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*Ceylon and Malaysia: A Study of Professor S. Paranavitana's Research on the Relations between the Two Regions**

I

THE geographical position of Ceylon in the Indian Ocean which commands the entrance to the Bay of Bengal from the west helped its development as an important entrepôt in the extensive sea-borne trade which linked Europe in the west with the Chinese empire in the east. In the sixth century, Cosmas Indicopleustes recorded that merchantmen from Ethiopia and Persia called at this emporium which he described as "the greatest in those parts" to purchase its products and other merchandise brought from lands as far away as China in the east and Male, Kaliana, Sindh and Adule in the west. He also noted that ships from Ceylon were sent to these lands to trade in cloth, spices, metal-ware, precious stones and elephants.[1]

It becomes clear from other sources, too, that Ceylon had begun by this time, to take a growing interest in the trade with the east. The first embassy sent from Ceylon to the court of the Eastern Tsin in the reign of I-hi (405—419 A.D.) was fifty years earlier than the first embassy sent by the Persians to China. The *Pien-i-tien* refers to three subsequent missions in 428, 430 and 435 and another in 527 to the court of the Sungs and six missions in 670, 711, 742, 746, 750 and 762 when the T'ang dynasty was in power. Usually, the envoys are said to have brought, in addition to Buddhist manuscripts and sacred objects, "products of the country". Only in a few instances are these "products" specified. In these instances, mention is made of pearls, precious stones, ivory, golden

* This paper was read before the Ceylon Studies Seminar, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, on March 28, 1969.

1. Cosmas Indicopleustes, *The Christian Topography*, (trsl. J. W. Mc Crindle), Hakluyt Society Publications, 1st series, Vol. 98, 1897, pp. 363-373.

filigree work and "very fine shaggy stuff of white colour".[2] Probably, like the Sumatrans who had begun to send diplomatic missions to the Imperial Court, the Sinhalese were vying for a share in the carrying trade between China and the West.

Participation of the Sinhalese in the trade of the Indian Ocean would have been an important factor in strengthening their ties with South East Asian lands. An eleventh century inscription issued by the Javanese king Airlaṅga mentions Sinhalese among the communities of foreign merchants residing at the Javanese ports.[3] The interests that Ceylon had in the trade in elephants with Burma was one of the causes which led to hostilities between the two countries in the reign of Parākramabāhu I.[4] As late as in the sixteenth century, Tome Pires, the Portuguese envoy to China, noted the presence of merchants from Ceylon at Malacca.[5] On the other hand, the active role that the Malaysians—and particularly, as O.W. Wolters has pointed out[6], the Sumatrans—played in the carrying trade of the Indian Ocean would have often brought them to Ceylonese ports. It seems reasonable to postulate that this close contact between the two regions would have led to the expansion of the cultural influences of each region upon the other.

The late Pierre Dupont was one of the first scholars to consider this interesting possibility in suggesting that some of the sculptural works from South East Asia, grouped under the Amarāvatī school, could have come from Ceylon. In his examination of two Buddha images from Western Java and another from Celebes, Dupont has traced evidence of the influence of Sinhalese sculptural traditions. He dated the image from Celebes to the second or the third century, and the two images from Western Java to the sixth or the seventh century.[7] Mirella Levi d' Ancona, too, in her examination of these images, has suggested the

2. John M. Senaveratne, 'Chino-Sinhalese relations in the early and middle ages', *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXIV, 1917, pp. 74-105. The "shaggy stuff of white colour" was probably cloth. A variety of fine cloth imported from Ceylon finds mention in the *Rājataraṅginī* (ed. R. S. Pandit, p. 35). Perhaps, it was a similar fabric imported from Ceylon which was referred to as *wḍihan sinhal* in the Old Javanese inscriptions from the end of the ninth century (*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXIV, p. 245). A fabric called 'Laṅkā cloth' is mentioned also in Siamese annals (C. Notton, *Histoire du Dhammarāja et notre Seigneur, Annales du Siam*, Vol. 1, 1926, p. 75).

3. G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, Paris, 1964, p. 268.

4. *Cūlavaṃsa*, 76. 17-21.

5. Tome Pires, *Suma Orientalis*, (ed. A. Cortesao), Hakluyt Society Publications, Second Series, No. XC, 1944, Vol. II, p.628.

6. O.W.Wolters, 'The "*Po-ssu* Pine trees", '*BSOAS*, Vol. XXIII, 1960, pp. 323-350.

7. Pierre Dupont, 'Les Buddha dits d'Amarāvatī en Asie du Sud-Est,'*BEFEO*, Vol. XLIX, 1959, pp. 632-636.

possibility of their origin in Ceylon. However, she disagrees with Dupont in assigning the image from Celebes to the early fifth century and those from Java to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century.[8] Another scholar, Deva Prasad Ghosh, suggested, in a discussion on an image of Avalokitesvara found at Bingin in the Palembang district in Sumatra, the possibility that the inspiration came from Ceylon, comparing it with a statue of the same Bodhisattva found at Situlpavva, and ascribed it to about the seventh century.[9] More recently, J. G. de Casparis has published an eighth century inscription from the Ratubaka Plateau in Central Java which points to contact between the communities of Buddhist monks in Java and Ceylon.[10] It is relevant to note here that this evidence on cultural contact between Ceylon and Malaysia comes from the same period when, as suggested earlier, Ceylon appears to have taken an increased interest in commercial contact with the regions in the eastern half of the Indian Ocean. Evidently, relations between these two regions continued into, or were resumed in, a later period when Ceylon had become the source of inspiration for the expansion of Theravada Buddhism in South East Asia. The researches of Dupont have further brought out that a group of Buddha images from the northern parts of the Malay Peninsula, which he terms the 'Jaiya school' and dates to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, "appears to have been subject in particular to influences from Ceylon.[11]

Modern historical writings on ancient Ceylon have, with characteristic Indo-centrism, tended largely to ignore the implications raised by this evidence. The over-emphasis on the role of Indian influences in the ancient history of Ceylon, an extreme example of which may be found in the attempt of one historian to divide the history of Ceylon up to the coming of Europeans into North Indian and South Indian periods, has made historians blind to the significance of relations that Ceylon maintained with lands other than India. To some extent the modern writer seems to have inherited this tendency from the chroniclers of the past. The chronicles of Ceylon written by Buddhist monks tend to over-emphasise relations between Ceylon and the home of Bud-

8. Mirella Levi D'Ancona, 'Amarāvatī, Ceylon and Three Imported Bronzes', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, 1952, pp. 1-17.

9. Devaprasad Ghosh, 'Two Bodhisattva Images from Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', *Jnl. of the Gtr. Ind. Soc.*, Vol. IV, 1937, pp. 125-127.

10. J. G. de Casparis, 'New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times', *Felicitation Volume presented to Prof. G. Coedès on his seventy fifth birthday*, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXIV, 1961, pp. 241-248.

11. Pierre Dupont, 'Le Buddha de Grahi et l'Ecole de Caiya', *BEFEO*, Vol. XLII, 1942, pp. 105-113.

dhism. Little evidence is found in them about the brisk trade that Ceylon maintained with Rome or the lands of East and South East Asia. Surprisingly enough, not even the Buddhist missions sent from Ceylon to China and South East Asia find mention in these chronicles. They contain only one clear reference to contact with the Malaysian region.

It is in this context that the researches of Professor S. Paranavitana on the relations between Ceylon and Malaysia occupy an important place in the historiography of Ceylon. He approached this problem first at a seminar held at Dambadeniya in 1958[12]. A more systematic development of his ideas are to be seen in an article, "Ceylon and Malaysia in Mediaeval Times", published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1960. In a paper entitled "The Aryan Kingdom in North Ceylon", published in the same journal in the following year, Paranavitana presented evidence on Malaysian activities in the Jaffna Kingdom. He returned to the subject in a paper entitled "Princess Ulakuḍaya's Wedding" published in the *University of Ceylon Review* for the year 1963. He brought forth further evidence on the same topic in two public lectures delivered at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, one of which was published in the *Transactions of the University of Ceylon Linguistic Society* of 1964. In the following year, the text of the *interlinear writing* on an inscription from Aturupolayagama, read and translated by Paranavitana, and containing material relevant to the subject, was published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. More evidence was presented in 1966 in the special volume of *Essays Offered to G. H. Luce* where Paranavitana gave his reading of the slab inscription No. 1 of Mahinda IV from the site of the Abhayagiri monastery. The same year saw the publication of *Ceylon and Malaysia*, in which work Paranavitana brought together new information as well as material published in earlier papers but with certain noteworthy omissions which will be discussed in due course.[13]

12. See *Dambadeni Sāhitya Sammelanaya*, *Sammelana Saṭahan*, Department of Cultural Affairs, Colombo, 1959, pp, 23-27, 33-34.

13. S. Paranavitana, 'Ceylon and Malaysia in Mediaeval times', *JCBRAS* (New Series) Vol. VII, 1960, pp. 1-43.
'The Arya Kingdom in North Ceylon', *JCBRAS* (New Series) Vol. VII, 1961, pp. 174-224.
'Princess Ulakuḍaya's Wedding', *UCR*, Vol. XXI, 1963, pp. 103-137.
'Linguistic Studies in Ancient Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', *TUCLS*, 1964, pp. 79-100.
Newly Discovered Historical Documents Relating to Ceylon, India and South East Asia, Mimeographed paper dated 4th Nov., 1964, pp. 1-22, subsequently published in *Buddhist Yearly* 1967, Jahrbuch für Buddhistische Forschungen, (ed. Heinz Mode), Buddhist Centre Halle, German Democratic Republic, pp. 26-58.
Appendix to the 'Giritale Stone-seat inscription', *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. V, Pt. 3, 1965, pp. 440-443.
'Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', *Essays offered to G. H. Luce by his colleagues and friends in honour of his seventy fifth birthday, Artibus Asiae*, 1966, Vol. 1, pp. 205-212.
Ceylon and Malaysia, Colombo, 1966.

The publication of the first of the papers that Paranavitana wrote on this subject drew forth a polemical article by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, where he challenged the conclusions that Paranavitana drew from his evidence.[14] The value of the criticisms made by this pioneer in the study of relations between South and South East Asia was somewhat impaired by his inadequate knowledge of Ceylonese sources. Paranavitana used this shortcoming effectively to his advantage in the reply he wrote in the following year.[15] The radical conclusions that Paranavitana draws from his evidence should, if they are accepted, involve the re-writing of a substantial portion of the ancient and mediaeval history of Ceylon.[16] He argues for a relationship between Ceylon and Malaysia extending beyond the economic and cultural spheres that earlier writings postulated and the single military expedition recorded in the chronicle into a close connection between the two ruling houses of Śrī Vijaya and Ceylon. According to the information he cites, this relationship played a significant role in the politics of the two regions as well as of the Indian subcontinent during a considerably long period. Even in his very first paper he held this relationship to be so important in the period between the demise of Parākramabāhu I and the accession of the second king of that name that he suggested that "we may call this the Malay Period of Ceylon History". Hence it is singularly unfortunate that, in spite of the interest that Paranavitana's writings initially created among the community of scholars, particularly historians, in Ceylon, the publication of his subsequent researches has drawn few comments, favourable or critical, at least in print. The only publication in which an attempt has been made so far to examine the conclusions drawn by Paranavitana is a critical review by K. Indrapala of *Ceylon and Malaysia*.[17]

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14. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. VIII, Pt. I, 1962, pp. 125-140.

15. S. Paranavitana, 'Ceylon and Malaysia: A Rejoinder to K. A. Nilakanta Sastri', *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. VIII, 1963, Pt. 2, pp. 330-337.

16. In fact, what some might called a premature revision has already been made of the relevant periods of Ceylon history in certain text-books. See e.g. C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, *A Concise History of Ceylon*, 1961.

17. *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. XI, 1967, pp. 101-106. In 1963, A. Liyanagamage read a paper at a seminar at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in which he critically examined the conclusions that Paranavitana drew in his initial contribution on the subject. This study was a part of the researches undertaken by Dr. Liyanagamage for the Ph.D. degree. But it has not been included in the thesis he finally presented. It does not appear even in *The Decline of Polonnaruva and the Rise of Dambadeniya*, a work based on this thesis, published in 1967. After this paper was read before the Ceylon Studies Seminar, Dr. Liyanagamage very kindly made his unpublished study available to the present writer. For some comments on this study, see also n. 38.

The extensive and impressive array of evidence that Paranavitana marshals to support his theories may be broadly categorised under two heads: re-interpretation of evidence found in well-known literary and epigraphic sources and material from recently discovered epigraphic records

As Paranavitana himself pointed out, his study based on these sources is mainly one of nomenclature; and here he relies heavily on controversial linguistic evidence. The dangers involved in drawing important historical conclusions from the similarity of place-names becomes clear when one recalls the attempt made by a famous scholar to identify Nikumbha mentioned in the *Milindapañha* with Negombo, a modern place name in Ceylon.[18] Further, exactitude and consistence in the use of terms is an important rule to be followed in research of this type. Unfortunately, Paranavitana uses place-names very loosely. For instance, *Malaya*, a key-term he uses often, is sometimes identified as the Malay peninsula, but sometimes it is located in Sumatra.[19] One often wishes that Paranavitana had included a map in his *Ceylon and Malaysia*, where the places he identified could have been marked. If this elementary precaution had been taken, some of the mistakes he has made could easily have been avoided. Further, as Nilakanta Sastri has pointed out, some of the literary sources like the *Rājāvaliya*, *Malalakathāva*, Kedah annals and the Portuguese accounts that Paranavitana uses to base his arguments on are too removed in time from the events they mention to yield any reliable conclusions. Paranavitana makes no attempt to test their historical validity.

The bulk of the material that Paranavitana utilises in his *Ceylon and Malaysia* is drawn from new evidence which, in his lecture before the University of Ceylon Linguistic Society, he claimed to have discovered. According to him, extracts from a number of chronicles, the *Sundarīvṛttānta*, *Paramparāpustaka*, *Māgharājavṛttānta*, *Suvarṇṇapuravaṃsa* and the *Rājavaṃsa*, are to be found on about twenty five inscriptions that he has re-examined or discovered recently at places scattered all over the Island and at Ramesvaram in South India. They include a slab inscription from Vessagiriya, the Rambāva slab and the slab inscription No. 1 of Mahinda IV at the Abhayagiri monastery which have already been published..[20] In his account of the nature and extent of the contents of these records Paranavitana points out that they should prove extremely important to students of the history of Ceylon as well as of India and South East Asia.

18. G. E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909, p. 92, n. 3.
19. See *Ceylon and Malaysia*, pp. 2, 17, 26.
20. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, pls. 10, 28; Vol. II, pl. 12.

However, these documents present the scholar who attempts to use them for historical purposes with problems as formidable as the information they yield is important. Roughly the documents fall into three categories: (i) writing executed in minute letters in between the lines of original inscriptions (ii) inscriptions with letters of normal size and (iii) records indited in both normal and minute writing. The great majority of the records fall within the first category. A few records like the Mädirigiriya inscription belong to the second while the Abhayagiri inscription which falls into the third is said to contain information of great significance.

The presence of interlinear writing, though unusual, is not a unique phenomenon. For instance, interlinear writing of a late date is to be found on the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. But this is perhaps the first time that interlinear writing is used to draw conclusions which would involve the re-writing of the history of a period. The observations that Paranavitana himself made on the nature of these records would underline the problems of decipherment and authentication that their utilisation involves: "There are to be seen on a large number of inscribed slabs and pillars of different dates found in various parts of the Island, writing superficially incised in minute characters, crowded together in between the lines of the original inscription and also going over them. These writings are of such nature that they may be totally overlooked when one's attention is focussed on the original inscription. If the estampage of the inscription is not prepared with the particular purpose of showing them, the writing may not appear on the estampage.... This later writing has been written over and over again and at first sight, appears as a mere jumble of criss-cross lines, but concentrated observation makes it possible for writings of different periods to be discriminated from the rest."[21] Apart from being indited in minute interlinear writing, some records are said to reveal other 'eccentric' features. According to Paranavitana, in some of the records which provide genealogical information on Ulakuḍayadevi and her bridegroom, "the pedigree of the bridegroom is written over that of the bride, or *vice versa*." To add to the confusion, some of the records are engraved over a layer of the word *svasti* which had been indited previouly. "In an area measuring 15 in. by 2½ in.," Paranavitana comments, "I have counted more than 250 repetitions of the word *svasti*.... The whole of the Abhayagiri slab (*Ep.Zey.* Vol. 1,

21. See *Buddhist Yearly*, 1967, p. 26.

No. 20) measuring 8 ft. by 3 ft. 3 in., is covered with this word, written not only in the empty spaces between the lines of the original writing, but also over that writing."[22]

The difficulties involved in the decipherment of the writing are enhanced by the fact that some of the slabs have suffered badly from weathering. In certain instances, Paranavitana has supplied the lacunae on the basis of his comparison with copies of the same record found on other slabs. But in other instances, they have been restored conjecturally. Here one has to constantly keep in mind that one is dealing with what is perhaps the least scientific branch of the discipline of archaeology. The reading of a word as well as the interpretation thereof could be most open to the subjective bias of the scholar. Hence strict care has to be taken by the epigraphist to indicate separately the clear letters, the doubtful readings and the conjectural restorations. It is most unfortunate that, in giving the readings of the relevant inscriptions, Paranavitana fails to follow the system he had constantly adhered to in his previous publications in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and other journals of indicating doubtful readings with simple brackets and conjectural restorations with square brackets. His efforts are directed merely at giving a continuous reading. The usefulness of his reading for historical purposes is severely affected by this regrettable omission.

In order to test the reliability of the given readings, the present writer chose the Abhayagiri slab inscription No. 1 as a sample as it is supposed to contain both normal and interlinear writing. This inscription had been in a bad state of preservation even at the time D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe decided to publish it in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. The lower right portion of the record was extremely weathered and Wickremasinghe could get a continuous reading only up to the eighteenth line and that too with a number of doubtful readings and conjectural restorations. From there up to the fiftieth line where the main part of the inscription which is in Sinhalese ends he found it progressively more difficult to read the right portions of the lines. From the fiftieth to the fifty fifth line Wickremasinghe could read only a word or a letter here and there of the continuation of the record in Sanskrit.[23] Today the slab is in a worse condition after having been exposed to the elements for a further half century.

22. *UCR*, Vol. XXI, 1963, p. 127.
23. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. I, pp. 213-229. See comments on p. 213.

In his paper on 'Ceylon and Śrī Vijaya', published in the special volume of essays offered to G. H. Luce, Paranavitana not only reads the portion from the fiftieth to the fiftyfifth line but also traces seven more lines in smaller letters in continuation of the record. He leaves only a few *mātrās* of a strophe unread, and that in the portion executed in larger letters. He further states that this slab and another discovered in the same vicinity[24] are both "covered from top to bottom with writing in very small characters, inscribed in the spaces betwee the lines of the original Sinhalese writing, as well as going over them." "In some places," he continues, "there are about four lines of writing within the space of about one inch in height. At the top of the second slab is a statement that these are extracts from a book named *Paramparāpustaka* (the Book of Lineages), written in the reign of Vikramabāhu (1111—1132), by a monk named Bhadra who was the pupil of the Sthavira (the Head of the Sangha) of Suvarṇṇapura (Śrī Vijaya), and had received his education at the Abhayagiri Vihāra of Anurādhapura."[25] Paranavitana has drawn heavily on these interlinear writings, some of them yet unpublished, for his *Ceylon and Malaysia*.

Photographs of the Abhayagiri slab inscription No. 1 and the Bōlāna inscription have been published. However, they are not clear enough to enable verification of the given readings. For the purpose of testing the readings, the present writer used two estampages of the Abhayagiri inscription used by Professor Paranavitana. He is grateful to the Professor for the most kind gesture of placing them at his disposal. The main lines of the inscription are separated by horizontal lines drawn 1.6 in. from each other. The area in which Paranavitana traced seven more lines is a portion 6.5 in. in height and is one of the most weathered sections of the slab. One would expect 'superficially incised minute letters' to be easily defaced by being exposed to the elements. But Paranavitana gives a continuous reading of this portion. What the present writer, without the 'trained eye of the epigraphist', could see in this portion, was a jumble of criss-cross lines and blotches, evidently the marks of erosion. Here and there, while looking for the writing that Paranavitana speaks of, one may sometimes notice what appears like the form of a letter. But it could easily be one's imagination. However, an examination of the slab and the two estampages makes it quite clear that it is impossible, even for a trained epigraphist, to get a continuous reading

24. The Abhayagiri slab inscription No. 2, *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. I, pp. 230-241.
25. *Essays offered to G. H. Luce*. . . . Vol. I, p. 207.

as Paranavitana has done. This portion of the slab is completely weathered away in a large number of places and leaves only white blotches on the estampages. (See *Fig.* 1). A further attempt was made to ascertain the presence of interlinear writings by taking 'pencil rubbings' of the better preserved portions of the two relevant slabs at Abhayagiri; but this, too, did not yield affirmative results.

The attempts of the present writer to verify the given readings were, therefore, necessarily restricted to the first five lines of the Sanskrit portion of the record. According to Paranavitana's reading, key terms relevant to the discussion, Jāva, Suvarṇṇapura and Malaya, occur in six places within this portion. Of these, four are said to occur in those sections of the slab which are the most badly weathered. The phrases *malayānila-kāmikā* and *j-jāva-mahīpāla* which occur, according to Paranavitana's reading, at the beginning respectively of the lines 53 and 54 are in a relatively well preserved part of the slab. (See *Fig.* 2). Wickremasinghe assumed that line 53 started with *la* and read the passage as *lasi..kāmikā*. The word *kāmikā*, on which both Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana agree, is quite legible. The same could be said of *la* and its position seems to indicate that there was another letter before it. But it is impossible to recognize this letter, quite apart from reading it as *ma*. The third letter could be either *sa* or *ya* as read by Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana; but one would find it difficult to rule out the possibility that it represents the form *ha*, with a medial *i* or *ī* attached to it. The space between this letter and *kā* is too weathered to enable a clear reading. Of the reading *j-jāva-mahīpāla*, Wickremasinghe had read only the last two letters which he rendered as *pālo*. One may find it possible to agree with Paranavitana's reading of the letter before *pa* as *ha*. But one cannot trace the sign of the medial *ī* above it. Further this letter is below the second letter in line 53. Hence it is rather doubtful whether all the characters *j-jāva-ma* could have been inscribed in the small space preceding it. Thus the present writer could not obtain satisfactory results of an affirmative nature in his attempts to verify the readings published by Paranavitana.

Certain serious defects are noticeable in the technique that Paranavitana adopts to develop the theses he presents in his *Ceylon and Malaysia*. Even if one were to accept Paranavitana's readings, it is evident from his own comments that the inscriptions belong chronologically to a number of different layers, the latest of which has to be dated in the seventeenth century or a period subsequent to it. Paranavitana makes no attempt

Fig. 1. Abhayagiri Slab No. 1. Enlarged photograph of a section of the lower portion. The white blotches indicating weathering testify to the difficulties in verifying the minute writings read by Professor Paranavitana.

Fig. 2. Abhayagiri Slab No. 1. Photograph showing left portions of lines 51-55.

to separate these layers. Nor does he try to test his evidence or even to separate the more reliable evidence from the less reliable. All effort is directed at presenting a continuous narrative and an ostensibly flawless thesis.

It is difficult to understand why these records, containing such vital information, were indited between the lines of older inscriptions, and not on separate slabs and pillars. Not many would be satisfied with Paranavitana's explanation that the authors were taking precautions against their works being destroyed by opposing factions. It is not very easy to believe that these opposing factions seeking to destroy the records were expected to spare them because they dared not damage inscriptions which had been set up several centuries earlier. To do so the authors should have attributed to their opponents a very high degree of respect for historical sources. The motive of the scribes in inditing a document in such a fashion that one layer of writing was carved over another, as in the case of the Bōlāna inscription, is also a feature which defies explanation and comprehension. Further, it is important to note that not even the names of the chronicles that are extensively used by Paranavitana occur outside the interlinear writings on inscriptions he claims to have discovered. Hence, 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.

The preceding inquiry into the source material that Paranavitana utilised reveals that the foundation on which he has built his theories is most unreliable. In the next part of this paper, the arguments put forward by Paranavitana will be examined with a view to testing their validity against other known historical evidence.

II

"When the eleventh year of the reign of this king had arrived, a king of the Jāvakas known by the name of Candabhānu landed with a terrible Jāvaka army under the treacherous pretext that they were also followers of the Buddha." Thus the author of the *Cūlavaṃsa* recorded, in his account of the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1236—1270 A.D.), the only definite instance of relations between Ceylon and Malaysia to be found in the chronicles of Ceylon.[26] The *Hatthavanagalla-vihāravaṃsa*, (*Hvv.*), a work written not long after the event, also mentions the

26. *Cv.* 83. 36, 37.

incident and refers to the invader as the king of Tambalinga.[27] The question of the identity of the invader was settled with the publication by Coedès of the Sanskrit inscription from Vat Hva Vian in Jaiya. This record mentions a king of Tāmraliṅga named Śrī Dharmarāja and bearing the title Candrabhānu. It is dated in 1230 A.D.[28] The Malay Peninsula was known by the name Jāvakadvīpa. According to the information in the Ceylon annals, the invasion of Candabhānu has to be dated to about 1247 A.D. Hence there is little reason to doubt Coedès' conclusion that the Jaiya inscription and the *Cūlavaṃsa* refer to the same person.

