional meaning and that it could have been used in a social sense as well.

The Vēḷaikkārar seem to have lost much of their importance in the South Indian military system after the decline of the Cōḷa power. References to them in the inscription of the later Pāṇḍyas, whose sway extended over almost the entire Tamil country during the late thirteenth century, are relatively few. The group called *Tennavan āpattutavikaḷ* who were some times referred to also as *munai etirmōkār* became the most important and dependable section of the army. Yet, the Vēḷaikkārar were not entirely discarded by the Pāṇḍya rulers and there is some evidence to suggest that some Vēḷaikkārar were placed in positions of power and high-rank under them. An inscription of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1215-1236) contains the expressions:

> *Ceṅkōl Vēḷaikkāran*[20] *Senāpati teṇṭanāyakattukkuḷḷitta tantirattukku amainta karaṇavarōm.*[21]

These could be rendered as "We, the Karaṇavar attached to the army under the command of the Vēḷaikkāra general in the service of the king." It is thus clear that Sundara Pāṇḍya had a Vēḷaikkāra general. There is no means, presently, of ascertaining whether there were other such generals.

As the Vēḷaikkārar are not referred to in inscriptions or literary works that could be dated to any period after the thirteenth century it may be inferred that they were not in military service any longer. Their disappearance was in all probability bound up with the dissolution of the military establishments in the Tamil Kingdoms after the Vijayanagara conquest during the late fourteenth century. That dissolution was part of the larger process of social and political changes which resulted from Vijayanagara rule. With the disappearance of the indigenous dynasties and families of feudatory princes, the military communities like the Akampaṭis, Kaikkōḷar and Vanniyar who had served them were disengaged from military service. The new rulers relied on Canarese and Telugu armies for the consolidation of their authority in the Tamil country. The indigenous professional military communities who were disengaged from service gradually became cultivators and weavers and their names came to acquire different connotations by becoming the names of hereditary occupational

20. What is meant in this context is obviously Vēḷaikāran and not Vēḷaikkāran (workman).
21. *SITI*, II, p. 816.

castes. The groups of professional fighting-men of indigenous origin could not exist after the Vijayanagara conquest and the Vēḷaikkārar naturally shared the fate of the other military groups.

2. *The Vēḷaikkārar in Sri Lanka*

South Indian warriors were brought to the island in considerable numbers by Sinhalese kings to serve in their armies. Warriors were an important element among the Dravidians settled at important towns and military outposts especially since the seventh century. They were partly responsible for the introduction of Tamil terms relating to military and administrative affairs in Sri Lanka. The Dravidian element in the army became still greater after the Cōḷa conquest and the sources relating to the history of the Polonnaruva period contain many references to Dravidians employed in the royal armies.

The most prominent among the Dravidian military groups in the island were the Vēḷaikkārar. It is probable that there were some Vēḷaikkārar among the *meykāppār*, "body-guards", of kings in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Vēḷakkā mentioned in an inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914)[22] could possibly have been one of them. Yet it cannot be assumed that there were regiments consisting entirely of Vēḷaikkārar before the Cōḷa conquest. The casual references to the Vēḷaikkārar in traditional history are from the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) onwards. Yet, it may be assumed that the Vēḷaikkāra armies had come to the island in the wake of Cōḷa conquest and continued to remain in it even after the end of Cōḷa rule. In the sources relating to the Polonnaruva Period there is no reference to the recruitment of mercenaries from South India until the end of the twelfth century. It may, therefore, be inferred that the Tamil and other Dravidian military communities who served the Sinhalese rulers of the Polonnaruva Period were the descendants of earlier settlers. A fragmentary inscription from Gal Oya near Polonnaruva which could be assigned to the period of Cōḷa rule on palaeographical considerations provides some evidence for the presence of Vēḷaikkārar in the island during the eleventh century. It mentions of a certain Cāraṇan who was a Vēḷaikkāran.[23]

The Cōḷa practice of naming Vēḷaikkāra regiments after the names, titles or epithets of rulers was adopted in Sri Lanka. The name of a regiment called after the title of a Sinhalese ruler—*Vikkirama Calāmekatterinta Valaṅkai* Vēḷaikkārar—is recorded in the Tamil inscription from Paḷamōṭṭai.[24]

The Vēḷaikkāra Armies of the Kings of Polonnaruva

The Vēḷaikkārar were to be found in the island for a period of about three centuries. The epigraphic records which refer to them belong to the period between the tenth and the mid-thirteenth centuries. It would appear that the Vēḷaikkārar formed an important unit in the army of the Sinhalese kings. The Pāli chronicle refers to them for the first time in connection with the reign of

22. The Vēḷakkā mentioned in the Colombo Museum Pillar Inscription of Kassapa was a body-guard, *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (*EZ*), III, p. 276.

23. *SII*, IV, No. 1398.

24. They are believed to have been named after Vikramabāhu but the inscription, in the opinion of Paranavitana, was set up during the reign of Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110). See S. Paranavitana, "A Tamil Slab Inscription from Paḷamottai," *EZ*, IV, No. 24.

Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110). They are said to have revolted against Vijayabāhu I when he organized an expedition against the Cōḷas. The rebellion proved to be a formidable one and the projected invasion against the Cōḷas had to be abandoned. The rebels killed the two generals of the king, burnt down the royal palace in Polonnaruva and took the king's sister, Mittā, and her three sons captive. The king, who for a time lost authority over the capital, withdrew to Dakkhiṇadesa and later with the aid of troops supplied by his brother, Vīrabāhu, defeated the rebels and regained control over the capital.[25] The magnitude of the success attained by the rebels in the early phase of the rebellion presupposes that the Vēḷaikkāra army at Polonnaruva consisted of a large number of soldiers.

The Vēḷaikkārar at Polonnaruva, unlike those of South India, were of a rebellious disposition and could not always be relied on. They revolted once again, in the time of Gajabāhu II. They were instigated against this king by his two rival uncles, Kīrtti Srī Megha and Srī Vallabha who held sway over Dakkhiṇadesa and Rohana respectively. The rebellion coincided with the invasion of Rajaraṭa organized by the two cousins of Gajabāhu. Gajabāhu, however, proved himself strong enough to deal with his enemies and frustrate their designs. The Vēḷaikkāra rebellion was suppressed and the invading armies led by the two brothers were defeated and forced to retreat.[26]

Parākramabāhu I also had Vēḷaikkāra troops in his armies. In his reign a Vēḷaikkāra regiment was posted at Koṭṭiyāram. When a major part of the king's army had been sent to Rohana with a view to subjugating that principality, the Vēḷaikkārar and the Sinhalese and Keraḷa troops revolted against him in the hope of putting an end to his rule in Rajaraṭa.[27] Parākramabāhu, however, defeated them and dispossessed them of their landholdings.

There is some evidence to suggest that the Vēḷaikkārar continued to play an important role in political and military affairs in the island up to the mid-thirteenth century. A short and undated inscription from Rankot Vihāra in Polonnaruva provides the interesting information that a Vēḷaikkāran called Cētarayan was serving a certain Jayabāhudēvar. The latter, as suggested by his name-ending devar, was a person of royal or princely rank. The initial portion of the inscription which runs: *ṭḷam eḷu nūṟṟukkātam yeṟiñcu koṇṭaruḷiya Ceyapākutēvar niḷal Vēḷaikkāran*[28] implies that Cētarayan was a Vēḷaikkāran serving under Jayabāhudevar and that a conquest of the island was effected either by Jayabāhudevar himself or by the Velaikkāran on behalf of his master.

The historical value of the evidence from this inscription depends to a large extent on the identification of Jayabāhudevar mentioned therein. Only two persons who had the name Jayabāhu are mentioned in traditional history relating to the Polonnaruva Period. One was the younger brother and immediate successor of Vijayabāhu I[29] and the other was the associate of Māgha of Kalinga who conquered Polonnaruva in A.D. 1215. It is difficult to identify Jayabāhu

25. *Cūlavaṃsa* (*Cv*), 60:25-44.
26. *Cv*, 63: 24-29.
27. *Cv*, 74: 44-49.
28. A. Velupillai, *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*, pt. I (Peradeniya, 1971), p. 26.
29. As Vikramabāhu seized power in Polonnaruwa around 1112 it may be assumed that Jayabāhu lost the throne after having reigned for one year.

(1110-1111) mentioned in the inscription with the brother and successor of Vijayabāhu because the claim of the conquest of Īḷam made in the inscription is totally inconsistent with the account of Jayabāhu as found in traditional history. According to the *Cūlavaṃsa* and other chronicles Vijayabāhu's brother who enjoyed a short spell of power was dislodged from the throne by Vikramabāhu, the son of Vijayabāhu. Vikramabāhu is said to have been uniformly successful in all his engagements against Jayabāhu and his supporters. From the account of Jayabāhu in traditional history one gains the impression that Jayabāhu was a weak ruler and he is not known to have gained any military victory over any rival.

The palaeography of the inscription is another important consideration against identifying the person referred to in it as the younger brother of Vijayabāhu I. The palaeography of the record represents a more advanced stage of development than that of the slab-inscription of the Vēḷaikkāras from Polonnaruva and resembles that of the Paṅḍuvasnuvara inscription of Nissaṅkamalla.[30] It may therefore be suggested that Jayabāhutēvar of the present record is different from and later than Jayabāhu (tevar) who had a brief spell of power over Rajaraṭa during the second decade of the twelfth century.

Jayabāhutēvar of our inscription was a conqueror of princely rank who had a Vēḷaikkāran among his principal supporters. Māgha, who had as his associate Jayabāhu, conquered and dominated a part of the island mainly with the aid of Tamil and Keraḷa troops.[31] The conqueror referred to in the inscription therefore may be identified as Jayabāhu, the associate of Māgha.[32] The precise nature of the relationship between Māgha and Jayabāhu is not known but the evidence from the *Cūlavaṃsa* suggests that Jayabāhu was in some way associated with Māgha in the conquest and administration of Rajaraṭa. Both are said to have maintained fortifications at several localities and held sway over Rajaraṭa for a long time.[33]

The Vēḷaikkāra Cētarāyan was not an ordinary soldier but was a dignitary of high rank. He was placed in charge of the administration of a large territorial division called Mahamaṇḍala.[34] He was in all probability a military leader and he may be considered as one of the key figures of the time of Māgha. It could also be inferred that the Vēḷaikkārar were included among those who served Māgha's cause in the island.

30. The formation of the letters *ka*, *ta* and *na* in the inscription from Rankot Vihāra differs considerably from that of the same letters in the slab inscription of the Vēḷaikkāras from Polonnaruva.

31. *Cv*, 80: 61, 70, 76.

32. Jayabāhu is referred to as the associate of Māgha at two instances in the *Cūlavaṃsa*. *Cv*, 82: 27; 83:15.

33. The *Cv*. gives the following account of these two rulers:

"At that time the Damiḷa kings, Māghinda and Jayabāhu had set up fortifications in the town of Pulatthi (nagara), famous for its wealth, in the village of Koṭṭhasāra, in Gangātaṭāka, in the village of Kākālaya, in the Padī district and in Kurundi, in Mānāmatta, in Mahātittha and in the harbour of Mannāra, at the landing-place of Pulacceri and in Vālikagāma, in the vast Gona district and in the Gonusu district, at Madhupādapatittha and at Sūkaratittha: at these and other places, and committing all kinds of violent deeds, had stayed there a long time. Their forty and four thousand soldiers, Damiḷas and Keralas came. . . . to Pulatthinagara. . " *Cv* 83: 15-21.

34. The correct reading is Mahamaṇṭala and not Mahāmaṇṭala as the sign representing the vowel ā is not to be found in the inscription. Mahamaṇṭala may be identified as the territorial division of that name mentioned in the Īripinniyāva pillar inscription. See *EZ*, I, p. 164.

The Vēḷaikkāra Army in Polonnaruva: Composition and Organization.

The undated slab inscription of the Veḷaikkārar from Polonnaruva[35] furnishes important details—details which are not to be found elsewhere—about the nature and composition of the Vēḷaikkāra regiments. This neatly engraved and well preserved inscription, which is one of the longest among the Tamil inscriptions in the island, records an undertaking by the Vēḷaikkārar resident in Polonnaruva to protect and maintain the Tooth Relic temple on the request of Mahāthera Mugalan and some ministers of state. The inscription could be assigned to the period that followed the reign of Vijayabāhu I.

The inscription provides the interesting information that the Vēḷaikkāra army was a large and composite one divided into several units called *paṭai*. It included within its fold the communities of *Iṭaṅkai*, *Valaṅkai*, *Sirutanam*. *Piḷḷaikaḷtanam*, *Parivārakkontam*, *Vaṭukar* and *Malayāḷar*.[36] The formation of these groups was not on a uniform basis. The last two are ethno-linguistic groups consisting exclusively of Teḷugus and Kēraḷas. The fact that the Telugus and Kēralas were considered as two exclusive groups within the Vēḷaikkāra army presupposes that all other groups which together formed a large proportion of the army belonged to another ethno-linguistic group—the Tamils.

The *Iṭaṅkai* and *Valaṅkai* are the two broad divisions into which Tamil society was divided in medieval times. Each of the two divisions included a number professional or caste groups. The Vēḷaikkāra army in Polonnaruva, unlike the ones known from the Cōḷa inscriptions from Tanjore, included recruits from both divisions, the Iṭaṅkai and the Valaṅkai.[37] The precise nature of Cirutanam and Piḷḷaikaḷtanam are not clear. A third such group, the Peruntanam is mentioned in South Indian inscriptions. Cirutanam has sometimes been explained as minor treasury.[38] Cirutanam and Peruntanam have been confused at times with Cirutaram and Peruntaram which presumably denoted the lower and higher grades of officials respectively in the Cōḷa administration. Cirutanam, however, seems to have a military significance as is suggested by such expressions as *Cirutanattu Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkārappaṭaikaḷ*, "Vēḷaikkārar of the Valaṅkai division belonging to the Cirutanam," and *Cirutanattu Vatukar kāvalar*, "The Telugu guards belonging to the Cirutanam."[39] Cirutanam was a group of soldiers

35. The inscription which is one of the most important historical documents of the Polonnaruwa period corroborates the evidence from the *Cv.* regarding some of Vijayabāhu's achievements. It refers to his military victories, his purification of the three Nikāyas, and the restoration of the Buddhist Sangha. Besides, it mentions that Vijayabāhu was crowned with the consent of the Sangha.

    See D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, "Polonnaruva Slab Inscription of the Vēḷaikkāras" *EZ*, II: No. 40.

36. S. Paranavitana, "The Polonnaruva Inscription" of Vijayabāhu I", *EI*, XVIII, pp. 330-339.

    SII, IV: 1393.

37. The South Indian inscriptions which have been brought to light so far do not contain any reference to Vēḷaikkārar of the Iṭaṅkai division.

    The Valaṅkai and Iṭaṅkai meaning "The right arm bloc" and "The left arm bloc" are the two broad divisions into which Tamil Society was divided in medeival times. This classification which excluded Brahmins was in vogue since the period of the Imperial Cōḷas. In Indian symbolism the right is usually regarded as superior to the left and "The left arm bloc" tried to emulate the Brahmins in order to assert their superiority over "The right arm bloc". Although some inscriptions give long mythological accounts of the origins of these divisions the historical and sociological factors which led to their differentiation are not clear.

38. *MTL*, pt. I, p. 1460; SII, II, Introduction p. 9, *EI*, 18, p. 336.

39. *EI*, XVIII, p. 336.

whose homogeneity was perhaps derived from a common social origin and common interests. The Piḷḷaikaḷtanam must have been a military group the members of which were recruited from a section of the community of agriculturists. The Parivārakkontam probably consisted of foot-soldiers armed with spears (*kuntam*).[40]

The expressions *Mūṉṟukaittiruvēḷaikkāran* and *Mātantiram* have been interpreted by scholars in different ways and a misunderstanding of these have led to serious misconceptions about the nature and religious affiliations of the Vēḷaikkārar. As regards the first of these terms Wickramasinghe observes:

> "Whether the term mūṉṟukai refers to the triple principle, namely Civa-Cakti-Aṇu or Pati-pacu-pāca corresponding to the trika of Cashmere Caivism or it is only an epithet of the Vēḷaikkāras due possibly to their army being composed of three wings we are unable to say."[41]

Of the two alternative explanations of the word Mūṉṟukai given by Wickremasinghe one suggests a religious significance while the other suggests a military connection. Nilakanta Sastri suggests that the expression *Mūṉṟukai* denotes the three of the four traditional divisions of the army after the chariots went out of use.[42] Paranavitana observes that the *mūṉṟukai* denotes the Mahātantra, the Vaḷañceyar and the Nagarattār who, in his opinion, formed the three divisions of the Vēḷaikkāra army.[43] This view, however, has to be rejected for reasons that will be seen later. The explanation that the *mūṉṟukai* refers to the triple principle of Saivism also is not a convincing one and it may be assumed, in the absence of another equally plausible explanation, that the mūṉṟukai signified the three wings of the army: elephants, cavalry and infantry.

The Army called the *Mūṉṟukai Mahāsēnai* was one of the most important among the Cōḷa armies. It had played a decisive role in the Cōḷa conquest of neighbouring kingdoms including Sri Lanka.[44] There is some evidence to suggest a connection between the Vēḷaikkārar and the *Mūṉṟukai Mahāsenai*. A certain Atikaraṇan Cāraṇan is referred to as a *mūṉṟukaittiruvēḷaikkāran* in an inscription from Gal-Oya near Polonnaruva.[45] In this instance the *mūṉṟukai* seems to be an abbreviation of *Mūṉṟukai Mahāsenai*. The expression *Mūṉṟukait tiruvēḷaikkāran*, therefore could be a reference to a Vēḷaikkāran who belonged to an army called *mūṉṟukai mahāsenai*, "The Great Army of the three wings".

It is necessary to consider the meaning of the term *Mātantiram* in order to ascertain whether there could have been a connection between the Vēḷaikkārar

40. It has been suggested that the *Parivārakkontam* may stand for the spearmen in the king's procession. Army divisions called *Parivārāttar* are mentioned in a number of South Indian Inscriptions. *EZ*, II, p. 254; *SII*, II, Introduction, p. 9.
41. *EZ*, II, p. 251.
42. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "Vijayabāhu I, The Liberator of Ceylon," *JRAS(CB), NS*, IV 1954, p. 69.
43. *EI*, XVIII, p. 334.
44. The *praśasti* in an inscription of this army from Tiruvāliśvaram records the extensive conquests made by the "many thousands of armed soldiers belonging to the Great Army of the three arms." The *praśasti* claims that they destroyed the fortifications at Mātōṭṭam. On the basis of its contents this inscription could be assigned to the period of Cōḷa expansion under Rājarāja I and Rājendra I. *The Cōḷas*, p. 455
45. *SII*, IV, No. 1398

and the Mahāsenai. The word *Mahātantiram* which occurs in our inscription has been explained in different ways by three leading scholars. Wickremasinghe believed that it was the name of a Saivite text and on account of that belief he assumed that the Vēḷaikkārar were Saivites.

Commenting on this inscription Paranavitana, however, observes:

"It seems from our inscription as if the three divisions or 'hands' into which the Vēḷaikkārar were divided consisted of the Mahātantram, the Vaḷañceyar and the Nagarattār. Out of these terms Mahātantra is not found elsewhere and its sense is not clear. Probably it was used here with a Buddhist significance."[46]

In the opinion of Nilakanta Sastri, Mahātantiram has a military significance and probably denoted a certain school of militarism in South India.[47] The expression, of course, had a military significance but one cannot accept the view that it denoted any school of militarism. The explanations of the word as given by all these scholars are wrong and in coming to hasty conclusions and by not taking into account all available epigraphic and literary evidence relating to the use of the word *tantiram* they have slipped into error. In Indian literary and epigraphic usage *tant(i)ram* means among several other things, an army unit[48] and this meaning of the word is the most appropriate one when the word occurs in a document which records the activities of an army. The expression Mahātantiram formed by the addition of the prefix *Mahā* to *tantiram* would mean "The Great Army."[49] Manātantiram and Mahāsenar are therefore synonymous and could have been used interchangeably to denote "The Great Army".

The Vēḷaikkārar, like the Ayyāvoḷe, seem to have been organised on a corporate basis. All members of the army were summoned for a meeting and the Vēḷaikkārar who met in assembly made certain resolutions and entered into an agreement concerning the Tooth Relic Temple with the Mahāthera Mugalan and the ministers of state. They resemble the Ayyāvoḷe in another respect. They were a confederate body comprising several sub-groups each of which seems to have had a certain degree of homogeneity. In military affairs, as in trade, several groups which were separated from one another by social origins, beliefs and practices but following more or less the same profession were brought under a common organization. Despite the lack of homogeneity a strong sense of fellowship and solidarity seem to have been developed largely by means of primary assemblies in the deliberations of which all members were responsive and equal partners. In its organization and activities the Vēḷaikkāra army at Polonnaruva is reminiscent of the *śreṇis*, "guilds", described in the *Dharmaśāstras*. The Vēḷaikkārar of the Mahātantiram may be regarded as an example of the *sreṇibala* mentioned in ancient works like the *Arthaśāstra*,, *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*.[50]

46. *EI*, XVIII, p. 334
47. *JRAS* (*CB*), *NS*, IV, 1954, p. 71.
48. *MTL*, III, p. 1747; Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, (Oxford, 1899), p. 362.
49. The Sanskrit prefix *Mahā* becomes *mā* or *makā* in Tamil usage. The Sanskrit expression *Mahātantram* has been Tamilised as *mātantiram* in our inscription.
50. Kauṭilya refers to a class of Kṣatriya *śrenis* which lived upon trade and war in the following manner: "*Kāmboja-Saurāṣṭra Kṣatriya-Śreniyādayo Vārttā-Śastropajīvinaḥ.*" In the opinion of R. C. Majumdar this passage refers to a class of guilds which followed some industrial arts, and carried on the military profession at one and the same time. The *Mahābhārata* and the Rāmāyana seem to refer to such guilds as *śrenibala* and *Sayodha Sreṇi* respectively. See R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life on Ancient India*, (Calcutta, 1920), p. 30.

The Vēḷaikkārar and the Mercantile Communities

The Vēḷaikkārar of Polonnaruva were in some way associated with the mercantile communities settled in that town. When a meeting of the Mahātantiram was summoned the two merantile communities called the Vaḷañceyar and the Nakarattār were also invited to the meeting. The portion of the inscription which refers to the connection between the Vēḷaikkārar and these two communities runs:

> *Mātantirattōm kūṭi eṅkaḷukku mūtātaikaḷāyuḷḷa Vaḷañceyaraiyum eṅkaḷōṭu kūṭivarum Nakarattār uḷḷiṭṭōraiyum kūṭṭi....*
>
> "We of the Mahātantiram having assembled and invited (for the assembly) the Vaḷañceyar who are our ancestors and others including the Nagarattār who always accompany us...."

The expressions *eṅkaḷ mūtātaikaḷāyuḷḷa and eṅkaḷōṭu kūṭivarum*, which have been used to denote the relationship which the Veḷaikkārar had with the Vaḷañceyar and the Nagarattār, are vague and ambiguous in their meanings. The expression Mūtātaikaḷ which literally means "ancestors" has been translated as "elders,"[51] "leaders"[52] and "grandfathers"[53] respectively by Wickremasinghe, Paranavitana and Nilakanta Sastri. Commenting on Paranavitana's translation of this expression Nilakanta Sastri aptly observes:

> "The translation of Mūtādaigaḷ into 'leaders' is not accurate; the word literally means 'grandfathers', and what is meant cannot be physical descent when it is one corporation claiming this relation to another, and must imply some kind of spiritual or constitutional relation."[54]

As the expressions which denote the relationship between the Vēḷaikkārar and the two mercantile communities could be interpreted in different ways, three plausible explanations may be given about their inter-relationship in the light of historical evidence bearing on the connection between military and commercial communities. The first, based on the literal meaning of *Mūtātaikaḷ*, could be, as R.C. Mājumdar suggests, that some of the Veḷaikkārar were recruited from the community of Vaḷañceyar.[55] Such an explanation may be justified on the consideration that there were in ancient India certain *śreṇis* or guilds which pursued economic as well as military activities. Such institutions are known from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[56] and the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman.[57] But the main argument against this explanation is that the known examples of such *śreṇis* are from a period which is many centuries earlier than our inscription. Besides, they are from an area where the Vēḷaikkārar and the Vaḷañceyar are not known to have existed.

51. *EZ*, II, p. 254
52. *EI, XVIII*, p. 335.
53. *JRAS(CB), NS*, IV, 1954, p. 70.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *R. C. Majumdar Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1930. p. 30.
56. "The corporations of warriors (Kshatriya śreni) of Kāmbhoja, and Surāshṭra, and other countries live by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons'. See *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* trans. by R. Shamasastry, Seventh Edition, Mysore, 1961, p. 407.
57. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 82.

The second explanation is that the Vēḷaikkārar who consisted of groups belonging to the Valaṅkai and Iṭaṅkai divisions of society had the Vaḷañceyar and the Nagarattār respectively as their leaders.[58] This explanation appears to be the most plausible one in view of the fact that in medieval Tamil Society in India the Valaṅkai had the Vaḷañceyar and the Nānādesis among their leaders while the Nagarattār were among the leaders of the Iṭaṅkai communities.[59] The Vaḷañceyar and the Nagarattār were invited for the meeting of the Vēḷaikkārar of the Mahātantiram, presumably, in their capacity as leaders of the Valaṅkai and Iṭaṅkai divisions in that army.[60]

It could also be suggested that the relationship which the Vēḷaikkārar had with mercantile communities was a twofold one. While acknowledging the precedence and leadership of the mercantile communities over them in social affairs the Vēḷaikkārar could have served the Vāḷañceyar and other mercantile communities as their mercenaries. It is possible that there were Vēḷaikkārar among the mercenaries who were employed by the Ayyāvoḷe. A South Indian inscription which records an agreement between the Malayamān called Saṟṟukkutātān and a Vēḷaikkāran states that the latter was an *Aṅkakkāran*.[61] The Aṅkakkarar probably served as bodyguards (*meykāppār*) of princes, chieftains and other dignitaries..[62] The Aṅkakkārar were among the many military groups in the service of the Ayyāvoḷe settled at several localities in the island during the Polonnaruva period.[63] Some of the Aṅkakkārar may have been Vēḷaikkārar.

The Vēḷaikkārar and Religious Institutions

The Vēḷaikkārar were sometimes appointed as the trustees or custodians of religious institutions or of endowments made to such institutions. The Paḷamōṭṭai inscription of the 42nd year of Viyayabāhu I records that a substantial endowment made by a Brahmin widow to the temple of Ten Kailāsam, otherwise called Vijayarājaīśvaram, at the Brahmin settlement called Vijayarāja Caturvedimaṅkalam at Kantaḷāy was placed under the custody of a Vēḷaikkāra regiment known as Vikkirama Cālāmekatterinta Valaṅkai division.[64] The endowments to the temple of Ten Kailāsam consisted of a golden crown of the weight of three *kaḷañcu*, a golden chain of three *kaḷañcu* and one *kaḷañcu* of

58. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, XVIII*, pp. 198-199.

59. *Idid.*

60. Commenting on this matter Gopinatha Rao observes:
"The Valañjiyar and the Nagarattār..apparently occupied a high position in social life as the leaders of the Vēḷaikkāras, and are represented by the present Bananjiga and Nagaratta communities of the Kanarese country. It may also be remarked that at the time we are speaking of, they were considered, members of the Mahatantra, i.e. Buddhists. Whatever the Velaikkaras may have been in their religious creed, it is clear from what is stated in the inscription that they included all working classes and were apparently of Indian origin who immigrated into Ceylon with the merchants whom they served *ARE*, 1913, p. 102.

61. *ARE*, 1934-'35, p. 61, No. 203.

62. The word Aṅka(k)kāra which occurs also in Telugu and Kannada inscriptions is some times explained as 'a soldier or warrior who took a vow to defend his master and fight in the latter's cause to death". The element aṅka in aṅkakkāran is the Dravidian form of Anga meaning body or limb and is therefore synonymous with the Tamil word *mey* (body). Aṅkakkārar and Meykāppār may therefore be regarded as two different words by which those who performed the role of bodyguards were referred to.

63. The Inscriptions of the Ayyāvoḷe from Vāhalkada, Padaviya and Vihārahinna make mention of the Aṅkakkārar. *CTI*, pt. I, pp. 53, 55.

64. *EZ*, IV, No. 20.

gold for burning a perpetual lamp. Besides, eight *kaḷañcu* of gold were deposited so that the compound interest on it could be used for maintaining a garden in the temple premises. Moreover, thirty five *kaḷañcu* were invested for maintaining a group of seven *devadāsis*. The endowment was to be in the custody of the Vēḷaikkārar who also accepted responsibility for administering it.[65] This arrangement presupposes that the Vēḷaikkārar at Kantaḷāy had a permanent settlement within the locality and were expected to remain there for a long time.[66] It may be inferred that there was a military outpost at Kantaḷāy during the reign of Vijayabāhu I.

A more important religious institution which came to be associated with the Vēḷaikkārar was the Tooth Relic Temple in Polonnaruva. The Vēḷaikkārar became the custodians of this shrine as the result of an agreement between them and the Mahāthera Mugalan, the royal preceptor, and (some of) the ministers of state. The portion of the inscription which records the agreement runs:

> "The Mahāthera Mugalan of Uturuḷu-mūla, the royal preceptor and[67] grammarian (viyārin) who is endowed with piety, virtuous conduct and (an-inimitable) knowledge of all branches of learning and schools of religious systems, came with the ministers of state, invited us and said, 'the Tooth Relic Temple should be under your custody.' Thereupon we, the members of the 'Great Army' met together....[In this assembly] we invested the Tooth Relic Temple with the name mūṉṟu kait tiruvēḷaikkāran Daḷadāypperumpaḷḷi, and made the declaration that it shall remain as our charitable institution under our custody, and that by appointing one soldier from each regiment of the army with the assignment of one vēli of land for each of them as maintanance we shall protect the villages, retainers and property belonging to this shrine as well as those who seek refuge in it even though (thereby) we may suffer loss (of life) or ruin, and that we shall do everything necessary for this (shrine) as long as our lineage exists."[63]

The foregoing passage sets forth the manner in which the Vēḷaikkārar became the custodians of the Tooth Relic Temple. The inscription asserts that the royal preceptor Mugalan and the Ministers of state had invited the Vēḷaikkārar and requested them to undertake the responsibility of protecting and maintaining it. The Tooth Relic Temple was richly endowed and was one of the most sacred shrines as it housed the Tooth Relic of the Buddha which came to be regarded as a sort of a palladium of the Sinhalese royalty. The question arises as to why the Vēḷaikkārar had to be entrusted with the task of protecting

65. *Ibid.*

66. The expressions *Vikkirama Calāmekatterinta Valaṅkai Vēḷaikkāran aram* may imply that the responsibility of administering the endowment was vested collectively with the members of the whole regiment and not with an individual Vēḷaikkāran, as in the case of the Tooth Relic Temple. Although the latter was placed under the custody of the Vēḷaikkārar of the Great Army it was named Vēḷaikkāran Daḷadaypperumpiḷḷai. The use of the singular form Vēḷaikkāran in these expressions does not mean that only a single individual was involved in these arrangements.

67. The word Vyāriṇi may be a Tamil form of the word vyārin which, in the opinion of Wickremasinghe 'is probably a derivative from the Sanskrit form Vyākaraṇin. The epithet *Vyāriṇi* may imply that Mugalan was an authority on grammatical works. Yet, the Mahāthera of Uttruḷumūla cannot be identified with the grammarian Moggalāna who was a contemporary of Parākramabāhu I because of the wide time gap that intervened their periods of life.

68. *SII*, IV, No. 1393.

and maintaining it and this cannot be solved unless the date of the events recorded in the inscription could be determined. As seen earlier the inscription is not dated in the regnal years of any monarch. This was presumably because it was issued by the Vēḷaikkārar and not by court officials. The inscription must have been set up after the reign of Vijayabāhu I as it refers to him as one who had ruled for fifty-five years and had lived for seventy-three years. Vijayabāhu's long reign, according to the *Cūlavaṃsa*, was of fifty-five years duration and an inscription set up after the fifty-fifth year of that monarch certainly has to be assigned to a date after his reign.

The agreement between the Mahāthera and the Vēḷaikkārar regarding the maintenance and protection of the Tooth Relic Temple in the capital presupposes that there was a growing sense of insecurity created by disturbances and social unrest in the kingdom. Arrangements had to be made not only for the protection of the shrine but also for its maintenance. It may therefore be inferred that the shrine which was previously protected and maintained with royal support had, owing to some reason, lost that support. Events that followed the death of Vijayabāhu I seem to provide, in some measure, the reason why this shrine lost royal support.

On the death of Vijayabāhu his sister, Mittā, her three sons, the ministers and the Sangha met together and decided to consecrate Jayabāhu, the late king's younger brother, as king. The rank of Yuvarāja, to which Vikramabāhu had the strongest claim, was however conferred on Mānābbarana, the eldest son of Mittā.[69] This latter arrangement amounted to a violation of a long-established custom.[70] Vikramabāhu, fought against it and secured authority over Rajaraṭa after dislodging Jayabāhu and his accomplices from Polonnaruva and ruled for a period of twenty-one years. The Saṅgha which had earlier connived with others to keep him out of the succession had to suffer under Vikramabāhu. It has also been claimed, recently, that Vikramabāhu had strong leanings towards Hinduism.[71] Under Vikramabāhu Buddhism and its institutions were denied royal support and became the targets of attack. The *Cūlavaṃsa* gives the following account of the state of Buddhism under this ruler:

> "King Vikramabāhu took the maintenance villages which belonged to the Buddha and so forth and gave them to his attendants. In Pulatthinagara he gave over several Vihāras distinguished by (the possession of) relics, to foreign soldiers to live in. Precious stones, pearls and the like, presented by the pious as offerings for the Relic of the Alms-bowl, and for the sacred Tooth Relic, the sandalwood, the aloes, the camphor, the many-images of gold and the like which he took forcibly, he used as it pleased him. Beholding this manifold evil committed against the order and the laity, the ascetics in the eight chief vihāras, looked up to as people worthy of honour, and the Paṃsukūlin bhikkhus belonging to the two divisions, were wroth at the matter and thinking it were better to remove themselves from the vicinity of people who like those erring from the faith, wrought in

69. *CV*, 61:1-3.

70. As regards this arrangement the Chronicler states: But to the dignity of Uparāja they appointed the prince called Mānābharaṇa, all thereby quitting the path of former custom. *CV*, 61:4.

71. S. Kiribamune, "Royal consecration in Medieval Sri Lanka", *The Sri Lanka Journal of South Asian Studies* (Thirunelveli, 1976), pp. 13-15

this way so much evil against the order, they took the sacred Tooth Relic and the Alms-bowl Relic, betook themselves and settled themselves here and there in places where it pleased them."[72]

It is thus clear that the Tooth Relic Temple and other Buddhist institutions were disendowed by Vikramabāhu. It was presumably during the early part of his reign that the Tooth Relic Temple was placed under the protection of the Vēḷaikkārar on the initiative of the Mahāthera Mugalan and other dignitaries who were concerned about the security of tne shrine and its properties. Whether this arrangement was made before or after the shrine was disendowed by Vikramabāhu is not clear. The inscription does not mention anything about the Tooth Relic which is said to have been removed to Rohana when Vikramabāhu was ruling over Rajaraṭa. It could be inferred from the evidence of the inscription of the Vēḷaikkāras that Vikramabāhu did not secure unchallenged supremacy over Rajaraṭa and that there were pockets of resistance against his authority.

Each of the soldiers posted by the Vēḷaikkārar to protect the temple of the Tooth Relic was assigned a *vēli* of land from the holdings of the "Great-Army". The use of the term *vēli* in connection with the land-holdings of the Velaikkarar is significant. The system of measuring land under the Cōḷas was by units called *vēli* and this system had been introduced into the island when it was under Cōḷa rule. The restoration of Sinhalese rule under Vijayabāhu was followed by a revival of the Sinhalese system of land measurement which was according to sowing capacity. Yet, the Cōḷa system of land measurement continued until the mid-twelfth century among the Tamil settlements which had originated under Cōḷa rule. The use of the word *vēli* in the inscription of the Vēḷaikkārar may suggest that the lands held by them for maintenance had been granted before the accession of Vijayabāhu. It may also be inferred that the Vēḷaikkārar who undertook to protect the Tooth Relic Temple were previously serving in the royal armies.

Another Buddhist institution, a Vihāra at Padaviya, was placed under the protection of the Vēḷaikkārar. An undated Sanskrit inscription in Grantha characters, recovered from the architectural remains of a Buddhist monument at Padaviya, which could be assigned to the thirteenth century on palaeographic considerations, records that the general called Lokanātha constructed a Vihāra at Śrīpatigrāma and placed it under the protection of the Vēḷaikkārar.[73] The form Śripatigrāma which occurs also in the Sanskrit inscription on a seal discovered from the architectural remains of a Hindu shrine at Padaviya[74] seems to be a variant of Padī or Padīnagara by which names Padaviya was referred to in contemporary Sinhalese and Pāli texts.

As this inscription does not mention the name of any ruler but commences with a brief eulogy of Setu Kula it may be assumed that Lokanātha who had caused the Vihāra to be constructed at Srīpatigrāma had either belonged to the

72. *Cv*, 61:54-61.
73. S. Paranavitana, "A Sanskrit Inscription from Padaviya", JRAS(CB), NS, Vol. VIII, pt. 2, pp. 261.-264.
74. The expression *dvijāvāsa Śrīpatigrāma* occurring in this inscription implies that there was a Brahmin settlement at Srīpatigrāma when the inscription was issued. *Ceylon, Observer*, Nov. 28, 1970, p. 2.

Setu Kula or was an agent or Sāmanta of a ruler of the Setu Kula. The expression Setu Kula occuring in this inscription seems to suggest that the general Lokanātha was in some way connected to the Ārya Cakravarttis.

The Setukula was in all probability a dynasty or family which had either come from a locality called Setu or had close connections with such a locality. There were several localities called Setu in the southern extremity of India. The island of Rāmeśvaram and the reef of sunken rocks connecting the island of Mannar with Rāmeśvaram were called Setu. Among the ruling families of Sri Lanka only the Ārya Cakravarttis of Jaffna had connections with Setu. Traditions recorded in contemporary texts claim that the kings of Jaffna were in the lineage of two Brahmins of Rāmeśvaram who had attained the rank of Sāmantas in the distant past.[75] The Ārya Cakravarttis had the epithet Setu Kāvalan, "the Guardian of Setu," which they probably inherited from their ancestors—the Ārya cakravarttis of Cevvirukkainātu which was a territorial division around Rāmeśvaram in the Pāṇḍya Kingdom.[76] They used Setu as a benedictory expression on their inscriptions and coins.[77] The Setu Kula referred to in the Sanskrit inscription from Padaviya may therefore be identified with the Ārya cakravartti family and on the basis of this identification it may be assumed that the general Lokānatha was an associate or agent of either the Pāṇḍya general Arya cakravartti who invaded the island in 1284 or one of his kinsmen who secured power over the kingdom that had emerged in the notrhern part of the island. Lokanātha could have even become a local chieftain in consequence of the Pāṇḍya invasions. From the evidence of this inscription it may be inferred that there were Vēḷaikkārar in the Pāṇḍya armies that invaded the island during the late thirteenth century.