The first invasion of Candabhānu was unsuccessful and, according to the *Cūlavaṃsa*, a second attempt to conquer the Island was made by this ruler in about 1260 A.D. This, too, was unsuccessful. Paranavitana has pointed out that the second invasion could have been led by a son of the first invader as the term Candabhānu was a title and not a personal name.

Apart from these references in the Ceylon chronicles, the *Jinakālamālī* mentions a mission sent to Ceylon by Rocarāja of Sukhodaya and his friend Siri Dhammarāja of Siri Dhammanagara to obtain an image of the Buddha which was said to possess miraculous powers.[29] Siri Dhammanagara has been identified with Nakhon Si Tammarat. The incident is dated in the year 718 of the Siamese Saka era and the year 1800 of the Buddhist era i.e. 1256/7 A.D. If the authenticity of this account is accepted, it may be taken as evidence corroborating the account in the *Cūlavaṃsa*.

In his attempt to prove close and prolonged contact between these two regions, Paranavitana cites the reference in the *Cūlavaṃsa* to two missions that Parākramabāhu II sent to foreign lands to obtain monks to help organize the Sinhalese *saṅgha*.[30] One of these missions was sent to the Coḷa kingdom. The other was sent to Tambaraṭṭha for the specific purpose of inviting Dhammakitti, a monk who had earned a wide reputation for his virtue.

27. *Hvv.* (PTS), London, 1956, p. 32.
28. G. Coedès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, Bangkok, 1924-9, Vol. II, p. 41.
29. *Jinakālamālī*, (PTS), 1962, p. 87.
30. *Cv.* 84. 9—16.

Geiger was inclined to believe that Tambaraṭṭha should be located in South India.[31] Paranavitana points out that the *Pūjāvaliya* substitutes Tamaliṃgam for Tambaraṭṭha in the account of the arrival of Dhammakitti.[32] The *Elu-attanagaluvaṃsa* (*Eav*), the fourteenth century translation of the *Hvv*, gives Tamaliṃgamu in place of Tambaliṅga in its account of the invasion of Candabhānu.[33] On the basis of this evidence, Paranavitana identifies Tambaraṭṭha with Tambaliṅga and locates it in the Jaiya region.

The term Tambaraṭṭha finds mention in three other sources. A strophe in a fragmentary inscription from Polonnaruva, probably issued in the reign of Vikramabāhu I (1111—1132), mentions a hierarch by the name Ānanda who is compared to "a banner raised aloft in the land of Laṅkā". The last two *pādas* of the strophe, which are readable only in part, refer to his connections with the *saṅgha* of Tambaraṭṭha and of the Coḷa land.[34] The second reference occurs in the *Paramatthavinicchaya* (*Pmv.*) written by Anuruddha. According to its colophon, the author was born in "the township of Kāvīra in the land of the city of Kāñci" and was living at the time of writing at the town of Tañja in Tambaraṭṭha.[35] Malalasekera is of opinion that this monk would have lived at the beginning of the twelfth century.[36] Buddharakkhita, the author of the *Jinālaṅkāra*, speaks in the colophon of this work about his reputation among the learned men of *coḷiyatambaraṭṭha*.[37] This phrase could be interpreted as 'the Coḷa land and Tambaraṭṭha' or as 'Tambaraṭṭha of the Coḷas'. It is very tempting to accept the second interpretation and to identify Tañja of the *Pmv.* with Tañjāvūr, the capital of the Coḷas [38]. But the context of the reference in the *Cūlavaṃsa* precludes such an interpretation; it is clear from this that, at least in the thirteenth century, Tambaraṭṭha was distinct from the Coḷa country. For separate missions were sent to these two places. The evidence in the Polonnaruva inscription cited above, too, would suggest that Tambaraṭṭha and Coḷaraṭṭha were distinct from each other.

31. *Cv.*, (trsl.), Vol. II, p. 155 n.2.
32. *Pjv.*, (ed. A. V. Suravīra), Colombo, 1961, p. 118.
33. *Eav.*, (ed. Munidāsa Kumāraṇatuṅga), 1925, p. 47.
34. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. IV, pp. 71—72.
35. *Pmv.*, (Devānanda ed.), Colombo, 1926, p. 337.
36. G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1958, p. 169.
37. *Jinālaṅkāra*, (ed. R. Pālita), 1955, p.31.
38. In his unpublished paper, Liyanagamage follows Geiger in attempting to locate Tambaraṭṭha in the Coḷa kingdom by identifying Tañja with the capital of the Coḷas. However, he seems to have subsequently changed his views. For in *The Decline of Polonnaruva and the Rise of Dambadeniya* (p. 137), he accepts the identification proposed by Paranavitana.

And if Paranavitana's identification of Tambaraṭṭha is accepted, these instances would point to close cultural contact between Ceylon and the Jaiya region during a considerably long period.

Paranavitana's identification is based on the equation Tambaraṭṭha = Tamaliṃgam (Tamaliṃgamu) = Tambaliṅga. A closer examination reveals that it is not as dependable as it would seem at first sight because there appears to be a certain amount of confusion in the use of the key term Tamaliṃgam in Sinhalese literary works. The *Saddharmālaṅkāraya* relates a story about sixty Sinhalese monks who reached the roadstead of Tamaliṃgamu in Daṁbadiv and headed for the city of Pāḷalup (Pāṭaliputra) on their way to visit the sacred Bo tree[39]. Similarly, the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* describes how the ship bearing the Bo sapling sent by Asoka to Devānampiyatissa came down the Ganges and touched at Tamaliṃgamtoṭa (the port of Tamaliṃgam) on its way to Ceylon.[40] In both these contexts, Tamaliṃgamu could hardly be any other place but the port of Tāmralipti. In fact, certain ancient literary works translated into Sinhalese give Tamaliṃgam in place of Tāmalitti (Tāmralipti) in the Pali originals. The Sinhalese gloss[41] on the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* gives Tamaliṃgam in place of Tāmalitti while the *Daḷadāsirita* retains the latter form without change.[42] It would thus be clear that Sinhalese translators have used the term Tamaliṃgam and its variants Tamaliṃgamu and Tamaliṃgomu to refer to three places: Tambaraṭṭha, Tambaliṅga and Tāmralipti. Hence it seems unwise to argue that Tambaraṭṭha should be identified with Tambaliṅga as the same term Tamaliṃgam is used to refer to both these places in Sinhalese works.

Apart from Tāmralipti and Tāmraliṅga, names beginning with *tāmra* meaning 'copper' were used to denote several other places. These will have to be examined before any conclusion is arrived at about the identity of Tambaraṭṭha. Tambadīparaṭṭha was a name used to denote a part of Burma. Dhammasenāpati, the Burmese monk who wrote the *Kārikā*, the Pali grammar, states in its colophon that he lived at Arimaddanapura (Pagan) in Tambadīparaṭṭha. The *Sāsanavaṃsa* dates its composition to the year 1601 of the Buddhist era.[43] It could be somewhat later.

39. *Saddharmālaṅkāraya*, (ed. Bentoṭa Saddhātissa), Pānadura, 1934, p. 361.
40. *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, (ed. Kosgoḍa Ñāṇavimala), Colombo, 1931, p. 361.
41. Halvegoḍa Sīlālaṅkāra edition, p. 81, quoted by Paranavitana, *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. VII, Pt. 1, p. 20.
42. *Daḷadāsirita*, (ed. V. Sorata), Colombo 1955, p. 32.
43. A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, 1962, pp. 480-481.

The *Nighaṇḍuṭīkā* or the *Abhidhānappadīpikāsaṃvaṇṇanā* was composed by a Burmese minister called Caturaṅgabala in about the fourteenth century. He mentions that he lived in the reign of Sīhasūra, the king of Tambadīparaṭṭha.[44] G. H. Luce has quoted the *Jambudīpa Uchavi* to point out that the region to the east and south of the Irrawaddy was known as Tambadīpa while the region to the north and west of this river was called Sunāparānta.[45] This is supported by an inscription from the Shwezayan *pagoda* at Thatön which mentions a king called Makuṭarāja who is described as the lord of "the whole of Tāmbāviseya".[46] Luce has identified Makuṭarāja with Manuhā, the contemporary of Anawrahta (1044—1077 A.D.), who ruled over Lower Burma.[47] As Dupont has suggested, Tāmbāviseya may be compared with Tāmraviṣaya;[48] the latter is a term synonymous with the Pali Tambaraṭṭha.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions an island called Tāmra.[49] The *Divyāvadāna*, too, refers to a certain Tāmradvīpa.[50] Edgerton has suggested that they denote Ceylon which was known at one time as Tāmraparṇṇidvīpa.[51] The name of the South Indian river Tāmraparṇṇi goes back very much into the past and finds mention in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[52] It is possible that the land round this river was also known by the same name. In fact, in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Tāmraparṇṇa occurs as one of the nine divisions of the Bhāratavarṣa.[53] Hence the possibility that Tambaraṭṭha could have been a region in South India has also to be kept in mind.

The foregoing discussion demonstrates the difficulties involved in identifying Tambaraṭṭha with Tambaliṅga on the similarity of names: There were several other regions round the Bay of Bengal which could have borne or did bear similar names. It might have been possible to accept Paranavitana's identification if the *Cūlavaṃsa* and the *Pūjāvaliya* which speak of Tambaraṭṭha and Tamaliṃgamu as the home of Dhammakitti used these names also to denote the kingdom of Candabhānu.

44. A. P. Buddhadatta, *Pāli Sāhityaya*, Vol. II, p. 535.
45. *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XLII, p. 39.
46. Pierre Dupont, *L'archéologie Môns du Dvāravatī*, Paris, 1959, Vol. I, p. 9.
47. G. H. Luce, *Mons of the Pagan Dynasty*, p. 9.
48. See n. 46.
49. *Mbh.*, Poona, 1940-61, 2.28.46.
50. *Divyāvadāna*, (Cowell and Neil), p.525.
51. Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, London, 1953, Vol. II, p. 251.
52. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Poona, 1905, 77. 24—25.
53. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Poona, 1907, 114. 8, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Calcutta, 1961, 2. 36.

But this is not so; in these works he is merely referred to as the king of the Jāvakas. Unfortunately, the *Hvv.* and *Eav.*, which refer to Candabhānu as having come from Tambaliṅga or Tamaliṃgam, are silent about the arrival of Dhammakitti.

By way of supporting his identification, Paranavitana remarks that there was "a Tanjongpura somewhere in the Malay peninsula which would very well have been the Tañjanagara referred to in the *Paramatthavinicchaya*". "There is also," he adds, "a Tanjong Tembeling."[54] Chau-ju-kua mentions a certain Tan-jong-wou-lo as one of the dependencies of Java.[55] This has been interpreted by Coedés as a transliteration of Tanjong-pura.[56] Tanjung-puri, described as a principal city is listed among the tributaries and neighbours of the kingdom of Majapahit in the *Nāgara-Kĕrtāgama*.[57] Pigeaud who edited this Javanese chronicle located Tanjungpuri in the Island of Borneo.[58] Internal evidence from the chronicle supports this identification which has found general acceptance among scholars.

It is true that many places in the Malay peninsula have the term *tanjong* as a part of their conjoint names. For *tanjong* in the Malay language means 'cape' or 'promontory'. Tanjong Tembeling, the toponym which Paranavitana cites to support his identification, merely means 'the headland of the river Tembeling'. Had the author of the *Pmv.* lived at one such place, it is very unlikely that he would have stated that he lived at Tañja without giving the actual name of the place.

No place bearing the name Tañja is known from Burma. On the other hand, there were at least two places by this name in South India. One of these was Tañjāvūr, modern Tanjore, which was the capital of the Coḷas for some time. But, as pointed out earlier, Tambaraṭṭha seems to have been outside the Coḷa country, at least in the time of Parākramabāhu II. However, another city by this name finds mention in the Sinnamannūr plates issued in the sixteenth year of Rājasiṃha, the Pāṇḍya ruler. In this record, Rājasiṃha claims to have "defeated the king of Tañjai at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai, the seat of one of the

54. *Ceylon and Malaysia*, p. 81.
55. F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau-ju-kua, His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi*, Amsterdam, 1966, p. 83.
56. *Les etats* . . . , p.340.
57. Rekawi Prapañca, *The Nāgara-Kĕrtāgama*, translated into English as *Java in the 14th century, A Study in Cultural History* by Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, The Hague 1960–4 Vol. III p. 16.
58. *Ibid.* Vol. IV p. 31; see also pp. 128, 230.

powerful Coḷa subordinates, burnt Vañji and destroyed the king of Southern Tañjai at Nāval."[59] If the first Tañjai is identified with the Coḷa capital, it is seen that another city by the same name, evidently to the south of the former, finds mention in the inscription. Presumably, a prince independent of Pāṇḍya authority was ruling there. This city finds mention also in the *Tañçaivānankōvai*, a literary work dated to the twelfth century by the scholar who edited it, but possibly about two centuries later than this date. The hero of this poem was a feudatory of the Pāṇḍyas who ruled from 'Tañçai of the south'. According to the poem, this city was situated near the Poḍiyil hills by the river Vaikai.[60] Evidently, the principality which had been independent earlier had, by this time, accepted the suzerainty of the Pāṇḍyas.

The difficulties involved in identifying Tambaraṭṭha with the Ligor area of the Malay peninsula induces one to consider other possibilities. Tambaraṭṭha occurs in all its known contexts in association with South India. In one instance a person born in the city of Kāvīra goes to live in Tambaraṭṭha while in the other three instances it is mentioned together with the Coḷa country. This would suggest that it was situated near the Coḷa kingdom. The Tañja of the *Pmv.* could, therefore, be very well identified with 'Tañjai (or Tançai) of the South' mentioned in the Sinnamannūr plates and the *Tañçaivānankōvai*. Hence it appears, on the evidence available to us, that Tambaraṭṭha of the Pali sources has to be located in South India rather than in South East Asia.

Central to Paranavitana's thesis is the radically new interpretation he proposes in the fifth and sixth chapters of his book for the term Kaliṅga which occurs in the literary and inscriptional works of Ceylon. Reference to Kaliṅga occurs for the first time in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, where the ancestry of Vijaya is traced back to a prince from Vaṅga and a Kaliṅga princess.[61] The *Cūlavaṃsa* records that, in the reign of Sirimeghavaṇṇa (301—328 A.D.), the Tooth Relic of the Buddha was brought to Ceylon from the Kaliṅga country.[62] In the reign of Aggabodhi II (604—614), a ruler of Kaliṅga "whose mind was disturbed on seeing the death of living beings in war" fled to Ceylon with his queen and a minister.[63] By the beginning of the tenth century, nobles belonging to a Kaliṅga clan

59. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III p. 449.
60. *Tañcaivānankōvai*, (ed. S. R. Ramasami Pillai), Madras, 1952, pp. 11, 16, 20. 27, 31, 310, 339.
61. *Mv.* 6. 1.
62. *Cv.* 37. 92.
63. *Cv.* 42. 44-49.

could be found holding responsible positions in the administrative hierarchy. Certain officials of both Kassapa IV (898—914) and V (914—923) are referred to by the term Kiliṃ, probably derived from Kaliṅga as the editor of the inscriptions supposed.[64] Ceylon came into closer contact with Kaliṅga in the reigns of Mahinda IV (956—972), Vijayabāhu I (1055—1110) and Vikramabāhu I (1111—1132) all of whom married princesses from Kaliṅga. The issues of these unions seem to have been supposed to belong to the Kaliṅga clan. Mahinda V refers to himself as "the pinnacle of the Kaliṅga clan".[65] The *Cūlavaṃsa* describes Gajabāhu II (1132—1153), son of Vikramabāhu I by the Kaliṅga princess Sundarī, as a scion of the Kaliṅga clan.[66] It is possible that Vikramabāhu I, who was the son of Vijayabāhu I by the Kaliṅga princess Tilokasundarī, was likewise supposed to belong to this clan.

This close relationship between Kaliṅga and Ceylon reached its climax when, for the first time, a prince born in Kaliṅga ascended the throne in the person of Nissaṅkamalla (1187—1196) who claims, in an inscription found at Polonnaruva, that he was a *bāṇaṇuvan* ('nephew', 'son-in-law') of Parākramabāhu I.[67] He was brought from Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga, where he was born, and groomed for kingship by Parākramabāhu. The period of turbulent political activity which followed the death of Parākramabāhu saw a number of scions of the Kaliṅga clan ascending the Sinhalese throne, some though for a short time. Nissaṅkamalla, who ruled for nine years was followed by his son Vīrabāhu (1196), his brothers Vikramabāhu II (1196) and Sāhassamalla (1200—1202), his queen Kalyāṇavatī (1202—1208) and his nephew Coḍagaṅga (1196—1197). The last ruler to come from Kaliṅga was Māgha. The *Cūlavaṃsa* describes how he invaded Ceylon with twenty four thousand soldiers and ruled from Polonnaruva, oppressing the local population with unprecedented cruelty. His soldiers are referred to as Keraḷas and sometimes as Damiḷas.[68] The *Pūjāvaliya*, which was written not long after the event, mentions that Māgha of Kaliṅga came with twenty four thousand Malalas to conquer the Polonnaruva kingdom and to rule with the assistance of Damiḷas for nineteen years.[69]

64. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. IV, p. 64. 1. A. 18. Another interpretation of the term Kiliṃ is possible. It may be connected with Kuliṅga, a clan-name which occurs in the *Mahāvamsa. Mv.* 19.2.
65. See *infra* p. 44.
66. *Cv.* 63.8
67. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V, p. 205 ll. A 15-19.
68. *Cv.* 80. 54-79
69. *Pjv.*, pp. 108-9.

Till the time Paranavitana's first article was published, there was no doubt about the identification of Kaliṅga with the Indian region by this name. Evidence from the contexts where this term occurred seemed to support this identification. The *Cūlavaṃsa*, for instance, mentions three kinsmen of the queen Tilokasundarī, Madhukaṇṇava, Balakkāra and Bhīma, who came to Ceylon in the time of Vijayabāhu I. It was their sister that Vikramabāhu I chose as his queen.[70] Paranavitana himself has pointed out in an earlier article the similarity between the names Madhukaṇṇava and Madhukāmārṇṇava. The latter was the name of a Gaṅga king who ruled in the eleventh century.[71] Similarly, Nissaṅkamalla's nephew who followed him to the throne shared the name Coḍagaṅga with another king of the Gaṅga line. Kalyāṇa Mahādevī, one of the queens of Nissaṅkamalla, is specifically referred to as a member of the Gaṅgavaṃsa.[72] This information suggests that the Kaliṅga rulers of Ceylon had a close connection with the Orissa region where the Gaṅgas were in power.

However, Śrī Jayagopa, who is mentioned as the father of three of the Kaliṅga rulers of Ceylon, cannot be identified with any of the known rulers of the more important dynasties which ruled over Orissa during this period. Nor was Siṃhapura the capital of Kaliṅga at this time. The capital had been located there at a time between the fourth and the sixth centuries when the Komarti plates of Candravarman and the Bṛhatprostha grant of Umavarman were issued. These two rulers refer to themselves by the title Kaliṅgādhipati and issue their edicts from Siṃhapura or Sīhapura. Hultzsch who edited these records identified Siṃhapura with modern Singupuram which is situated between Chicacole and Narasennapēṭā.[73] But, by the period under discussion, the capital had been shifted to Kaliṅganagara.

Sircar tries to explain this difficulty away by suggesting that the authors of the *Cūlavaṃsa* were merely continuing an older tradition in referring to Siṃhapura as the capital of Kaliṅga.[74] But, as Paranavitana points out, Sinhalese inscriptions of this period, too, refer to Siṃhapura as the home of the Kaliṅga princes. This discrepancy prompted Paranavitana to look for a Kaliṅga and a Siṃhapura elsewhere. On the other hand, these

70. *Cv.* 59.46
71. S. Paranavitana, 'The Kaliṅga Dynasty of Ceylon', *Jnl. of the Gtr.Ind.Soc.*, Vol. III, pp. 57-64.
72. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 106 11. B2—3.
73. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142ff.; Vol. XII, pp. 4—6.
74. *The Struggle for Empire*, (ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker), pp. 267—8.

princes who willingly left their homeland to come over to Ceylon could very well have belonged to a minor ruling family. It is also possible that they were the descendants of the old dynasty of Siṃhapura who continued to live there after their fall from power.

Professor Paranavitana adduces a number of arguments to support his hypothesis that when the Sinhalese *literati* of the period between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries refer to Kaliṅga, "it is not the region of that name in Eastern India that was meant, but a region in Malaysia" and that it was from this Malaysian region that the rulers of the Kaliṅga dynasty came to Ceylon.

Firstly, he proposes to identify Māgha as an invader from Malaysia. The main evidence on which Paranavitana bases this hypothesis is drawn from the *Rājāvaliya* which was written in about the eighteenth century. According to the *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Cūlavaṃsa*, the bulk of the soldiers who fought under Candrabhānu were Jāvakas.[75] But in the *Rājāvaliya* the soldiers of this king are referred to as Malalas.[76] On the basis of this evidence, Paranavitana equates the term Jāvaka with Malala. Then he goes on to point out that in the *Pūjāvaliya* Malala is the term used to refer to the soldiers in Māgha's army.

In support of his identification of Malala as a reference to Malays, Paranavitana cites evidence from the *Kāvyaśekhara* of the fifteenth-century poet Rāhula. Among princes from various regions who came to pay their respects to the Bodhisattva at Benares, this work mentions a Malala prince who brought presents which included *takul*.[77] The term Malala, probably derived from Malaya, is applicable to the Malabar region as much as it could be connected with Malaiyūr which most scholars agree in locating in Sumatra.[78] Paranavitana relies in his identification of Malala in the *Kāvyaśekhara* with the South East Asian region on the argument that *takul* (Skt. *taṙkola*) "is included in ancient Tamil literature among the commodities brought in ships to South India from the regions in the Malay Peninsula". This statement is made on the authority of Nilakanta Sastri[79] but an attempt to verify the sources would reveal that it is based

75. *Pjv.*, p. 117; *Cv.*, 83. 36, 37.
76. *Rājāvaliya*, (ed. B. Gunasekara), 1953, p. 45.
77. *Kāvyaśekhara*, (ed. Ratmalānē Dharmārāmā), Canto 10, v. 118.
78. See Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, Kuala Lampur, 1961, p. 200.
79. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Tamil Land and the Eastern Colonies', *Jnl. of the Gtr.Ind.Soc.*, Vol. XI, 1944, pp. 26-28.

on a number of surmises. The relevant statement in the *Çilappadikāram* refers to ships bringing spices entering the emporium of Madura with the eastern wind.[80] It is noteworthy that there is no reference at all to South East Asian lands. It is on the basis of reference to the eastern wind that a surmise has been made that the ships came from South East Asia; but this need not necessarily be so. On the other hand, the *Çilappadikāram* makes no mention of *takkola* being imported to Madura. It was only in the fourteenth-century commentary by Aḍiyārkkunnalar that the term *vāsam* which occurs in the original verse is explained as referring among other things to *takkoli*.[81] Thus it becomes evident that the belief that *takkola* was imported to South India from Malaysian regions rests on rather unreliable and indefinite evidence.

Takkola has been taken to mean 'cubebs' by Paranavitana. Even if cubeb was imported to South India, this does not of course mean that it was not grown in India, just as much as a rice-producing country like Ceylon may have to import rice to meet her excessive internal demand. In his review of *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Indrapala[82] has drawn attention to the fact that in 1504, not long after the time of the writing of the *Kāvyaśekhara*, cubeb was among the cargoes sent to Lisbon from the Malabar coast. Moreover, the accounts of Garcia written in the sixteenth century and of Valentyn written in 1675 mention cubeb as an export from the Malabar region. It is quite likely that this commodity had been exported from the Malabar coast for quite some time before the sixteenth century. For certain versions of the travels of Marco Polo also mention this fact.[83] In trying to determine the meaning of *takul*, it is relevant to note that in Tamil the term *takkolam* was also used in other senses to denote betel leaf, arecanuts and long pepper.[84] The *Piṅkala-nikaṇṭu* gives *takkolam*, together with *akil*, *milaku*, *kōṭṭam* and *kuṅkumam*, as the five products of the hilly regions.[85] It is also noteworthy that the *Dharmapradīpikā*, a Sinhalese work written in about the twelfth century, refers in its commentary on the *Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka* to *takul* as a plant found in the Hima-

80. *The Śilappadikāram*, (ed. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar), Madras, 1939, Canto 14, vv. 106-112.
81. See *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 182—3.
82. *JCBRAS* (new Series), Vol. XI, 1967, p. 105.
83. Garcia de Orta (Garzia dall'Horto), *Dell'Istoria dei semplici ed altre cose che vengono portate dall' Indie Orientalie..*, (Trad. dal Portughese da Annib. Briganti), Venezia, 1589, pp. 39—403; Francois Valentyn, *Keurlyke Beschryving van Choromandel, Pegu, Arrakan, Bengale..*, Amsterdam, 1726, p. 243; See *The Travels of Marco Polo*, New York, 1958, pp. 305, 391.
84. *Tamil Lexicon*, University of Madras, 1928, Vol. III, p. 1704.
85. *malai-paṭu-tiraviyam. Piṅkala-nikaṇṭu*, Madras, 1917, p. 72. It is clear from a later entry that the text is using *malai* to denote 'hill'. (p. 90.)

layan precincts.[86] The preceding discussion should make it clear that the author of the *Kāvyaśekhara* may not have kept a Malaysian region in mind when he wrote about the Malala prince who brought *takul*. He could very well have been thinking of a ruler from the Malabar region.