The construction of a *vihāra* by Lokanātha and the arrangements made by him for its protection and maintenance presupposes that he had a solicitude for the welfare of Buddhism and its institutions. The general Lokanātha and possibly some of the Vēḷaikkārar under his command could have been Buddhists. It could also be surmised that such activities on the part of Lokanātha were undertaken with a view to appease the local Buddhist population. The fact that the *vihāra* constructed by Lokanātha was named after the Veḷaikkārar and placed under their protection may suggest that there was at Padaviya, as at Kaṇṭaḷāy, a military outpost occupied by the Vēḷaikkārar.

In conclusion it may be stated that the Vēḷaikkārar were one of the important groups of Dravīdian mercenaries employed in the island during the period between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. As there is evidence to show that some of the Aṅkakkārar, "body-guards," were Vēḷaikkārar it may be assumed that there were Vēḷaikkārar among the Mekāppār or body guards maintained by the Anurādhapura rulers during the tenth century. There must have been only a small number of such warriors in the island before the Cōḷa conquest. Army units consisting entirely of Vēḷaikkārar seem to have been brought to the island only after the Cōḷa conquest. The Vēḷaikkārar were,

75. *Cekarācacēkaramālai* edited by I. C. Irakunātaiyar, Kokkuvil, 1942, *Cirappuppāyiram* V. 2, VV, 76, 86; *Takṣiṇakailāsapurāṇam* edited by P. P. Vaittilinka Tecikar, Point Pedro, 1916, Cirappuppāyiram.

76. S. Pathmanathan, *The Kingdom of Jaffna* Circa A.D. 1250-1450. Ph.D. Thesis (unpublished). University of London, 1969, pp. 403-405.

77. ibid., pp. 403-407; S. Gnanapragasar, 'The Forgotten Coinage of the Kings of Jaffna', *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. pt. V, (IV), p. 179.

perhaps, an important element in the Cōḷa armies maintained at military outposts in various parts of the island during the period of Cōḷa rule and it would appear that they continued to live in the island after the fall of Cōḷa power and subsequently served in the armies of the Sinhalese rulers. Vijayabāhu, Gajabāhu II and Parakramabāhu I are known to have had Velaikkarar in their armies. Besides, the Vēḷaikkārar had their settlements at Polonnaruwa, Kaṇṭaḷāy, Kōṭṭiyāram and Padaviya. The Vēlaikkāra army at Polonnaruwa which was a large and composite one functioned as a guild or *sreṇi* and retained all the basic features which were characteristic of the Vēḷalaikkārar in South India.

There were some Vēḷaikkārar among the warriors brought by Māgha and later by Ārya Cakravartti in the thirteenth century. Some of the leaders of Vēḷaikkāra armies were placed in charge of territorial divisions as in the case of Vēḷaikkāran Cētarāyan who became the chief of the division called Mahamaṇḍala. As some of the inscriptions of the Ayyāvoḷe make mention of the Aṅkakkārar some of whom were Vēḷaikkārar, the Vēḷaikkārar may have been among the mercenary bodies employed by the Dravidian mercantile communities settled in the island. In Sri Lanka, as in South India, the Vēḷaikkārar were also employed to protect public institutions, their endowments and trust properties. The epigraphical and literary sources do not refer to the Vēḷiakkārar in the island after the thirteenth century and it may be assumed that the political and socio-economic changes that took place in Rajaraṭa during the thirteenth century and later led to the dis-engagement of Vēḷaikkārar from active military service as in the Tamil Kingdoms of South India.

S. PATHMANATHAN

Śri Vijaya and Malaysia in Siṃhala Inscriptions

Over fifteen years ago the late Professor Paranavitana in a paper entitled "Ceylon and Malaysia in Mediaeval Times" attempted to show that the country called Kaliṅga, with which Sri Lanka had close relations from the tenth to the fifteenth century, was not the well-known Kalinga in India, but a region of that name in Malaysia.[1] Subsequently he announced to the learned world that he had discovered documents which removed all possible doubt about his propositions regarding Kaliṅga and furnished abundant material for the study of the relations between Sri Lanka and Śrī Vijaya in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[2]

The documents Paranavitana referred to are the so-called interlinear inscriptions said to be engraved as palimpsests on certain lithic records found in different parts of Sri Lanka. Some of these inter-linear inscriptions have now been published in a book on the subject under the title *Ceylon and Malaysia.* R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, who has subjected this work to a detailed examination, has commented on these inter-linear records and has come to the conclusion that "in the absence of adequate corroborative information in the historical sources of both South and South East Asia, the authenticity of these sources is open to serious doubt."[3]

Besides these inter-linear records Paranavitana has also published several inscriptions, which appear to furnish further evidence to support his theses regarding the connections between Sri Lanka and some countries in South East Asia. It is these inscriptions that I propose to examine in the present paper with a view to ascertaining whether in fact Paranavitana's claims for these records are justified, for they apparently contain substantial data that will go a long way to re-inforce the arguments he has advanced to sustain his theses.

The first inscription that Paranavitana has published after a fresh decipherment is the Mayilagastoṭa Pillar-inscription earlier published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* by D. M. De Z. Wickremasinghe.[4] The passage material to the present inquiry has been read by Wickremasinghe as follows:[5]

19 ăpā Mihinduhu
20 visin Kirind-(ho)
21 (vam terhi) Maha-(ga-)
22 (-ma) uvanisā pihi-
23 ṭi siri(bara) Ma(ha-ve-)
24 -hernakāhi (dam-)

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Ceylon Branch, New Series, Vol. VII, pp. 1-43.
2. S. Paranavitana, "Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya," in *Essays offered to G. H. Luce in honour of his Seventy Fifth Birthday*, Vol. I, 1966, Anscona, Switzerland, p. 205.
3. R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, "Ceylon and Malaysia: A Study of Professor Paranavitana's Research on the Relations Between the Two Regions," *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1–64.
4. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, Plate 11, opposite p. 60.
5. *Ep. Zey*, Vol. II, p. 61.

25 rad pa(ra)pur (vaṭnu)
26 (povas) tamā (kä)
27 (-rū Uḍa) Tisa pirive-
28 -n (sähäviyaṭ....)

It has to be pointed out here that Wickremasinghe's reading of the last two letters of line 24 is purely conjectural as are some other words which he has placed within brackets. The general purport of the inscription, however, is clear. It records the grant of some land together with the usual immunities to the Uḍa-Tisa Pirivena in order to maintain the succession of monks in the Mahāvihāra situated near Mahagama, i.e. to ensure that monks will live in the Mahāvihāra continuously without any interruption to their continued residence. The words *dam-rad parapura* here obviously means the descendents of the Lord of the Dhamma, i.e., Buddhist monks. The Uḍa Tisa Pirivena was a part of the Mahāvihāra Monastery and any endowment made to the former would benefit the latter as well.

Not being satisfied with this text as deciphered by Wickremasinghe, Paranavitana published a revised version of this record in 1973. The relevant portion of the record as revised by him reads as follows:[6]

18 Āpā Mihindāhu
19 visin Kirind-ho
20 vam-terhi Mahaga-
21 -m uvanisā pihi-
22 -ṭi siribar Maha(v)e-
23 -her-nakāhi Dāva-
24 -rad-parapura vaḍna
25 bä vas tamā kä-
26 -ra(vu) Uda-Tis-pirive-
27 -naṭa.....

The crucial word in Paranavitana's reading is the word *Dāva-rad* in *ll.* 23-24, which, as already seen, has been read by Wickremasinghe as (*dam-*)*rad*, the other parts of the record as revised by Paranavitana being not so material to the present argument.

Paranavitana has translated the relevant passage as revised by him as follows: 'By him (i.e. Āpā Mahinda) has been granted to Uda-Tis pirivena belonging to the illustrious congregation of the Mahāvihāra situated adjoining Mahagama on the left bank of the Kirind river, which (pirivena) he himself caused to be founded on account of the brother who increases the (prosperity) of the Jāva royal family....'[7]

It must be pointed out here that the last two letters of what Wickremasinghe has read as line 24 have been so completely effaced that no one can be sure what they are, and by no stretch of the imagination can they be read as *Dāva*,

6. *Ep. Zey*, Vol. VI, Plate 7 and p. 37.
7. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 37.

even though Paranavitana has assured himself that what Wickremasinghe has read as *ma* is in fact *va*. Inspite of Paranavitana's self assurance his reading *Däva-rad* is quite out of place in the context of the relevant passage, a circumstance which is quite evident in his translation. Even if it is assumed that his reading *Däva-rad* is correct, Paranavitana could not have translated the passage "*siribara Maha(v)eher-nakāhi Däva-rad-parapur vaḍna bä vas tamā kära(vū) Uda-Tis-pirivenaṭa*' as 'to Uda-Tis *pirivena* belonging to the illustrious congregation of the Mahāvihāra....which (pirivena) he himself caused to be founded on account of the brother who increases (the prosperity of) the Jāva royal family....' for the reason that then the words *siribara Mahaveher-nakāhi* cannot be construed as an adjectival phrase qualifying *Uda-Tis pirivena*, as has been done by Paranavitana, but must be construed as an adverbial phrase qualifying the phrase *Däva-rad-parapur vaḍna* which immediately follows it. The two phrases, thus, can only be translated in some such form as "who increases (the prosperity of) the Java royal family in the illustrious congregation of the Mahāvihāra", Such a translation obviously makes no sense for it is inconceivable how any one could increase the prosperity of a royal family in a monastery.

However Wickremasinghe's reading *Dam-rad*, though conjectural, has the merit of being able to make good sense in the context. The word means, as pointed out above, "the Lord of the Dhamma", i.e. the Buddha. *Dam-rad-parapur* would mean "the lineage of the Buddha", and any dwelling contructed near a monastery, particularly a monastery such as the Mahāvihāra of Mahagama, which was the undisputed centre of Buddhist learning and practice in the south of Sri Lanka, can be considered as having been built for the purpose of ensuring the uninterrupted residence of monks in the monastery. It has to be pointed out here that Paranavitana has, after adopting the word *Däva-rad*, which he evidently thought was the correct reading, has translated the passage in question to make sense, even though the order of words in his revised text militates against such a translation. The reading *Däva-rad*, therefore has to be rejected as a reading without any foundation, and quite out of place in the context.

Paranavitana also claims to have read a reference to the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya in the Paṅḍuvasnuvara Pillar Inscription published for the first time in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Volume VI, Part I. The relevant part of the inscription as deciphered by Paranavitana is given below:[8]

17 Yuvara-baṅḍar ma-
18 -hapāṇan vahan-
19 -se Dakuṇu-pas-hi
20 Kapugam-bimhi ā-
21 vū Samund pera-tera
22 vū Śrī Bodhimaṇḍa pī-
23 -ṭi Yavajū Kali(ṅgubi)-
24 -mhi Palamban-pu-
25 -ra Suvanvarayen
26 ā radol piyan ha-
27 -ṭ Saṅgā-radūn [ha]ṭ
28 dun Nāgala Nāranviṭa

8. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, Plate 3 and p. 16.

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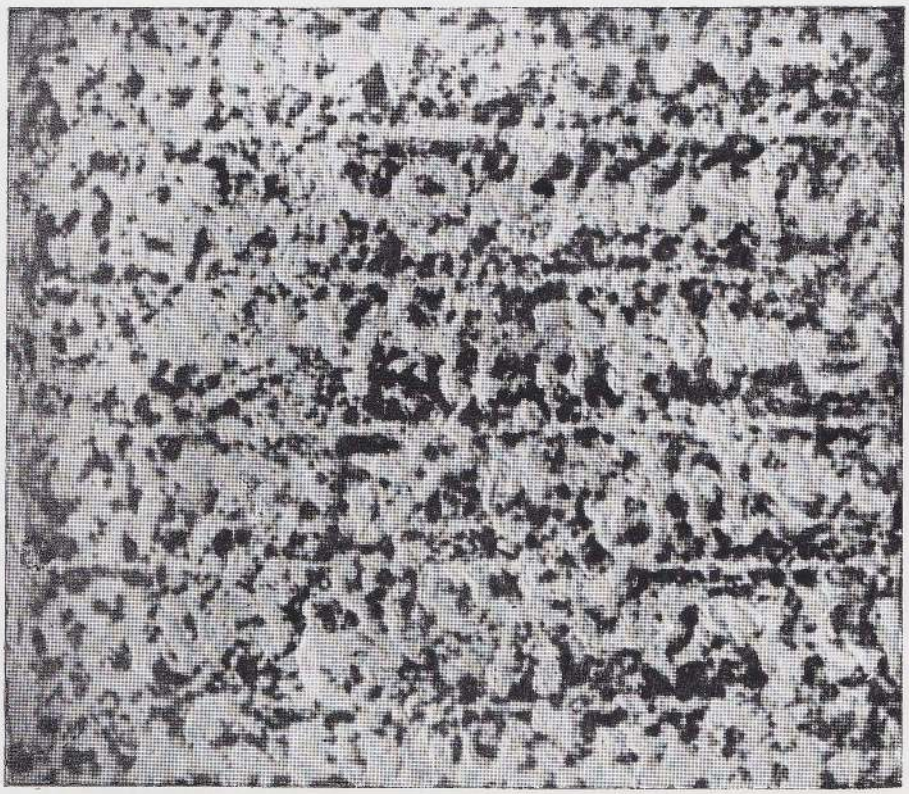

Plate I. Paṅḍuvasnuvara Pillar-inscription of the reign of Udaya II

The writing in this section of the Paṅḍuvasnuvara Pillar-inscription is not all clear and it would in deed be an unrivalled achievement in this field on the part of Paranavitana, if what he claims to have deciphered can be accepted without question. Inspite of all my efforts it has not been possible for me to make out in this inscription any of the words indicating the close relations said to have existed between Sri Lanka and South East Asia, i.e., the words *Samund, Śrī Bodhimaṇḍa, Yavujū, Kaliṅgu, Palamban* and *Suvanvara*.[9] As Paranavitana has pointed out "the weathering that the pillar has undergone and the treatment it has received after it had been utilised for the purpose it now serves, have affected the writing which has also been obscured at places by later writings of a very small size." He has also stated that some parts of the record have been read with difficulty with the aid furnished by the context, and parallel readings in other inscriptions of the period. It is unfortunate that Paranavitana has not indicated either the parts of this record he has read with difficulty or the inscriptions where parallel readings are found. Thus while it is not possible for any one to identify the passage or passages, if any, in other inscriptions which helped Paranavitana to decipher the above passage, as far as the present writer is aware there is no inscription so far published which may have been of assistance to him in deciphering this passage, unless it be one of those interlinear inscriptions which no one but Paranavitana has succeeded in decipering. It must be re-iterated, however, that I have not been able to decipher even one of the names mentioned above, with even a semblance of certainty. The remoteness of the adjectival phrase *Kapugam-bimhi āvū* from the substantive *Nāgala Nāranviṭa* which it qualifies casts a serious doubt about the accuracy of Paranavitana's reading of this section of the record. The use of a double dative in *piyan haṭ Saṅgā-radūn haṭ*, it must be pointed out, is quite unusual and not consistent with Sinhalese usage of the time. On the other hand I have been able to make out without any reason able doubt the words *piyangal veherä* (*bik*)-*naṭ*, in lines 26-27, (See Plate I) where Paranavitana has read the words *piyan haṭ Saṅgā-radun haṭ*. These circumstances throw considerable doubt as to the accuracy of Paranavitana's decipherment of the whole passage, particularly the names of places in South East Asia, and any data originating from this record or any conclusions arrived at on the basis of Paranavitana's decipherment of this record, particularly in regard to relations between Sri Lanka and South East Asia, have to be totally rejected. The occurrence of the name *Palamban* in this inscription as read by Paranavitana appears to be a clear anachronism. The earliest occurrence of this name which can be identified with certainty is to be found in Chau Ju-kua's well-known work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which was written in A.D. 1225.[10] It appears here in the form Pa-lin-fong. Though this name may have originated earlier, it is hardly likely that the place known by this name was so known as early as the latter part of the tenth century, when the Paṅḍuvasnuvara Pillar-Inscription was set up. As late as A.D. 1068, according to Gerini, Palembang

9. *Palamban* and *Suvanvaraya* are names by which Sri Vijaya was known at the time. *Yavajū* and *Kalinga* are both names of the Island of Sumatra and so is *Samund*. For these names see, *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, footnotes 1-4.

10. *Chau Ju-Kua His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries entitled Chu-fan-chi*, edited and translated from Chinese and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, Amsterdam, Oriental Press, 1966, p. 62. I am most grateful to Dr. J. G. de Casparis of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for sending me at my request a note on Palembang.

or Palamban as read by Paranavitana, appears to have been known as Sam-fo-chi or Shih-li-Fo-shih.[11]

According to Paranavitana another reference to Java occurs in the inscription on "Vessagiri" Slab No. 2B found at Anurādhapura.[12] This inscription records the donations made to a monastic building by a person whose name has been read by Paranavitana as *Jā-ambu*, who has been identified by him as the consort of King Mahinda IV. Paranavitana identifies this princess with the princess called Kaliṅgadevī referred to in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. He further states that the epithet *Jā* denotes the Malay people or land, his conclusion being that Kaliṅga-devī was of Malay origin.[13] Such a circumstance, no doubt fits in well with his theories regarding the relations between Sri Lanka and South East Asia. Wickremasinghe who published this record first[14] read as *Vīrambamu* the word which Paranavitana has read as *Jā-ambamu*. The former treated the whole group of words appearing after the word *veherin* up to the end of the line as one single proper name. The first letter of this group appears to be the letter *da* encircled by an oval form the lower segment of which, together with the lower part of the letter that I take to be *da* forms what appears to be the lower part of a letter *ma*. (See Plate II) It is, thus, a letter that defies identification with any certainty. The next letter appears to be the vowel *a* below the main body of which is a sign that can be deciphered as the letter *ra*. Alternatively this complex sign can be read as two letters, namely, *du* and *ra*. The last three letters are certainly *ma-ba-mu*, the first two letters forming the conjunct consonant *mba*, as both Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana have deciphered them. Thus depending on how the letters in this group are conceived by the decipherer, they can be read in several ways as (1) *daru-ambamu*, (2) *daduarambamu*, (3) *madurambamu* and (4) *mara-ambamu*, none of which can be regarded as a satisfactory reading. It is difficult to understand how Wickremasinghe could have read the first letter in the group as *vi*, as there is no sign here which can be regarded as even remotely resembling the character *vi*. His was a pure conjecture, perhaps, influenced by the next letter which can be read as *ra*. As for Paranavitana's reading, *Jā-ambamu*, even if it is conceded that the first letter is *jā*, it is not possible to read this group of letters as *jā-ambamu* because such a reading would ignore the sign which appears beneath the letter which Paranavitana has read as the vowel *a*. There can, therefore, be only speculation regarding the word or words that this group of letters represents and common prudence would forbid any conclusions being made on the basis of this group of letters. The consort of Mahinda IV, therefore, still remains a lady of Indian origin from Kalinga and cannot be regarded as a lady of Javanese origin as Paranavitana attempts to do.[15]

Several words which assume great significance in the context of Paranavitana's views on Sri Lanka—South-East Asia relations are to said be found in the Mädirigiri Slab-inscription of Mahinda VI.[16] The following words

11. G. E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909, footnote on p. 603.
12. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, Plate 6 and p. 27.
13. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, pp. 25-26.
14. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, Plate 10 and p. 38.
15. Paranavitana's attempt to locate Kalinga in South East Asia has not been convincing. See R. A. L. H. Gunawardana's paper referred to above, *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XXV, p. 64.
16. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, Plate 8 and pp. 51-52.

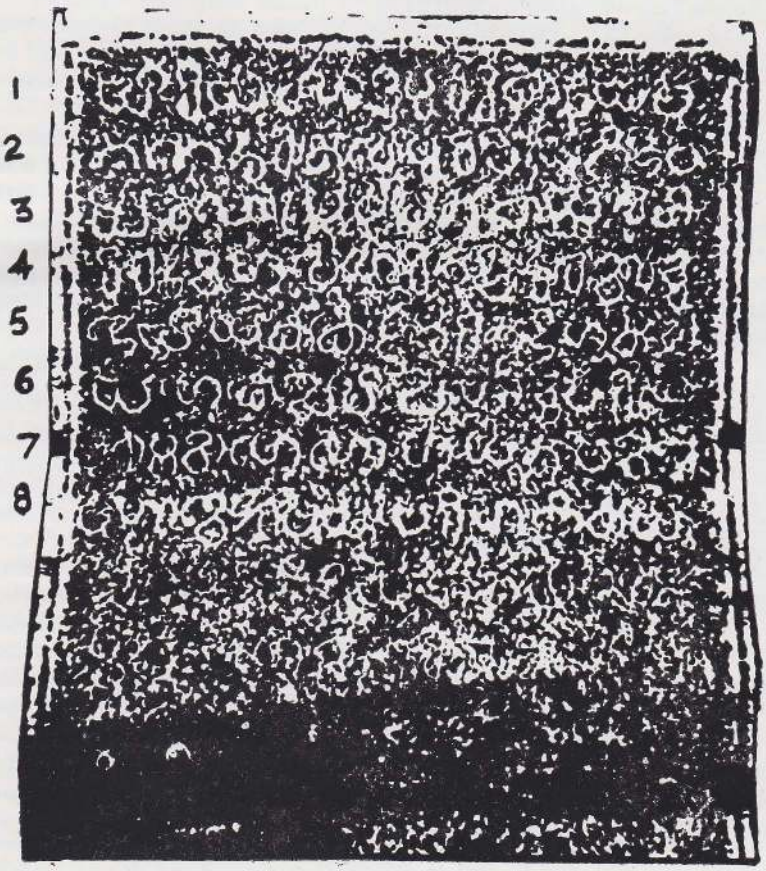

Plate II. Inscription on 'Vessagiri' slab No. 2 B

apper in this inscription as read by Paranavitana: *Malenā*, *l.*4; *Yavakaren*, *l.*4; *Vaha-diva*, *l.*5; *Samara-maha-rajun*, *l.*11; *Sama(ra-radun)*, *l.*26 and *Dāva-raṭ*, *l.*43, Wickremasinghe, who examined two inked estampages of this record when it was discovered in 1907, has stated that they would not admit of a reading good enough for publication.[17] Paranavitana's comments on the estampages supplied to him are as follows: "In spite of all these difficulties, prolonged and concentrated study of excellent estampages prepared by Mr. T. K. Jayasundera has enabled the present writer to read the entire text of this most important document, with doubtful decipherments restricted to only a few places."[18] Thus, as has been stated by both Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana, the inscription is not an easy document to decipher. The latter has, in fact, added that it was by prolonged and concentrated study that he has been able to decipher the inscription.

Of the crucial words listed above the word *Yavakaren* is explained by Paranavitana as the name by which the Malay Peninsula and the island of Sumatra were known.[19] This is said to occur in the phrase *Malenā Agboyā arak sayura Yāvakaren* as deciphered by Paranavitana. Though he appears to have read these words with certainty it has not been possible to make out any of the words *arak*, *sayura* and *Yavakaren*. The sign *k* in the words read by Paranavitana as *arak* appears to me to be more like the letter *ma* with an appendage on the top right-hand corner bending downwards. In the word that Paranavitana has read as *sayura* the letter *ra* is not at all clear. In the word that he has read as *Yavakaren*, which admits of no certain identification, the sign for *ka* has not even a semblance of this letter which can be readily identified in line 16 in the word *kula*. The word *Vaha-diva* cannot be made out at all and so is the name *Sirimevan* which follows it. *Vaha-diva* has been explained by Paranavitana as the region called *Vṛṣa-dvīpa* on the island of Sumatra.[20] The last word in the list is *Samara-maha(rajun)* in line 11 and *Sama(raradun)* in line 26. According to Paranavitana's reading both instances of the name *Samara* appear towards the end of each line, i.e., on the right hand side of the tablet where the writing has been rendered quite illegible unlike the writing on the left-hand side. In both these lines the writing towards the end of the line has been almost completely effaced and no reliance can be placed on anything said to be deciphered in these two lines towards their end. The name *Dāva-raṭ* in line 43 can hardly be made out and can only be regarded as conjectural.[21]

According to this inscription, King Samara, or to give his full name, Samara Vijayottuṅga, drove away the Coḷa invaders who were occupying Sri Lanka at the time. The inscription is also credited with recording that the King Mahinda mentioned there celebrated the 1600th anniversary of the Buddha's *parinirvāna*, besides constructing an enclosing wall around the *vihāra* at Maṇḍalagiri with the aid of mariners who had come from of the Yava coast of the ocean protected by Malenā Agboyā, *Yava* being, according to Paranavitana, the name by which the Malay Peninsula and the island of Sumtara had been known in ancient times.[22]

17. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 26.
18. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 40.
19. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 42.
20. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 47.
21. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 58, f.n.4. Here *Dāva-raṭ* is said to be the name of a kingdom in the north of the Malay Peninsula but in the south of modern Thailand.
22. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, pp. 42-44.

Thus, on the basis of Paranavitana's decipherment, this inscription contains very important information regarding the history of Sri Lanka and its relations with the Kingdom of Sri Vijaya and the Malay Peninsula in the eleventh century, though this information hardly finds any support in the chronicles of Sri Lanka or in the historical records of the Coḷa country and the Kingdom of Śrī Vijaya. Paranavitana, however, says that these items of historical information take their place in a coherent narrative contained in an extract from a historical work called the *Continuation of the Svarṇṇa-pura-vaṃśa* translated into Sanskrit and inscribed as a palimpsest on other writing at the bottom of a slab on which an inscription attributed to Mahinda IV has been engraved.[23] So far no scholar, except Paranavitana, has claimed to have deciphered any of the so-called inter-linear inscriptions on which Paranavitana bases some very far-reaching conclusions, and no consideration, therefore, could be given to any information said to be derived from them.

In this connection it may be mentioned that providing what appears to be conclusive proof of a theory that he had earlier enunciated or of the accuracy of an interpretation of a document he had earlier advanced would seem to have been the consistent practice of Paranavitana in the last ten or fifteen years of his life. Perhaps the best example of this practice is related to the theory he enunciated in 1950 that King Kāśyapa I of Sri Lanka assumed the divinity of God Kuvera when he took up residence on the rock of Sīgiri and that his abode at Sīgiri was constructed in such a way as to resemble Mount Kailāśa, the abode of God Kuvera, in all its aspects.[24] A few years later he published an inscription found at Timbirivāva,[25] which he thought would go a long way to support his theory regarding the divnity of Kāśyapa and the symbolism of Sīgiri as stated by him. In this inscription Paranavitana has read in the first line the name of the donor as *mapurum....ya Kasabala-Alakapaya-maharaja*, but the letter *la* in the name *Kasabala* and the letters *a-la-ka* in the name *Alakapaya* cannot be traced anywhere in the space where these letters should occur. There is, thus, no justification whatsoever for Paranavitana to state that the significance of the title *Alakapaya* is explained by the *Cūlvavaṃsa* when it says that Kāśyapa built on the summit of Sigiri a fine palace worthy to behold like another Ālakamandā and dwelt there like (the god) Kuvera. Paranavitana has taken what he reads as *Alakapaya* to be equivalent to Sanskrit *Alakā-pati*, lord of Alakā. If Paranavitana's reading of this inscription can be accepted without question, this would, indeed, be strong evidence in support of his theory regarding King Kāśyapa's divinity and the symbolism of Sīgiri. To disarm all criticism and clinch his arguments, as it were, in 1972, Paranavitana produced the evidence of the so-called inter-linear inscriptions in *The Story of Sīgiri*,[26] claiming to have read in these records a full account of the assumption of divine powers by King Kāśyapa and the construction of the Sīgiri palace in conformity with the details of Mount Kailāśa as given in the Sanskrit poem *Meghadūta* which he had quoted in support of his theory that Sīgiri was the abode of a God-King.

23. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. VI, p. 43.
24. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Ceylon Branch, New Series, Vol. I, pp. 129-183.
25. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, Plate I and pp. 95-99.
26. S. Paranavitana, *The Story of Sīgiri*, Colombo, 1972. In this book Paranavitana has reproduced the text of some of the so-called inter-linear inscriptions running to 178 pp., confirming some of the theories that he enunciated at different times. His theory regarding Sīgiri being an abode of a God-King is vindicated here in a manner rarely met with in historical investigation.

In a monograph entitled *The God of Adam's Peak* Paranavitana attempted to demonstrate as a matter relevant to his main theme that the name *Piti*, occurring in some early Brāhmi inscriptions as the name, of a king and in the Chronicles as an epithet of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, was synonymous with *Yama*, the name of the god of death.[27]

Strangely enough an inter-linear inscription appearing in *The Story of Sigiri*, mentioned above, refers to this identification of King Vaṭṭagāmanī with Yama, and the relevant passage as translated into English by Paranavitana reads as follows: "King Kāśyapa questioned the Saṁghasthavira (of the Abhayagiri) whether there would be objection from the Saṁgha if had himself proclaimed as Kuvera. The Saṁghasthavira (of the Abhayagiri) replied that there would be no objection from him, but that there would possibly be objection from the Elders of the Mahāvihāra. He further added that as King Vṛttagrāmaṇyabhaya had proclaimed himself as Yama in ancient times, the elders of the Mahāvihāra even now refer to him as a sinner."[28]

Yet again in 1952, in a paper entitled "The Statue near Potgul-Vehera at Polonnaruva, Ceylon," Paranavitana expressed the view that this well-known statue was that of a king and not that of a *ṛṣi* as was believed by some scholars, and that the object the figure held in its hands was the representation of a yoke and not that of a palm-leaf manuscript as was generally believed.[29] A few years later in a discussion of the Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I Paranavitana claimed that what he read as *yahaḷa* in this charter meant either a yoke or a mace, and construed the relevant part of the text of the charter to show that King Vijayabāhu on the occasion of the grant of the charter held a yoke in his hands.[30] This was no doubt valid evidence in support of his view that the statue near the Potgul Vehera at Polonnaruva was that of a king.

In conclusion it may be added that in his discussions on the relations between Sri Lanka and countries in South East Asia, in not one single instance has Paranavitana produced epigraphical evidence, when he did so, in respect of a person or place in South East Asia that can be accepted without question. Whenever he claims to have deciphered the name of a person or place in South East Asia in an inscription, such name will invariably be found either in a inscription in which the relevant portion is so much damaged or otherwise rendered illegible that it cannot be read with an acceptable degree of certainty or in a palimpsest that no one but Paranavitana himself can read.[31]

P. E. E. FERNANDO

27. S. Paranavitana, *The God of Adam's Peak*, 1958, Artibus Asiae Publishers, Anscona, Switzerland, pp. 61-63.

28. S. Paranavitana, *The Story of Sīgiri*, p. 68.

29. S. Paranavitana, The Statue near Potgul-Vehera at Polonnaruva, Ceylon, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XV., pp. 209–217.

30. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V. p. 24, footnote 3. It has been subsequently shown that the word that Paranavitana has read as *yahaḷa* is in fact *vahaḷu*, which gives a completely different sense to the passage. Therefore Paranavitana's view that the statue of the Potgul-vehera at Polonnaruva holds the representation of a yoke is no longer tenable, see, P. E. E. Fernando, A Note on the Panākaḍuva Copper-Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I in *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. I., 1975, pp. 57-59.

31. The earliest record in which Paranavitana claims to have read a reference to a South East Asian country is the Mottayakallu Brahmi Inscription, S. Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Volume I, Plate LII, No. 487. In this record in what Paranavitana reads as *Jhavaka*, the sign he deciphers as *jha* cannot by any means be regarded as such, it being more like the letter *pu*. See also, Senerat Paranavitana, (in Sinhalese) ed. Raṇavīra Guṇavardhana and Jinadāsa Liyanaratna, Colombo, 1972, p. 56.

Some Observations on Negative Forms in Tamil

The origin of negative forms in a language might be as old as the origin of the positive forms in that language. The history of literary Tamil extends over a period of not less than two thousand years and negative forms in Tamil could be traced in the earliest literary works. Grammarians sometimes fail to record important features of the language. The failure of Tolkāppiyaṉār to treat negative forms in *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest among extant Tamil grammars, which even modern linguistics acclaim as excellent in many respects, can be explained only in that way. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār had used a few negative forms in his grammar and though some references in that grammar, point to his awareness of negative formation in Tamil, he had not treated negative forms as such. Medieval Tamil grammars, like Vīracōliyam which makes some bold innovations in grammatical theory and Naṉṉūl which is relatively faithful to the school of *Tolkāppiyam*, have some inadequate references to negative forms, already existing in Tamil literature and inscriptions of their age. Beschi, the well-known Tamil scholar who hailed from Italy, was the first to recognize the importance of negative forms in Tamil. Also known as Vīramāmuṉivar, his talents found expression as a poet, an author, a lexicographer and a grammarian. He treats negatives in Section VII of his work *A Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language* which he published in A.D. 1728.

According to Beschi, negative is a mood. Caldwell (page 468) feels that negative is a voice rather than a mood. Professor T. P. Meenakshisundaram (page 215) corrects Caldwell and supports Beschi in the following words:— "The voice has to do with the relationship between the subject and the verb, the verb and its object or the verb and some other noun whilst mood has to do with the various kinds of the event in relation to desireability, reality, contingency, etc." This paper will be listing a number of observations on negative forms in literary and spoken Tamil. For observations on negative mood in the literary language, the treatment of negatives in *Ilakkaṇaccurukkam* (A Brief-Grammar, pages 119-137) by Ārumuka Nāvalar had been utilised. This remains the best contribution, so far, to the section on negatives by the school of traditional Tamil grammar. For observations on negative forms in the spoken language, Jaffna dialect of Tamil, which is the speech variety of the author of this paper, had been utilised.

Considerable work had already been done on negative forms in Tamil after Ārumuka Nāvalar. Caldwell, a pioneer of Comparative Dravidian Linguistics, was a contemporary of Nāvalar. Through the comparative method, he had shown that the Tamil-Telegu-Canarese negative is altogether destitute of signs of tense. Jules Bloch carried further the work of Caldwell by comparing the negative formations in many Dravidian tribal languages. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri who had the advantage of a better knowledge of Tamil, when compared to Caldwell and Jules Bloch, had dealt with negative formation in six types. Alfred Master had done painstaking and critical work on negatives in Dravidian and had published his findings in his paper on the Zero Negative in Dravidian. Professor V. I. Subrahmaniam's paper on negatives, published

about eighteen years ago, can be considered the latest worthy contribution in this field. He was mainly concerned with new segmentation of Tamil negative forms and his study was mainly based on *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, a classical text.

This paper on negatives in Tamil concentrates on aspects which had received little or no attention from the other scholars. What has been attempted here, is mainly a grammatical study to clarify certain issues and so the most comprehensive exposition in a traditional Tamil grammar was chosen as the starting point. Nāvalar had mentioned three negative particles:— *ā*, *al* and *il*. Through comparative studies, Caldwell came to the conclusion that the negative particle should have been *a* and not *ā*. Before proceeding further, it is only proper to show the difficulty in the proper segmantation of Tamil negative forms. This particle is easily recognisable in third person finite verbs:—

masculine singular	: *naṭa*+(*v*)*aa*+*ṉ*	'not walk-he'.
feminine singular	: *naṭa*+(*v*)*aa*+*ḷ*	'not walk-she'.
epicene plural	: *naṭa*+(*v*)*aa*+*r*	'not walk-they (rational).'
neuter singular	: *naṭa*+(*v*)*aa*+*tu*	'not walk-it'.
neuter plural	: *naṭa*+(*v*)*aa*	'not walk-they (irrational).'

How to isolate person-number-gender (PNG) markers from negative particle, is a problem here. If *aa* (*ā*) occurring in the above forms is taken as negative particle, terminations *ṉ*, *ḷ*, *r* and *tu* can be said to denote masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural and neuter singular respectively. But this approach fails to explain the neuter plural verb as neuter plural termination is not available there. The traditional Tamil grammarian gets over this difficulty by postulating the PNG markers as *aṉ* for masculine singular, *aḷ* for feminine singular, *ar* for rational plural, *atu* for neuter singular and *a* for neuter plural. In *sandhi*, the short *a* in each of the forms gets elided before the preceding long *ā*. If the negative particle is taken as short *a*, elision of the following *a* in each of the PNG markers need not be postulated.

But it should be noted here that neither the long *ā* nor the short *a* is adequate to explain the first person and the second person finite negative forms.

first person singular	: *naṭa*+(*v*)*eeṉ*	'not walk-I.'
first person plural	: *naṭa*+(*v*)*oom*	'not walk-we.'
second person singular	: *naṭa*+(*v*)*aay*	'not walk-you.'
second person plural	: *naṭa*+(*v*)*iir*	'not walk-you (plural).'

Alfred Master was led to formulate his theory on the zeroi morpheme because of these difficulties. But it should be noted here that *ā* was isolated as a negative particle by Tamil grammarians quite early. If *ā* was given up as negative particle, it becomes difficult to segment negative participles like *naṭavaatu*, *naṭavaata* and *naṭavaamai*. Hence, V. I. Subramaniam was led to propose new segmentation for these forms. But it will be sufficient for the purpose of this study to take this particle as *a*/*ā*.

The particle *a*/*ā* can occur only as a suffix. The word suffix answers for *iṭainilai* (that which stands in between) and *vikuti* (that which occurs at the end) in the structure of verbs in Tamil grammar. Alfred Master seems to use

the terms infix for *iṭainilai* and suffix for *vikuti* when he says that *ā* as infix and as suffix is peculiar to Tamil and Malayalam languages only, among the Dravidian languages. If Gleason's definition of infix (page 73) as a morpheme which is inserted into the stem with which it is associated is accepted, then Tamil verbs cannot be said to have infixes. Gleason's definition of suffixes (page 59) as affixes which follow the root with which they are most closely associated can accommodate both the *iṭainilai* and the *vikuti* of Tamil verbs. Whether *a*/*ā* and the other negative particles should be referred to as *iṭainilai* or *vikuti* remained a matter of controversy with the traditional Tamil grammarians. As negative suffix *a*/*ā*, the one most used among these suffixes, displaces tense suffixes which usually form *iṭainilai* in Tamil verb, and as that negative suffix is followed by PNG markers in finite verbs, the designation *iṭainilai* might have appeared appropriate.

In adjectival participles and in gerunds or adverbial participles, parallel forms are found:—

ōṭā kkutirai 'horse which does not run' *ōṭāta kutirai* 'horse which does not run.'

taḷarā naṭantaṉ 'walked without lassitude (he)'/*taḷarātu natantāṉ* 'walked without lassitude (he).'

According to the traditional interpretation, the forms at the beginning (*ōṭā kkutiral* and *taḷarā naṭantāṉ*) are derived from the parallel forms. But the earlier forms are preferred in poetry and in early Tamil literature. V. I. Subramaniam also has noted this fact. The latter parallel forms *ōṭāta kutirai* and *taḷarātu naṭantāṉ* are preferred in prose and in latter Tamil literature. Therefore, it appears quite probable that the truth is the reverse of the traditional interpretation, i.e. *ōṭā kkutirai* and *taḷara naṭantāṉ* should have been the earlier forms when compared to their parallel forms.

Unlike the particle *a*/*ā*, the negative *al* and *il* also occur as bases for some *kuṟippu viṉai* or appellative verbs. The verbs, formed from these bases, do not take tense markers and they are sometimes termed defective verbs. The form *il* can be said to be a contradictory negative while the form *al* can be said to be a contrary negative. This contrary negative denies only the particular thing indicated, i.e., it will mean that the thing indicated is something else. PNG markers are added to both bases:—

allaṉ 'not he'/*ilaṉ* 'he is not'
allaḷ 'not she'/*ilaḷ* 'she is not'
allar 'not they'/*ilar* 'they are not'
alla 'not they (neuter)'/*ila* 'they (neuter) are not'
allāy 'not you'/*ilay* 'you are not'
allīr 'not you'/*ilīr* 'you are not'
allēn 'not me'/*ilēn* 'I am not'
allēm 'not we'/*ilēm* 'we are not.'