The *Hvv*. states that Māgha came from Jambudīpa.[87] This statement contradicts Paranavitana's hypothesis as the term Jambudīpa is used in Ceylonese sources to denote the Indian sub-continent. Paranavitana admits the difficulties raised by the passage but opines that this statement would be 'vague' if the normal meaning is attached to it. He suggests that the original reading would have been Jambidīpa and that later copyists would have changed Jambi to Jambu. Jambidīpa, Parnavitana identifies with Sumatra, where the modern town of Jambi is situated. This would imply that Kaliṅga where Māgha came from has to be located in Sumatra.

Clearly this is one of the weakest and most tendentious of Paranavitana's arguments. Though it would seem that a statement indicating that a person came from Jambudīpa is vague, this form was quite usual. There are many instances of mention in the chronicles and other literary sources of Ceylon of individuals going to or coming from Jambudīpa, the earliest being the reference to the arrival of Mahinda in the *Dīpavaṃsa*.[88] Further, Jambi or Tchan-pei of the Chinese sources is referred to as a city, the capital of Mo-lo-yu (Malāyu) which has been located in the southern part of Sumatra.[89] There is absolutely no evidence in any of the known sources to show that Sumatra was known as Jambidīpa. Nor is Jambidīpa even an attested toponym. It does not occur as a variant reading in any one of the manuscripts consulted for the many different editions of the *Hvv*. The *Hvv*. was evidently written after the coronation of Vijayabāhu III (1272 A.D.) which is referred to therein. It is clear that the reading of the term was not Jambidīpa at least in 1382 A.D. because the earlier of the two Sinhalese versions of the *Hvv*., completed by this year, uses the term *Jambudīpapradeśayen* in rendering it into Sinhalese.[90]

To overcome the difficulties raised by the passage in the *Eav*., Paranavitana attempts to give another interpretation of the term *Jambudīpapradeśa;* but this seems to run counter to his arguments cited in the prece-

86. *Dharmapradīpikā*, (ed. Dharmakīrti Śrī Dharmārāma), Pāliyagoḍa, 1906, p. 274.
87. *Hvv*., p.30.
88. *Dv*. 12.51.
89. *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XXX, 1933, pp. 376-7.
90. *Eav*., p. 44.

ding paragraphs. He states that the term *pradeśa* is used in Sanskrit texts with a specific technical sense to denote "dependencies" of the Indian sub-continent like Malayadvīpa and Yavadvīpa. Therefore, he suggests, that the author of the *Eav.* would have used the term *Jambudvīpapradeśa* in the sense of the modern English usage 'Further India'. It might be pointed out that if the author of the *Eav.* used this term with one of the South East Asian regions in mind, it would be a much more 'vague' usage than referring to an Indian region by the term Jambudīpa. Further in referring to the kingdom of Candrabhānu, he uses the term *Tamaliṅgamudeśa.*[91] It would be difficult to believe that an author who in one place refers to a South East Asian region by its particular name would use a 'vague' term in another place within the same chapter.

It should be clear from the foregoing discussions that there is little reason to doubt that the terms Jambudvīpa and Jambudipapradeśa connoted anything other than their conventional meaning i.e. the Indian sub-continent. It would seem that Paranavitana's hypothesis on the identification of the home of Māgha with an area in South East Asia rests mainly on the Jāvaka = Malala equation. This is a point which needs careful consideration. The *Pūjāvaliya*, which was written by a contemporary of Parākramabāhu II, is perhaps the most reliable of the sources available on this period and the closest to the events under discussion. It describes how Parākramabāhu II had to fight against three different groups of people, the Malalas, Demaḷas and the Jāvakas, to unify the Island under his leadership. Of these peoples, the Jāvakas were the soldiers who fought under Candrabhānu. It also describes the army of Māgha 'the Kāliṅga' as composed of twenty-four thousand Malalas. The third was Jayabāhu. The joint forces of Māgha and Jayabāhu had both Malala and Demaḷa soldiers and numbered forty thousand. In the description of the campaign against these two kings they are referred to as *demaḷa rajun*, 'Dravidian Kings'.[92] The accuracy of the classification of Māgha as a Dravidian king may be called in question. But it is clear that the forces of Māgha are referred to as Malalas while those of Candrabhānu are called Jāvakas. Malalas and Jāvakas occur as two distinct peoples and the context of the occurrence of these terms in the *Pūjāvaliya* does not warrant the Jāvaka = Malala equation on which Paranavitana's hypothesis is based. Paranavitana also argues that Malala is equated with Malayuru in an eighteenth century *sanne* on the *Kokilasandeśa.*[93] Malayuru calls to one's mind the term

91. *Eav.*, p. 47
92. *Pjv.*, p. 116.
93. *Kokila sandeśa*, (ed. P. S. Perera), Colombo 1906, p. 95. Quoted in *Ceylon and Malaysia*, p. 83

Malaiyūr mentioned earlier. However, it is doubtful whether this equation could be applied to the passage in the *Pūjāvaliya* as both these terms Malala and Malayuru occur in this work evidently with two different meanings.[94]

The sense in which the term Malala is used in the *Pūjāvaliya* becomes clear if the relevant passages are compared with the parallel passages in the *Cūlavaṃsa*. In the latter work, Māgha is said to have come from Kaliṅga, bringing with him twenty-four thousand soldiers who roamed about announcing that they were Keraḷas and cruelly oppressing the people. Later on, it is stated that Parākramabāhu II had to fight against forty thousand Keraḷas and Damiḷas in his struggle against Māgha and Jayabāhu.[95] It becomes evident from this that the two chronicles agree closely in their accounts of these events and that it was in place of Keraḷa in the *Cūlavaṃsa* that the *Pūjāvaliya* uses the term Malala.

However, Paranavitana prefers not to accept the obvious meaning of Keraḷa i.e. the Malabar region. He argues that if Keraḷas were Malayalis, they would not have been content to win political power for a foreigner. Secondly, he maintains that the term Keraḷa occurs in the *Cūlavaṃsa* when the influence of the Kaliṅgas, whom he identifies as Malaysians, was dominant in Ceylon politics. On the basis of these arguments, Paranavitana proposes to identify Keraḷa as derived from Kirāṭa, a term used, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, to denote the peoples who dwelt to the east of the Bharatavarṣa.[96]

It may be pointed out here that the practice of using South Indian mercenaries was not rare. As evident from the *Cūlavaṃsa*, Candrabhānu himself drew heavily from the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya territories for military recruits for his second invasion of Ceylon.[97] Mercenaries from the Karṇāṭa and the Keraḷa regions were employed not only by adventurers seeking power and prestige but also by well-established dynasties in their imperial armies as in the case of the Coḷas of South India and the Pālas in the North.[98] It is not surprising, therefore, for Māgha to employ the inhabitants of Malabar for his invasion of Ceylon.

94. *Pjv.*, (ed. Saddhātissa), 1930, p. 106.
95. *Cv.* 80. 58-62; 83.50-1. Geiger's translation of *Cv.* 83.20 is inaccurate.
96. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Canto 45, v. 82.
97. *Cv.* 88. 62, 63.
98. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Coḷas*, Madras, 1955, p. 134; *The Struggle for Empire*, (ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker), 1957, p. 257.

An inscription issued by Nissaṅkamalla provides a strong argument against Paranavitana's interpretation of Keraḷa as denoting the 'eastern regions' including the home of Māgha. Nissaṅkamalla, whom Paranavitana identifies as a Malaysian prince, indulges in one of his usual propaganda outbursts in his slab inscription at the northern gate of the citadel at Polonnaruva. While extolling the virtues of the Kaliṅga line and its right to the kingdom of Ceylon, he states that royal princes from the non-Buddhist regions of Coḷa and Keraḷa were unfit to occupy the throne of a Buddhist country like Ceylon.[99] It is evident from this that the Kaliṅgas considered the presence of Keraḷa princes to be a threat to their power. Secondly, the Keraḷas occur in association with the Coḷas. There is no doubt that it is the Malabar region which is meant in this passage and it reveals the dangers involved in an attempt at another interpretation of the term Keraḷa on grounds of its association with Kaliṅga. Thus the arguments that Paranavitana adduces to prove the Malaysian origin of Māgha do not appear to be sufficiently convincing.

Paranavitana cites the story of the bringing of the Tooth Relic from Kaliṅga by Danta and Hemamālā as further evidence for his identification of this region. He points out that in the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* and the later Sinhalese works Danta is said to have gone southwards from the city of Dantapura and argues that Tāmalitti from where he took ship to Ceylon could not, therefore, be the same as Tāmralipti in Bengal. He further shows that the *Daḷadāpūjāvaliya* and the Sinhalese *sanne* to the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* give Tamaliṃgam and Tamaliṃgamu in place of Tāmalitti in the Pali original.[100] Citing his earlier identification of Tamaliṃgam with Tāmraliṅga, Paranavitana maintains that, if the Kaliṅga that these writers had in mind was in Eastern India, they would have been guilty of *deśavirodha*, geographical inconsistency. He identifies Dantapura with a place named Tandafori and situated "just south of Mergui" according to a Portuguese(?) map of 1595.[101] This would imply that the Kaliṅga mentioned in the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* and the later literary works as the region from which the Tooth Relic was brought has to be located in the southern part of modern Thailand. It is important to note here that Paranavitana's arguments have to be taken in a 'phenomenalist' sense; he does not deny that the actual region from which the Tooth Relic was brought was

99. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 159 ll. B8-10.
100. *Daḷadāpūjāvaliya*, (ed. Kaṇadulle Ratanaraṃsi), 1954, p. 50, *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* and *Sanne* edited by Āsabha Tissa, Kelaniya, 1883, p. 81.
101. L. Fournereau, *Le Siam Ancienne*, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Vol. 27, 1895, pl. vi.

the Indian Kaliṅga. In fact he seems to admit this was so.[102] But the identification he proposes for the Kaliṅga of *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* contradicts the arguments he put forward earlier to locate Kaliṅga in Southern Sumatra.[103]

The presence of a Dantapura in Kaliṅga in Eastern India is attested in an inscription from Purle which records a grant of land by a certain Mahārāja Indravarman of Kaliṅga. It was issued from the city of Dantapura in the year 149 of an unspecified era.[104] The editor of the inscription believes that it was probably the Gaṅga era, in which case the record may be dated to the end of the ninth century.[105] He also suggests the identification of Dantapura with modern Dantavaktam on the way from Chicacole to Siddhāntam. It is quite possible that this Dantapura was the city that the authors of the literary works had in mind when they wrote about the bringing of the Tooth Relic. Paranavitana is right when he says that Dantakumāra is said to have fled southwards from the city. The invasion of Kṣīradhāra who had earlier attacked Pāṭalī would have obliged a fugitive fleeing from him to proceed southwards from the city. But the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* adds that he crossed a river and lived on its banks for some time after having hidden the Relic in the sand.[106] Apparently, he was waiting till conditions of political turmoil abated. Later on, he starts on his journey which brings him and his wife to Tāmralipti. Paranavitana's assertion that they "continued their journey *southwards*" finds no support in the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa* or the other literary works which carry this legend. This is important as it is the point on which Paranavitana's main argument is based. The use of the term Tamaliṃgam(u) in the other two sources does not present any obstacle against the identification of the port of departure with Tāmralipti in Bengal, as the term has been used in other instances explicitly to denote this very same port.[107] Further, if it was really the Tāmraliṅga region that the authors had in mind, it is not very likely that Dhammakitti, who wrote the *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, would have used the term Tāmalitti in preference to Tambaliṅga which was in vogue at the time. Thus the legend of the bringing of the Tooth Relic in Pali and Sinhalese literary works does not seem to bear out Paranavitana's claim that the authors had a Malaysian region in mind when they used the term Kaliṅga.

102. See for instance *A Concise History of Ceylon.*, p. 114.
103. See *supra* p. 22.
104. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 360-3.
105. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, (ed. R. C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker), 1964, p. 73.
106. *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, v. 305.
107. See *supra*, p. 14.

The *Siyabaslakara*, a Sinhalese work on rhetoric based on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* and datable to the tenth century, cites the following statement as an example of poetical description inconsistent with geographical facts: *Kaliṅgu vene gaja räs piri* (The forests of Kaliṅga are teeming with elephants.)[108] It thereby implies that elephants were not in abundance in Kaliṅga. In fact, the gloss on this work, written in about the twelfth century, states in explanation that elephants are not as numerous in Kaliṅga as they were in Aramaṇa (Lower Burma).[109] Paranavitana argues that the Kaliṅga referred to in these two works cannot be the same as the Indian Kaliṅga which was well-known for its large elephants. And citing as another argument the fact that Aramaṇa is mentioned in this work in contradistinction to Kaliṅga, Paranavitana concludes that "the Kaliṅga known to the Sinhalese of the tenth to twelfth centuries was a region in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula."

This is a conclusion based on the assumption that the Malay Peninsula was not well known for its elephants. But the impression that one gets from works like the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* of Chou-chü-fei dating from 1178, the more well-known *Chu-fan-chih* compiled by Chao ju-kua in 1225 and the *Sung-shih* of 1345 on the Chinese trade in the Indian Ocean during the later Sung period is that such an assumption would also be inconsistent with geographical facts. These three works mention kingdoms like Tan-ma-ling, Ling-ya-ssu(-chia) and Fo-lo-an on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, Jih-lo-t'ing in its northern part, and the northern and eastern areas of Sumatra as important regions known for their ivory. The last two works include Java, too, in the list. But Java lies outside the natural range of the elephant, and it is possible, as Wheatley has suggested, that Java merely re-exported this commodity.[110] One could also cite the description of Qāqullah given by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah who found elephants to be "numerous" in this region. Qāqullah, which is described as a province under the rule of the king of Mūl-jāwa and on the way to China from India, has been located by different scholars in various parts of South East Asia; but Pelliot's identification of the place with a region on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula has found general acceptance among scholars.[112]

108. *Siyabaslakara*, Canto, 3, v. 42.
109. *Siyabaslakara* with *Sanne* edited by H. Jayatilaka, 1901, p. 87.
110. Paul Wheatley, 'Geographical notes on some commodities involved in Sung Maritime trade, *Jnl.Malayan Br.* of R.A.S., Vol. XXXII, pt. 2, 1959, See pp. 111-112; *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 67-69.
111. *The Golden Khersonese* p. 226.
112. P. Pelliot, 'Bulletin critique', *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIII, 1912, pp. 453-455.

It is possible on the other hand that the increasing demand for elephants, which became an extremely popular instrument of warfare during this period, exhausted the supplies of Kaliṅga which had, in the more remote past, gained a reputation for its bellicose elephants. No references to the elephants of Kaliṅga are to be found in foreign sources after the time of Hiuen-tsang. Moreover, it is evident from the *Cūlavaṃsa* that Ceylon had started importing elephants from Rāmañña (Lower Burma) by the time of Parākramabāhu I.[113] On considering the difficulties involved in transporting elephants over a long distance by sea, it would seem unlikely that the Sinhalese would have brought elephants from Burma, if the Kaliṅga region had remained as abundant a source as it had been earlier. This would explain the statements in the *Siyabaslakara* implying that elephants were not abundant in the forests of Kaliṅga.

To support his identification of Kaliṅga with a region in South East Asia, Paranavitana also furnishes evidence to establish that Sundaramahādevī, the Kaliṅga queen of Vikramabāhu I, was born in Malaysia. He takes the phrase *devoṭunu mända upan* which occurs in the Dimbulāgala inscription and compares *devoṭunu* with the Malay word *duawwatan* meaning 'two bridge land'. He also connects *voṭunu* with Skt. *vartma* meaning 'trade route' and suggests that *devoṭunu mända* meant 'the land between two trade routes.' A kingdom called Ch'ih-tu is mentioned in the *Sui-shu* and the Tang annals as situated to the south of Tāmraliṅga and Langkāsūka. Its capital bore the name Shih-tzu-cheng or 'Lion City'.[114] Paranavitana suggests that Ch'ih-t'u is a derivation from Skt. *setu* ('bridge' 'causeway') and identifies it with the region referred to as *devoṭunu mända* in the Diṁbulāgala inscription. This would imply that the Kaliṅga region, from which Sundarī came, will have to be located in the Ch'ih-t'u region.

The term *duawwatan* is not attested in the Malay sources as the name of a kingdom but is only a conjectural restoration by Moens of the term To-p'o-teng which occurs in certain Chinese sources.[115] Evidence available is not adequate to locate it precisely. Some have located it in Bali and others in the region near the Trang river in the Malay Peninsula.[116] Various views have been put forward on the location of Ch'ih-t'u; Wheatley's location in the Malay Peninsula, immediately to the

113. *Cv.* 76.17-21.
114. See *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 26-36.
115. J. L. Moens, *Jnl.Malayan Br. of R.A.S.*, Vol. XVII, Pt. 2, pp. 22-23.
116. G. E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909, pp. 473, 489.

south of Ling-ya-ssu(-chia), fits in with most of the known evidence.[117] Evidently, a certain amount of confusion underlies the identifications proposed by Paranavitana as he identifies the home of Sundarī with both To-p'o-teng and Ch'ih-t'u.[118] Finally, it has to be pointed out that the identification of Kaliṅga with either To-p'o-teng or Ch'ih-t'u, and particularly the latter, would contradict the arguments put forward earlier by Paranavitana where he tried to convince the reader that Kaliṅga should be located to the north of Tāmraliṅga and that it was probably situated close to Mergui in the northern extremity of the Malay Peninsula.

The difficulties involved in the identification of a region called *devoṭunu mānda* in Malaysia directs one's attention to Paranavitana's interpretation of the term. The context of the passage suggests that it was more an epithet of Vikramabāhu than of Sundarī, though the latter interpretation is not impossible.[119] Both Bell and Wickremasinghe who studied this record were of the opinion that the phrase in question referred to the fact that Vikramabāhu was born of crowned parents i.e. son of a king by the chief queen.[120] Paranavitana rejects this interpretation on the ground that "such an expression in an eulogy of a king does not add anything to his prestige, for kings who were sons of crowned parents were the rule rather than the exception." The reason that Paranavitana gives does not seem to justify his rejection of the interpretation, for the eulogies which occur in Sinhalese inscriptions including the record in question refer usually to the descent of kings from the line of Okkāka and from the Solar dynasty. These were by no means special characteristics which marked out one king but were qualifications claimed by all kings of the main Sinhalese line. On the other hand, the claim that Vikramabāhu was born of annointed parents would in fact have been a qualification which brought political advantages to him. None of his rivals, Jayabāhu whom he had to fight to capture the throne of Polonnaruva, or Mānābharaṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha who ruled over Dakkhiṇadesa and Rohaṇa in defiance of his authority, had this qualification. The use of such a title would have been a means of demonstrating the legitimacy of his claim to rule over the whole of Ceylon. Had the queen indeed wanted to refer to the land of her birth, it is more likely that she

117. For a discussion on various theories on this subject, see *The Golden Khersonese* pp. 26-36.

118. This would also contradict the Ho-ling=Kaliṅga equation. For To-p'o-teng is mentioned together with, and as distinct from, Ho-ling, in the Tang annals. See Gerini, *op. cit.*, p.473.

119. *okāvas rajakulen nipan sudonā parapuren ā hirugotkulen abhinnavä rūsirin siridinū (de)voṭunu (mānda upa)n vikumbā nirinduhaṭa agamehesunvä gajabāhu devayan vādū sundara maha devīn vahanse. Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 194 ll. 1-3.

120. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 189, 196; *Ceylon Antiquary*, 1917, pp. 4-12.

would have mentioned the kingdom of Kaliṅga like her other countrymen, without using a term which would have been unfamiliar to many who read her inscription. And if, on these grounds, we accept the original translation of the record, there would be no need to look for the home of Sundarī in the Malaysian region.

In a slab inscription at Polonnaruva, Nissaṅkamalla makes a grant of land to an official who is said to have guarded his person at Ruvandambu and 'thence onwards'.[121] Paranavitana equates Ruvandambu with Suvarṇṇa-Jāvaka which is taken to be an abbreviation of Suvarṇṇadvīpa-Jāvaka. Of course, it is very unlikely that Ruvandambu was the name of a person as Nilakanta Sastri suggested.[122] But neither of these two terms, Suvarṇṇadvīpa-Jāvaka or Suvarṇṇa-Jāvaka, is attested in sources dealing with the history of South East Asia. The Indian sources do not mention Jāvaka but refer to a Yāvadvīpa which may be its equivalent. The *Rāmāyaṇa* distinguishes Suvarṇṇadvīpa from Yāvadvīpa.[123] The Jāvaka of the *Cūlavaṃsa* was in the Malay Peninsula while according to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Suvarṇṇadvīpa lay on the sea-route from Kaṭāha (Kedah) to India.[124] The term Suvarṇṇadvīpa-Jāvaka seems, therefore, to be an unlikely combination to denote any one South East Asian country. On the other hand, it is not stated in this record that Ruvandambu was the original home of Nissaṅkamalla or that it was outside Ceylon. It could very well have been a place in Ceylon, like Daṁbulla which is sometimes called Rangiri Daṁbulla, where the official concerned would have saved the king from bodily harm.

In its account of the period of political turmoil when Ceylon passed under the sway of the Coḷas, the *Cūlavaṃsa* refers to a princeling called Jagatīpāla from Ayojjhā who perished in a struggle against the Coḷas.[125] Hultzsch suggested that he might be identified with Vīra-Çalāmegan, a king of Ceylon but originally a resident of Kannakucci, who is said to have died under similar circumstances.[126] This identification was accepted by Wickremasinghe and Geiger.[127] Another Coḷa inscription, issued by Rājendra II, also refers to a Vīra-Çalāmegan, king of the Kaliṅgas (*Kaliṅgar-man*), whom Rājendra claims to have defeated in Ceylon.[128]

121. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. V, p. 205 l. A21.
122. *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. VIII, Pt. 1, 1962, p. 137.
123. *Rmy.*, Bombay, 1902, IV. 30. vv. 30, 31.
124. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, London, 1924, Taraṅga 123. v. 110.
125. *Cv.* 56. 13-5.
126. *SII.*, Vol. III, p. 52.
127. *Mv..*, (trsl), p. xxix.
128. *SII.*, Vol. III, p. 59.

Paranavitana proposes to identify these three sources as referring to the same invididual and, on the basis of this identification, he points out that "a king who is said to have come from Ayojjhā (Ayodhyā) in one account, is called the king of the Kaliṅgas in the other." And as there is no mention of a city called Ayodhyā in Kaliṅga in Eastern India, he proposes to to locate the Kaliṅga of this record "in Tennasarim, close to Lower Burma."

The only evidence that Paranavitana has of the presence of a city called Ayodhyā in Tennasserim is the reference to a certain Ajota in a legendary tale quoted by Queyroz.[129] This seems hardly adequate. There is, of course, the well-known city of Ayuthia; but the identification of Ayodhyā in the *Cūlavaṃsa* with Ayuthia would imply the location of Kaliṅga in Thailand, to the north of the Malay Peninsula. A closer examination of the sources would show that the two identifications basic to Paranavitana's hypothesis do not rest on a firm foundation. The only fact common to Jagatīpāla and Vīra-Çalāmegan was the similarity of their fortunes. But these unsettled times would have seen many others sharing similar fortunes. The difference of their areas of origin and as Hultzsch admitted, the difference of names make the identification uncertain. In fact, in a later paper, Hultzsch withdrew his identification.[130]

The second identification seems even less tenable. In an inscription found at Maṇimaṅgalam and dated in his 29th regnal year (1046 A.D.), Rājādhirāja I claims to have deprived Vīra-Çalāmegan and three other kings of Ceylon, Vikramabāhu, Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Śrī Vallabha Mahārāja, of their crowns and to have decapitated the Pāṇḍya king Mānābharaṇa. Vīra-Çalāmegan perished in battle and some members of his family fell into Coḷa hands.[131] Another inscription from the same area dated in the fourth year of Rājendra II (1055 A.D.) mentions that an army dispatched to Ceylon by this king captured and killed the Kaliṅga king Vīra-Çalāmegan and took two sons of king Mānābharaṇa as prisoners.[132] A comparison of the details of the two inscriptions makes it quite clear that they are not referring to the same invasion. Hence, though they shared the same name, the king from Kannakucci whose death is recorded in the inscription of 1046 has to be differentiated from the Kaliṅga ruler who perished resisting the later invasion launched by Rājendra II. Hence there would be no need to look for a Kaliṅga in the Malaysian region.

129. Fernao de Queryroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, Vol. I. (trsl. S. G. Perera), pp. 48-49.
130. E. Hultzsch, 'Contributions to Singhalese chronology', *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 517-531.
131. *SII.*, Vol. III, p. 56.
132. *SII.*, Vol. III, p. 59.