Here, PNG markers of masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural, neuter plural, second person singular, second person plural, first person singular and first person plural are respectively added to the two negative bases. It is not possible to explain why the form *al* has almost always its consonant

doubled while the form *il* has almost always its consonant remaining single. Two sets of forms are exceptions to the above pattern though they are formed from the two bases:—

aṉṟu 'not-it'/*iṉṟu* 'it is not'

allaṉa 'not-they/*illaṉa* 'they are not.'

In the first set of forms which are neuter singular, the PNG marker should have been *-tu* and not *-atu*. The second set of forms which are neuter plural, is equivalent to *alla* 'not they'/*ila* 'they are not', but here *illaṉa* is found instead of *ilaṉa*.

The particle *il* can occur in verbs between tense suffix and PNG marker. Examples like *naṭantilaṉ* 'had not walked-he' and *peṟṟilaṉ* 'had not obtained-he' are cited for the past tense forms and *naṭakkiṉṟilaṉ* 'is not walking-he' for the present tense form. As forms like *ilan* exist as independent finite defective verbs, it seems that forms like *natant-u*, *perr-u*, and *natakkinr-u* can be interpreted as independent adverbial participles. The argument that expressions like *naṭant-iilaṉ*, *peṟṟ-ilan* and *naṭakkiṉṟ-ilaṉ* look like one-word expressions cannot be conclusive as it can be replied that the occurrence of regular sandhi forms had so transformed these expressions. Such an explanation for present tense expressions like *naṭakkiṉṟ-ilaṉ* present a problem here as there is no present tense adverbial participle form *naṭakkiṉṟu* in either Classical or Modern Tamil. But historical grammar will solve this difficulty. At one stage in the early Medieval Tamil literature, this pattern of verbal forms seems to have been prevalent. M. Raghava Ayyangar has pointed out to the prevalance of forms like *pāykiṉṟu* and *vīḻkiṉṟu* (*Kaḷaviyal Urai*); *vakukkiṉṟu*, *vāykkiṉṟu*, *arccikkiṉṟu* and *mēykkiṉṟu* (*Tiruvāymoḻi*); *kaṭākiṉṟu* and *ulākinru* (*Tiruviruttam*); *mūkkiṉṟu* (*Periyatirumaṭal*); and *ēkiṉṟu* (*Kailaipāti Kāḷatti pāti antāti*).[1] Therefore, the past and the present negative expressions formed with il can be explained as composite negative expressions in which negative defective verbs follow adverbial participles. Regarding the controversy over nomenclature between *iṭainilai* and *vikuti*, it should have been considered by some scholars as *vikuti* because it occurs after tense marker and by some scholars as *iṭainilai* because it occurs before PNG marker.

1. M. Raghavaiyangar has actually cited more forms:—*aḻukiṉṟu*, *celkiṉṟu*, *pirikiṉṟu* (*Kalaviyal Urai*): *naṉṉukiṉṟu* (*Perunkatai*) and *kuṟaikkiṉṟu* (*Cuntaramūrtti Nāyaṉār*). The form in Perunkatai could not be traced as he had not given the exact reference in that voluminous work. The form cited from *Cuntaramūrtti Nāyanār* could be a mistake as it could not be traced. As for his forms in *Kaḷaviyal Urai*, Raghavaiyangar himself says in his article that he collected all these forms from the first edition of *Kaḷaviyal Urai* by C. V. Damodarampillai, the pioneer Sri Lanka editor of Tamil classical works and that in the later editions of the same work, many of these forms were 'corrected' as those editors felt that these forms must have been scribal errors. It should be noted here that Raghava Ayyangar's article appeared first in print in 1937.

   Details of exact references for forms cited in the paper:—

   pāykiṉṟu (p. 60), *vīḻkiṉṟu* (p. 60) in *Kaḷaviyal Urai* or *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ*, Kaḻakam, Publication, First edition, Madras, 1953.

   vakukkiṉṟu (p. 482), *vāykkiṉṟu* (p. 541), *arccikkiṉṟu* (p. 629), *mēykkiṉṟu* (p. 631), *kaṭākiṉṟu* (p. 434), *ulākiṉṟu* (p. 435) and *mūkkiṉṟu* (p. 470) in *Nālāyira Divyaprabandham*, Mayilai Madhavadasan edition, Madras, 1950, *ēkiṉṟu* (p. 82) in *Patiṉorāṉ tirumuṟai*, Ārumuka Nāvalar edition, Fourth edition, Madras, 1951.

   The author of this paper noted two additional forms in *Kaḷaviyal Ural*:—*takkiṉṟu* (pp. 37, 50) and *nikḻakiṉṟu* (p. 117).

   These forms appear to mark an important feature of the then Tamil dialect of Pandya kingdom as the references cited above except for *Periyatirumaṭal* are found in works composed in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Tirumaṅkai Aḻvār, the author of *Periyatirumaṭal*, also spent the last phase of his life there.

The particle *il* and *al* occur in verbs as *naṭakkalaṉ* and *naṭakkalaṉ*. The *-kk-* occurring in the middle part of these verbs represents *cāriyai* or inflexional increment *ku*. According to Āṟumuka Nāvalar, these verbs denote the future. Forms like these with the increment *ku*, occur in early Tamil literature where only past/non-past tense differences were clearly marked. In usage, these forms seem to denote more of the present tense than of the future tense.

The particle *a/ā* and al occur in *terinilaiviṉai* forms which have no tense suffix, i.e., *naṭavāṉ* 'will not walk(he)' and *uṇṇalaṉ* 'will not eat(he).' The particle *al*, following the verbal base, generates other verbal forms. For example, second person imperative negative plural forms are *naṭavaṉmiṉ* 'don't walk (you. pl.)' and *ceyyaṉmiṉ* 'don't do (you.pl.).' Also negative optative forms are *maṟavaṟka* 'may (you) not forget' and *uṇṇaṟka* 'may (you) not eat.' In the optative example, *akaṉeṉal* 'may (you) not call (him) man,' the negative particle *al* is followed by zero optative marker but optative significance is provided by the context. In the optative example *mariyatorāl*, 'may (you) not leave out those which are close,' the vowel *a* of *al* had been elongated probably as a compensation for the lack of any specific optative marker.

There are a number of composite negative verbs which are formed by negative appellative verbs following positive finite verbs. The negative appellative verbs are formed from both *al* and *il*. But there is a difference in the formation of the negative appellative verbs used in the context. The negative appellative verbs formed from *al* always have the required PNG markers:— *uṇṭān-allaṉ*, literally 'he ate-not he;' *uṇṭēṉ-allēṉ* 'I ate-not me;' *uṇṭāy-allai*, 'you ate-not you,' etc. The negative appellative verb formed from *il* has only one form *illai*. The form *illai* might be related in origin to *ila*, negative plural form. But the verb *illai* occurs with all persons, genders and numbers as *vantāṉ-illai*, literally 'he came-not', *vantēṉ-llai*, 'I came not' and *vantāy-illai* 'you came-not,' etc.

There are a number of negative adverbial participles, corresponding to different positive adverbial participles. The form *ceyyātu* 'having not done' is said to be the negative of *ceytu*, *ceypu*, *ceyyā*, and *ceyyū*. Nāvalar should have stated so as Naṉṉūlār had earlier classified all the above patterns of positive adverbial participles as belonging to the past tense. So, it could be said that *ceyyātu* is the negative of *ceytu* 'having done' the pattern of past adverbial participle in Modern Tamil. The negative adverbial patterns *ceykalātu* 'without doing' and *ceykilātu* 'without doing' are also used as negative counterparts of the same positive adverbial participles mentioned above. The negative adverbial participles like *ceyyāmai ceyyāmaikku*, *ceyyāmē*, and *ceyyāmal* are the negative forms for positive adverbial participles like *ceyaṟku*, *ceyyiya* and *ceyyiyar*. The last three forms can be termed purposive participles. Naṉṉūlār had classified these forms as belonging to the future tense. Therefore, the negative adverbial participles, indicated just above, should have also future significance. The verb *ceyyāmai* is identical with negative verbal noun *ceyyāmai* 'not doing.' The forms *ceyyāmaikku* and *ceyyāmē* are clearly its variations. Applying this analogy to the negative participial form *ceyyātu*, this form also can be considered a negative verbal noun, the modern equivalent of which is *ceyyātatu*. It should be noted here that *ceyyātu/ceyyātatu* is very similar to *ōtā kkutirai/oṭāta kutirai*, which had already been discussed. The form *ceyyāmal* is said to be negative of the positive adverbial participle *ceya* both in its present tense and future tense usages. Along with *-mai* and *-tu*, *-al* is also a termination of verbal nouns. Probably this is a double verbal noun form. Therefore, in

these instances, it can be stated that negative verbal nouns become negative adverbial participles in contexts in which they modify verbs.

There is a peculiarity in the formation of the appellative adjective participle. The negative adverbial participial form *ceyyātu* becomes the negative adjectivial participial form *ceyyāta* by the addition of the adjectival participial marker *-ā*. It is worth noting here that the negative verbal noun *ceyyātu* becomes *ceyyātē*, negative imperative second person singular by the addition of second person imperative singular suffix *-ē*. The negative adverbial participle forms *ceykalātu* and *ceykilātu* become *ceykalāta* and *ceykilāta* by the addition of the suffix *-ā*. There are also negative adjectival participles. These forms, both in their adverbial and adjectival usage, are double negatives in form as *al* and *ā* are found in the earlier form and *il* and *a* are found in the latter form. As Jesperson has pointed out (page 331) unlike in Mathematics, two negatives in language do not cancel each other and provide positive significance. The effort in pronouncing two negatives probably softens the negative force of these expressions, compared to the negative form *ceyyāta*. Another thing to note here is that adverbial participle forms like *ceyyātu*, *ceykalātu* and *ceykilātu* are referred to as the negative counterparts of past positive adverbial participles but adjectival participle forms like *ceyyāta*, *ceykalāta* and *ceykilāta*, derived from the above negative participial forms, are referred to as common to all tense forms. The negative adjective appellative participles like *allāta* and *illāta* are formed on the same pattern as *ceykalāta* and *ceykilāta*.

Of the terminations of negative adverbial participle forms, the termination *-ri* is peculiar. The forms *aṉṟi* and *iṉṟi* occur in examples like *aṟam aṉṟi cceytāṉ* 'He did (things) other than virtuous' and *aruḷ iṉṟi cceytaṉ* 'He did without grace.' According to the traditional grammarians, *aṉṟi* and *iṉṟi* have become *aṉṟu* and *iṉṟu* in poetry. It should be remembered here that forms *aṉṟu* and *iṉṟu* occur as neuter singular appellative finite verbs. The suffix *i* is a past tense marker and well known termination of some past adverbial participles like *ōṭi* 'having run' and *āṟi* 'having been cooled'. The forms *aṉṟi* and *iṉṟi* can only be analysed as *aṉṟu -i* and *inru -i*. If *i* is taken as termination of adverbial participle, it becomes difficult to explain the structure of forms like *aṉru* and *iṉṟu*. In this context, they cannot be explained as neuter singular finite verbs. These forms have to be segmented as *aṉ-ṟu* (*al-tu*) and *iṉ-ṟu* (*il-tu*). So, *-i* should have been a later addition in false analogy. Here too, the truth must have been the reverse of the view of traditional grammarians, i.e. *aṉṟu* and *iṉṟu*, preserved in early Tamil literature should have been the earlier forms from which *aṉṟi* and *iṉṟṟ* have been derived later.

As for negative forms in Jaffna dialect of Sri Lanka Tamil, these do not differ much from those in spoken Tamil in South India. There are differences in phonological realisations between Sri Lanka Tamil and South Indian Tamil but they are not considered here. The present writer will make a few observations on the treatment of negatives in *A Generative Grammar of Tamil* by Dr. S. Agesthialingam and in *Reader for Advanced spoken Tamil*, Part II, Grammar and Glossary by Harold Schiffman.

According to Dr. Agesthialingam, forms like ceyya *māṭṭāṉ*, 'will not do (he),' indicate future and denote habituality also. In Jaffna dialect, in addition this form indicates incapability also. For example, *avan pās paṇṇa māṭṭāṉ* 'He is incapable of passing;' *eli viṭṭukkuḷḷay vara māṭṭutu* 'The rat is incapable of entering the house.'

According to Harold Schiffman, "In the case of the verb *iru* 'be, stay and reside,' the negative is simply *ille*. The form involving the infinitive, i.e., *irukkalle* is found only when *iru* is suffixed to another verb, i.e., as an aspect marker." The form involving the infinitive, which in Jaffna Tamil is *irukkellay*, is used without being suffixed to another verb. For example, *nān uṉṟai viṭṭukku viraikkay nī irukkēllay* 'When I came to your house, you were not there'. Schiffman himself had given an example in his book for this type of construction *eṉakku paṇam irrukkalle* 'I have no money' but apparently *iru* in that context had some meaning other than 'be, stay, reside', according to him.

Schiffman also says 'There is in the modern language an archaic tenseless negative which is a remnant from old Tamil where PNG markers are added directly to the stem with no tense marker intervening. This form is preserved mainly in certain idiomatic expressions.' In Jaffna Tamil, expressions like *avaṉ varāṉ* 'he will not come' and *aval pōkāḷ* 'she will not go' are quite common in usage.

Jaffna dialect of Tamil has a negative form which is not in use in South India. The form *kāṇātu* 'not enough' is the counterpart of the positive *kāṇum* 'enough'. For example, *ilayilai pōṭṭa cōṟu kāṇum*; *kaṟi kāṇātu* 'Rice served on the leaf is enough; curry is not enough'; *kūṭṭattukku ākkaḷ kāṇātu* (There are) not enough people for the meeting'.

A. VELUPPILLAI

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South East Asia from Depression to Re-occupation, 1925-45

The economic and social history of South East Asia during these two decades is of more than merely passing or academic interest. Events and developments in the area during that period shaped the post-war world to a significant—if not decisive—degree. By 1945, contradictions among the various imperialist powers with interests in the region had been—for the time being at least—resolved, with the emergence of unchallengeable American hegemony. At the same time, the fundamental contradiction—that between imperialism and the peoples of the region—had surfaced, and the process of resolution of *this* contradiction has occupied the South East Asian stage ever since, from time to time by its scale, global significance, and drama dominating the world stage, too.

The significance of my starting point is two-fold. In the first place, by 1925 indications were not wanting that the post-war boom would not last for ever. In the second place, the inadequate reflection in mass living standards of the boom—the contrast between plantation and mining company prosperity and worker poverty—had accelerated development of social and national movements which prefigured the shape of things to come.

"The year 1925," writes Kindleberger, [1] "generally marks the transition from postwar recovery to the brief and limited boom which preceded the depression." The boom, he goes on to point out, was "..neither general, uninterrupted nor extensive .. (and) .. it contained increasing signs of tension: in the accumulation of inventories of primary products.." [2] In fact, world agricultural stockpiles increased by about 75% between the end of 1925 and the third quarter of 1929, while the index of world agricultural prices, based on 1923-5 as 100, declined to a level of about 70 over the same period. [3]

South East Asia, as a region which contributed a disproportionate share to world trade in primary products, was quick to feel the wind. The prices of three of the regional staples broke long before 1929 and the great American crash, sugar and tin in 1926, and rubber on suspension by the British of the Stevenson Restriction Scheme in 1928. The index of Netherlands East Indies imports and exports by value (1925—100) had already by 1929 fallen to 88 and 46 respectively, though it was, of course, to fall considerably further after the US crash (indeed, to 51 and 18 in 1932). [4] Rice prices were also affected: having reached a peak in 1926, they thereafter slumped, though not as drastically as they were to do after 1929. [5] As a result, the peasant producer had to sell a greater proportion of his harvest in order to maintain his money income, but this led to a significant deterioration in dietary standards. [6]

1. C. P. Kindlegerger: *The World in Depression*, 1929-1939, Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, London, 1973, p. 31.
2. Ibid, p. 58.
3. Ibid, p. 86.
4. J. S. Furnivall: *Netherlands India*, B. M. Israel BV, Amsterdam, 1976, p. 429.
5. See V. D. Wickizer & M. K. Bennett: *The Rice Economy of Monsoon Asia*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1941, pp. 137 et seq.
6. Ibid, pp. 188 et seq.

Now while it is true that a limited number of well-situated local smallholders succeeded in making money and improving their own condition as a result of bouyant primary product prices in the 1920's—particularly in the 1921-6 semi-decade—wherever we look for evidence about *general* local living standards we find unarguable indications that the mass of the peoples of South East Asia derived little, if any, benefit from the boom founded upon their labour and their natural resources. Even in the case of smallholders, their joy was short-lived—one thinks of Indonesian smallholders during the sway of the Stevenson rubber scheme in particular in this context—because, as commodity control schemes became general and more and more rigourously enforced it was the smallholder who was designated by the European masters as the obvious sacrifice to placate economic forces rampaging and raging out of control world-wide. Some of the consequent injustices have been trenchantly recorded [7].

The first world war and its aftermath in the brief but sharp post-war slump of 1920-21 lie outside the scope of this paper but it is worth noting that both gave a decided impetus to the development of left nationalist forces in South East Asia, most marked perhaps in Indonesia (where Sarekat Islam had become a genuinely nation-wide mass movement by the early 1920's), but noticeable throughout the region—even in such an apparently placid backwater as Malaya (where, in 1919, a "..society with advanced Bolshevist views.." was discovered [8]). To be brief, there were a number of conceptually distinguishable developments taking place, all of which were to come ultimately together—uneasily and temporarily in some cases (those in which neo-colonialism swiftly replaced colonialism), harmoniously and permanently in others (those in which social revolution acompanied achievement of independence): universal peasant unrest at loss of land, growing indebtedness, penal taxation, and the like (erupting fitfully throughout the whole region over the entire colonial period); increasingly determined efforts at labour organisation aimed at breaching and replacing the "traditional" semi-subsistence wage policy; and numerous and highly diverse political initiatives on the part of the intelligentsia, middle and lower-middle classes, religious leaders and teachers, and even the patriotic aristocracy with the object of terminating the humiliation of alien occupation and control.

By 1925 it was clear that the colonial authorities were faced with a situation the explosive potential of which, while of course unwelcome, came as less a surprise to them than it does to us, cushioned from harsh realities familiar to them by a generation of scholarly myopia and apologetics. Following the strike wave of 1925 in Indonesia, for instance, came the PKI risings of 1926-27 in which, according to Batavia, "..the conspirators (*sic*) were able to reckon on at least the connivance of a large part of the native population." [9] 1925 witnessed the formation of the first revolutionary General Labour Union (GLU) in Singapore. In the same year there was a peasant rising in Cambodia which ".. spread like wildfire. Within hours, large groups of men, many of them armed, were moving about the countryside..." [10]

7. For the rubber smallholder's grievances see P. T. Bauer: *The Rubber Industry*, Longmans, Green, London, 1948.
8. M. R. Stenson: *Industrial Conflict in Malaya*, OUP, London, 1970, p. 8.
9. J. S. Furnivall: op. cit., p. 253.
10. M. Caldwell & Lek Tan: *Cambodia in the Southeast Asian War*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1973, p. 28.

As the 1920's drew to a close and the 1930's were ushered in by even more bitter economic tempests, the colonial administrations in South East Asia found themselves confronted with a rapidly deteriorating "security" situation. In Indochina the French, faced with violent nationalist and communist risings, reacted with a ferocity and barbarity which, in effect, signed their own death warrants. Peasant revolt in the Philippines (notably the Sakdalista uprising), in Burma (the Saya San revolt), and intermittantly everywhere; labour unrest exploding in great waves of strikes, suppressed with savage violence (discreetly described in one source—referring to Malaya—as "..vigorous and sustained police and military action;" [11] and alienation even of the European-educated elites, sections of which began actively making overtures to the Japanese as marginally preferable to the sitting colonial tenants: [12] all these manifestations of extreme discontent with the imperialist *status quo* were signals lacking any comforting message as far as London, Paris, The Hague, and Washington were concerned.

All these things are well known, and perhaps require no further elaboration here. But there are a number of interesting points which we should not skip. To the intelligent and well-informed policy-maker in the imperialist capital cities the disturbing implications of the trend of events in South East Asia were not lost. The question was—given that South East Asia was of crucial economic and strategic importance to the West in general and the several colonial powers in particular—what was to be done to turn the challenge? It is intriguing to see the diversity of responses, but circumstances were to engulf all national initiatives in a conflagration which ultimately fused all minor imperialisms into the only structure capable of matching—for a time—performance to desire and promise: US imperialist hegemony.

Yet in the diversity of tentative responses we can discern a pattern which in time was to assume very great significance. On the one hand were the neanderthal colonialists—Holland and France—whose instinctive primitive reaction to any stirrings among the "natives" was to reach for the club and the whip. The notorious French penal (and death) camp on Poulo Condore had its barbaric counterpart in Holland's tropical hell-hole at Boven Digul on West New Guinea. There is no complete record of the millions who suffered death, maiming and/or imprisonment for their political beliefs at the hands of these lights of Western "civilization." In South East Asia both had been extinguished by 1954.

On the other hand were the Anglo-Saxons whose tactical and strategic responses were more subtle—and, as events were soon to prove, successful. We can see throughout the 1930's, and more clearly in the deliberations of the Malayan Planning Unit during the Second World War, the Colonial Office and British industry striving to find an alternative course for Malaya—that most important of all Britain's colonial possessions—to that stubbornly clung to by the colonialist "old guard" representing plantation and mining interests on the spot. But it was only after nearly a decade of ferocious repression of the Malayan national and social revolution in the so-called "Emergency" that

11. J. N. Parmer: "Chinese Estate Workers' Strikes in Malaya in March 1937", in C. D. Cowan (ed.): *The Economic Development of South-East Asia*, Allen & Unwin, 1964, p. 169.

12. For an excellent discussion of this see J. M. Pluvier: *South-East Asia from Colonialism to Independence*, OUP, London, 1974.

the U.K. found its way to an acceptable alternative power base in Malayan society: the English-educated Malay middle-classes and bureaucrats, bolstered by Chinese big business. Thus the continuation of British economic hegemony was guaranteed beyond "independence" (1957)—at least until Malaya began "changing masters" and moving into the American orbit in the 1970's. [13] In Burma, although on the face of it Britain had started making concessions to, and accommodating to, the local desire for self-rule much earlier, her designs were, for a variety of reasons, frustrated—not least by the hypocrisy and cynicism of British business interests in the colony but in the end more decisively by the militancy of the nationalist movement and to some extent by the "India connection."[14]

The most instructive case, for obvious reasons—for American policy here was to influence Washington's general thinking on the establishment and maintenance of neo-colonial socio-economic structures generally—was that of the Philippines. The story is, in its details, a complicated one [15], but the outcome was profoundly satisfactory for American economic interests and politico-strategic objectives in South East Asia for, until it began crumbling in Indochina in the early 1970's, US hegemony had extended in the post-war period over virtually the whole of the region (and Washington had sought to reduce to rubble the awkward exceptions—the DRV and the liberated areas of Laos).

But we must backtrack in order to establish exactly what was at stake in the contest for footholds in South East Asia. It is of course true that South East Asia had always been an attractive region in terms of its wealth of resources and its exceptional importance in international communications. But the 20th century saw a number of developments which raised its significance onto a different plane. These may be put epigrammatically as the internal combustion engine, Japanese industrialisation, and the US bid for world empire. The first greatly heightened the importance of the region's resources—notably rubber and oil. The second made South East Asia essential, economically, to Japan. And the third made it imperative for Washington to resolve the contradictions in the region.

13. A good starting point for an understanding of American interest in Malaya is the recently de-classified report by Samuel P. Hayes: "The Beginning of American Aid to S. E. Asia—The Griffin Mission of 1950," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1950; more recently, a four-man American team conducted a survey, pressed upon the Malaysian government by the U.S. in the wake of the 1969 race riots in Kuala Lumpur, reporting in confidence to the Malaysian government in 1970 in a 40-page study entitled "Social Science Research for National Unity." Among the team responsible for the latter document was Prof. Samuel P. Huntington, notorious theorists of "enforced urbanisation" in South Vietnam during the American occupation. Since this report, it is noticeable that great difficulties have been put in the way of scholars wishing to visit and study in Malaysia—except for a handful of "trusted" (possibly CIA) American scholars. All chief advisory posts to the Kuala Lumpur government are now in American hands. See also R. Witton: "Malaysia—Changing Masters," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1972.

14. For a useful bibliography of the period in question see D. J. Steinberg et al. (eds.): *In Search of Southeast Asia*, Pall Mall Press, London, 1971, pp. 486-7.

15. The following articles, in the issues of the *Journal of Contemporary Asia* indicated, form a useful approach—basically from a Filipino viewpoint:
E. San Juan Jnr.: "Reactionary Ideology in Philippine Culture", Vol. 3, no. 4, 1973;
J. Fast & Francisco: "Philippine Historiography and the De-Mystification of Imperialism", Vol. 4, no. 3, 1974;
D. Boone Schirmer: "The Philippines—Conception and Gestation of a Neo-Colony", Vol. 5, no. 1, 1975;
Renato Constantino: "Identity and Consciousness—The Philippine Experience", Vol. 6, nos. 1 & 2.

The first world war, coming right on the heels of Ford's introduction of the moving belt technique of vehicle manufacture, gave a tremendous impetus to motorcar, omnibus and truck production. In the result, annual output of vehicles in the USA rose tenfold from 1914 to 1929 while registrations rose more than twentyfold. Calls on the world's petroleum and rubber rose accordingly, and if South East Asia was as yet an insignificant quantity in the first (accounting for some 3% of world output in 1921), it was responsible (with Ceylon—a British colony) for all but a negligible part of all the cultivated rubber entering world trade—the United States taking about two-thirds in 1921. But even in the oil stakes, South East Asia's *potential* was early recognised and US companies fought vigorously and ruthlessly, with Washington's backing, for a share in existing exploitation and in prospecting. This, despite British resistance in Burma and Dutch resistance in Indonesia, they were able eventually to win for a number of reasons, of which US supremacy in petroleum technology was one. [16]

With rubber and tin it was rather a different matter, and American frustration in the face of what Washington regarded as Anglo-Dutch cartels in these industrially crucial commodities played no small part in forming the general climate in which the US ruling class approached the problem of shaping and securing a more acceptable politico-economic dispensation on the Pacific Rim. (The United States—indeed North America as a whole—had no indigenous tin deposits, but North American industry consumed far and away the major part of the metal produced in the world, and some two-thirds of that habitually came from Malaya and Indonesia alone, with a much greater part of total output effectively under Anglo-Dutch control.) The trouble began shortly after the first world war, when both key commodities became subject to control measures: rubber to the Stevenson restriction scheme in 1922, and tin to the Bandung Pool in 1921.

But matters really came to a head with the onset of depression in the 1930's. The details of the tin and rubber schemes are well known and well documented and need not therefore detain us here [17]. What is of interest is the American political response, and its far-reaching implications. Secretary of State (later President) Hoover stumped the States in the mid-1920's to protest at high tin and rubber prices, which he attributed to Anglo-Dutch machinations. In a characteristic speech, he said: "Foreign control of price and distribution of our (*sic*) raw materials is a question of great moment to the United States..The question is one of great gravity not only to ourselves but to the world as a whole. The issue is much broader than the price of a particular commodity....it involves the whole policy that our country shall pursue toward a comparatively new and growing menace in international good will. The world has often enough seen attempts to set up private monopolies, but it is not until recent years that we have seen governments revise a long-forgotten relic of medievalism and of war-time expediency by deliberately erecting control of trade in raw materials..and through these controls arbitrarily fixing prices to all the hundreds of millions of other people in the world. It is this

16. British and Dutch oil company managers and engineers had no option but to turn to the United States for specialist and advanced equipment and expertise, a dependence that could be, and was, used as a lever to extract concessions; see F. C. Gerretson: *History of the Royal Dutch*, four vols., 1953-57, second ed. 1958.

17. Standard works include, for rubber, P. T. Bauer: *op. cit.*, and, for tin, Yip Yat Hoong: *The Development of the Tin Mining Industry of Malaya*, OUP, Singapore, 1969.

intrusion of government into trading operations on a vast scale that raises a host of new dangers—These questions concern not only our own welfare but also the welfare of consumers in fifty or more nations."[18]

Worse, from the American point of view, was to come with the stricter and more inclusive schemes of the 1930's. Cordell Hull, reflecting the interests of the United States business community, took a particularly strong stand on the schemes, arguing that American industry was being "held to ransom," and that "raw material supplies must be available to all nations without discrimination." He had a memorandum circulated to the 1933 London Economic Conference calling for raw material policies "equitable to the consuming countries." In his resentment at what he regarded as primarily British Empire interference with American interests Secretary Hull undoubtedly spoke for US industry. In 1934-35 the House of Representatives undertook an elaborate investigation designed to establish the extent to which the United States could become independent of the British for vital tin supplies. One problem was that Britain had a near-monopoly of smelting, and when America proposed setting up a rival smelting concern in the States, London swiftly retaliated by the threat of organising a withholding of ore. It was acts such as this that helped heat Hull's ire. The significance of Hull is that, in the last stretch of his record tenure of office as Secretary of State, he was responsible, during the second world war, for the formulation of US post-war foreign economic policy goals. [19]

The emergence of Japan as a major economic force in South East Asia was another de-stabilising factor inter-war. Between 1914 and 1918, whilst the European colonial powers were engrossed with warfare in the West, both Japan and America made decisive inroads into traditionally European-dominated markets in South East Asia. Japan was the more successful in this respect, its products being cheap, while of good quality, and its marketing aggressive and well pitched and attuned to local needs. By 1934, nearly a third of value of Indonesia's imports came from Japan, compared with less than 2% before the first world war. The picture was similar elsewhere in colonial Asia. Naturally, the colonial powers retaliated with a series of measures in the 1930's designed to preserve to themselves these markets which it was in their political power to regulate. For Japan this was no small matter. Indeed it was a matter of life and death, economically. The continued expansion and development of Japanese capitalism demanded expanding markets *and* access to the host of raw materials which were lacking in Japan itself. South East Asia answered both desiderata perfectly. Neither the European powers nor the US could compete with Japanese goods in a free trade South East Asia, and the region

18. Cited in J. W. Gould: *Americans in Sumatra*, The Hague, 1961, p. 98.
19. See Gabriel Kolko: *The Politics of War*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1969.

had most of the things Japan's industry needed.[20] As the colonial powers closed their economic portals, however, and then started interfering with the flow of raw materials to Japan, Tokyo was left with no option but to go to war.[21]

It should be added that the United States, too, fell victim to the new protectionism employed by the old colonial powers. The American share of international trade fell precipitately after 1929, and although undoubtedly the general shrinkage in world trade could be held in part responsible, in part this contraction of the US stake was a direct consequence of, and was seen in Washington as being a direct consequence of, measures—such as Britain's system of Imperial Preference—taken by the old colonial powers to guard their own interests. There was a real fear, which again dominated American thinking about the shape of the post-war world economy during the war, that unless all such impediments were swept away America would be shut out of the world markets upon which her economy increasingly depended.[22]

South East Asia as such was by no means unimportant to the United States —on the contrary. In 1939 and 1940 a fifth of all US imports came from Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines alone. Almost all American imports of rubber, tin and cinchona (for quinine) came from South East Asia, and the bulk of her abaca from the Philippines. After France, America was the second biggest importer of Indochinese exports. In 1940, Stanley K. Hornbeck, the State Department's influential political Adviser for Far Eastern Affairs in the crucial years of decision just before and during the Second World War, emphasised the significance of South East Asia in these words: "Only on the lands west of the Pacific, and especially on southeastern Asia, is our dependence so vital and so complete that our very existence as a great industrial power, and perhaps even as an independent state, is threatened if the sources (of raw materials) should be cut off."[23]

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20. The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, announced in 1938 but owing much to the earlier ideal of a New Order in Asia, was based upon a clear recognition of the complementarity of Japan and South East Asia, which the following table helps to illustrate:

	Japan's raw material needs (annual, '000 metric tons)	South East Asia's exports (annual, '000 metric tons)
Rice	1,757	6,005
Sugar	970	1,907
Rubber	61	1,054
Abaca	58	165
Coal	6,849	1,803
Petroleum	4,369	7,537
Iron and Steel	4,284	2,496
Manganese	133	87
Bauxite	221	298
Tin	9	125

(*Source*: the 1965 edition of the *Oxford Economic Atlas of the World*, citing immediately, pre-war figures).

21. For recent works throwing light on this see: J. Toland: *The Rising Sun*, Cassell & Co., London, 1970; D. Bergamini: *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy*, Heinemanns, London, 1971; J. Halliday: *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, Pantheon, New York, 1975.

22. See Gabriel Kolko: op cit., and the same author's *The Roots of American Foreign Policy*, Beacon Books, Boston, 1969.

23. Cited in Jonathan Marshall: "Pearl Harbour," *Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram*, Vol. V, no. 3, March-April, 1974.

As Jonathan Marshall has shown, the Japanese incorporation of huge tracts of China was of comparatively little concern to the American business community, however much it agitated other—for instance Church—interests.[24] Rather than antagonise the Japanese, with whom there were increasing, and increasingly important, economic links, US industry was prepared, in effect, to condone Japan's imperialist forays into China, with which, despite a century of high expectations, comparatively meagre economic returns accrued. But, as soon as Japan began encroaching upon Indochina, gateway to South East Asia, the American business community became instantly alert. South East Asia was a very different proposition from China, and when Japan moved into Cochin China (southern Vietnam) in July-August, 1941, war became inevitable.

It should be noted that the economic potential of South East Asia, and therefore its importance to Washington (and Tokyo) was greatly enhanced just prior to the outbreak of hostilities by striking confirmation of the oil wealth of Indonesia. Caltex geological and geophysical exploration in Sumatra had found, in the Minas field, "...one of the world's greatest known reservoirs of oil and the only 'super-giant' field found in East Asia."[25] Before it could be brought into production it had to be abandoned when Japan launched her invasion thrust into Indonesia. The Japanese, however, did succeed in extracting oil, using equipment left behind by the Americans. (Delayed by the Indonesian struggle for Independence—substantially helped by the USA[26]—production under American auspices did not resume until 1952; it was Sukarno's later threat to the interests of Caltex and Stanvac in Indonesia that sealed his fate.[27])

Paradoxically, Japanese and American aims in South East Asia were not totally incompatible: on the contrary, what was at issue was on which country's initiative would the carve-up take place. Both ruling groups agreed on the need to eliminate European colonial rule; they also shared the view that South East Asia's principal economic role must continue to be the supply of primary commodities and absorption of the exports (including the capital) of developed industrial powers. If Tokyo's gamble—of occupying the region, hoping for a peaceful definition of spheres of influence with Washington, on expectation in turn based upon the premise that Hitler would win the European-North African war—had succeeded, Japan would have been in a position to market

24. See Jonathan Marshall: op cit., and the same author's "Southeast Asia and US-Japan Relations, 1940-41," *Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram*, Vol. IV, no 3, March-April, 1973.

25. R. H. Hopper: "The Discovery of Indonesia's Minas Oilfields," *Petroleum News Southeast Asia*, Vol. 7, no. 3, June, 1976, p. 12.

26. The American decision to extend whole-hearted backing to the Indonesian nationalists was based upon two considerations: one, accumulating evidence that the Dutch lacked the ability to restore their colonial authority; and, two, proof of the anti-communist credentials of the nationalist leaders in their savage suppression of the communist Madiun rising of 1948 and in their willingness to make concessions to Dutch capitalism in particular and to international capitalism in general during the protracted independence negotiations. Holland capitulated, however, only when the USA threatened to withhold all economic and military aid; without it, of course, Holland would have been unable to sustain the war in Indonesia, and her domestic economy would have been prostrated. See D. Mozingo: *Chinese Policy toward Indonesia*, 1949-1967, Cornel University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1976.

27. See Peter Dale Scott: "Exporting Military-Economic Development—America and the Overthrow of Sukarno, 1965-67," in M. Caldwell (ed.): *Ten Years' Military Terror in Indonesia*, Spokesman Books, Nottingham, 1975.

South East Asian raw materials to American industry as well as supplying her own; she would also, of course, have marketing, investment and financial advantages in the "Co-prosperity" sphere. As it was, the USA, inevitably in view of her vastly superior command of resources and industrial supremacy, was able to turn the tables and, while willingly supplying Japan with oil and the rest—at a price[28]—and allowing her access to the region, to assimilate her Pacific rival into the new post-war empire under American hegemony.

All this being so, it was never for a moment seriously considered in Washington to do other than resuscitate Japanese capitalism after the war as quickly as possible, albeit with modifications making the system more acceptable to American capitalism. The period of hostilities was fruitfully employed in the United States in blue-printing in detail the structure of the empire to be launched in peace-time. It is worth looking at this period for the light it throws on what was to come in South East Asia.

Both official and unofficial bodies in America had by then been working for some time to establish the economic and strategic importance of East and South East Asia to future American prosperity and security. One such body, the handsomely financed Institute of Pacific Relations, had mapped out the agricultural and mineral wealth of the area and explored the possibilities of extending the acreage devoted to commercial crops such as rubber and sugar; in addition, it had investigated "trouble spots" and come up with some suggestions, many latterly tried out in the field so to speak, on how the U.S. government might "de-activate" peasant insurrections by "rural reconstruction" and "population redistribution."[29] But undoubtedly the most important and influential body, which in large measure was responsible for shaping the post-war world[30] was the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).

The CFR was not, properly speaking, an official body. It consisted of an elite group of wealthy businessmen, top bankers, corporation lawyers, leading academics of a conservative bent, technocratic experts, government civil servants drawn from the uppermost reaches of the bureaucracy, distinguished and influential past and present politicians, and senior journalists. But although technically unofficial it had intimate and rather special relations with the government—particularly the top levels of the State Department—apart from having officials involved in its deliberations. These men, representing wealth and power in US society, working with aims and assumptions which were explicitly imperialist, planned for an expansionist programme for the post-war period, mapping out an American empire of global extent and designing its institutions and *modus operandi*.

Working through numerous specialist sub-committees, the CFR sages examined such sensitive matters as the quantity and availability of all primary

28. See Pasi Patokallio: "Energy in Japanese-American Relations—A Structural View," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. V, no. 1, 1975; also Michael Morrow: "The Politics of Southeast Asian Oil," in M. Caldwell (ed.): op. cit., J. Halliday and G. McCormack: *Japanese Imperialism Today*, Penguin Books, London, 1973, and J. Halliday: *A Political History of Japanese Capitalism*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1975.

29. J. Marshall: "IPR *Was* Big Business," *Pacific Research and World Empire Telegram*, Vol. VI, no. 4, May-June, 1975.

30. L. H. Shoup: "Shaping the Poster World—The Council on Foreign Relations and United States War Aims During World War II," *The Insurgent Sociologist*, Vol. V. no. 3, 1975.

products world-wide, the financing of post-war recovery, the cost and physical implications of shouldering the obligation of policing the projected American empire, and the future of the old Western European colonial powers. Among themselves, the patrician pundits scorned circumlocution, and—calling a spade a spade—discussed their proposed American empire explicitly as such, not even shunning the actual term imperialism, however, for public consumption the vocabulary was altered, and American aspirations were couched in terms of "the four freedoms", "the fight for democracy" and other such acceptable platitudes.