Finally, we may consider the passage from the *Vinayārthasamuccaya*, a sub-commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, that Paranavitana cites in support of his attempt to locate Kaliṅga in the Malay Peninsula. While commenting on the phrase *milakkhabhāsā*, 'barbarian languages', this work cites Demaḷa and Ijjāvaka (var. Jjāvaka) as examples. Then the author proceeds to explain *Andharaṭa* or Andha country in a passage which could be translated either as "Andha country is the same as Tamaliṃgamu country and the Ijjāvaka country" or as "Andha country is the same as Tamaliṃgamu country which is also called the Ijjāvaka country."[133] Paranavitana cites this statement to prove that Andharaṭa was a Malaysian region to the learned men of Ceylon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But it is also possible that Medhaṅkara, the forest-dwelling monk who wrote the *Vinayārthasamuccaya* in the latter half of the twelfth century or in the early part of the thirteenth century, was at a loss to explain Andha which had by this time given way to the term Veṅgi, and confused it with the regions with which Ceylon had come into contact in his time. Further, even if we concede Paranavitana's interpretation of the passage it would only imply the presence of a region called Andha in the Malay Peninsula and is too flimsy a basis for his theory on the identification of Kaliṅga. It is noteworthy, however, that the passage raises the possibility of the prevalence of contact between Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula, even before the invasion of Candrabhānu.

It should be evident from the discussion in the preceding paragraphs that the evidence that Paranavitana presents does not necessarily prove his contention that the term Kaliṅga was used by the Sinhalese *literati* in the period between the tenth and the thirteenth century to denote a Malaysian region. Further his thesis depends to a large extent on the assumption that there was a South East Asian kingdom known by this name. Chinese sources refer to a region called Ho-ling during the period from 640 to 818 A.D. Of these sources, the *Sung-kao-seng-chuan* uses the term Po-ling with a note that the region is also called Ho-ling.[134] It was Mayers who first suggested in 1876 that the Indian name Kaliṅga might be recognized in the term Ho-ling.

133. *Vinayārthasamuccaya*, (Manuscripts at Dhammayuktikārāma, Vigaḍa, Bemmulla.) folio *chau. Andharaṭa nam tamaliṅga raṭa ijjāvaka* (var. *iiāvaka*)·*nam raṭayi.*

134. *Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Kuala Lampur*, 1966, pp. 58-59.

Since that time, this identification was accepted without question by such savants like Takakusu, Chavannes, Pelliot and Coedès and found its way into text books. This Ho-ling = Kaliṅga equation formed the main prop on which hypotheses on the emigration of the people of Kaliṅga to South East Asia and the foundation of a new kingdom of Kaliṅga were based.[135] Even if this interpretation of the term were to be accepted, it is important to note that the term does not find mention after about 818-820 A.D. Hence there is absolutely no evidence on the existence of a kingdom by the name Kaliṅga in South East Asia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the Kaliṅga dynasty was ruling over Ceylon.

More recently, the lately lamented Louis-Charles Damais pointed out, after a deep and painstaking study of the problem of Ho-ling, that the Indian term Kaliṅga is usually transliterated in Chinese works as Kia-ling-k'ie(-k'ia), Kie-ling-kie(-k'ia) or Ko-ling-k'ie(-k'ia), all being renderings into Chinese of all the three syllables of the name. Damais has convincingly proved that on consideration of the number of syllables, the value usually attached to the first of the Chinese characters and the existence of a variant term Po-ling, the Ho-ling = Kaliṅga equation is untenable. He suggests, on the other hand, that Ho-ling was most probably the transliteration of Walain, the *nom du Palais* (*kaḍatuan*) of a royal family which ruled over the Ratu Baka plateau in Java from the seventh till about the middle of the ninth century, roughly the same period in which Ho-ling finds mention in the Chinese sources.[136] Yutaka Iwamoto, another scholar who has studied this problem, has also rejected the Ho-ling = Kaliṅga equation as unacceptable. He believes that Ho-ling represents the Chinese rendering of the term Śailendra.[137] The interpretation that Damias put forward has found greater acceptance among scholars and Coedès, one of the exponents of the earlier theory, has revised the latest edition of his well-known work on the history of South East Asia accor-

135. "On est d'accord pour considérer le nom du Ho-ling comme une équivalent de *Kaliṅga*, et l'on établit volontiers un rapport entre l'apparition d'un Etat de ce nom dans le mers du Sud au milieu du viie siècle, et les conquêtes des souverains hindous Pulakeçin II et Harsha, dans le Kaliṅga sur la côte orientale de l'inde vers la même époque. Ces conquêtes auraient provoqué, comme précédemment celles des Indo-Scythes et de Samudragupta, un exode verse l'Inde extérieure ou des 'princes en exile' auraient fondé à Java (ou sur la Péninsule) un nouveau Kaliṅga". G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonesie*, Paris, 1948, pp. 137-138.

136. Louis-Charles Damais, 'Etudes Sino-Indonesiennes : III. La transcription Chinoise Ho-ling comme designation de Java', *BEFEO*, Tome LII, Fasc. 1. 1964, pp. 93-141.

137. Yutaka Iwamoto, 'On the Ho-ling Kingdom', *Proceedings of the First International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, Kuala Lampur, 1966, pp. 58-66.

dingly.[138] Thus it would seem that research by Damais and Iwamoto has removed the main basis on which Paranavitana's identifications had been founded; and hence his Kaliṅga theory will have to be rejected.

III

Professor Paranavitana devotes four chapters in his *Ceylon and Malaysia* to an attempt to establish that the relations between the two regions can be traced back to the earliest times. He would have us believe that this relationship led to the extension of the suzerainty of Ceylon over a Malaysian kingdom and to the foundation of the ruling house of Śrī Vijaya by a scion of the Sinhalese royal family. According to him the relations between the two royal families were so close that they joined forces at certain times to play a decisive role in the politics of South and South East Asia.

An example of the type of argumentation that Paranavitana utilises to prove his theses is the interpretation that he gives to the term *pārasamudda*. A story in the *Mahāvaṃsa* concerning the warrior Sūranimala refers to a Brāḥmana at Anurādhapura who had in his possession *samuddapārabhaṇḍāni*.[139] Geiger translated the term as 'merchandise from overseas'. The author of the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, while commenting on the passage, adds that the merchandise included sandalwood and camphor.[140] Paranavitana identifies *samuddapāra* as a term denoting South Eas-Asian regions on the plea that sandalwood and camphor were well-known products of this region. But it is also possible that both the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* are using the term in its literal sense and that the latter is merely giving examples of merchandise imported to the Island. The manner in which the commentator equates *samuddapāra* with its inverted form *pārasamudda* also supports this explanation. However, Paranavitana assumes that the evidence he has cited is adequate to identify *pārasamudda* with Malaysia when it occurs again in a story in the *Papañcasūdanī;*[141] but the same story occurs in other works with *pārasamudda* having been replaced with Jambudīpa.[142]

138. Compare n. 135 with *Les états*....Paris, 1964. Coedès drops the earlier passage and adds with reference to Ho-ling,"....le royaume de Walaing dont le nom, suivant L. C. Damais, a toutes chances d'etre a l'origine du nom chinois...." p. 151.

139. *Mv.* 23. 24.

140. *samuddapāre bhaṇḍānīti kappūracandanādīni pārasamuddabhaṇḍāni. Vap.* p. 449.

141. *Papañcasūdanī*, (P. T. S.), Vol. V, p. 75.

142. *Dharmapradīpikā*, p. 98. *Karmavibhāgaya*, (ed. Mäda-uyangoḍa Vimalakīrti and Nāhinne Sominda), Colombo, 1961, p. 61.

Paranavitana proposes a new interpretation of the Perimiyankulam inscription of Vasabha to obtain more evidence of close relations between Ceylon and Malaysia in early times. This inscription records a benefaction made by a certain Naka who describes himself as the *navaka* of a personage called Ayi Sayi. In the original paper where he edited this inscription, Paranavitana equated the term *navaka* with Skt. *jñāpaka* which occurs in the *Pañcatantra* as the title of a royal official. And, following Monier Williams, he translated it into English as 'master of requests'. *Ayi*, Paranavitana pointed out, is the princely title commonly found in Sinhalese inscriptions, and as to the name Sayi, he suggested the possibility of it being derived from Śāta, Śāti or Svāti.[143]

In his *Ceylon and Malaysia*, where he sets out to prove a close relationship between the two regions, Paranavitana follows a different method of explanation. He reads *navaka* as a variant form of *navika*, 'mariner'. And Ayi Sayi is identified with Aji Saka, the legendary founder of the Javanese kingdom who brought civilization to that land. He accepts P.C. Bagchi's hypothesis that Aji Saka was a prince of Scythian descent from the western part of India[144] and concludes that the inscription records the fact that it was a Sinhalese mariner who transported him on his journey to Java.

This example is interesting as it illustrates some of the techniques that Paranavitana adopts in his book to arrive at very important conclusions. In this instance the basis of his conclusion is the alleged identity of the two names Ayi Sayi and Aji Saka. The historicity of Aji Saka and the validity of the legends about him for purposes of historical reconstruction are accepted without question. The Javanese legends which mention Aji Saka have been written down only in comparatively recent times. The earliest definite reference to this figure is in the Chinese annals of the fifteenth century which quote the legends. Moreover, there are many variations of these legends. According to some, Aji Saka was the first king. But according to others, Basu Keti was the first king while Aji Saka is mentioned as the tenth king and is dated to a period as late as the year 1002 of the Javanese era. Meanwhile lists of kings from Sumenap, Bali and the eastern parts of Java start the line with Tritresa and do not refer to Aji Saka at all.[145] An examination of the legendary material

143. *JCBRAS* (New Series), Vol. V, Pt. 2, 1958, pp. 129-137.
144. *A Comprehensive History of India*, (ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri), p. 772.
145. Thomas Stanford Raffles, *The History of Java*, London, 1817, Vol. II, pp. 6-8.

on Aji Saka reveals that they do not provide adequate evidence to establish the historicity of this personage or to warrant his identification with the individual mentioned in the Sinhalese inscription.

In the next stage of the development his theory, Paranavitana cites the term *malayarāja* which occurs several times in the *Cūlavaṃsa* to argue for the expansion of Sinhalese suzerainty over the Malay peninsula. The term occurs for the first time in the account of the reign of Silākāla (518-531 A.D.), who is said to have invested his son Dāṭhāpabhuti with the title *malayarājagga* and placed him in the Dakkhiṇadesa, entrusting him with the task of 'protecting the ocean' (*rakkhaṇatthaṃ samuddassa*).[146] Aggabodhi I (571—604) appointed his nephew to the position of *malayarāja* and gave him his daughter in marriage. Later on this prince who was also called Aggabodhi rose to the rank of *mahādipāda* and eventually succeeded his uncle as king.[147] Moggallāna III (614—619) conferred this title on the general who helped him to usurp the throne.[148] The *malayarāja* at the time of Aggabodhi IV (667—683) is mentioned in the *Cūlavaṃsa* as a wealthy patron of Buddhism who built a relic-house at the monastery of Maṇḍalagiri.[149] Kassapa V (914—923) had his son Siddhattha appointed to this position and, on the death of this prince, his revenues were assigned to an alms-hall built in his memory.[150] The *malayarāja* under Sena III (938—946) was a minister called Aggabodhi.[151] In the reign of Parākramabāhu I it was the commander of the Tamil mercenaries who had been assigned this title.[152]

Paranavitana identifies *malaya* in these instances as denoting the Malay Peninsula and proposes two interpretations for the term *malayarājagga*. Firstly, he suggests that the term was derived from the Sinhalese *malaya-raja-ga*, 'going to the kingdom of Malaya', and interprets the passage as implying that Dāṭhāpabhuti was placed in charge of communications between Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula. The second interpretation that Paranavitana suggests is that Dāṭhāpabhuti "received this designation as the ruler, *de facto* or titular, of a region in the Malay Peninsula, over which the Sinhalese king(s) claimed sovereignty." The dual interpretation that Paranavitana puts forward is an indication of the difficulties that he is faced with. It is evident from the instances cited above that

146. *Cv.* 41.35.
147. *Cv.* 42. 6, 10.
148. *Cv.* 44. 43.
149. *Cv.* 46. 29.
150. *Cv.* 52. 68-69.
151. *Cv.* 53. 36.
152. *Cv.* 69. 6.

the title *malayarāja* was current in Ceylon from the reign of Silākāla to that of Parākramabāhu I. Some of the princes who bore this title ruled over parts of the Island as provincial rulers and succeeded to the throne of Anurādhapura. In such instances, as in the case of the *malayarāja* of the reign of Aggabodhi IV, he cites the first interpretation while in certain other instances, as in the case of Siddhattha, he tries to maintain that the *malayarāja* enjoyed *de facto* authority over a part of the Malay Peninsula.

On examining the context of the passage recording the conferment of the title *malayarājagga* on Dāṭhāpabhuti, it is evident that the two strophes immediately preceding this passage mention Moggallāna, the eldest son of Silākāla, as having been invested with the rank of *ādipāda* and assigned to administer the Eastern Province (*puratthimaṃ desaṃ*).[153] If it was the first of Paranavitana's interpretations that was really meant by the term *malayarājagga*, it is not very likely that the incumbent of this office would be appointed to rule over the Dakkhiṇadesa while some other person was placed in charge of the Eastern Province. For the eastern coast, as Paranavitana himself states, would have naturally been the most important area for communications with South East Asia. Further, this as well as the other hypothesis about Sinhalese princes ruling over a kingdom in the Malay Peninsula, or at least claiming suzerainty over it, depends on the meaning one attaches to the word *malaya*. One has also to consider the other possibility, which appears to be more likely from the contexts cited above, that *malaya* could connote the mountainous regions of central Ceylon. Moreover even if it is presumed that *malaya* in the *Cūlavaṃsa* denoted Malayadvīpa, this region will have to be located, as Sir Roland Braddell has convincingly shown,[154] in Sumatra and not in the Malay Peninsula as Paranavitana seems to presume. Mo-lo-yu, the phonetical equivalent of the term, is also used in the Chinese annals to denote a kingdom in Southern Sumatra.[155] And in the absence of any evidence in either Malaya or Sumatra to support Sinhalese rule over these areas, it would be more advisable to identify *malaya* in the title *malayarāja* as denoting the hilly region of central Ceylon.

Paranavitana uses this variant interpretation of *malaya* in another instance to argue for the prevalence of close relations between Ceylon and Malaysia. The *Cūlavaṃsa* refers to Sena I (833—853), whose army

153. *Cv.* 41. 33—4.

154. Roland Braddell, 'Malayadvīpa: a study in early Indianization', *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. IX, 1956, pp. 1-20.

155. See *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 41-3, 54.

was routed by the Pāṇḍya king who invaded Ceylon, as having fled from Anurādhapura, heading for Malaya (*malayābhimukhaṃ*). Subsequently, he is found staying at the 'confluence of the two rivers' (*gaṅgādvayamukha*), evidently a place on the way to the Malaya region, after posting guards 'at various places along the high way'.[156] Geiger identified *gaṅgādvayamukha* with the confluence of the Amban and Mahaväli rivers.[157] Paranavitana argues that even if Geiger's identification is accepted, this place would be out of the way for one who was going to the Malaya highlands. He proposes to identify *gaṅgādvayamukha* with the delta of the river Mahaväli in Trincomalee and suggests that it was the Malay Peninsula that Sena was heading for. This does not seem to be a very strong argument. For a person who followed the banks of the river Mahaväli, along which a part of the well-known highway from Anurādhapura to Mahāgāma also lay, would have easily reached the jungle-covered foot-hills of the Malaya region. In fact, the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* states that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī cleared the stretch of road through the Malaya region as a part of the preparations he made to attack the Tamil strongholds in the Rājaraṭṭha.[158] It is thus clear that Sena, if he was going to the Malaya highlands, could have taken this well-known route. The statement in the *Cūlavaṃsa* which refers to Sena posting guards along the highway (*mahāmagga*) would also support such an interpretation.

In addition to adducing new variant interpretations of the material in the chronicles, Paranavitana draws evidence from certain inscriptions to support his hypotheses. An inscription from Tissamahārāma, dated by Eduard Müller who edited it to about the fifth century, refers to two rulers: Budadasa Taripali Mahanamika Jeṭatisa Maharaja Apaya and Mahida Mahasena Tavakabāya Maharaja. It is evidently the latter who issued this inscription as he is mentioned in the first person. The inscription records a donation on behalf of the other king who is referred to as 'our diademed lord' (*apa cuḍi parumaka*). Both bear the title *maharaja apaya* usually associated with the sovereign ruler of the Island.[159]

Paranavitana reads the phrase *tavakabāya* as *tavakaboya*. He derives *tavaka* from Jāvaka, supporting his contention by pointing out that Śāvaka is the Tamil equivalent of Jāvaka, and giving instances of *sa* > *ta* change in

156. *Cv.* 50. 20, 37.
157. *Cv.*, (trsl), Vol. I, p. 141, n. 3.
158. *Mv.* 25. 5.
159. Eduard Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, London, 1883, pp. 76-77.

Sinhalese. He connects *boya* with *bhoja*, meaning 'possessor' or 'ruler'. He thereby identifies Mahida Mahasena as a king of Jāvaka who accepted the suzerainty of the king of Ceylon.

Here it is necessary to remind ourselves that the weighty conclusion that Paranavitana draws on the extension of the sovereignty of the Sinhalese rulers over a Malayan kingdom is absolutely unsupported by evidence from South East Asia. It rests entirely on the highly suspect interpretation of the term *tavaka* which is not attested anywhere else in the sense of Jāvaka. This is too flimsy and uncertain a piece of evidence to support such a weighty conclusion. On the other hand, Budadasa Taripali Mahanamika Jeṭatisa in an inscription from Monarāgala has been identified with Mahānāma (410—432).[160] Buddhaghosa refers to him in his commentaries as Sirinivāsa and Sirikuḍḍa.[161] The king who issued the inscription could have been a descendant of Mahānāma who continued to rule over Rohaṇa after Anurādhapura had passed under Dravidian occupation.

An inscription from Veherakema in the Pānama Pattu of the Ampārai District mentions a certain Vahaka Maharaja who built a *caitya* and made an endowment in its favour. Paranavitana who originally edited this record dated it to the seventh century.[162] Veherakema is situated in the old principality of Rohaṇa where the rule of Anurādhapura was not always effective. Usually Rohaṇa declared its political independence in times of political turmoil; it was also the centre of resistance against foreign rule. It was probably on consideration of these facts that Paranavitana suggested in his introduction to the edition of the inscription that Vahaka should be identified as a prince "who, in the unsettled political conditions which prevailed at Anuradhapura during the greater part of the seventh century, set up himself as an independent sovereign of Rohaṇa."

In his *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Paranavitana proposes to set aside this plausible explanation that he himself put forward and to interpret this inscription as providing further evidence for his theories of closer relations with Malaysia. Against his previous view, he argues, "is the fact that neither in historical works nor in epigraphy has the name 'Vaha' or 'Vahaka', or its equivalent in Pali, been met with." But later on in the very same paragraph Paranavitana admits that the Sinhalese form of the

160. *Cey. Jnl. of Sc.*, Sec. G., Vol. II, p. 18.
161. *Samantapāsādikā*, (P.T.S.), Vol. VII, 1947, p. 1415.
162. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142-143.

name Vasabha occurs as Vahaba in some inscriptions and as Vahayaha in the genitive singular in the Vallipuram gold plate, "indicating that Vahaba had a variant form Vaha or Vahaya." But he maintains that the name went out of vogue after the time of Vasabha (65—109). After rejecting his earler interpretation on these grounds, Paranavitana proceeds to identify Vahaka with the name of an island, given as Vṛṣa in Varāhamihira's *Vṛhat-saṃhitā* and as Vāruṣaka in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.[163] He points out that the terms Vahadū and Vāhadipa find mention in a later period.[164] Vāruṣakadvīpa has been identified by Majumdar as a name for Baros in Sumatra.[165] This interpretation implies that the Veherakema inscription records an instance of a ruler of a state in Malaysia patronising the Buddhist *saṅgha* in Ceylon.

Paranavitana does not sound convincing when he argues for the rejection of his earlier interpretation of the record. On considering that two variant forms of the name Vasabha were being used even during the reign of the king of Anurādhapura who bore this name, it is difficult to deny the possibility of the use of a third variant form at a later period. Similarly, the absence of the incidence of this name in sources preserved till modern times is not a necessary indication of its having gone out of vogue by the seventh century. On the other hand, if the term Vahaka in this record is understood as connoting the name of the country over which the king ruled, it would imply that the name of the king does not find mention in it. This would be most unusual. It would also raise the question as to how a king of a Malaysian state came to have the right to grant four *karīsas* of fields in Ceylon. In records found in Bengal and the Coromandel coast where kings of Śrī Vijaya make grants of a similar type, they state in great detail not only their name and line of descent but also the means by which they acquired the rights over the land they granted.[166] On considering these difficulties, it seems more probable that Vahaka was a Sinhalese king who ruled Rohaṇa as Paranavitana originally surmised.

Paranavitana cites an important piece of evidence from a yet unpublished record from Mädirigiriya. According to him, the record is in a badly weathered condition. He dates it to the eleventh century and quotes a passage from it which reads *malenā agboyā arak sayura yavakaren*

163. *Vṛhatsaṃhitā*, (ed. H. Kern), Calcutta, 1905, p. 89; *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, (ed. Gopinath Rao), Trivandrum, p. 332.
164. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. I., p. 49 l. 47; *Cv.* 48. 65; 49. 38, 76.
165. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇṇadvīpa*, Dacca, 1937, Pt. I, p. 75.
166. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-327; Vol. XXII, pp. 213-266.

pat nävi and translates it as "the mariners arriving from Yavakara (the coast of Jāvaka) of the sea protected by Malenā Agboy." Paranavitana draws two important conclusions from this evidence: firstly that it points to the existence of maritime relations between Ceylon and the Jāvaka country. As pointed out earlier, such a possibility is, of course, quite likely. Secondly, he states that it proves that "the dignitary whose duty it was to protect the sea was given the designation of Malayarāja." One may not doubt the reading of the inscription that Paranavitana has given; but, unfortunately, the record is not yet published for one to be certain of it. One wishes the text and a photograph of this important inscription had been given in the appendix of Paranavitana's book. Even if one were to rely on the sole authority of Paranavitana for the text of this inscription, one could question the validity and the adequacy of this evidence for his second conclusion. It has already been pointed out in an earlier context that it is very unlikely that Dāṭhāpabhuti, who was invested with the rank of *malayarāja* by Silākāla, had been placed in charge of communications with the Malayan regions. Further, even if we accept the present reading of the inscription, it would be difficult to presume that the term Malaya denoted the Malay Peninsula, if it was the same area (Jāvaka coast) that was denoted by the term Yava. Paranavitana tries to get over this difficulty by suggesting that the two terms were synonymous. Even if this were so, it is not very likely that two such variant forms would be used in the same sentence of an inscription. Hence it seems more advisable to interpret *malenā* as denoting a ruler of the Malaya highlands. And the fact that one such official was placed in charge of the 'protection of the ocean' does not necessarily mean that this was the duty expected of all officials who bore this title.

An inscription from Mayilagastoṭa in Rohaṇa is also cited by Paranavitana as containing information bearing on the interpretation of the term *malayarāja*. It was issued by Āpā Mihindu who has been identified as a son of Kāśyapa V (914—923). The lines A23—28 of this record were read by Wickremasinghe who edited it as *Mahaveher nakāhi (dam) rad pa (ra)pur (vaṭnu povas) tamā (kärū uḍa)tisa piriven*. Some of his readings were doubtful and were as such indicated within brackets.[167] Paranavitana proposes a new reading of a part of this phrase as *däva rad parapura vaḍna bā vas tamā kärū* and translates it as stating that Uḍa Tisa *pirivena* was built by Āpā Mihindu "on account of (his) brother who makes the royal lineage of Däva to increase." He traces the derivation of the term Däva to Jāva.

167. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. I., p. 61.

"The words would be appropriate," Paranavitana comments, "to the case of a Sinhalese prince espousing an heiress of the Jāvaka family, and being accepted as the king of the region over which the family ruled." He proceeds to identify this personage with Siddhattha, the other son of Kassapa V, who, according to the *Cūlavaṃsa*, was appointed to the position of Malayarāja.

Paranavitana draws further evidence for his hypothesis from the *Sundarīvṛttānta*, one of the documents he claims to have extracted from the interlinear writing on the Abhayagiri inscription mentioned earlier. According to this work, a Mahārāja of Jāvaka, Guṇārṇṇava by name and belonging to a line of rulers founded by a certain Siddhattha, was defeated by a Cambodian prince and was forced to flee to Ceylon. At this time a king called Sena was ruling over Ceylon with a *yuvarāja* called Mahendra. Mahendra led an expedition to help Guṇārṇṇava and succeeded in restoring Suvarṇṇapura to him. The Sinhalese prince was rewarded for his role of liberator with the hand of Sundarī, the grand-daughter of Guṇārṇṇava. Paranavitana identifies Suvarṇṇapura, which is also referred to as Suvarṇṇajāvapura in these records, as a reference to the Śrī Vijaya empire; Siddhattha, the founder of the Śrī Vijaya ruling house, with Siddhattha, the son of Kassapa V who was appointed *malayarāja*; Sena with Sena IV (954—956); Mahendra with the *yuvarāja* who later became king as Mahinda IV; Sundarī with the princess from Kaliṅga that Mahinda IV espoused[168] and the king of Kāmboja who reigned at the time of the defeat of Śrī Vijaya with Rājendravarman. He refrains from identifying the emperor of Śrī Vijaya.

The identifications that Paranavitana makes would imply that the powerful dynasty which ruled over the Śrī Vijaya empire was founded by a member of the Sinhalese royal family and that close relations were maintained between the two ruling houses. The account in the *Sundarīvṛttānta*, if accepted, also points to the military power of Ceylon in the time of Sena IV and to the personal capability of Mahinda IV to have intervened in South East Asian politics and to have defeated the Cambodian forces to restore the emperor of Śrī Vijaya to his throne.

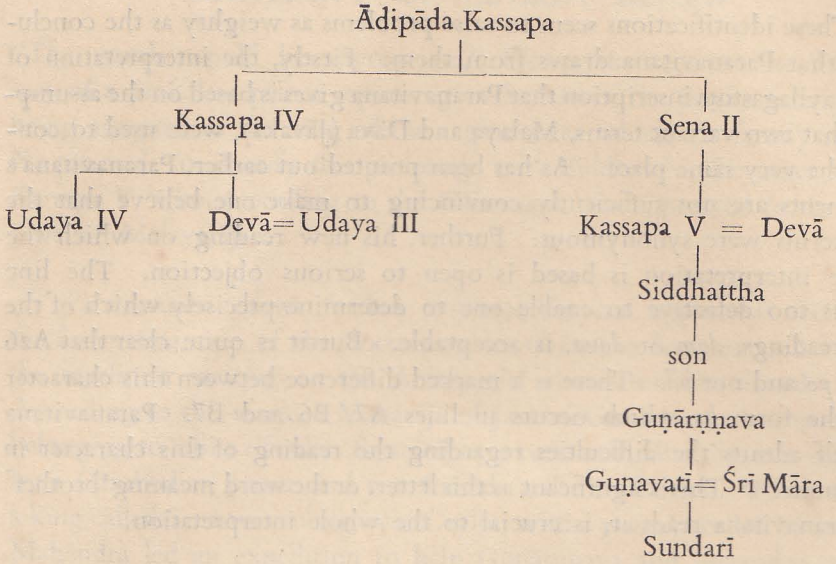
168. *Cv.* 54.9-10.

These identifications seem to raise problems as weighty as the conclusions that Paranavitana draws from them. Firstly, the interpretation of the Mayilagastoṭa inscription that Paranavitana gives is based on the assumption that two variant terms, Malaya and Däva (Jāvaka), were used to connote the very same place. As has been pointed out earlier, Paranavitana's arguments are not sufficiently convincing to make one believe that the two terms were synonymous. Further, his new reading on which the whole interpretation is based is open to serious objection. The line A24 is too defective to enable one to determine precisely which of the two readings, *dam* or *däva*, is acceptable. But it is quite clear that A26 reads *po* and not *bā*. There is a marked difference between this character and the form *ba* which occurs in lines A7, B6 and B7. Paranavitana himself admits the difficulties regarding the reading of this character in a footnote.[169] This is significant as this letter, or the word meaning 'brother' as Paranavitana reads it, is crucial to the whole interpretation.

The identifications that Paranavitana makes would also imply that Kassapa V was in a position to appoint one of his sons to rule over a South East Asian kingdom. If this were so, it is not likely that the *Cūlavaṃsa* would have dismissed the incident with a single stanza. The chronicler considered Kassapa V to be a model king, compared him to Kuvera and Bṛhaspati and devoted ten strophes to a description of the ill-fated expedition he sent to India to support a Pāṇḍya king against the Coḷas. If Mahinda IV did indeed succeed in defeating the forces of the Cambodian king and winning for the king of Śrī Vijaya the throne he had lost, as it is claimed in the *Sundarīvṛttānta*, it is difficult to imagine why the author of the *Cūlavaṃsa*, who was by no means biased against him, failed to mention this episode which should have appeared to him as one of the most glorious in the annals of the Island.

The genealogical information in the *Sundarīvṛttānta*, when collated with the information in the *Cūlavaṃsa* and the Sinhalese inscriptions, reveals discrepancies which, too, throw doubt on the identifications that Paranavitana has made. The following genealogical table could be prepared from the information in these sources:

169. *Ceylon and Malaysia*, p. 23, n.80.



There are two hypotheses about the descent of Mahinda IV. Some believe that he was a son of Kassapa V while others hold that he was a son of Udaya III. It should be clear from this table that whichever hypothesis is accepted, Sundarī should have lived about four generations after Mahinda IV. Hence the possibility of a marriage between them or of their having been contemporaries does not seem likely.

The identification of Sundarī with the Kaliṅga queen of Mahinda IV is based on the assumption, proved to be unwarranted in the earlie part of this essay, that Kaliṅga in the *Cūlavaṃsa* denotes a Malaysian region. Objections may be raised against this identification on other grounds as well. Paranavitana himself seems to have been aware of these difficulties though he does not specifically say so. In a pillar inscription from Polonnaruva, a certain Mahārāja Sirisaṅgbo refers to himself as a son of King Mihind and his queen Saṅgā and also says that he was 'the pinnacle of the Kaliṅga clan' (*kaliṅgu kulakot*)[170]. Paranavitana, who edited this inscription, identified Mahārāja Sirisaṅgbo with Mahinda V, the son of Mahinda IV. It is evident from this inscription that the mother of Mahinda V, through whom he claimed descent from the Kaliṅga family,

170. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. IV, p. 64, ll.A18-19.

was Saṅgā (Saṅghā) and in the circumstances it would not be possible to identify the Kaliṅga queen of Mahinda IV with the princess about whom the *Sundarīvṛttānta* is said to have been written.

To get over this difficulty, Paranavitana adopts a new line of interpretation. He suggests that the term *kaliṅgu kulakot* "is more likely to have referred to Mahinda IV himself, than to his son Mahinda V." In support of this suggestion he points out that Udaya IV, the maternal uncle of Mahinda IV, refers to his mother as Samuda-gon. The term Samuda, Paranavitana argues, is derived from Samudra, a name for Sumatra. On the basis of this interpretation, Paranavitana suggests that Udaya IV was born of a princess from Sumatra. If this line of argument is accepted, both Udaya IV and Mahinda IV would be connected through matrilineal descent with the royal family of Sumatra.

However, there are, as in the case of the other arguments discussed earlier, serious difficulties about attributing the title *kaliṅgukulakot* in the Polonnaruva inscription to Mahinda IV. In not a single of the numerous inscriptions of Mahinda IV does one find a reference to his belonging to the Kaliṅga clan. Nor has Udaya IV been described as such. It is in the Badulla inscription that Udaya IV mentions that *Samuda gon biso rädna* was his mother.[171] The term *gon biso rädna*, like in the case of *Dev gon räjna* in another contemporary record, seems to denote the chief queen.[172] Samuda, like Dev, was more probably a personal name, derived from Sanskrit Samudra, rather than a term indicating the country of origin. The name Samuda is too flimsy a piece of evidence to postulate a marriage alliance between the ruling houses of Sumatra and Ceylon.

Paranavitana presents evidence from another work he claims to have discovered recently, the *Paramparāpustaka*, which, if accepted, would radically alter our understanding of the history of the period between the reigns of Mahinda V and Vijayabāhu I. According to this work, princes of Ceylon worked in close collaboration with the kings of Śrī Vijaya against the power of the Coḷas whose rise brought about in its wake the loss of independence and sovereignty of both these kingdoms, at least for a short period. The two royal families were linked by marriage. Mahārāja Māra, identified by Paranavitana as Māravijayottuṅgavarman, had married a daughter of Mahinda IV and Saṅgrāma and Samara who ascended the throne subsequently were the issues of this union.

171. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. V, p. 185, ll. A 7-8.
172. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. III, p. 222 ll. B4-5.

According to the *Paramparāpustaka*, king Saṅgrāma was in Ceylon at the time Rājendra captured Mahinda V. He went back to Suvarṇṇapura with Kāśyapa, the son of Sena V. Paranavitana surmises that he would have been involved in the defence of the Island against the Coḷas. As soon as he had expelled Tamil forces from Śrī Vijaya, Saṅgrāma was back in Ceylon. Kāśyapa had returned earlier and was living in the Malaya highlands. The Śrī Vijaya forces drove out the Coḷas from Ceylon. The Anurādhapura kingdom was given over to Kāśyapa, Mahātittha to his brother Sena, while the Rohaṇa kingdom was placed under Maudgalyāyana, Kāśyapa's son. Evidently, the king of Śrī Vijaya came to Ceylon for a third time when Mahendra, son of Sena, was on the throne of Anurādhapura. The two monarchs collaborated in organizing a successful campaign to place their protege, Sundara Pāṇḍya, on the Pāṇḍya throne. The resultant alliance of the three kingdoms was cemented by marriage. Sundara Pāṇḍya married a daughter of Mahendra while the latter himself married a daughter of the king of Śrī Vijaya. According to Paranavitana, the 84th chapter of the *Paramparāpustaka* is devoted to a description of a signal achievement of this triple alliance. It reports how Mānābharaṇa, son of Samara, successfully collaborated with Mahendra and Sundara Pāṇḍya in supporting the claims of Kulottuṅga to the Coḷa throne.

The information in the *Paramparāpustaka* would imply that the Coḷas did not succeed in maintaining a hold over the kingdom of Rājaraṭṭha for seventy eight years[173] as hitherto believed. It also implies that the lands round the Bay of Bengal which were adversely affected by the rise of the Coḷa power united against the Coḷa so succersfully that they placed their own nominee on the throne of the Coḷa kingdom. This impressive achievement was due to a large extent to the initiative of the king of Śrī Vijaya.

This information, however, contradicts the evidence in the chronicles of Ceylon. To the authors of the *Cūlavaṃsa* and the *Pūjāvaliya* as well as to the later chroniclers, Vijayabāhu I was the hero who liberated Ceylon after a sustained struggle lasting a long period. But the *Paramparāpustaka* would have us believe that Vijayabāhu became the king of the whole Island by deposing Kāśyapa long after the Coḷas had been driven away. The *Cūlavaṃsa* mentions an embassy that Vijayabāhu sent to the king of Burma and the subsequent arrival of ships from Burma

173. 992-1070 A.D. The *Pūjāvaliya*, however, refers to eighty-six years of Dravidian rule. *Pjv.* p. 105.

bringing various items of merchandise to Rohaṇa.[174] Paranavitana argues that the reference to the arrival of ships occurs in the chronicle because there had not been any such contact for a long period. On the basis of this assumption he surmises that the fleet of the Śrī Vijaya empire would have blockaded Vijayabāhu's territory in retaliation for his antagonism towards their allies in Rājaraṭṭha. Paranavitana proceeds to cite a reference in the *Paramparāpustaka* to a certain Sūryanārāyana, a prince from the Śrī Vijaya kingdom who unsuccessfully fought against Vijayabāhu and was later reconciled with him. Subsequently, this prince became the Mahārāja of Śrī Vijaya and gave his daughter Tilokasundarī in marriage to Vijayabāhu. Paranavitana identifies this princess with Tilokasundarī mentioned in the *Cūlavaṃsa* as the princess from Kaliṅga that Vijayabāhu espoused.[175] Needless to say, the reference in the chronicle to ships from Burma is too flimsly a basis for the conclusion that Paranavitana draws. The problem of Kaliṅga has been discussed earlier. It should suffice to point out here that the evidence in both the epigraphical sources and the chronicles point to the presence of a number of independent chieftains prior to the accession of Vijayabāhu. Hence it would be difficult to explain why Mahendra, the father of Kāśyapa, was not able to suppress these refractory elements and bring the whole Island under his firm authority if he was powerful enough to launch invasions to India and place his nominees on the thrones of the Pāṇḍya and Coḷa kingdoms.

In not one of his many inscriptions does Kulottuṅga Coḷa refer to any aid he received from the Śrī Vijaya, Pāṇḍya or the Sinhalese rulers to win the Coḷa throne. Nor do we find evidence in the records of the Pāṇḍya kingdom or of the Malaysian region to corroborate the information that Paranavitana presents. Paranavitana believes that certain inscriptions from Abhayagiri and Mihintale previously assigned to Mahinda IV were issued by Mahendra, the father of Kāśyapa. But, even if this identification is accepted, these records do not contain information on the events under consideration, at least in those portions where the readings are verifiable. Paranavitana claims that the 'hospital inscription' at Mädirigiriya contains information corroborating the *Paramparāpustaka*. Unfortunately, the text of the inscription has not been published and the record, like the Abhayagiri inscription discussed earlier, seems to be too weathered to yield a reliable continuous reading.

174. *Cv.* 58.8-9.
175. *Cv.* 59. 29-30.

Finally, it has to be pointed out that the *Sundarīvṛttānta* and the *Paramparāpustaka*, which Paranavitana uses as the main sources to draw important conclusions relating to the period under discussion, are not authenticated documents. The information contained therein concerns what should have been considered important events in the history of South and South East Asia; but it does not find corroboration in the annals or the inscriptional sources of India or South East Asia. It has been demonstrated in the preceding paragraphs that the supporting evidence Paranavitana marshals from local sources is based on identifications which do not appear to be warranted. And as such, these two works will have to be considered sources of doubtful historical value.

IV

Paranavitana devotes the seventh and eighth chapters of *Ceylon and Malaysia* to an attempt to demonstrate the significance of relations between the two regions during the period between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. In the seventh chapter he puts forward two bold hypotheses. Firstly, he attributes the foundation of the kingdom of Jaffna to a line of Jāvaka kings. Many would agree with Paranavitana when he states that certain toponyms from the Jaffna Peninsula and the coastal districts to the south of it up to about Mannar in the west and Mullativu in the east point to a close and long-lasting association with the Jāvakas. It is possible that some of them represent Malaysian settlements dating from the time of Candabhānu, though some others may have to be traced to a later period. They would not necessarily indicate, however, that Malaysians were responsible for the establishment of the first independent kingdom of Jaffna.

Legends in works like the *Yālpāṇa-vaipava-mālai*, written in the eighteenth century, and three poetical works, the *Takcina-kailāça-purāṇaṃ*, *Vaiyāpāṭal* and the *Kailāṣamālai*, which may date from a somewhat later period, attribute the foundation of the Tamil kingdom in Jaffna to Ukkiraciṅkan, an invader with the face of a lion and descended from a brother of Vijaya. Paranavitana follows Gnanaprakasam, Codrington and Rasanayagam in attempting to find in these legends an allusion to the foundation of the Northern kingdom by Māgha.[176] But it is most doubtful that this collection of legends in late literary works, which contain such obviously gross inaccuracies as the location of the capital of the Nor-

176. S. Gnanaprakasar, 'Sources of the *Yālpāṇa-vaipava-mālai*', *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. VI, pp. 135-141; H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, 1924, p. 74; C. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 328ff.

thern kingdom in Ceṅkaṭakanakari (Senkaḍagalanuvara, i.e. Kandy), is a credible source of information for the reconstruction of the early history of Jaffna. As Indrapala has pointed out after a thorough examination of the relevant sources,[177] this cycle of legends has to be considered more as a popular Tamil version of the Vijaya legends than as something which grew round the actual events concerning the foundation of the Jaffna kingdom.

Of course, the rejection of the identification of Māgha with the legendary figure in the Tamil literary works does not preclude the possibility that Māgha continued to rule in Northern Ceylon after he was defeated by Parākramabāhu II. For none of the chronicles which deal with this event states that he was killed. It remains, however, a mere possibility in the absence of any specific evidence. Further, Paranavitana's assumption that Māgha came from Malaysia is, as pointed out earlier, based on a questionable factual foundation. Hence, even if Māgha did indeed found a kingdom further North after his defeat by the Sinhalese, it would not imply that the kingdom of Jaffna had a Jāvaka origin.

In the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription issued in the eleventh year of his reign (1264), Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya refers to an invasion of Ceylon that he launched in response to an appeal made by a minister from Ceylon. He claims to have defeated one king and killed another during this invasion and to have given to "the son of the Jāvaka (*sāva(ka)n maindan*) the kingdom of Īlam formerly ruled by his father."[178] In an inscription issued in the previous year, this king claims to have captured "the crown and the crowned head of the Jāvaka".[179] Probably this reference is to the father of the prince who was nominated to the throne.

Paranavitana proposes to identify the Jāvaka with Māgha and cites this passage as evidence in support of his hypothesis on the origin of the Jaffna kingdom. Apart from the difficulty of accepting the assumption of the Jāvaka origin of Māgha, it has to be pointed out that the *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Cūlavaṃsa* separately mention a Jāvaka invasion, the second invasion of Candabhānu, which, as A. Liyanagamage has cogently reasoned out,

177. Karthigesu Indrapala, *Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon and the Beginnings of the Kingdom of Jaffna*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1965, pp. 407 ff.

178. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Śrī Vijaya, Candrabhānu and Vīra Pāṇḍya', *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land en Volkenkunde*, Vol. LXXVII, 1937, pp. 251-268.

179. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras, 1916, No. 588.

has to be dated to a period between 1258 and 1262 A.D.[180] Thus it would be more reasonable to identify the Jāvaka king referred to in the records of 1263 and 1264 A.D., and not in the earlier records of Jaṭāvarman, with Candabhānu than with Māgha whose defeat has been dated by Codrington to about 1247 and by Paranavitana himself to 1255 A.D.[181] The reason Paranavitana gives, i.e. that Candabhānu cannot be identified with the king mentioned in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription as the latter is said to have ruled over Ceylon, would not be an insuperable obstacle against this identification. For Candabhānu had, according to the *Cūlavaṃsa*, established his authority in "Padī, Kurundī and other districts" before he tested his strength with the rulers of Daṁbadeniya.[182]

On considering the possibility of connecting the foundation of the Jaffna kingdom with the Jāvaka prince nominated to the throne by Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, it becomes further evident that there is no evidence in his inscriptions that the kingdom in question was situated in the Northern Peninsula. It is quite possible that it included the region round Anurādhapura which seems to have been outside the pale of the Daṁbadeniya kingdom. Further, even if it is conceded that the Jāvaka prince ruled over the Jaffna region, there is no evidence to testify to the continuation of rule by a dynasty founded by him. It is only in 1344, in the *Rehle* of Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, that the first definite reference to a kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula is found.[183] And this reference is to the dynasty of the Ārya Cakravarttis who came from South India. Hence the evidence available at present appears to be inadequate to warrant the hypothesis of the foundation of the Jaffna kingdom by a prince of Jāvaka origin.

The second hypothesis that Paranavitana puts forward, that the line of kings beginning with Vijayabāhu V (1333—1341) was a dynasty of Jāvaka extraction, is based mainly on the identification of *savulu*, a title attributed to this king as a term derived from Jāvaka. On the basis of this identification, Paranavitana proceeds to suggest that the collapse of the Daṁbadeniya dynasty was brought about by an invasion launched by the Jāvaka kings of Jaffna who placed Vijayabāhu V, a kinsman, on the throne of Kurunāgala. But as Paranavitana himself admits, the sources

180. Amaradasa Liyanagamage, *The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya*, Colombo, 1968, pp. 151-152.

181. H. W. Codrington, 'Notes on the Dambadeniya dynasty', *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. X, 1924, pp. 37-53, 88-99; *UHC* Vol. I, Pt. 2, pp. 620—621.

182. *Cv.* 88.64.

183. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Houan*, Madras, 1939, p. 269.

of this period are silent on the circumstances of the disappearance of the Daṁbadeniya dynasty. Neither is there evidence, as we pointed out earlier, to testify to the continuation in power of a Jāvaka dynasty in the north.

It is in the *Kāvyaśekhara* and the *Pārakumbāsirita* that the title *savuḷu* is assigned to Vijayabāhu V. This term occurs also in association with the names of several other individuals like Mārttāṇḍam-perumālun-vahansē in the Mādavala inscription of the third regnal year of Vikramabāhu III (1357—1374), Parākramabāhu VI in the *Parevisandesa* and the *Pārakumbāsirita*, and Rājasiṁha I (1581—1593) in the *Sāvuḷsandesa*.[184] In the last three works, these individuals are further said to have belonged to the Lämäṇikula or the Lambakaṇṇa clan. In the *Pārakumbāsirita*,[185] *savuḷu* occurs in association with Daṁbadeniya. The *Rājaratnākara*, a sixteenth century chronicle, traces the origin of the term *savuḷu* to the village where the descendants of the prince Sūryagot, one of the princes who accompanied the sacred Bo-tree, were said to have been settled.[186] Writers like D. B. Jayatilaka have followed the explanation given in the last work in suggesting that *savuḷu* should be identified with the name of the village where the family of Vijayabāhu V was settled before its ascension to regal power while others like Ratmalāne Dharmārāma have attempted to trace the etymological derivation of the term from the clan name Sākya.[187] It should be clear from the preceding discussion that the evidence available is insufficient to warrant a decision in favour of any one of these interpretations. Hence the third variant etymological explanation of the term that Paranavitana recommends is hardly adequate to prove his bold hypothesis.

In the eighth chapter of *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Paranavitana cites further evidence to support his claim that Parākramabāhu VI, another king who bore the title *savuḷu*, belonged to a family of Malayan extraction and also tries to prove that this king launched a successful invasion of the Malaysian regions. He adduces three main arguments in support of his first hypothesis. The father of Parākramabāhu is variously called Jayamāla, Jayamahalē or Jayamahalāna in the literary works of thisperiod. Taking

184. *Ceylon and Malaysia*, p. 129; *Parevisandesa*, (ed. T. Sugatapala), Dehivala, 1932, v. 28; *Pārakumbāsirita*, (ed. Śri Charles de Silva), Colombo, 1954, vv. 27, 72; *Kāvyaśekhara*, (ed. R. Dharmārāma), Canto 15 v. 68; *Sāvuḷsandesa*, (ed. R. Tennakon), Colombo, 1955, v. 68.

185. *savuḷu lakala daṁbadeni pura*, v. 72.

186. *Rājaratnākara*, (ed. W. Saddhānanda), 1887, p. 57.

187. *Pārakumbāsirita*, (ed. D. G. Abayagunaratna), Colombo, 1931, see Introduction by D. B. Jayatilaka, pp. v-vii; *Kāvyaśekhara*, p. 230.

the second part of this term to be derived from *malaya*, Paranavitana argues that the father of Parākramabāhu would have been a Malay prince who bore the personal name Jaya. The other three arguments are based on interpretations of terms and titles used to refer to Parākramabāhu. In the *Saddharmaratnākara*, written during the reign of this king, he is referred to as *jagatīpati candabhānu*.[188] Paranavitana points out that the title *canaabhānu* was used by the kings of Ligor and suggests that its use by Parākramabāhu implies that he also was from Malaysia. The third argument that Paranavitana puts forward is based on a reference in the annals of the Ming dynasty to a captive Sinhalese prince called *Yeh-pa-nae-na* who was released in 1411—12 A.D. As he is said to have subsequently ascended the throne under the name *Pu-la-ko-ma Ba-za La-cha*, he can be identified with Parākramabāhu VI.[189] The name of the prince, Paranavitana surmises, was a transliteration of *yāpā-nāṇa*, meaning "lord of Java."

Though the derivation of the terms *māla*, *mahalē* and *mahalāna* from *malaya* may seem a possibility from an etymological point of view, an examination of the contexts in which these terms occur in ancient Sinhalese texts makes it clear that they were used in a different sense. The *Pärakumbāsirita*, which refers to the father of Parākramabāhu by the term *jayamahalāna*, mentions in an earlier context that this title was first conferred on prince Sumitta who accompanied the Bo-sapling when it was brought to Ceylon. It further adds that it was conferred as a hereditary title. And it is to this prince of the Lambakaṇṇa clan that the *Pärakumbāsirita* traces the descent of Parākramabāhu.[190] The appointment of prince Sumitta to the post of *jayamahasēnā* is also mentioned in two earlier texts, the *Mahābodhivaṃsaya* and the *Pūjāvaliya*. The first of these texts adds that, after the conferment of the title, Sumitta was placed in charge of the festivities connected with the sacred Bo-tree.[191]

The term *jayamahalēnā* in the *Mahā Bodhivaṃsaya* was the Sinhalese rendering of *jayamahālekhaka* in the Pali original which is generally supposed to have been written in the tenth century.[192] Thus there is little

188. *Saddharmaratnākara*, ed. (Devananda), 1955, p. 536
189. *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXIV, 1915-6, pp. 110—111.
190. *ekala eniriňdu sumit kumarun palaňdavā miṇivoṭunu pivituru=udula sat maňgulätu piṭin pura väḍama karavā puden visituru—nimala kula parapuren enalesa demin jayamahalāna tanaturu—vipula adarin sälasi dumiňdun puda sirit karavanuva niraturu. Parakumbasirita*, v. 11.
191. *Siṃhala Bodhivaṃsaya*, (ed. Baddēgama Kīrtti Śrī Dharmaratana), Väligama, 1911 p. 193. *Pjv.* p. 84.
192. *Univ. of Cey. Hist. of Cey.* Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 393.

reason to consider the derivation for the term suggested by Paranavitana as acceptable. There is no mention of Sumitta or the conferment of this rank on him in the *Dīpavaṃsa* or the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Evidently, *jaya-maḥalē* or *jayamahalāna* was the title held by a monastic official or a group of monastic officials entrusted with the task of supervising the performance of rituals pertaining to the sacred Bo-tree. It is possible that in a subsequent period they claimed to belong to the Kṣatriya caste as descendants of the prince Sumitta. The elevation of the dynasty of Parākramabāhu to supreme power in the Island probably marks the culmination of their rise in status and power.