On the basis of their deliberations, the CFR researchers concluded that American prosperity and the health and the vitality of capitalism generally in the post-war world demanded, as a minimum, a "Grand Area" including the Americas, Western Europe, the former European colonies, and the Far East. Ideally, Russia and the satellites it was to be granted in Eastern Europe should be incorporated as well, it being understood that the United States assumed that in the post-armistice world it would hold "unquestioned power,"[31] an assumption which, after all, simply reflected realities and furthermore was implicit in the whole scheme for an integrated international economy under US hegemony. What was sought was "..a world settlement after this war which will enable us to impose our own terms."[32]

To the extent that they were able to follow the drift of these momentous debates inside the American ruling class, Western European leaders were unappreciative. They understood that the proposed international dispensation entailed dismantlement of their own empires. Throughout the war, therefore, they fought to have their point of view heard, and to preserve their colonial possessions. In particular, Britain, France and Holland stood shoulder-to-shoulder in defence of their rich properties in South East Asia, fighting a rear-guard action against US pressure and not-so-subtle hints, such as President Roosevelt's mandate proposal for Indochina, a proposal which the French correctly interpreted as an American bid to take over their prized—and strategically crucial—colony, which was—and was seen to be (so much having just been proved by Japanese action there and its consequences)—the key to control over South East Asia as a whole, including the lushest plum, Indonesia.

The decision to impose a world-wide Pax Americana in order to ensure post-war recovery virtually dictated the shape and nature of the institutional and military structure of the world in the decades after 1945. Much of the economic debility of the inter-war period was attributed to the inability of Britain to fulfil the role she had shouldered so ably during the long secular boom of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because of this failure, much else followed: restrictionism and protectionism, impeding the global flow of vital raw materials and the accessibility of world markets, for instance. It was to be a world of open economic doors, its activities lubricated by plentiful liquidity and the whole patrolled and garrisoned by a world-wide network of U.S. military bases. In rapid succession, the CFR came up with blue-prints—latterly adapted with little modification (and none of substance) by the allies—for the IMF, the World Bank, the United Nations, and the like institutions necessary for implementation of the grand design. Life was to be pumped back into

31. L. H. Shoup: op. cit., p. 16.
32. L. H. Shoup: op. cit., p. 34.

the world's economy by "generous" American aid, a massive expansion of American foreign investment, rapid Western European and Japanese reconstruction and resuscitation, and an unprecedented scale of peace-time military expenditure.[33]

As the war wore on, it became apparent that "saving" China was problematical; American advisers and observers there were increasingly of the opinion that "peanut" (Chiang Kai-shek) was nothing but a particularly rapacious and ruthless gangster representing little but the money hunger of his immediate family and entourage, and that the "mandate of heaven" was inexorably passing to the Communists, who had borne the brunt of fighting the Japanese invader and whose nationalism, incorruptibility, dedication, and industry were already legendary (and well earned).[34] Circumstances were, in fact, to force Washington to abandon their Chinese client.[35] South East Asia, as a consequence, became in effect the front-line of the American empire. To guarantee the security of South East Asia and Japan, two spots in particular became of crucial importance: Vietnam and Korea.. In Korea, Washington had simply to replace the defeated colonial power (Japan), and in the result the country ended up partitioned, with an American-occupied south and an independent north. [36] In the case of Vietnam, Washington hesitated, but finally came down in favour of helping the French to restore their pre-war colonial control: "The decision," wrote Kolko, "would shape the course of world history for decades."[37]

From the point of view of the European colonial powers with a stake in South East Asia so much represented a concession to their unanimous and oft-stated view. The varied fortunes of France, Britain and Holland in the years after 1945, and America's reactions, are outside the scope of this study, at least in their detailed aspects. It is important to note, though, that each of the old colonial powers had to make in turn, concessions to American capitalism, in such respects, for example, as removing all restrictions on entry of US investment into their colonies, on the marketing of US products, and on the production and export of regional raw materials (except to the extent approved by Washington after consultation with it). It is when we examine the statistics of economic activity in South East Asia today compared with those in, say

33. G. Kolko & Joyce Kolko: *The Limits of Power*, Harper & Row, New York, 1972; D. Horowitz (ed.) *Corporations and the Cold War*, MR Press, New York, 1969; F. J. Cook: *The Warfare State*, New York, 1964.

34. See K. E. Shewmaker: *Americans and Chinese Communists*, 1927-1945, Cornell Uni-, versity Press, Ithaca, New York, 1971; J. F. Melby: *The Mandate of Heaven*, London, 1968; Jack Belden; *China shakes the World*: Penguin Books, London, 1974; Edgar Snow: *Red Star over China*, Penguin Books London, 1972; John S. Service: *Lost Chance in China*, Random House, New York, 1974; Barbara Tuchman: *Sand Against the Wind* Macmillan, London, 1970.

35. Not least of these circumstances was disinclination on the part of US forces stationed in China and the Far East generally to participate in fighting on Chiang's behalf: see J. F. Melby: op. cit., and Mary Alice Waters: *G.I.'s and the Fight Against War*, New York, 1967.

36. Much long overdue research is now opening up on Korea's recent history: for an introduction see the special issue on Korea of the *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. V, no. 2, 1975.

37. G. Kolko: *The Roots of American Foreign Policy*, Beacon Books, Boston, 1969, p. 92.

1938 that we appreciate what the Pacific war wrought—or rather what the opportunity it offered was turned to by the United States. [38]

But while the war gave American business the opportunity of extending its sphere of operations with the co-operation of the U.S. government, it also greatly accelerated development of the regional national and social revolutions. "For the nations of South-East Asia," writes Jan Pluvier, "the Japanese occupation was the dividing line between passive submission to foreign rule and active participation in shaping their own destiny. It is true that the struggle to liberate the region from alien domination had already started around 1900, and that it continued for a considerable time after the downfall of Japan. It is also true that in the three decades after 1942 its most spectacular result amounted to little more than the disappearance of old-style political colonialism. It did not bring to an end South-East Asia's economic subordination to the outside world, nor did it lead to genuine independence in the sense of complete freedom from foreign interference or tutelage. However, although the Japanese interlude served only to hasten the process of emancipation, and the outcome of the liberation movement was still incomplete..(in the 1970's), the years between 1942 and 1945 were a landmark in South-East Asia's history in that they caused a change of tempo as well as of methods and, in fact, produced the real beginning of the wars of independence."[39]

It is impossible here to chart all the different country patterns which emerged from the interactions of Japanese policies, Japanese personalities, the decisions of the local nationalist movements and the like. But we may generalise and isolate the following significant consequences of the brief hegemony of Tokyo. In the first place, there was a considerable militarisation of the local peoples. Some learned the basics of armed struggle in the anti-Japanese guerrilla. Others were trained by the Japanese in a variety of anti-imperialist (i.e. anti-Western) military and para-military formations. The number of guns in the region—that is those not in the hands of occupying forces—rose considerably, both during the war, when the allies distributed weapons to some of the

38. To take but one example of the transformed economic picture, we may compare the figures for foreign investment in Indonesia in 1937 and in 1974:

	1937	(in million US dollars)	1974	
Dutch	1,040		1,545	Japan & Other Asian)
British	200		956	USA
USA	95		256	Europe
French	35		132	Australia)
Japanese	12		1	Africa
Others	29			
Total	1,411		2,890	

Notes: The 1937 figures are of entrepreneurial investment (some 70% of rentier investment in 1926 was estimated to be in Dutch hands) and are from H. G. Callis: *Foreign Capital in South-east Asia*, New York, 1941, p. 34; the 1974 figures are from *Sinar Harapan*, Djarkarata, (16/3/74).

(i) "Other Asian" means, in effect, Hong Kong and Singapore mainly; it is very difficult to sort out what part of investment coming out of Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and Australia is, in fact, in whole or in part American Japanese or British. What is clear is that the proportions between European investment and US/Japanese have been reversed.

A similar picture would emerge in other countries in South East Asia—notably, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and South Vietnam before its liberation. The same story is reflected in trade figures.

39. J. M. Pluvier: *op. cit.*, p. 285.

anti-Japanese guerrilla forces, and immediately after it when nationalist forces acting on their own initiative took weapons from the Japanese. In the second place, the Japanese, having humiliatingly defeated the white man militarily, set about further reducing his prestige by publicly abusing those who had been captured—but also by giving some of the white man's jobs to "natives" thus proving that "native" could very well do without white man. In the third place, the Japanese undoubtedly did give some direct encouragement to the development of local nationalism, albeit, naturally, with mixed motives. Finally, the occupation brought unprecedented economic hardships, inflation, hunger, slave labour, and, indeed, latterly total economic collapse; the returning colonial powers found themselves faced, therefore, with peoples both emboldened and embittered, ready to fight for their rights, and determined upon independence.

Washington and London were well aware of the dangers, and in some respects we may say that "counter-insurgency" began even before the war had ended. For instance, in the Philippines there was—in addition to the left-wing Huksan American-officered guerrilla which kept an eye on the former, and tried to protect the property of US corporations and of the sugar companies from sabotage and destruction. It has been alleged that the Americans even ". . intrigued with the Japanese to suppress the Hukbalahap."[40] What is certain is that the US-led guerrilla frequently clashed with the Huks and tried to disrupt their organisation and mass base in the peasantry, and that when Gen. MacArthur returned to the Philippines—and *before* the Japanese surrender (while there was still fighting going on in the country)—he quickly moved to arrest, disarm and terrorise Huk and PKP (Partido Komunistang Pilipinas—Communist Party of the Philippines) leaders as the American army advanced. At the same time, reactionary landlords (collaborators to a man with the Japanese as long as they were in power) ". . under protection of U.S. troops, sought to regain their lands, rents and domination, setting up armed groups with arms provided by the U.S. army to fight the Huks and resisting peasants."[41] The pattern of the post-war struggle was therefore established even before the cessation of hostilities; armed guerrillas are to this day fighting President Marcos' neo-colonial dictatorship sponsored by Washington[42].

The pattern was, in fact, a regional one, and although the French, the British and the Dutch had their parts to play in "restoring order" in the region, the whole was orchestrated from Washington. As we saw above, the US was committed to restoring French power in Indochina—a commitment that was far from passive. While Britain was entrusted with taking the Japanese surrender in the southern half of Vietnam—a task interpreted as including frustration and harassment of the Vietnamese nationalists and assistance to the French in

40. W. J. Pomeroy: *An American Made Tragedy*, International Publishers, New York, 1974, p. 75.

41. W. J. Pomeroy: op. cit., p. 77.

42. This is so, despite the fact that the old PKP (or at least a major segment of its leadership) has rallied to Marcos; in 1968, the Communist Party of the Philippines had been "re-established" on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, and in the following year the re-constituted party launched the New People's Army, a guerrilla which continues to fight in the rural areas among the oppressed peasantry.

grabbing back control of the colony[43]—a senior OSS mission parachuted into Hanoi pledged to the task of "preventing violence by Annamites on French nationals" (that is, in other words, helping the French against the Vietnamese who a few days after the drop declared their independence).[44] American, arms and American troop transport ships were also crucial to the French effort, while of course American economic aid helped bolster French expenditure on the war. The modern Thirty Years' War had begun.[45]

After the Americans, it was the British who were most involved on a regional scale, not only because of the regional extension of their pre-war economic interests (notably in Thailand and Sumatra in addition to Burma, Malaya, and the northern part of Borneo[46]), but also because, having a well-trained, well-disciplined, experienced army available, it fell to Britain to restore "law and order" in Indonesia as well as in her own colonies and in south Vietnam. The British performance in Indonesia actively promoted restoration of Dutch colonial rule,[47] much as in Indochina it had eased the way for the French; that both efforts were ultimately futile—though we would have to qualify the statement, in the sense that even the Ducth have enjoyed some revival of their economic activities in Indonesia since the America-aided Suharto coup—is beside the point. The effort had to be made—it was merely an extension of the long rearguard action which the Western European colonial powers had fought throughout the war—to preserve what they could of their pre-war privileges in South East Asia and to limit American ambitions by accommodation to them.

Malaya was at the very heart of Whitehall's concerns. It was appreciated by British politicians, businessmen, bureaucrats, and influential economists alike that without retaining control over Malayan rubber and tin recovery would be virtually impossible. Malaya was essential to the functioning and solvency of the entire Sterling Area. Sales of rubber and tin to America furnished more

43. See George Rosie: *The British in Vietnam*, London, 1970; this is a good straight-forward account, sympathetic to Vietnamese nationalism, but it lacks the necessary context in analysis of US designs for and strategy in the region. The recently launched *Vietnam Quarterly*, besides reporting on reconstruction in the united country, aims to undertake systematic representations of the past, and we may, sooner or later, expect a re-assessment of Britain's early (and perhaps indeed, too, later) role; the quarterly is obtainable from P. O. Box 705, Cambridge, Mass., USA 02139.

44. M. Caldwell & Lek Tan: *op. cit.*, p. 72.

45. The task of writing a history of this long war is a daunting one, but a number of projects are under way or under serious consideration; see also reference 43 above.

46. The difference in British and American attitudes to Thailand immediately after the war is extremely revealing. Thailand had joined the war on the side of Japan, and the bulk of the upper-class had collaborated. Japan had rewarded them with, *inter alia*, the northern states of Malaya, to which Bangkok had a claim. Britain, naturally, sought retribution—and restoration of her pre-war ascendancy in Thai economic life. Washington, which preferred to ignore the Thai entry into the war on the Japanese side, and wished only to see a "friendly" (i.e. anti-communist) regime in Bangkok had other ideas; naturally American business was also interested in prospects. Subsequently the US took responsibility for "counter-insurgency" in Thailand-see G.K. Tanham: *Trial in Thailand*, New York, 1974, and T. Flood: "The Thai Left Wing in Historical Context," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Spring, 1975. It also succeeded, with the help of the World Bank (its creation), in improving the investment climate and paving the way for American and Japanese replacement of Britain and the other European powers in the Thai economy.

47. See G. McT. Kahin: *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia, Ithaca*, New York, 1952; A. J. F. Doulton: *The Fighting Cock*, Aldershot, 1951; D. Wehl: *The Birth of Indonesia*, London, 1948; F. S. V. Donnison: *British Military Administration in the Far East*, London, 1956; B. R. O'G. Anderson: *Java in a Time of Revolution*, London, 1972.

dollars than all British exports combined.[48] To understand the significance of all this, it has to be recalled that—at the end of the war—Britain was bankrupt. Saddled with immense war debts, bereft of segments of her formerly lucrative overseas investments, committed to an expensive programme of social reform, Britain under Labour had no option but to seek massive American loans, servicing and ultimate repayment of which hinged upon her ability to earn dollars.

But there was another factor to take into consideration. As we noted above, American industry had been greatly exercised—even angered—by Anglo-Dutch manipulation of raw material prices. Washington therefore took advantage of the insatiable dollar hunger of Britain and Holland to eliminate this irritant: In the government "..in consultation with the American rubber industry worked with Britain, France and the Netherlands to regulate the buying price for the US at a level it wished to pay."[49] In practice, the United States forced down primary product prices as a condition for continuing to aid her economically ailing allies.

The conjuncture of these two harsh realities placed Britain in an unenviable position. Production of Malayan rubber and tin had to be stepped up. But the level of prices acceptable to Washington made payment of sub-standard wages inevitable. It was, however, no longer as easy as it once had been to force Malayan workers to accept sub-standard wages. The scenario for the prolonged "Emergency" had been drawn up.

There was no lack of realism in London about what was entailed. The colonial Special Branch had always been assiduous in cataloguing the activities of those whom it considered "subversive" or "agitators" (and the like). And although, on the surface, it appeared that there had been close collaboration between the MCP (Malayan Communist Party) and the British in the fight against the Japanese, in reality the relationship was very complex—and on the British part tentative, partial, and expedient.

Working-class militancy and MCP activity had increased dramatically in the troubled 1930's. The depression itself was, of course, the backdrop, but as far as Malaya in particular was concerned, the virtual cessation of mass imigration from China and India after the mid-1930's was a key factor. From the earliest days of British intervention until then discontent and protest on the part of the plantation and mining labour forces had always been defused by regulating the tap on immigration—there were always thus swarms of newly arrived coolies ready to step into jobs left vacant by management sacking of "bolshies" and "trouble-makers." Now the tables were to some extent turned, the more so since recovery, and the economic impact of the coming war, simultaneously was increasing demand for labour. The period immediately preceding outbreak of the Pacific war therefore witnessed many fierce industrial

48. *Malayan Monitor*, March,1948, gave the following figures for the completed year of 1947: rubber from Malaya earned US $200 million; *all* manufactured goods exported from Britain earned a total of US $180 million. *British Malaya*, August, 1949, reported Sir Eric Macfadyen as saying in his annual report to the Lenadoon Rubber Estates in 1949 that "..rubber is of more importance to the British economy than Marshall Aid. Last year Malaya alone produced just about 700,000 tons. The USA imported from that country over 450,000 tons..Every penny in the price per pound up or down means about US $17 million in our balance of trade."

49. Gabriel Kolko & Joyce Kolko: *op. cit.* p. 74.

conflicts, often put down with great brutality and ruthlessness by the police and armed forces. The Special Branch stepped up the arrest and banishment of known leaders and activities and one should note that banishment as a Chinese "communist" from Malaya back to say, Shanghai, at this time was tantamount to a death sentence, with the fascist KMT in control and the CPC banned.

The MCP was comparatively independent, and was not responsive to all the twists and turns of Soviet policy *vis-a-vis* the approaching war. However, having sustained anti-British activity at a high level through both the "united front" and Hitler-Stalin pact periods, the MCP itself switched its line in late 1940, and began calling for anti-Japanese unity.[50] Not surprisingly, the British were sceptical, and it was not until the Japanese were on Malayan soil and sweeping south towards Singapore that serious negotiations took place on the defence of the island and on the possibility of organising "stay behind" parties. The outcome was hurried training of a number of Chinese selected by the MCP at the 101 Special Training School; these were to form the nucleus of the MPAJA (Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army). Chinese were also organised into "Dalforce" for virtual last-ditch "kamikaze" resistance to Japanese entry into Singapore itself.

The decision was eventually taken at SEAC to co-ordinate with the MPAJA via Force 136 officers dropped into occupied Malaya. However, great care was taken to limit communication with them—and supplies to them—to the extent congruent with strictly British interests only. The Chinese attached to work with Force 136 from the allied side were all carefully hand-picked KMT trusties. Nothing could, though, prevent emergence of the MCP, the MPAJA, and MPAJU (the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Union—the guerrillas' support organisation among the population) as the sole groups with the will and ability to sustain resistance to the Japanese. This fact was duly reflected in the weeks which elepase after the Japanese surrender and before the return of the British, when the MCP emerged from the jungles and mountains to administer the country as the only cohesive and respected force able to do so.

When the British did return, they were not blind to the fact that a totally new social *gestalt* faced them. Not only had the MCP acquired arms and battle training and experience; not only had the support organisations networked the country; not only had an Indian National Army readily been raised on an anti-British basis by the Japanese (attracting the support of countless Indian coolies: many others joined the MPAJA: it is worth recording that the INA, although to some extent indebted to the Japanese, absolutely refused to participate in anti-MPAJA activity—with which they sympathised—reserving their strength for the projected liberation of India); not only had the top Malay leaders and big Chinese businessmen either collaborated or fled with the British and therefore discredited themselves as thoroughly in the eyes of the people as the British themselves; *but*, in this unpromising and hostile milieu, Whitehall somehow *had* to restore colonial control or bow to the inevitablity of a future pawned to Washington and amounting to subsistence on hand-outs and charity.

50. Far less attention has been paid to the history of the MCP than to the history of the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia), but the number of useful sources is increasing: See, for example, C. B. McLane: *Soviet Strategies in Southeast Asia*, Princeton, 1966; a great deal of research remains to be done, not only on the pre-1945 period but also on the "Emergency" itself and on the post-1960 period.