The other two arguments of Paranavitana are even less substantial. Even if the identification of *Yeh-pa-nae-na* as a Chinese rendering of *yāpā-nāṇa* is accepted, it does not necessarily prove the contention that Parākramabāhu was a prince of Malay extraction. The term *yāpā* occurs in the Gaḍalādeniya inscription of Senāsammata Vikramabāhu in the sense of 'heir-apparent'.[193] As regards the term *candabhānu*, it is noteworthy that it occurs only in the *Saddharmaratnākara*. One has to keep in mind the possibility that the author who composed this strophe used it in the sense of 'resplendent like the moon', before concluding that it is an allusion to the Malay extraction of the princes who were the forbears of Parākramabāhu.

The *Vṛttaratnākarapañcikā* written by Rāmacandra, a Brahmin from Bengal who lived in Ceylon during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI, cites verses composed in praise of this king as examples to illustrate various metres. In two of these strophes, Parākramabāhu is addressed as *kusuma-purapati* ('lord of Kusumapura' i.e. Pāṭaliputra) and *magadhapati* ('lord of Magadha).[194] In an earlier instance, the phrase *kusumapura-nagaravara-viracita-padaṃ* is used to refer to the king.[195] Paranavitana translates it as "he who has set up his abode at the excellent city of Kusumapura." The phrase is also capable of some other interpretations: "he who has graced the excellent city of Kusumapura with his footsteps i.e. he who has visited Kusumapura" or "he who has established his sway over Kusumapura". One could be fairly certain that the description in these eulogistic verses does not mean actual overlordship over the Magadha area which, by this time, had been brought under the kingdom of Bengal and was being ruled by a series of Muslim kings defying the authority of Delhi.

193. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. IV, p. 12.
194. *Vṛttaratanākara* and its *Pañcikā*, (ed. C. A. Sīlakkhanda), Bombay, 1903, pp. 66, 72.
195. *Ibid.* p. 26.

Further, terms like Kusumapura and Magadha had gone out of vogue as names of centres and regions of political organization. Of course, Rāmacandra who came from Bengal would have been quite aware of this situation when he wrote the *Pañcikā*. Most probably, this claim was based on the information that the poet gives when he refers to Jayamāla, the father of Parākramabāhu, as a descendant of the line of Dharmāśoka.[196]

Paranavitana attempts to identify Magadha as an area in the Malay Peninsula and Kusumapura or Pāṭalīputra as a city therein, implying that Parākramabāhu claimed suzerainity over a Malaysian region. To accept this hypothesis, one will have to be satisfied that a region and a city bearing these names existed in Malaysia and that Parākramabāhu had won a claim to that area through conquest or through some other means.

In the account of a mission sent to Siam by the king of Kandy in 1750, Vilbāgedara Mudiyansē, who was a member of this mission, refers to the interruption of their return journey as a result of shipwreck. They were forced to land in the district of Muvan Lakhon, within the Siamese kingdom, and spend some days at a city called Pāṭalīputra.[197] Paranavitana identifies Muvan Lakhon with Nakhon Si Tammarat in Ligor. He suggests that it was this city that Vilbāgedara refers to as Pāṭalīputra and is mentioned as Kusumapura in the *Pañcikā*. He further surmises that the region round the city would have been called Magadha after the Indian parallel.

The weakness of this argument is that the adoption of the name of an Indian city does not necessarily imply that the region round the city would also have been named after the region in which the Indian city was situated. Moreover, there is no evidence at all to indicate that Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja or Nakhon Si Tammarat was ever known as Pāṭalīputra. This city seems to have preserved its ancient name right up to the modern times. Another city known as Muang Lakhon, is found in the north-eastern regions of Thailand close to the borders of Laos. It is true that in the Thai language the term *lakhon* is sometimes found to be interchangeable with *nakhon*, which means 'city'. *Muang*, too, denotes 'city'. But this does not mean that Muang Lakhon could easily be identified with Nakhon Si Tammarat. These two terms are found as elements in the names of several other Thai cities. Muan Nakhon

196. *dharmāśoka nṛpanvaye jayamālo mahīpatiḥ—tasya putraḥ prajāśriye parākramabhujo bhavat* p. 20.
197. *Cey. Jnl. of Hist. and Soc. Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1959, pp. 67-69.

Phanom and Muang Nakhon Sawan are two such names preserved up to modern times. There is yet another fact which makes it difficult to accept Paranavitana's identification. In his account of the mission, Vilbagedāra mentions that he passed the Kingdom of Kāmbōja on his way to Siam and also on his way back to Ceylon. On his outward journey he reached Kāmbōja after he left Patani which could easily be identified with the area in the Malay Peninsula known by this name. Muvan (or Muang) was situated on the way between Kāmbōja and Siam. This would imply that the ship in which Vilbāgedara travelled followed the Malayan coast up to the cape of Patani and turned north-east to reach the kingdom of Kāmbōja and sailed along the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam to arrive at the mouth of the river Me-nam.[198] The description of the return journey makes it clearer that this was the route that the ship followed. After leaving the estuary of Me-nam, the ship reached Bankasōi which could be identified with Bang-pa-soi, situated at the mouth of the river Bang-pa-kung, to the east of the river Me-nam. Subsequently, passing Ponnadaliyam, which may be identified with the Cape of Liam,[199] and Kāmbōja, Vilbāgedara reached Pulu Timun and Pulu Pisan which have been rightly identified by P. E. E. Fernando as the islands of Tioman and Pisang off the eastern coast of Johore.[200] It may be relevant to mention here that John Crawfurd, the English envoy sent to the Siamese court in the third decade of the nineteenth century, followed a similar route after touching at the island of Pulo Ubi, situated close to the Cambodian coast.[201] Muang Lakhon should have been therefore, a place which was situated on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam rather than in the Malay Peninsula. It would thus appear that the evidence marshalled by Paranavitana is inadequate to locate Magadha or Kusumapura in the Malay Peninsula.

The *Pärakumbāsirita*, an eulogy on Parākramabāhu written during his reign, uses the passage *gajapati hayapati narapati rajuneḍi mäṅḍa gat kaṭāra* to describe him. It has generally been taken to mean: "(Parākramabāhu was like) a container filled with the extract obtained by crushing the

198. P.E.E. Fernando suggests that Vilbāgedara would have seen the coast of Cambodia while sailing along the Malayan coast. But this is unlikely as the distance between the two coasts is more than 275 statute miles at Nakhon Si Tammarat and about 325 at Patani.

199. The letters *na* and *ta* are often mistaken for each other in Sinhalese writing. And, if the original form of this name was Pontadaliyam, one can easily see in it an attempt to transliterate the French term Pointe de Liam, meaning the 'headland' or the 'cape' of Liam. For the location of Liam in charts of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, see L. Fournereau, *op.cit.*, pls. ix, x, xiii xiv, xv.

200. *Cey.Jnl.of Hist. and Soc. Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1959, pp. 77 n.43; 83 n.168.

201. John Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-general of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China; Exhibiting a View of the Actual State of those Kingdoms*, London, 1830, Vol. I, p. 91.

arrogance of kings who are lords of elephants, horses and men."[202] Paranavitana proposes a different interpretation: "He who, after having crushed the arrogance of kings who are lords of elephants, lords of horses and lords of men, captured Kaṭāra." He identifies Kaṭāra with Kaṭāha (Kedah) and cites this statement as evidence to substantiate his hypothesis that Parākramabāhu had conquered a region in the Malay Peninsula. Paranavitana draws further evidence from the Ming annals which give an account of a mission from Ceylon sent to the Chinese court in a year which falls within the reign of Parākramabāhu. These annals refer to the Sinhalese king by the phrase *Ko-li-sheng-hsia-la-shi-li-pa-chiao-la-jo*.[203] Paranavitana interprets it as a rendering into Chinese of the Sinhalese title *Kāliṅga-siṃhala-śrīvijaya-rāja* and surmises that Parākramabāhu assumed the title Śrī Vijaya Rāja after his conquest of Kedah. It is also possible, he further suggests, that even his predecessors "claimed to be titular sovereigns of Śrī Vijaya, and Parākramabāhu's capture of Kaṭāha was undertaken to justify the claim."

Before we proceed to examine the historical information from South East Asia which would enable us to test the hypothesis that Paranavitana has put forward, it would be relevant to point out that if Parākramabāhu launched a successful invasion to Kedah, it is but to be expected that it would have been assigned much more prominence in the works of the court panegyrists than the mere passing reference in a strophe in the *Pārakumbāsirita*. This work devotes eight strophes in an earlier context specifically to describe the military exploits of Parākramabāhu. Here, the author narrates the victories he scored over the kings of the Vanni, Jotiyasiṭu, the prince of Gampala, the Āryacakravarti, the Karṇṇāṭa ruler and the Mālavarāyar of South India.[204] There is no mention of an expedition to Malaysia in this context. Nor is such an exploit referred to in any of the other works containing a description of this reign.[205] Hence it does not seem very advisable to base such an important conclusion, as Paranavitana has done, on a passage which admits of variant interpretations.

202. *gajapati hayapati narapati rajuneḍi māṅḍa gat kaṭāra—bujabala yasa vaturu uturu kaḷa sakvaḷinut piṭāra—rajaniya munibaṇa viyaraṇa kav naḷu sarasavi koṭāra—väjaṁbi meraju tuti puvatara kapaṭa rāja turu kaṭāra. Pārakumbāsirita* v. 73.

203. *JCBRAS*, Vol. XXIV, 1915-6, p. 111.

204. *Pārakumbāsirita* vv. 46-53.

205. See for instance the description of the victories of Parākramabāhu VI in the *Girāsandesa* (ed. M. Kumāraṇatuṃga, 1933, vv. 137-150) which substantiates the account in the *Pārakumbāsirita* but contains no mention of an expedition to the Malaysian regions.

Similar doubts could be raised even about the interpretation Paranavitana has suggested for the title in the *Ming-shih*. The key term that Paranavitana uses for his argument is represented by the four characters *shi-li-pa-chiao* 昔利把交 which is taken to represent Śrī Vijaya. But the Chinese maintained very close relations with the empire of Śrī Vijaya and the chroniclers at the Imperial Court as well as other Chinese scholars used certain specific characters to denote Śrī Vijaya. Earlier Chinese writings like the works of I-tsing and Houei-je use the appellation Che-li-fo-che 尸利佛逝 or its shortened form Fo-che 佛逝 while the later chronicles like the *Sung-shih* and the *Ming-shih*, the writings of Chao-ju-kua (1225), and particularly of Ma-Houan (1425—32?) who lived in the period under discussion consistently use the term San-fo-ts'i 三佛齊.[206] It is most doubtful that the *Ming-shih* would have used two variant terms, different from each other in the number of characters and in their phonetic value, to denote the same region. Hence the attempt of Paranavitana to attribute the title Śrī Vijaya Rāja to Parākramabāhu does not seem to be supported by the Chinese evidence he cites.

Elsewhere, Paranavitana has published certain records which are germane to the problem under discussion. These records which contain the genealogies of Candravatī, the daughter of Parākamabāhu VI, and her consort, Sundara Pāṇḍya, are according to Paranavitana, indited on a slab from Bōlāna in the Hambantoṭa district which was originally set up in the ninth or the tenth century and bears an edict issued by a prince who ruled over Rohaṇa.[207] As pointed out earlier, the writing containing this information is executed in "small characters of varying size." Some characters are "minute" and "in some places writing in letters of one size is engraved over that in another size and type" According to Paranavitana, the contents of this inscription are repeated in the *interlinear writing* on twelve other epigraphs. Some of these are the very same inscriptions from which Paranavitana obtained information on relations with Malaysia in the Anurādhapura period.

206. See *Journal Asiatique*, Series 11, Vol. XX, 1922, pp. 4-6, 8, 15, 24, 32. The author is indebted to Mr. Mahinda Werake for his obliging assistance in verifying the Chinese references and to Dr. D. J. Kalupahana for drawing the Chinese characters which appear on this page.

207. *UCR*, Vol. XXI, 1963, pp. 103-137.

The pedigrees in the Bōlāna inscription trace the descent of Parākramabāhu VI through his maternal grand-mother to Parākramabāhu V and Vijayabāhu V. Vijāayabāhu V is mentioned as a son of Candrabhānu Mahārāja. Jayamāla, the maternal grandfather of Parākramabāhu VI, was a son of Dharmāśoka Mahārāja, who, too, was descended from Candrabhānu Mahārāja through another branch of the family. Further, Jayamāla (II), father of Parākramabāhu VI, was also a descendant of Candrabhānu through a third branch of the family.

According to the genealogical information in these records, Vijayabāhu V, who ruled from Hastigiripura (Kurunāgala) after defeating Parākramabāhu IV, had "obtained the sovereignty of Jāva" before he came to Ceylon. His son, Parākramabāhu V, too, spent his last days in the kingdom of Jāva. Dharmāśoka and Jayamāla, great-grandfather and grandfather of Parākramabāhu VI, were rulers of Suvarṇṇapura while Jayamāla (II), the father of Parākramabāhu VI, is said to have reigned in Jāva.

This information indicates that some of the forebears of Parākramabāhu VI were kings of Jāva or Suvarṇṇapura while others maintained very close relations with these regions. Genealogical information on Candrabhānu traces this relationship to a much earlier period. Candrabhānu Mahārāja is said to have been the son of Gaṇḍagopāla Mahārāja who was appointed to the throne of Subhapaṭṭana by his father Māgha. Paranavitana points out that Candrabhānu of this record should be identified as distinct from the Jāvaka invader of the same name. It appears that both Gaṇḍagopāla and Candrabhānu were kings of Subhapaṭṭana, which is identified by Paranavitana as the Jaffna Peninsula.

Further, the genealogy of Māgha, who is described as a king from Suvarṇṇapura, is traced back to a certain Jayagopa Mahārāja, identified by Paranavitana as the same king who is mentioned as the father of Nissaṅkamalla in the latter's inscriptions, and from him to kings of Śrī Vijaya like Māravijayottuṅga. The descent of these kings is traced back through Siddhayātra and Kāśyapa to Mahānāga, the brother of Devānāmpiyatissa. The interlinear writings on another inscription from Aturupolayagama are said to contain additional information on Nissaṅkamalla.[208] According to Paranavitana, this record states that Nissaṅkamalla came to Ceylon from Suvarṇṇapura. Even his death is said to have taken place at Suvarṇṇapura, where he had gone to give his daughter in marriage to Sūryyanārāyana, the Mahārāja ruling at the time.

208. *Ep.Zey.*, Vol. V, Pt. 3, 1965, pp. 440-443.

Paranavitana states that an inscription from Rambāva bearing the same type of interlinear writing yields information on relations with Malaysia in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. According to this record, Parākramabāhu was living at Suvarṇṇapura before he was elevated to the Sinhalese throne by the Chinese emperor. Even after Parākramabāhu came to Ceylon, his son Purandara continued to live in the Jāvaka kingdom. The decision of Parākramabāhu to give his daughter in marriage to Sundara Pāṇḍya is said to have led to hostilities with Suvarṇṇapura. Parākramabāhu invaded this kingdom, defeated its ruler and dictated terms of peace to the effect that the defeated ruler should enter the monastic order at the Abhayagiri monastery in Anurādhapura. Paranavitana proposes to identify Suvarṇṇapura with Śrī Vijaya and cites the evidence from the *Ming-shih* and the *Pārakumbāsirita* discussed earlier to support his contention that the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya had been successfully invaded by Parākramabāhu.

It should be evident from the preceding account that Paranavitana's reading of the interlinear writing on the inscriptions he has discovered corroborate the hypotheses he puts forward in his *Ceylon and Malaysia* on a number of crucial points: the foundation of the dynasty of Śrī Vijaya by a prince of the Sinhalese royal line; the Malaysian origin of both Nissaṅkamalla and Māgha; the foundation of the kingdom of Jaffna by Māgha; the relationship between the Savuḷu dynasty and the ruling house of Jaffna; the descent of Parākramabāhu VI from a Malaysian ruling family and his successful invasion of the Śrī Vijaya kingdom. The text of the interlinear writings on the Aturupolayagama inscription was published in 1965 in the third part of fifth volume of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and the genealogical information in the Bōlāna and Rambāva inscriptions appeared in the number of the *University of Ceylon Review* for October, 1963, published in August, 1965. Hence it is rather surprising that Paranavitana does not draw on the information in these three sources for his *Ceylon and Malaysia* which was published only in the following year.

It is not likely that this omission was dictated by a reluctance to reiterrate what had been published elsewhere. For some of the chapters in *Ceylon and Malaysia* are *verbatim* reproductions of parts of articles which Paranavitana had earlier published. If, on the other hand, the reasons for this omission were doubts about the authenticity of these records and the validity of the information they contain, such doubts seem to be quite

Justified. Apart from the 'eccentric' features of these records and the problems of verification they present, there are other difficulties which raise doubts about the information they contain. It is the region called Suvarṇṇapura mentioned in these records that Paranavitana indentifies as a reference to the Śrī Vijaya empire. The term Suvarṇṇapura occurs in connection with Śrī Vijaya only once. This is in a Nepali manuscript datable in the tenth or the eleventh century. The legend below a miniature painting in this manuscript reads as follows: *suvarṇṇapure śrīvijayapure lokanāthaḥ*, "Lokanātha of the city of Śrī Vijaya in the *city* of Suvarṇṇa."[209] Obviously, Suvarṇṇapura in this context is, as has generally been accepted, a mistake for Suvarṇṇdvīpa, the name by which the island of Sumatra was known. There is no evidence in Chinese, Malaysian or any other Indian sources to suggest that Sumatra was known by the term Suvarṇṇapura.

Even if this identification and the readings that Paranavitana published are accepted, the credibility of their contents appears questionable when checked against known facts about the history of South East Asia. The information in the Aturupolayagama inscription contradicts the evidence from the Leyden grant, confirmed also by Chinese sources, that the father and predecessor of Māravijayottuṅga was Cūlāmaṇivarma.[210] Another reason which raises doubts about the accuracy of the information in this inscription is the absence of any direct reference to the connection with Śrī Vijaya or the Śailendravaṃsa in the inscriptions of Nissaṅkamalla. For Nissaṅkamalla was hardly a person who would have been reticent about his relationship with the leading royal family of Malaysia if there was any basis for such a claim. It has also to be pointed out that, if this identification is accepted, Kaliṅga will have to be located in the region round the Jambi Valley in Sumatra, and not in the Malay Peninsula as Paranavitana suggested in an earlier context.

The records of the Śailendra house of Śrī Vijaya do not contain even an allusion to a relationship with the Sinhalese royal family. On the other hand they trace the origin of the dynasty to a Śailendra prince called Bālaputra, son of Samarāgravīra, the ruler of Java. Evidently, this prince set himself up as ruler in Sumatra after he was expelled from Java by another Javanese prince sometime round 856 A.D.[211] It would thus appear that

209. A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie boudhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900. p. 193; Nepali MS No. ADD 1643 of the University of Cambridge, Miniature No. 23.

210. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 242 ll. 81-82.; *Journal Asiatique*, Series 11, Vol. XX, 1922, p. 19; *Les états*....pp. 259-260.

211. See J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia*, 1950, Vol. I, pp. 99-100, 107-110, ; Vol. II, pp. 294-7.

the information from records issued not long after the foundation of the Śrī Vijaya empire contradicts the information from the interlinear writings on the Bōlāna and other inscriptions.

The ancient kingdom of Śrī Vijaya was very much on the decline by the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is evident from the writings of Odoric de Perdenone that by 1321 Muslim principalities like Lamori (Achen) and Sumoltra were ruling over the northern parts of Sumatra.[212] Even the southern parts of Sumatra did not remain under the sole control of Śrī Vijaya. In his account written in 1450, Wang Ta Yuan refers to a kingdom called Kieou-kiang in the Palembang region as distinct from San-fo-t' si which had been restricted to the area round the Jambi Valley.[213] The powerful kingdom of Ayuthia laid claim to suzerainty over the Malay Peninsula. But by 1380, the principalities of Kedah and Pase were being ruled by the house of Barubha(?), another of the Muslim ruling families which came into prominence during this period.[214] Evidently, political power over two kingdoms on either side of the Straits of Malacca gave the Bharubhas the control over the trading routes through the Straits on which the prosperity of the Śrī Vijaya empire had been largely dependent. Further, the kingdom of Kedah maintained its control over the tin producing tracts of South-western Malaya till its conquest by Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca, sometime after 1459.[215]

On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the Majapahit empire based in Java which had, by this time, become one of the most powerful political forces in South East Asia, succeeded in bringing the declining kingdom of Śrī Vijaya under its political control. The inscription of Padang Rocho found in the Jambi Valley has been cited as tangible proof by most scholars for the conquest of Sumatra by the Javanese.[216] The Javanese chronicle *Nāgarakĕrtāgama* written in 1365 refers to Jambi, Palembang and other kingdoms of Sumatra as dependencies of the Majapahit empire.[217] The annals of the Ming dynasty provide more details on the fortunes of the Śrī Vijaya kingdom. According to these records, the

212. H. Cordier, *Les voyages en Asie au* xive *siécle du bienheureux frere Odoric de Perdonene*, pp. 136, 153.

213. *Journal Asiatique*, 1922, pp. 30-32.

214. See W. F. Stuuterheim, 'A Malay Sha'ir in Old-Sumatran Characters of 1380 A.D.' *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XIV, 1936, pp. 268-279.

215. Tome Pires, *The Suma Orientalis*, Vol. I, p. 108; Vol. II, p. 248.

216. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya*, Madras, 1949, pp. 95-96, *Les états*....p. 367.

217. *The Nāgara-Kĕrtāgama*, Vol. III, p. 16.

territory originally occupied by this kingdom had been divided by 1373 A.D. into three principalities. In 1377, Ma-na-tcho Wou-li, the ruler of one of these principalities, sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor for authorisation to use the old title 'king of San-fo-t' si (Śrī Vijaya)'. This was granted by the Chinese emperor to the irritation of the king of Java who had the Chinese envoys assassinated in revenge. The Chinese emperor did not take any measures to punish the Javanese king. The chronicler explains that the king of Java had previously conquered San-fo-t'si. Evidently, Wu-li's was an unsuccessful attempt to declare independence from Majapahit control. After this incident, contact between the Chinese court and this kingdom ceased and, according to the chronicler, "San-fc-t'si grew more and more poor". By the end of the fourteenth century, the kingdom had been completely subjugated by the Javanese who changed its name to Kieou-kiang, and the only resistance to Majapahit rule came from the Chinese inhabitants who rebelled under a series of leaders till about 1425. The Imperial Court maintained diplomatic contact with some of these leaders; but the Majapahit claim over Sumatra was, apparently, never questioned.[218] The *Ying Yai Cheng Lan* of Ma Houan, datable to a period between 1425 and 1432 A.D., states that Kieou-kiang, "previously called San-fo-t'si", was a dependency of Tchao-wa (Java).[219] The *Sing Tch'a Cheng Lan* of Fei Sin, too, confirms that this territory was under Javanese rule.[220] And according to the Ming records, embassies bearing tribute from the kingdom of Kieou-kiang became extremely rare after 1425. Presumably, the authority of the Majapahit dynasty over this area had been re-established in an effective manner.

The preceding discussion should clarify some of the basic difficulties involved in accepting the statements in the inscriptions that Paranavitana has published as well as his hypotheses based on them. The Kedah region had become independent by about 1380 and it would not be possible to identify 'the invasion of Śrī Vijaya' recorded in the Bōlāna inscription with the invasion of Kedah which according to Paranavitana, is recorded in the *Pārakumbāsirita*. It should also be clear that the recognition of a ruler as the king of Śrī Vijaya was a matter which could cause grave political complications. Therefore, it is most unlikely that the Chinese, with their experience of the earlier episode, would have assigned this title to Parākramabāhu VI in their official records. Further, the assumption that the old Śrī Vijaya dynasty continued in authority is not borne out by

218. *Journal Asiatique*, Series 11, Vol. XX, 1922, pp. 25-39.
219. *Ibid.* p. 32.
220. *Ibid.* p. 35.

evidence from within Sumatra or from the Chinese annals. It seems also questionable whether Parākramabāhu VI would have succeeded in defeating and overpowering the ruler of Śrī Vijaya, even if we presume that he attempted to do so and that there was such a ruler. He would have roused the wrath of the Majapahit empire; and this was something which even Cheng-ho had not wanted to do. And if he did succeed in doing so, it would have been one of the most brilliant political achievements of the Sinhalese ruling house. It is difficult to imagine that the eulogists who wrote many laudatory passages about Parākramabāhu would have forgotten to describe such an exploit in all its detail.

Moreover, it is not easy to explain away how the newly-discovered records used by Paranavitana, particularly the document from the Rambāva inscription, containing such valuable information, came to be inscribed in this unusual manner, in minute characters, one layer of writing over another. It is difficult to understand why new edicts were not set up to record the genealogies of the royal family and to mark what should have been the most significant exploit of the king. The inscriptions that Paranavitana uses, it is claimed, are from different parts of the Island. If, accordingly, the information they contain was widely known, it is difficult to explain why it did not enter the literary tradition. This is a particularly difficult problem because most literary works written during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI contain eulogistic accounts of his activities.. None of them, however, confirms the information in these records. Hence, as in the case of the *Sundarīvṛttānta* and the *Paramparāpustaka* discussed earlier, these records which do not admit of verification and are not corroborated by other evidence will have to be considered sources of dubious credibility for purposes of historical reconstruction.

V

Ceylon and Malaysia and the eight other papers on the relations between these two regions are the latest writings to come out of the scholarly endeavours of Professor Paranavitana. They also represent the first noteworthy attempt on his part to venture beyond the spatial limits of his usual field of research. As an epigraphist equipped with a perspicacious mind and a thorough knowledge of South Asian source material, Paranavitana has made perhaps the most significant contribution to the understanding of the ancient culture of the Sinhalese. It is, therefore, most unfortunate and disconcerting that the works under consideration have failed to come up to the high standards of critical scholarship that he consistently maintained in his previous writings on epigraphy. Paranavitana

draws heavily on material from *interlinear writings* on inscriptions at least one example of which, as pointed out earlier, does not admit of verification. He has published the texts of these records without indicating doubtful and emended readings. He has drawn significant conclusions on the history of Malaysia. But he has not attempted to test the validity of his source material with the evidence available from that region.

It has been pointed out earlier in this paper that some of the hypotheses Paranavitana puts forward on the relations between Ceylon and Malaysia are based on variant interpretations of toponyms like Kaliṅga, Tambarattha and Malaya. His attempts to locate these regions in Malaysia are hardly convincing. Nor could it be said that his arguments are consistent. As has been pointed out earlier in this paper, he located Kaliṅga in a number of different places ranging from the northern extremity of the Malay Peninsula to Java beyond in the south. Paranavitana's vivid imagination and erudition are masterfully employed in etymological interpretation; but this appears to be a disadvantage in historical research. He has brought into his historical writing an inordinate dependence on linguistic evidence without an adequate awareness of the dangers besetting the adoption of such methods for historical inquiry. It is not necessary to remind historians that at best linguistic and etymological evidence can be used only as a basis for further investigation. Few historians would go as far as Professor Paranavitana in drawing historical conclusions from evidence of this type.

Even though historians would hesitate to accept the conclusions that Paranavitana has drawn from his evidence, his writings are, nevertheless, most likely to wield a desirable effect on historiography in Ceylon by shaking students of ancient and mediaeval history off the Indo-centric approach which has become deeply ingrained in the local traditions of scholarship. Such a change in attitudes and ways of approach would perhaps help them to acquire a more balanced and comprehensive understanding of the factors and influences which were at work in the cultural development of Ceylon in the period before the advent of the Europeans.[221]

R. A. L. H. GUNAWARDANA

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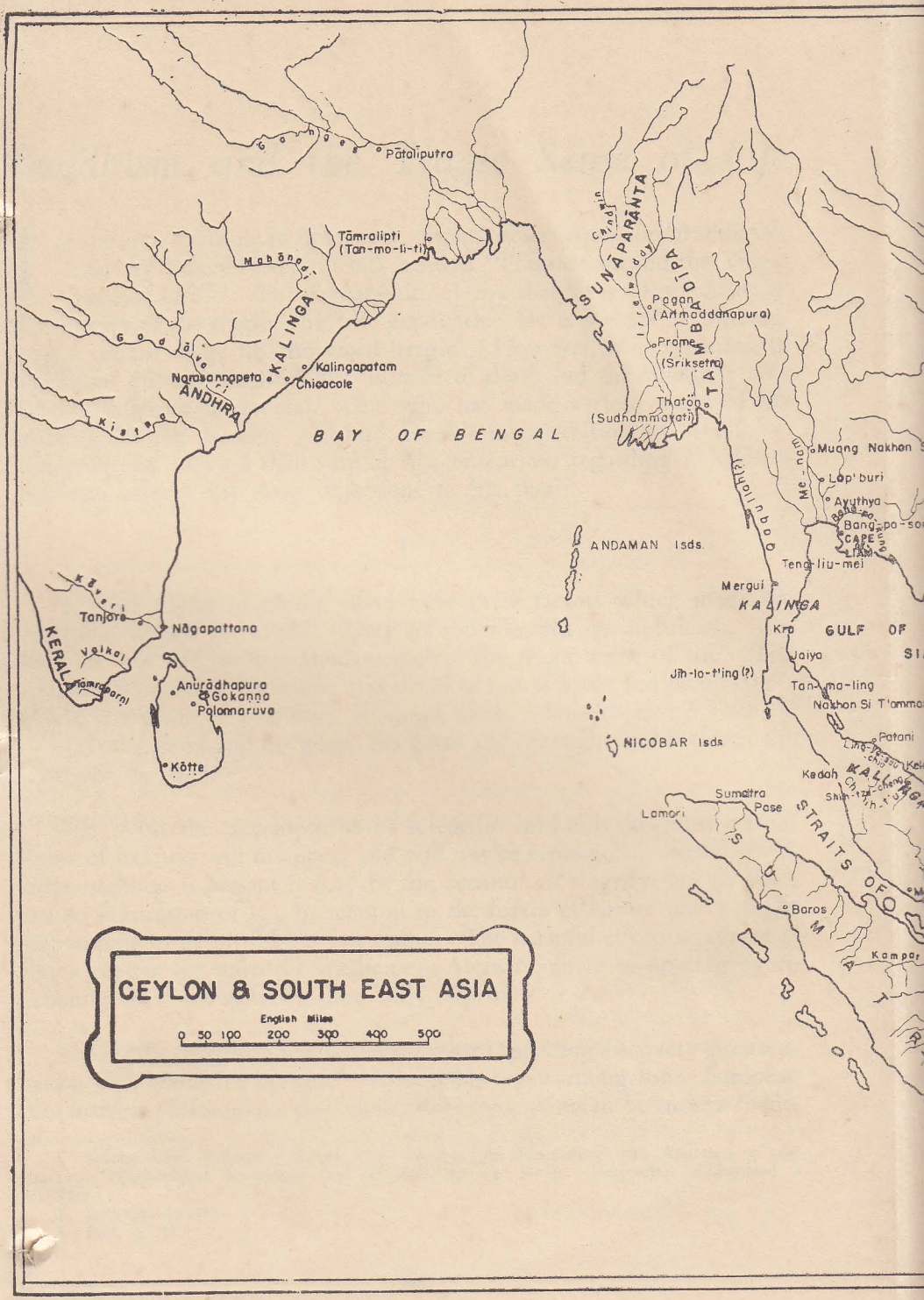
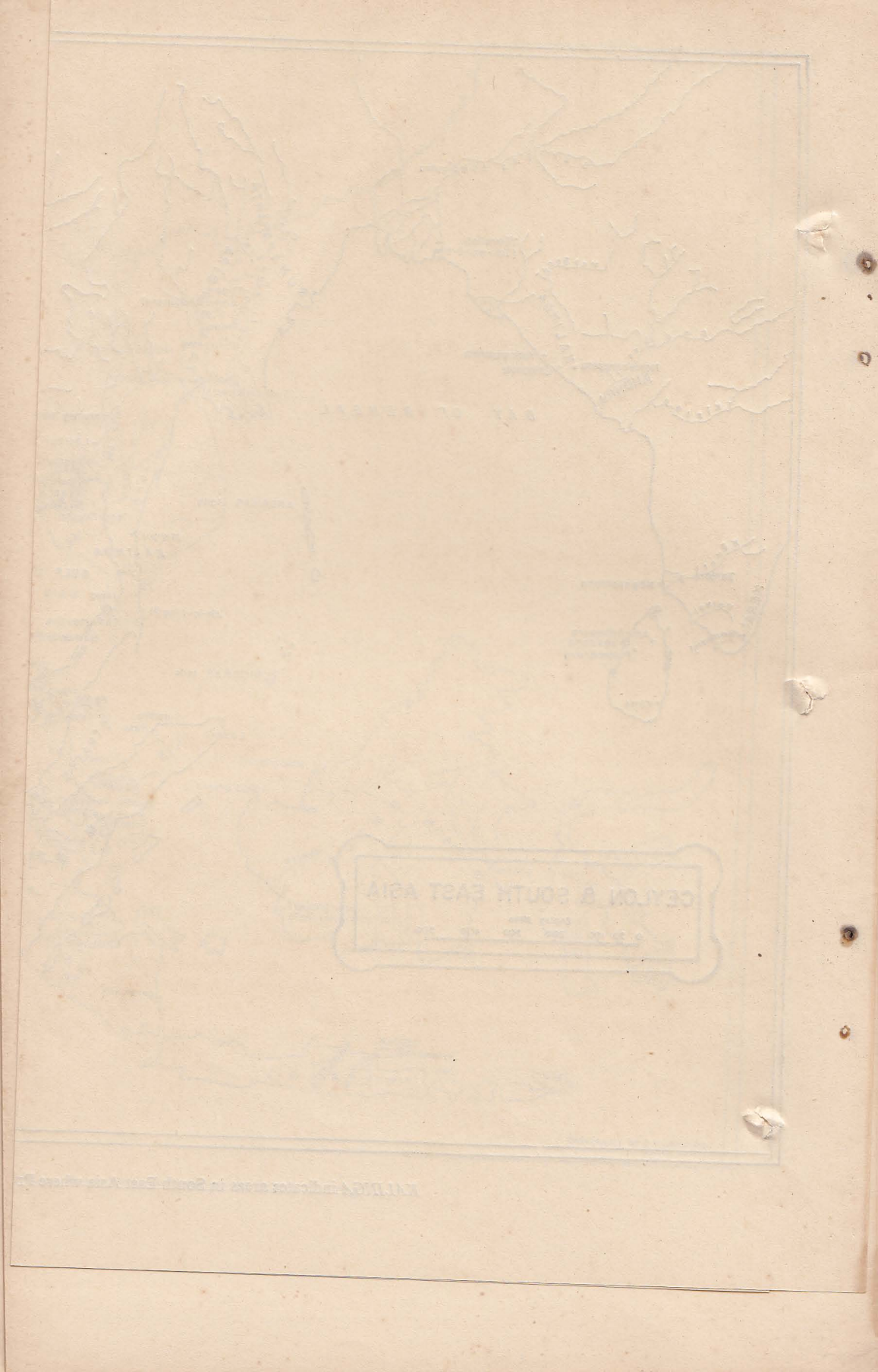


KALINGA indicates areas in South East Asia where Profes

st Asia where Professor Paranavitana attempts to locate this region.



Buddhism and the Tragic Sense of Life

I propose to examine in this paper certain observations on Buddhism, made by Sidney Hook in a talk entitled, "Pragmatism and the Tragic Sense of Life".[1] The primary aim of my analysis is not to challenge the concept of the tragic which he expounds. He is perhaps recommending a certain usage for the word 'tragic'. However, his exposition of Buddhism distorts the Buddhist attitude to death and the Buddhist attitude to suffering in general. One who has made a close study of the teachings of the Buddha will find Hook's interpretation of Buddhism disappointing. First I shall sum up his contentions regarding Buddhism and then present my own objections to his thesis.

I

(i) According to Hook, there were three factors which made the Buddha renounce the world. They are sickness, old age and death. But these are not the realities fundamental to the tragic sense of life. The term tragic refers to "a genuine experience of moral doubt and perplexity", which issues out of a conflict of moral ideals. Thus there are conflicts between the good and the good, the good and the right and between the right and the right.[2]

(ii) With the development of scientific medicine the most serious forms of sickness will disappear and will not be replaced by others. Even where sickness is present it may be the occasion of tragedy, but by itself not an illustration of it. In relation to the forces of nature man's plight may appear to be pitiful but not tragic. The harmful effects of ageing is also a matter for scientific medicine. Anyway, there is no tragedy in growing old biologically but only sorrow.[3]

(iii) "But what of death-Buddha's third appalling discovery-preoccupation with which has become so fashionable today among some European existentialist philosophers that their philosophy seems to be more a medi-

1. Sidney Hook, *Pragmatism and the Tragic Sense of Life*, Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association, Vol. 33, 1959—60, pp. 5—26. (Hereinafter abbreviated a P.T.S.L.)
2. Ibid, pp. 16—17.
3. Ibid, p. 11.

tation upon death than upon life. Is not death the ultimate source of whatever is tragic in life? I cannot bring myself to think so. Nor can I convince myself that its nature and significance in life waited to be discovered by Kierkegaard and Heidegger and their modern disciples". "It is the reflective attitude towards death not the popular attitude or the one displayed by those in its last agonies, which throws light on its nature and place in life. The attitude exhibited by Socrates in facing it seems wiser than that expressed by the contemnors of the rational life...."

Hook also refers to Tolstoy's claim that if a man has learnt to think he must think of his own death, and to a statement of Sartre that "if we must die then life has no meaning".[4] All this appears to Hook as "little more than a fear of death and a craving for immortality".[5] Hook also says that death has its uses, for it gives us an assurance that no evil will last for ever. He concludes that "death *as such* is not tragic".[6]

(iv) All this bring him to his own positive solution, to what in his eyes appears tragic. There are three approaches to the tragic conflicts of life. They are the approach of history typified by Hegel, the approach of love, and the method of creative intelligence (Pragmatic method). Hook rejects the first as it is unsatisfactory, rejects the second as it is incomplete and ambiguous and supports the third method. In the light of his own method, he finds the Buddhist attitude unsatisfactory. He says that the Buddhist saint who out of compassion refuses to use force or kill when they are the only methods, leaves room for greater evil. Thus he refuses to accept what he calls the "Christian and especially the Buddhist ethics of purity."[7]

II

(1) *The Concept of Dukkha*

There are a number of objections that can be made against Hook's analysis of the Buddhist concept of suffering. Firstly, what is referred to as the truth of suffering is not limited to sickness, old age and death. it is a wider formula with a very broad frame of reference. Secondly, it has to be understood as one of the four noble truths and not in isolation. The four noble truths form the basis of Buddhist doctrine. They are the

4. Ibid, p. 12
5. Ibid, p. 12
6. Ibid, p. 13, Emphasis mine.
7. Ibid, p. 18

truth of suffering, the origin of suffering, the extinction of suffering and of the eight-fold path leading to the extinction of suffering. It is only when the four truths are taken as aspects of a unified doctrine that factors like moral perplexity and emotional fears can be explained. One who emphasises the factor of suffering only is in danger of embracing philosophical positions like nihilism and pessimism. As will be explained later, Buddhism does not uphold such extremes.

Thirdly, the concept of suffering has to be understood in its relation to the related doctrines of impermanence (Anicca) and egolessness (Anattā). Hook distorts the meaning of dukkha as he isolates the concept of suffering from the very surroundings that give it meaning. Lastly, his attempt to project the Buddhist concept of suffering (as he sees it) against the background of his own definition of 'tragic' is misleading.

What is the truth of suffering? Birth (jāti), decay (jarā), disease (vyādhi), death (maraṇa), sorrow (soka), lamentation (parideva), pain (dukkha), grief (domanassa), despair (upāyāsa) are referred to as suffering. To be joined with the unpleasant and to be separated from the pleasant and the failure in getting what one wants is suffering. In short, clinging to the five groups of mental and physical qualities that go to make up the individual constitute suffering (dukkha).[8]

In translating the Pāli word 'dukkha', it is not possible to find one simple word that will compress all the aspects of its meaning. The P.T.S. dictionary reveals the complexity of the word thus: "There is no word in English covering the same ground as dukkha does in Pāli. Our modern words are too specialised, too limited, and usually too strong".[9] Starting with specific and concrete instances of physical pain and bodily ailments we discern a broadening group of more abstract meanings-mental sorrow, frustration, conflict, tension, insecurity, anxiety, despair and restlessness. Then we come to even broader concepts like unsatisfactoriness, disharmony, emptiness and insubstantiality. Horner for instance recommends the word "Anguish", but gives a word of warning that the word may be too strong. "But where it has been used the stress appears to be wanted more on the mental than on the physical disease; where physical disease is more clearly intended, I have used other words". The word dukkha etymologically suggests the idea of an evil hollow "the empty of that which should rightly

8. *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. 2, XXII, 18.
9. *P.T.S. Pali-English Dictionary*, Ed. T.W. Rhys Davids &W. Stede, Part IV, p. 159.

fill, and which be perhaps taken as nibbāna".[10] The empty hollow ground around which human misery is woven, is the belief in a non-existent ego. Here the doctrine of dukkha has to be understood in relation to the doctrine of anattā. This aspect of the meaning of dukk a has attracted the attention of scholars like Conze, whose observations strengthen my claim that the Buddha did not merely deal with some superficial aspect of suffering. On the other hand, to use modern terminology, the Buddha dealt with "basic or original anxiety". Conze says, "According to the views elaborated by Scheler, Freud, Heidegger and Jaspers, there is in the core of our being a basic anxiety, a little empty hole from which all other forms of anxiety and unease draw their strength".[11] These references to anxiety according to Conze, "have quite a Buddhist ring about them".

In general the word dukkha has three broad usages-a general philosophical sense, a narrower psychological sense and a still narrower physical sense.[12] It is in this general philosophical sense that words like unsatisfactoriness and disharmony have been suggested. This meaning becomes prominent when dukkha is considered as a universal characteristic of all saṃsāric existence, along with impermanence and egolessness. Thus it is said—"What is impermanent (aniccaṁ), that is suffering (dukkha). What is suffering, that is void of an ego (anattā)."[13]

Physical pain is easy to recognise, though it is inevitably mixed with the mental. The Pāli scriptures make a distinction between bodily disagreeable feeling and mentally disagreeable feeling. The mentally disturbing can range from mild irritation to the most tragic forms of despair. When Hook remarks that with the development of scientific medicine the most serious forms of sickness will disappear, he fails to give some thought to the fact that increasing numbers fall a prey to mental sickness today. This certainly has been tackled by the psychoanalyst to a point. But as I have shown elsewhere, on the one hand there are remarkable anticipations of modern psychoanalysis in Buddhism, on the other hand the factor of regression and the re-emergence of neurotic features that baffled Freud can be accounted for in the light of Buddhism.[14]

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10. *Middle Length Sayings I*, Trans. I. B. Horner, 1954, p. xxii.
11. Edward Conze, *Buddhism*, Oxford, 1951. pp. 22—23.
12. O. H. de A. Wijesekera, *The Three Signata*, Wheel Publication, Kandy, Ceylon, 1960.
13. *Samyutta Nikāya*, IV, I.
14. M.W. P. de Silva, *A Study of Motivational Theory in Early Buddhism with Special Referenceo to the Psychology of Freud*, Ph.D. Thesis, Hawaii, 1967, unpublished.

In fact, Freud says that all men are at least partially neurotic. The Buddha also says that we suffer from bodily disease from time to time but that mental disease is continual till the holy state of arahat is attained. Even Freud inspite of his excessive biological orientation, at times suggests that the very nature of an instinct is such that no response is wholly adequate to it. The failure of response can be traced, not merely to societal rigidities, but further back to the ambivalent structure of instinct itself.[15] If this interpretation of Freud is correct, we discern a close echo of the Buddhist concept of taṇhā.

Man is basically restless according to the Buddha, as he is continually nourished by three types of craving—the craving for sense gratification (kāma taṇhā), the desire for selfish pursuits (bhava taṇhā) and the craving for annihilation (vibhava taṇhā). It is this craving which is considered as the origin of suffering (dukkha-samudaya). This craving always searching for temporary satisfaction, 'now here, now there', exists ever renewing itself. When boredom breaks in one direction, it turns for variegated and novel forms of satisfaction in some other direction. When obstruction to satisfaction of desires sets in, man becomes angry, aggressive and discontented. When society frowns on him, he retreats to his castles of pleasure in the imagination. Decay sets on both the subject experiencing and the object of pleasure, and that is the root of insecurity. Now all this need not make us pessimists or nihilists. There is a path leading to the extinction of suffering. This as will be discussed later, is what clearly separates philosophies like existentialism from Buddhism.

(2) *Pleasure and Pain*

As important as the concept of dukkha is the allied question of the Buddhist attitude to pleasure. Concepts like pessimism and nihilism have been used to describe the doctrine of dukkha. This is often due to an inability to understand the Buddhist attitude to pleasure. In accepting the reality of suffering Buddhism does not deny the presence of happiness. In the same way that evil and suffering is not reduced to a conjuror's rope trick (as being mere illusion), the Buddha makes a detailed analysis of the various types of pleasures and the pleasure principle in general.

15. M.W. P. de Silva, *An Analysis of Some Psychological Concepts in Early Buddhism and Freud*, M.A. Thesis, Hawaii, 1966, Unpublished.

There are three types of feelings–pleasant (sukhā), painful (dukkhā) and indifferent (adukha-m-asukhā). The term vedanā suggests some kind of hedonic tone, and it is pleasant if it is agreeable and painful if it is disagreeable. Pleasure is considered as a natural phenomenon and leaving aside the immaterial and the material planes of existence the world of the earth is referred to as a sense sphere. It is also said that the realm of human beings is abundantly pleasant, when compared with the hell or the animal world. In fact, it could be said that in a sense there are more pleasures than pain in the world of men. In the homily to Sigāla dealing with the virtues of the householder, enjoyment of desire as such is not condemned, what is condemned is the pleasure that is vicious, excessive and illegitimate (Visama-lobha).

However, in the majority of sermons given to the monks, sense pleasures are referred to as a source of danger. This is all the more emphasised for the one bent on the attainment of mind development. However, the Pāli scriptures refer to the bliss of renunciation and pleasures of a qualitatively different sort that can be enjoyed by the monk.[16] But such states do not involve any attachment. The persistence of strong attachment (upādāna) is the fact that makes man blind to the little tragedies that come on his way, till an unbearable one puts him off the balance. Thus for the man who considers the life of complete renunciation difficult, the Buddha recommends the life of a righteous householder. It is said of such a one that he seeks wealth by lawful means, and uses wealth without greed and longing. He gets ease and pleasure for himself and others and does meritorious deeds.[17]

(3) *Attitude to Death*

The phrase, 'Tragic Sense of Life', is the title of a book by the Spanish philosopher Unamuno.[18] The meaning of death disturbs him immensely and his predicament could be summed up in his own words "This thought that I must die and the enigma of what will come after death is the very palpitation of my consciousness."[19] For him the meaning of death and the riddle of life are aspects of the same problem. He says, "Why do I wish to know whence I come and whither I go, whence comes and whither goes everything that environs me, and what is the meaning of

16. *Anguttara Nikāya I*, 80.
17. Ibid.....V, 176.
18. Miguel de Unamuno, *The Tragic Sense of Life*, Dover, U.S.A., 1954.
19. Ibid. p. 40.

it all? For I do not wish to die utterly....''[20] His own solution is to assert his hunger for immortality, in the most quixotic manner, by making a plea for passion over rationality. Meditation on the phenomenon of death is a basic theme in the philosophy of Heidegger and many other philosophers who are labelled as existentialists. Hook describes all this as a "fear of death and a craving for immortality", and by implication includes Buddhism also in the same category. Now what is the Buddhist attitude to death and the craving for immortality?

Hook favours the reflective attitude to death (as he calls it), as against the popular attitude or the one displayed by those in its last agonies. As far as I know, the popular attitude to death is that of avoiding talking about it. "To the average man death is by no means a pleasant subject for talk or discussion. It is something dismal and oppressive....it is only the shock of a bereavement under his own roof, the sudden and untimely death of a parent, wife or a child that will rouse him up....and rudely awaken him to the hard facts of life",[21] says a Buddhist making a general observation about man's attitude to death. As Heidegger has pointed out we can try to forget these situations by getting immersed in the "idle chatter" of every day existence. But to be roused from this inauthentic and anonymous existence the shock of encountering 'ultimate' situations become necessary.[22] Hence Buddhism too is critical of the popular attitude to death.

However, this does not mean that the Buddhist attitude to death is morbid. It is not a morbid expression of death in its last agonies. The Buddhist does not preach any excessive pessimism or melancholia. What we are expected to do is to display an element of realism and face the hard facts of life instead of covering up the realities before us. In fact, in showing a way out of misery and ignorance Buddhism is optimistic.

Buddhism is critical of mourning and melancholia or weeping as reactions to the death of those dear to us. What is necessary is not to weep and mourn but to understand its meaning as referred to by the Buddha on numerous occasions. The stories of Paṭācāra and Kisāgotami depict in a very concrete way the Buddhist attitude to death. These lines from the Uraga Jātaka convey the same moral : "No friend's lament can touch the ashes of the dead: Why should I grieve? He fares the way he had to tread."

20. Ibid. p. 33.
21. V. F. Gunaratne, *Buddhist Reflections on Death*, Wheel Publication, Kandy, Ceylon, 1966, P. I.
22. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, Trans. Macquarrie and Robinson, New York, 1962.