British tactics ultimately proved successful (in the short term, that is [51]); indeed, British handling of the "Emergency" subsequently came to be taken as a model of counter-insurgency, and American occupation policy in South Vietnam for a time owed much to emulating its innovations.[52] Nevertheless, as even writers sympathetic to British colonialism and hostile to the pretensions of the MCP admit,[53] it was very much touch and go: without massive British military inervention, large-scale "re-settlement" of people, and application of every form of population harassment and oppression, in other words, a Socialist Republic of Malaya would have emerged a quarter a century ago. The relevance of all this to the post-war economic history of Malaya—and of South East Asia—requires no elaboration here.

What was true of the Japanese occupation's impact on the people's struggle in Malaya, was true throughout the region, allowing for inevitable variations in specifics and in degree. This much has been demonstrated by the fact that since 1945 the region has not known peace. Indochina has—at last—been liberated after untold anguish; elsewhere the struggle continues. I hope to have shown in this paper that we must seek the roots of this struggle in the decades before 1945—in the socio-economic history of south East Asia under late colonialism and Japanese occupation.

MALCOLM CALDWELL

51. By the late 1960's, the MCP had re-launched armed struggle inside West Malaysia from its bases in southern Thailand; today, Kuala Lumpur faces a second "Emergency", some of the features of which are more alarming for the government than any in the first.
52. Not only did "think tanks," such as the Rand Corporation, subject the British experience in Malaya to minute scrutiny in a series of monographs, but a succession of British "counter-insurgency experts," bloodied in Malaya, were drafted to help the Americans try to defeat the Vietnamese Revolution.
53. See, for instance, R. Clutterbuck: *Riot and Revolution in Singapore and Malaya*, 1945-1963, Faber & Faber, London, 1973.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Michael Roberts. *Facets of Modern Ceylon History through the Letters of Jeronis Pieris*. Colombo, Hansa Publishers Ltd., 1975. pp. ii, 108, 16 plates, 2 charts, map. Rs. 25/00

Traditional servitors of the Muse Clio have trod for the most part the straight and narrow path of documentary rectitude in their attempt to chart the changing tides of history. In recent times this time-honoured path has been criss-crossed by a new wave of techniques which use tools from sociology, economics, demography, political science, anthropology and law to fashion ever new forms of historical writing, as well as leaning increasingly on hitherto neglected documentary sources from various strata of the evolving socio-political frame. Since Dr. Michael Roberts, one of the most distinguished of the new generation of Sri Lankan historians, has shown already, both in his published and unpublished work, that he recognises the significance of this multidisciplinary and more expansive way in which the study of history should proceed, one takes up *Facets of Modern Ceylon history through the letters of Jeronis Pieris* with great expectations. But what emerges from the delayed entrance of the twenty-three paltry and light-weight letters of a God-fearing young Low-Country Sinhalese arrack renter in Kandyan territory in the middle of the nineteenth century sadly belies the scope and dimensions of what the stage-setting title promises.

Jeronis Pieris does not stand out as a particularly distinguished dummy, despite all Dr. Roberts's strenuous and elaborate window-dressing, on which to drape the various 'facets' of the economic and social history of the period, and the earnestly debated, though sometimes controversial and speculative, theses which form the meat of the book have little, if any, relevance or substantial link to the meagre and fragmentary personal trivia which dominate the Moratuwa born trader and potential plantation owner's epistles between 1853 and 1856. The author, however, places a very high value indeed on these "unique" letters to underpin his main arguments and to insure his more impetuous speculations, and the grand design is thus spelled out in his Preface: "The main object in reproducing these letters has been that of making them more widely available to scholars and of providing interested laymen with some insights into developments in mid-nineteenth century Ceylon. At the same time, I have used the information and the insights supplied by the letters to illumine certain facets of nineteenth century Ceylonese history by developing some of my own findings and theories. In brief, the letters have been variously used—at times as a point of departure for the investigation of various subjects on which they throw some light, and at other times as a convenient showcase in which to display conclusions fashioned for the most part of other evidence". These letters merit some examination, therefore, for "the several insights they afford" in the editor's words.

Hannadige Jeronis Pieris was stationed in Kandy at the age of 24 in a managerial capacity by the two De Soysa brothers to plant their properties in Hanguranketa, Haragama and Kadugannawa, and farm their arrack rents. The 23 extant letters exhibited date only from 30 October 1853 to 12 June 1856, as his scriptoral talents apparently faded three days before his 27th birthday, or were superseded by greater demands on his hard-pressed time when he married Caroline Francisca Soysa on 13 December 1856. This is a great pity as he went on before he died in his 66th year in 1894 to display considerable commercial panache and had become one of the most affluent Ceylonese entrepreneurs and property owners amassing over 6,500 acres in coffee, coconut, tea, rubber and cinnamon. His personal correspondence after the age of 27 in the perspective of his voracious capitalistic forays would, perhaps, have provided more grist for Dr. Roberts's mill and a greater justification for the pattern of his book. No explanation for this curious blank is offered, however. Their absence or disappearance is all the more strange as during the brief period of his early letters he laid great store by personal correspondence and advised C. H. de Soysa in his second letter (Nov. 24, 1853): "I suppose you will find a safe place for my letters in your box—preserve them—as I do take much care of yours—They might be of use to us some time after." (p. 63). He was also in the habit of making rubbings of all the letters he wrote from Kandy on an indian ink press-copying machine, and it is not in fact the originals of the 23 letters "in a continuous series" that have survived, but the copies reproduced on "wafer-thin tissue paper" which Dr. Roberts edits for his purposes. Even in these extant versions portions are torn, omitted, obliterated or indecipherable, and repeated readings of them only reinforce the impression of an inconsequence and flatness which the humdrum and artificial style does nothing to relieve. Since the decision to edit and publish these letters was influenced by the hope that it would prod owners of similar documents into revealing their existence, it is to be wished that this subsidiary aim will be achieved in significant fashion.

Of the mixed bag of 23 letters, 7 each are to two schoolboys, Charles Henry de Soysa (his 17-year old nephew-in-law), and Louis Pieris (his 13-year old brother), and contain an amalgam of domestic trivia, and personal tittle-tattle, exhortations to Louis to strive to cultivate his English and attend to his studies, confessions as to his own literary tastes which depended greatly on a diet of Samuel Johnson and Joseph Addison, and stray comments on the scene around him as he commuted between Hanguranketa and the Arrack Godown in Kandy. Flights of any sort of emotion are rare—on viewing "the odoriferous snow-like blossoms of the coffee-trees," chastising the marital mores of the "barbarous" Kandyans, an unaccustomed sortie on foot in the mountainous jungle of a coffee estate when their guide "endeavoured to hurt" a frightened deer appropriately enough "with his bill hook" (*sic*), and in the final letter to a Mr. W. H. Wright where Jeronis's Christian sentiments well over with some freedom. A brief letter to a Mr. George Pride, a wealthy British planter in Upper Hewaheta, reveals the correct Oriental obsequiousness which was a sure passport to fame and fotune, and the rest are commonplace notes to S. C. Perera, Simon Perera and Marcellus Perera in Colombo, and Johannes Salgado in Moratuwa. One cannot help remarking that despite the obvious pains he took to cultivate his own English and his constant admonitions to his brother to watch his grammar and "spell your words correctly" he was not the most exemplary of instructors ("middle" for medal being the worst faux pas in the spelling line) and on one occasion even spelled his brother's name as "Lewis." The odd man out in the collection is the last and unnumbered letter written in Sinhalese from London to his sister and mother over 21 years after his last letter in English, of which an English translation is also provided. The passage of time and good fortune certainly did nothing to improve either his powers of observation or his style. As a facsimile of the first of his English letters is provided, one wishes that the only specimen of his Sinhala hand would have similarly been available for inspection. These then are the rare material ("a unique historical source") which the editor exploits and builds upon to enhance his major contribution as the author in the first part of the book, consisting of 57 pages.

It is in the seven chapters of this section that Dr. Roberts sets out to furnish the reader with the results of his painstaking researches into certain 'facets' of the encounter between the colonial presence and the native upper class on the make. The foundations of social dominance within the indigenous society and the processes of social change and elite formation, the entrepreneurial spirit of the new merchant class, the spread of Western education and the accompanying Anglicisation, the erosion of traditional customs, values and attitudes among the indigenous elites, and their role as props for the colonial power structure, the events leading to the Kandyan Marriage Ordinance of 1859, the conflict between the demands of the coffee plantations and the claims to village land, and the effects of the intrusion of a large-scale plantation economy on the traditional rural community and its cattle and buffalo population in the Kandyan highlands are the main strands in the story. These aspects are sandwiched between an opening assessment of the various kinds of source material available to the historian of 19th century Sri Lanka, and a brief epilogue in which some views on the current state and future directions of historiography in the British period are advanced.

The author lays bare with his customary deftness and versatility the origins and evolution of the comprador bourgeois class during this period through the accumulation of capital from government perquisites and salaries, and through primary trading ventures and the farming of arrack and toddy rents. In imitation, later, of their British masters, they opened coconut and rubber plantations and began profitable enterprises as merchants. The new class and urban life developed together, and surplus wealth and the new plantation technology began to assault and corrode the traditional feudal structure and its agrarian economy, while the rising spirit of commerce and the concomitant aggrandisement, infected by an aggressive Christianity, gradually infiltrated extensive regions of social life, and metamorphosed deeply personal ties and Eastern values and perceptions into commercial bonds. Throughout his analysis of this process which began well before the middle of the nineteenth century and continued strongly into the twentieth, Dr. Roberts weaves the family saga of the Hannadige Pierises and the Warusahannadige de Soysa, stalwarts of this early Low Country phase of Sinhalese capitalism, the ideology of the movement being succinctly expressed in James Pieris's paean before The Ceylon Social Reform Society General Meeting on 11 January 1908: "Most of us are planters. Our interests are in many respects identical with those of the planters. It is true that many of them have shown us the way and they deserve the credit for having brought capital into the country and shown us the path along which we may all win prosperity. We have followed in their footsteps and our interests are now the same. The interests of the Ceylonese planters are identical with those of the European planters." (*Ceylon National Review*, No. 5, Feb. 1908, p. 169).

Dr. Robert's most controversial chapters are five and six in which he tries to suggest respectively that the expansion of the coffee plantations was not at the expense of forest, chena and pasture land essential to the Kandyan village ecology, and that the development of plantation properties and the Crown Lands Encroachment legislation were not specially injurious

to traditional agricultural practices and the cattle and buffalo population. In both lines of inquiry highly selective data and peripheral evidence are used to buttress tentative arguments, and in the latter "veritable gems of information" from one single letter of Jeronis to his by then 14-year old brother (No. 12) are relied upon to shed doubt on the status of the draught animal in the highland village economy before the middle of the 19th century. These are mined from a random observation: "The agriculture of these mountain-like paddy fields, if I may so call them, is not conducted by the bullock, nor the muddy parts by the buffalo, but are tilled all over by the hoe—differently shaped from that in use among us; execpt in a few instances when the fields are situated between hills or two ranges of hills and consequently sufficiently level to be worked on by the buffalo, I have never seen them use bullocks in ploughing." These chance remarks on a mode of Upcountry paddy cultivation following on the usual pleas to Louis to better his English style are seized upon by Dr. Roberts to lend wings to his particular hobby horse that the buffalo was not an integral part of the Kandyan village economy before the thirst for coffee and the Crown lands 'enclosure' movement began to make inroads into the warp and woof of rural society. Jeronis was writing about "the paddy lands round about Kandy," and he was naturally familiar with these in the mountainous Hanguranketa district in which the most intricate tracery and terraced fields, perhaps anywhere in the hill country, is to be found, and where neither the buffalo nor the bullock can be put to much use. In this, as in other places, the author tends to ignore more basic facts of regional peculiarities in the vast extent of land comprising the highlands of Sri Lanka, and also fails to appreciate or even recognise the existence of many variables in the technological, socio-cultural and economic spheres. His knowledge of traditional agricultural practices is also open to question. Similarly the scorched earth policy in Uva-Wellassa and murrain are not sufficiently tenable hypotheses for the diminution of the cattle population. He confines his attention in the main to the restricted period of the coffee boom, and tends to advance and apply these to a much broader period. He will have to produce more trenchant and consistent evidence if he is to sustain his line that traditional land use and village community structures were little affected by the encroachments of coffee, tea, rubber and coconut over a long period of time as well as to dispute the view that, although expropriation under the Waste Lands Ordinance may not have been done *en masse*, a great deal of village land changed hands in various ways in the climate of uncertainty, and even panic, provoked by official land policy, as well as the prevailing land rush. It is not possible in the space of a brief review to take up all the slack in the author's presentation, but his claim for the acceptability of other sorts of historical source material is far from convincingly enough asserted in the course of the present investigation.

A most opulent and eloquent facet in the book is the series of sixteen plates interspersed at intervals through the text which afford a fascinating glimpse into the splendidly upholstered milieu of the new commercial elite spawned by British modes of mercantile activity. This album of family photographs is a veritable portrait gallery of bourgeois Anglophilic prototypes of a vanished era in which the congealing arts of the studio photographer froze for all time, in the proper victorian attitudes of arch primness and starched pomposity, the strictly tailored lineaments of an 'aristocracy' envisaged in Thomas Babington Maucalay's historic "Minute" of 2 February 1835: "a class of people who can act as intermediaries between us and the milions we govern: English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and intellect." Hannadige Jeronis Pieris and his kinsmen appear studious exponents of the life-style of that alienated native bourgeoisie which the British created, nourished and later exploited for their own survival even up to the present day. As a late twentieth century "show-case" for nineteenth century ancestral blooms Dr. Roberts does both families proud in his book.

Further valuable components are two genealogical charts of the Pieris and de Soysa clans, a map of the Hanguranketa-Kandy-Kadugannawa localities, a list of Jeronis Pieris's cash crop plantation properties, and a translation of a petition presented by some Kandyan chiefs calling for reform of their marriage customs in late 1858. There are also a bibliography of works cited and a very full and helpful index. A major and prominent feature of the text is the impressive cavalcade of footnotes which march across substantial areas of each page and literally dazzle the reader with the meticulous pageantry of the researcher's art, besides offering a rich *perahära* of elitist Ceylonese names, and what another reviewer has described as "Senior Common Room personalities." The main Preface dated "June 1970" has two subsidiary postscripts dated "January 1973" and "October 1974" explaining delays in publication, and there is a note on "Spelling." The book is well printed and bound in cloth boards with a fetching dust jacket from which the venerable, though kindly visage of the biographee confronts us in blown-up sepia-tone, and is exceedingly good value at 25 rupees.

Despite its shortcomings, Dr. Robert's work is an important contribution to continuing studies on the historiography of the colonial relationship in nineteenth century Sri Lanka, and serves as an impressive case-study of the British 'civilising mission.' He throws out stimulating clues and supplies provocative leads into reassessing and evaluating the cultural factors in Victorian imperialism and the land policies of the British raj as they affected the Kandyan

rural structure. But it is doubtful whether the life and letters of Jeronis Pieris on view in the book, despite his environment being appraised synoptically and with much adroitness and resource, were really worth focussing upon in the context of his time. In the hope that Dr. Roberts has cut his teeth in an absorbing new historical vein with this spirited exercise, one awaits his further ventures into elite formation processes and the ideology and politics of nationalism in the British period with a greatly sharpened interest.

H. A. I. GOONETILEKE

J. V. D'Cruz. *The Asian Image in Australia: Episodes in Australian History*, Melbourne, The Hawthorne Press, 1973, pp. viii, 95.

The interest within Australia regarding its Asian neighbours has risen sharply in the 1970's. The reasons for this do not stem entirely from economic factors and security questions though the entry of Britain to the European Economic Community and the eventual failure of American military intervention in Vietnam have had their impact. What is probably as significant in the long run is that some 12,000 Asians have been migrating annually to Australia since 1966 and that in the period 1971-1973 this amounted to 21.2% of the total migrants to Australia. The Asian Studies Association of Australia (founded 1975) has been actively promoting interest in Asia in Australian schools and universities and the number of Australian secondary school students studying Asian languages rose from 4760 in 1969 to 17,725 in 1975. Asia seems closer to Australia than ever before.

In this context Mr. D'Cruz's slim volume is most timely. The theme that binds the book is now ethnocentric thinking and a distorted image of Asia influenced Australian policy—both in relation to Australia's immigration policy and Australian foreign policy in the Asian region and Mr. D' Cruz a naturalized Australian who refers to himself as an 'Indian' who lived his early life in Malaya seems well equipped to develop this theme. He is well versed in Australian history but has not yet lost his 'Asian view point.'

Of the three essays that make up the book(apart from an astute and critical introduction by A. A. Phillips) I was most impressed with the first—"White Australia and the Indian Mutiny' (pp. 11-31). D'Cruz convincingly links the control of Chinese immigration to New South Wales in 1858 with the shock caused by exaggerated reports of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. Of course there is little doubt that the "White Australia" policy would have come even without the Indian Mutiny. Indeed as D'Cruz himself points out the first attempts to control Chinese immigration to Victoria came in 1855. The author has not unearthed any concrete evidence that the supporters of control of Chinese immigration used the Indian Mutiny scare in their arguments for legislation. Nevertheless his argument that it was "the Indian Mutiny that precipitated action" in New South Wales appears quite plausible.

The plea for a re-assessment of Japan in the 1930's in "Japan between the wars: the Australian view," (pp 32-49) is much less convincing. In the first place the "Australian view" differed very little from the current American, the British or even the Soviet view of Japan as a militaristic, aggressive and "fascist" power. There are limits to the use of the analogy of military rule in modern underdeveloped countries to soften the image of the Japanese militarists waging unprovoked war on the Chinese.

The longest and last essay "Menezies Foreign Policy 1939-41" (pp. 50-95) illustrates how Sir Robert Menezies in the early years of office tended to rely too much on British naval protection and indeed (in effect) support the Dutch and French colonial regimes in South-East Asia to preserve Australian security. Whether this analysis made entirely on the basis of public speeches and a statements of Menezies is an accurate one can only be judged as archives open their records for public use (the British records for this period are available but have not been used by the author) but Mr. D'Cruz's conclusions regarding Australian attitudes as expressed in public statements of Australian politicians of the late 1930's might well prove to have abiding value.

Mr. D'Cruz's style is lucid and the book well printed. The text is well supported by foot notes but there is no index. The fact that all three essays have been printed earlier (1962-1971) in journals should not deter potential buyers from acquiring this stimulating piece of work.

C. R. DE SILVA

Images of Sri Lanka Through American Eyes: *Travellers in Ceylon in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* by H. A. I. Goonetileke, U.S. Information Service, 1976.

This book, which consists chiefly of descriptions of Sri Lanka by American travellers in the period from 1789 to 1968, is presented to us as 'an American Bicentennial Salute to Sri Lanka' by the U.S. Information Service. The anthology has been made by Mr. H. A. I. Goonetileke who has tackled the subject with all his celebrated energy, passion and unrivalled knowledge of the field. Making his selections from thirty-six authors (famous, obscure, informed, innocent) and contributing his own introductory remarks on each, together with a lengthy general introduction and a concluding bibliography of 227 titles by American writers on Sri Lanka, Mr. Goonetileke seeks to illustrate as many different view points and responses to as many different topics as his covers will hold. The book is, in its author's own phrase, a veritable 'oriental bazaar of a symposium.' It is crammed with much that is delightful, instructive, revealing, amusing, moving and cheering, but always—and inevitably—preferring variety and immediacy to coherence and depth. Perhaps the greatest merit of the book—after sheer entertainment—is that it opens up for us a neglected topic. The American stake in Sri Lanka in this period was not large, but it was not negligible. Every schoolboy knows of the American role in the promotion of education in Jaffna, in the revival of Buddhism, in the furtherance of trade. Mr. Goonetileke's extracts seem to suggest that there was enough that was individual and marked in the American viewpoint to make this contact a distinctive one. It deserves further study. Mr. Goonetileke has the soul—and the pen-of a poet. Not every historian will want to follow him through all the lyrical descriptions of scenery. But for one emigre, at least, they had the power to evoke some poignant memories.

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