I certainly agree that the existentialist often go beyond the Buddhist attitude. They do sometimes display elements of morbidity and nihilism. Not only is the Buddhist attitude different to this, but the Buddha offers a clear diagnosis of the meaning of death. The existentialist often dramatise the phenomenon of death and the nausea of existence but does not go beyond this. A Buddhist is expected to face the fact of death with equanimity and understanding. Liberation is not possible by mere agony and self-torment. Undoubtedly one should face the fact of death, reflect on its meaning and develop an insight regarding its meaning. In fact, recollection on the fact of deāth (maranānussati) is a form of meditation practised by the monk. Its a corrective for people in whom greed and attachment dominate their personality (rāga carita). Those in whom anger and hatred dominate (dōsa carita) are advised not to practise this initially. They are advised to practise thoughts on loving kindness and compassion. This illustrates the fact that Buddhism is in a sense a therapeutic system based on the psychology of man. This fact is also expressed in its attitude to death. In short, all violent attempts to deal with the problem of human suffering like self-torture, asceticism, suicide and even the quixotic vitalism of Unamuno are misguided. They lack insight and are subject to the delusion of the ego in a subtle form.

Thus the Buddhist attitude regarding anguish (dukkha) offers a striking contrast to that of the Jains who practised the way of self mortification. The deliberate attempt to live through painful experiences and the technique of purging and burning up the effects of karma is condemned by the Buddha. While such violent attempts to deal with the problem of human suffering issue forth from the craving for self-annihilation, Unamuno's lament for immortality emerges on the craving for self-preservation. Anguish cannot be mastered by anguish. Anguish has to be mastered by equanimity.[23]

(4) *Immortality and Annihilation*

Hook claims that all this preoccupation with the phenomenon of death is really a manifestation of the craving for immortality. In fact, there are certain misguided critics who interpret the Buddhist ideal of nibbāna as a craving for immortality. Some others consider it as a doctrine of annihilation. This misunderstanding can be avoided if we pay heed to the concepts of bhava taṇhā (craving for self-preservation and immortality), and vibhava taṇhā (craving for annihilation), and how these differ from the concept of nibbāna.

23. *Majjhima Nikāya III*, Devadaha Sutta.

Bhava taṇhā arises with a false conception of personality, based on the dogma of personal immortality (sassata diṭṭhi). This is the belief in an ego entity existing independently of those physical and mental processes that constitute life. This entity is assumed to exist as a permanent, ever existing thing continuing after death. Vibhava taṇhā emerges on the view that the physical and the mental processes which are identified with the ego will be annihilated at death (uccheda diṭṭhi). Though on a superficial examination these two attitudes appear diametrically opposed, against the larger background of the law of dependent origination, they are considered merely as contrasting attitudes of a being bound to craving. If we compare both these concepts with nibbāna, the concept of nibbāna stands in opposition to both bhava taṇhā and vibhava taṇhā. The Buddha says that people usually lean on this duality of existence and non-existence, and this attitude is projected on to the ideal of nibbāna. Some consider nibbāna as pure being, pure consciousness and pure self, others give it a nihilistic interpretation.

The Buddhist should not fall into the net of immortality doctrines and thus be critical of Unamuno's approach. Those who are subject to the craving for immortality will fail to realise the truths of anicca, anattā and dukkha. The Buddhist should be equally critical of annihilationism. In fact, the charge of being an annihilationist was made against the Buddha.[24] The Buddha replied that if he preaches any annihilation, it is the annihilation of kilesas (defilements). Magandiya refers to the Buddha as a destroyer of growth (bhūnahu). But what the Buddha taught was not the destruction but the control of the sense organs, the suppression of greed and the development of wisdom. In this context nibbāna is compared to the restoration of health and suffering to the presence of a basic malady in human beings. Thus the nihilistic interpretation of Buddhism was rejected by the Buddha. The philosophy of dukkha is not fed by a fear of death and a craving for immortality. Buddhism is critical of immortality doctrines and calls man to dispel morbid fears of death. What is necessary is to develop an insight into the nature of human suffering.

If people think that death can give them "some assurance that no evil will last for ever",[25] as Hook suggests, they are under the spell of the dogma of annihilationism. The Buddhist will also remind Unamuno

24. Ibid.....I, 140.
25. P.T.S.L., p. 12.

in his own words that it certainly is "a tragic fate without a doubt, to have to base the affirmation of immortality upon the insecure and slippery foundation of the desire for immortality".[26]

(5) *Existentialism and Buddhism*

Conze, examining the true and false parallels between Buddhism and European philosophy, makes an interesting point regarding existentialism.[27] Though it is not possible to agree with all the observations on comparative philosophy made in this article, his comparative examination of Buddhism and existentialism (though short), sheds some light on this much misunderstood problem. In his analysis of false parallels he confines himself to three kinds. (i) Some like Kant, are not parallels but tangential. (ii) Those like Hume are merely deceptive. (iii) Those like Bergson and existentialists are preliminary. Limiting our analysis to what he says on existentialism, what does he mean by saying that the existentialist resemble Buddhism merely at the preliminary level? "In terms of the Four Truths the existentialists have only the first, which teaches that everything is ill. Of the second, which assigns the origin of ill to craving, they have only a very imperfect grasp. As for the third and the fourth, they are quite unheard of."[28] Conze observes that the existentialists have not found a way out of their world weariness. On the other hand the Buddhist is "cheered by the hope of ultimate release and lightened by multifarious meditational experiences which ease the burden of life. Denied inspiration from the spiritual world the existentialists are apt to seek it from authoritarian social groups ...."[29].

Though the Buddhist concept of dukkha is wider than the existentialist concept of suffering, the existentialist call "back to authentic existence" is certainly rooted in the sense of tragedy that surrounds the day to day existence of man. To cite the view of Heidegger, the only way to achieve authentic existence, "is to treat one's life as a progress towards death, the only event, as Heidegger thinks, in which we are genuinely, each of us alone".[30] However, the Buddhist analysis goes beyond this, in not merely making us aware of the tragedies that surround man, but also making a diagnosis of them and suggesting a remedy. This is why

26. Miguel de Unamuno, *The Tragic Sense of Life*, p. 47.
27. Edward Conze, *Spurious Parallels to Buddhist Philosophy*, Philosophy East and West, 1963, p. 112.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Mary Warnock, *Existentialist Ethics*, Macmillan, London, 1967, p. 14.

Conze's analysis is far more satisfactory than that of Hook. Hook does not make any attempt to see the finer shades of difference among the Buddhists, philosophers with existentialist leanings like Tolstoy and others like Sartre and Heidegger.

Hook says that the agony over death "is one of the unloveliest features of the intellectual life of our philosophic times-and certainly unworthy of any philosophy which conceives itself as a quest for wisdom".[31] Certainly those who make a quest for wisdom should not be agonised by the thoughts of death. But yet one should come to terms with the factor of death, understand it as a phenomenon, and give an explanation as to why some people are agonised by it. This is what the Buddha has attempted. Today not merely the existentialists, but some analytic philosophers have evinced an interest in the problem--what is the meaning of death and what is the meaning of life?[32] Does the inevitability of death make a meaningful life impossible? To some it appears as a paradox; death cannot be relevant, yet it cannot be irrelevant either. It is true that some people ignore it and that some are obsessed by it, but one's attitude to death also reflects one's attitude to life.

The Buddha does not ignore the fact of death nor is he obsessed by it. Yet it cannot be said that he is merely offering a way of adjusting to this factor, though the practical psychology of Buddhism may thus be actually used by people. The Buddha offers an analysis, a diagnosis and a comprehensive vision of the riddle of life and death. Thus his doctrine goes much beyond existentialism. To follow the doctrine of the Buddha is not merely to be attracted by a mood or merely to see the world from a new perspective,[33] it is to see things as they are (yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti).

(6) *Moral Perplexity*

There is another aspect to man's unhappiness. This is due to the factors of intellectual puzzlement and moral perplexity. To be subject to this a person must be at least partially sensitive to the presence of suffering in the world and that makes him raise the question—"Whence do I come and whither do I go." Gotama's own experiment with the severe and unbearable asceticism of the times is a fine demonstration of the heartburning and suffering it can cause. According to the Buddha such perplexity and

31. P.T.S.L., p. 12.
32. Ilham Dilman, Professor Hepburn on Meaning in Life, 1965, Vol. 3, No. 2.
33. Mary Warnock, *Existentialist Ethics*, p. 57.

doubt (kankha) can be overcome. It is karmically unwholesome, paralyses thinking and hinders the inner development of man. Hook takes the factor of moral conflict as the basis of the tragic view. While the Buddha does not limit the basis of human suffering to moral perplexity alone, he has diagnosed the nature of moral perplexity as well as intellectual puzzlement. In fact they come under wrong views (diṭṭhi) regarding the nature and destiny of man and lie within the causal setting that conditions human suffering.

The corrective to this is right view (sammā diṭṭhi). This is described as the understanding of the four noble truths. There are many false theories that have misled people. The most powerful are the two forms of ego-illusion, eternity and annihilation doctrines. In the moral realm there are various theories of determinism and indeterminism criticised by the Buddha. Moral perplexity can be eliminated by understanding the laws that govern the destiny of the individual (bhava), law of moral retribution (kamma) and the law of dependent origination (paṭicca-samuppāda).

Regarding the problem of moral conflicts as presented by Hook, there are number of objections that can be made. Firstly Hook exaggerates the dominance of the dilemmatic situation. He blames the existentialist for mourning over the phenomenon of death but draws his paradigm of the moral problem from Sophoclean tragedy. In this he is embracing another existentialist theme–the emphasis on extreme situations for the examination of moral values. This is not to deny the fact that we do face problematic issues as moral beings, but that hypothetical examples cited in text books are not so common as some think them to be.

Secondly there are other types of moral situations which are equally important. The man who knows what he aught to do but fails in doing the right thing. The man who is suddenly taken unawares and gives in to temptation. The man who pretends that he has done the correct thing when he is merely deceiving himself. Moral weakness, temptation, self-deception and many such factors are equally important.[34] The Buddha was not merely interested in the moral dilemmas of exceptional people under extraordinary conditions. He also probed into the moral debility of the common run of humanity. This point has been well described by a recent writer on ethics-"What parades heroically as a conflict

34. E. J. Lemmon, *Moral Dilemmas*, Philosophical Review, Vol. 71, 1962, 139—58.

is often a clash of interest in which the voice of ethical imperatives is clear but unpleasant, or it is a command imperfectly understood....Their seeming importance is doubtless related to our fascination by tragedy, which features ethical conflicts to a degree unusual in life."[35]

Thirdly ethics is not the ultimate realm in which the individual moves. Sīla (morality), samādhi (meditation) and Paññā (wisdom) together form a wide arena of individual action. Hence the Buddhist ethics should not be divorced from this context.

It is neither necessary nor possible to outline the Buddhist theory of ethics here. But its basis can be shortly summarised. The attainment of the state of the perfected one (arahat) is the sumnum bonum of Buddhist ethics. This is good in itself, and whatever is used to bring about this end, as a means is a right action. A right action is described as one which promotes ones own welfare as that of others. The Buddhist ethics is firmly rooted on an analysis of the psychology of human motivation and thus is free from the problems that beset purely formalistic theories of ethics. Buddhism accepts the fact that moral responsibility cannot be evaded. Man has free will and only volitional acts (sancetanā) come within the purview of ethical evaluation. These volitional acts have to be analysed against the background of the motivational roots (mūla). Early Buddhist psychology traces the springs of human motivation to six roots-rāga (craving), dosa (hatred), and moha (delusion) are described as immoral roots. Arāga (charity), adosa (love) and amoha (knowledge) are moral roots. While the Buddha has requested man to refrain from doing actions that spring from the immoral roots he also admonishes man to do positively good actions that spring from the moral roots. There are three avenues of action; bodily, vocal and mental. Actions that issue through these avenues are conditioned by dispositions. These dispositions function at various levels. Sometimes we are vaguely conscious of our actions, sometimes our desires spring from certain dormant traits (anusayas) of which we are not aware. Thus a process of vigorous self-analysis is necessary. These take us to other dimensions of action like concentration and meditation (samādhi) and knowledge (paññā).

All this provides the Buddhist with a very comprehensive frame of reference for examining broad problems of morality and also specific dilemmas. The philosophical basis of ethics, the interpretation of the

35. Henry Margengau,—*Ethics and Language* Von Nostrand, U.S.A., p. 267.

ethical code, the facts of the contextual situation and above all a genuine desire to do the correct thing as it sincerely appears to the individual ; all these come into play in a given moral situation. The factor of motive or intention (cetanā) plays a very significant part.

An attempt to examine moral dilemmas in the light of the Buddhist doctrine has been attempted by Francis Story, in a very preliminary way.[36] As he suggests a rational examination of these are possible. But there is no over emphasis of this kind of dilemma in Buddhism. How is it that men commit evil acts (akusala) of body, speech and mind? Can self-knowledge and a deeper understanding of man bring about better conditions for the elimination of human suffering? The basis of Buddhist ethics is therapeutic. Why do men get into problematic situations, is a more important question than how can we resolve this particular dilemma. At least the latter question has to be analysed in the light of the former. If Hook uses the term 'melioristic' to describe his version of pragmatism,[37] the therapeutic basis of Buddhist ethics should certainly attract his attention.[38]

(7) *Love and Hatred*

The Buddhist ideal of compassion has been misunderstood by Hook. He says, "The Buddhist saint or any other who out of respect for the right to life of man or beast refuses even to use force, or to kill, even when this is the only method, as it sometimes is, that will save the multitude from suffering and death, makes himself responsible for the greater evil, all the more so because he claims to be acting out of compassion." As was mentioned earlier Hook cites three approaches to life and of these considers the way of love as ambiguous and incomplete. "It is incomplete because if love is more than a feeling of diffused sympathy but is expressed in action no *man* can love every one or identify himself with every interest".[40] It is ambiguous as "There are various kinds of love and the actions to which they lead may be incompatible."[41]

The question arises whether the three approaches to tragic conflicts cited by Hook are exhaustive. But without raising this question, I will limit the discussion to a clarification of the Buddhist concept of

36. Francis Story, *Dialogues of the Dhamma*, Wheel Publication, Kandy, Ceylon, 1965.
37. P.T.S.L., p. 23.
38. M.W.P. de Silva, *A Study of Motiational Theory* . . 1967, ch. iv.
39. P.T.S.L., p. 18.
40. Ibid, p. 19.
41. Ibid, p. 19.

compassion. The Buddhist scriptures mention four sublime states of mind (brahma vihāra). They are mettā (compassionate love), karunā (sympathy towards those in distress), muditā (ability to rejoice with those who are justly happy), and upekkhā (impartiality to all). The English word love is used in a very loose sense, but in Pāli it is easier to make finer distinctions with words used in the Buddhist scriptures. The Buddha is careful to differentiate mettā from any kind of sensuous love (kāma, rāga, methuna). It has also to be distinguished from feelings of affection and attachment (pema, sineha).

Compassionate love is not a diffused feeling, unexpressed in action as Hook maintains. The very spread of Buddhism was achieved without using any military force, and its finest expression was found in the kingdom of Asoka, who remarked, "All men are my children". The doctrine of the Buddha is pervaded by this message of compassionate love. "Hatred never ceases by hatred, through loving kindness it comes to an end"[42]—that is the message of Buddhism. The doctrine of compassion is not an incomplete doctrine, neither is it ambiguous. If as Hook says there are "various kinds of love", they have to be psychologically distinguished, linguistically clarified, without blaming the doctrine of compassion for it. In fact the Sigālovāda sutta is a good instance where some of these basic human relationships are analysed. The relationship between parents and children, teachers and students, husband and wife, friend and friend, master and servant, layman and recluse. To cite the duties of the parents for instance, the parents express their love for the children in five ways; they restrain them from vice, exhort them to virtue, train them to a profession, contract a suitable marriage and hand over the inheritance. In this way all the other relations based on the diverse emotions of love, devotion, respect and regard are analysed.[43] This shows that the Buddhist need not be scared of the linguistic bogey that is love.

It is not possible here to analyse in detail the Buddhist attitude to war,[44] punishment,[45] killing, etc. They have been analysed in detail by some scholars. A Buddhist is not expected to use force and violence whatever the circumstances are. The Buddha's actual intervention during the war between Koliyas and Sakyas shows in a practical way how the doctrine of compassion works. There are many contexts where the Buddha has

42. *Dhamma Pada*, 5.
43. *Dīgha Nikāya*, Sutta 31.
44. K. N. Jayatilleke, *Buddhism and Peace*, Wheel Publication, Kandy, Ceylon, 1962.
45. Bandula Jayawardena, *Crime and Nikāya Literature*, The Buddhist, Vols. XXXVIII, 1967.

demonstrated the futility of war as a method of settling disputes. All this has to be seen against the wider background of the right way of life. For instance one should not take to professions that prosper on the destruction of life, like the sale of arms, human beings, flesh and poisonous drugs. Thus the request not to kill does not remain at a negative level.[46]

The doctrine of compassionate love is a message relevant to our times. Though Hook does not see the value of this doctrine, others like Erich Fromm say that it is the problem of love that should have an answer to the problem of human existence.[47] He says that this can only be done by overcoming man's narcissism. The Buddhist scriptures make a detailed analysis of the roots of egoism which fortifies the doctrine of compassion. This takes us beyond compassionate love to other ideals like self-knowledge and truth. Knowledge about the truths regarding the nature of man and universe is necessary, to establish the doctrine of compassion on a sound footing.

(8) *The Tragic*

A detailed analysis of the linguistic issues involved in the usage of the word 'tragic' is not necessary for our purpose, here. But since the whole burden of Hook's argument rests on his preference for a certain definition of the tragic, it is pertinent to make some brief remarks, about it. The concept of dukkha has an experiental basis and is interpreted in the light of factual data. The concept of the tragic, is primarily a concept interpreted in the light of norms that guide dramatic theory. I am not saying that Hook has blatantly confused two realms of discourse, but rather that he should have been more cautious in transfering a word already containing the overtones of dramatic theory to the field of philosophical jargon. There are logicians who draw inspiration from mathematics and moral philosophers who draw their examples from jurisprudence. The relationship between literature and philosophy is more controversial, though not altogether antagonistic. But this makes it very necessary that philosophers of religion should be extra careful when they draw their analogies from literature.

Secondly there are many theories of drama about tragedy,[48] and there are no apriori grounds in favour of one theory. Hook's preference for Sophoclean tragedy is not any better than others. The concept of the

46. *Majjhima Nikaya I*, 129.
47. Erich Fromm, *The Art of Loving*, Unwin Books, London, 1962.
48. See, T.R. Henn, *The Harvest of Tragedy*, U.K., 1956.

'tragic' in drama is a concept that has a history. The history of some concepts are monotonous enough to be ignored. But the history of the concept of the tragic in drama merely emphasizes the variety of tragic themes. Also the word tragic has many uses in ordinary language, and the matter of definition anyhow remains a problem. Hook himself says that the "primary locus of the tragic situation is not in a play but in life, in law, and in history".[49] Certainly tragedy in drama loses meaning if it does not bear on life. But the nature of the tragic in life situations is as varied as the variety of dramatic theories about the 'tragic'. Thus it is difficult to limit all tragedy to moral dilemmas. For instance the phrase, "It is tragic to be robbed off in the brilliance of life", refers to the fact that the vigour and vitality of youth suddenly falls a prey to the hand of death. There are many such contexts, where a tragic moral dilemma does not appear, and yet there is a legitimate use of the word 'tragic'.

The concept of human suffering is a more comprehensive, complex and richer concept than the notion of tragedy offered by Hook. The doctrine of the Buddha in this light is certainly a diagnosis and an answer to the perils of human tragedy.

M. W. PADMASIRI DE SILVA

49. P.T.S.L., p. 17.

A Problem in Dhvani Karikas

DHVANYĀLOKA of Ānandavardhana (circa 9th c. A.D.) needs no introduction to students of Sanskrit poetic theory and poetry. This treatise is well known as the pioneer work on the theory of Dhvani, the most progressive and practical school of thought in the realm of Sanskrit poetics. The theory of Dhvani anticipates most of the axioms of modern Western aesthetic thought and has opened up new avenues of contemplation for Indian theorists of poetry. As the first treatise to expound this theory, *Dhvanyāloka* occupies a place of eminence in the history of Sanskrit poetics, and its teachings have formed the subject of scholarly discussions and interpretations both then and now.

The basic thesis of the theory of Dhvani is that suggested meaning which contributes to the evocation of poetic beauty over and above the expressed meaning is the soul of poetry. Words employed in poetry possess two main functions-viz. the expressive and the suggestive. It is the presence of this suggestive quality that distinguishes poetry from other writings of a documentary or didactic nature. Such writings primarily make use of the expressive quality of words while poetry depends more on the suggestive. When this suggestive quality overrides the expressive in its contribution to poetic appeal, that is called dhvani; and this should be the essential element of all good poetry.

Dhvanyāloka is committed to expound this theory in all its ramifications. In the first instance, it essays to prove the existence of the quality of suggestion in poetry distinct from the qualities of expression and indication—a thing which was not hitherto accepted by theorists of poetry. It also attempts to distinguish it from other aspects of poetry already accepted, such as poetic figures (alaṁkāra), styles (rīti) and so forth. It also expounds how suggestion is to be expected from poetry and how it contributes to poetic appeal, its relation to the theory of Rasa and a host of relative subjects. The work is in the form of verse kārikās, subsequent explanatory prose vṛtti, examples (mostly in verse) and parikara ślokas. The entire work is divided into four chapters called uddyotas.

A PROBLEM IN DHVANI KĀRIKĀS

The object of this paper is to draw attention of the scholars to a kārikā in this valuable treatise which demands scrutiny and an intelligent interpretation—for, it poses a contradiction that could result in weakening the thesis postulated by the theory of Dhvani.

The second kārikā in the first uddyota of *Dhvanyāloka* reads as follows :

> Arthaḥ sahṛdayaślāghyaḥ kāvyātmā yo vyavasthitaḥ,
> Vācyapratīyamānākhyau tasya bhedāvubhau smṛtau.

The subsequent prose exegesis (vṛtti) too may be quoted here, as it clarifies and substantiates the idea contained in the kārikā.

Kāvyasya hi lalitocitasanniveśacāruṇaḥ śarīrasyevātmā sārarūpatayā sthitaḥ sahṛdayaślāghyo yo'rthastasya vācyaḥ pratīyamānaśceti dvau bhedau.[1]

The meaning of the stanza is clear and presents no difficulty, and the following vṛtti makes it all the more explicit. *Dhvanyāloka* has been translated into many languages such as German, English, Hindi and Kannada ; and among them, those authors who translated this work into German, English and Hindi have understood and translated this kārikā in substantially the same way.[2] As a representative example I quote the following English translation by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy.

"That meaning which wins the admiration of cultured critics is decided to be the soul of poetry. The 'Expressed' and the 'Implied' are regarded as its two aspects".[3]

The vṛtti is translated as follows : "That meaning which wins the admiration of cultured critics and which is of the very essence of poetry, even as the soul is of a body which is naturally handsome by the union of graceful and proper limbs, has two aspects, viz., the Expressed and the Implied."

1. The kārikā and the vṛtti are quoted from *Dhvanyāloka*, NSP edn., Bombay 1891, pp. 12 and 13.
2. The German translation by Dr. Jacobi appears in *ZDMG*, Vols. 56 & 57. I am grateful to Prof. A. M. Ghatage, Deccan College, Poona 6 for drawing my attention to this work. I am unable to say anything about the Kannada translation due to my ignorance of that language. Nor was I able to procure a copy of that work.
3. *Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka or the Theory of Suggestion in Poetry*. Poona 1955, p. 3.

This meaning, though obvious as it may seem, sets a poser. For, here it is stated unambiguously that expressed sense (vācya) forms a part of the soul of poetry. The soul of poetry which wins the admiration of the critics is said to be having a twofold division, and one of them is vācya or the expressed while the other is pratīyamāna or the suggested. Obviously this is contrary to the basic postulation of the Dhvani school which, as mentioned in the very first kārikā of *Dhvanyāloka*, is that suggestion is the soul of poetry. As mentioned earlier in this essay, the Dhvani theorists pointed out that expressed sense is common to all writing whether it be poetic, documentary or didactic; but what distinguishes poetry is its suggested sense. 'Kāvyasyātmā dhvaniḥ' is the aphorism with which the text begins. Hence, how can one reconcile with this, the statement in the very next kārikā that the expressed sense forms a part of the soul of poetry?

Sanskrit theorists of old were not oblivious to this apparent contradiction. It was noted by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* on *Dhvanyāloka* and by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. What Abhinavagupta attempts is to resolve the contradiction by giving a new interpretation to the kārikā in question. In his opinion, though a contradiction appears here on the face of it, it is not real. What the kārikā really means is not that the soul of poetry is divisible into two, but that sense in poetry is so divisible into (1) vācya and (2) pratīyamāna. However, the adjective sahṛdayaślāghya (worthy of approbation of cultured critics) is the special attribute of the second category, viz. pratīyamāna (suggested). Hence that and that alone should be accepted as the soul of poetry. 'Ata evārtha ityekatayopakramya sahṛdayaślāghya iti viśeṣaṇadvārā hetumabhidhāyāpoddharaṇadṛśā tasya dvau bhedāvaṃśāvityuktam. Na tu dvāpyātmānau kāvyasya.'[4] Based on this interpretation, the kārikā may be understood as follows: 'That poetic expression, one aspect of which is established as the soul of poetry and is praised by the critics, has two divisions—i.e. the expressed and the suggested'.[5]

Although this interpretation adequately circumvents the obstacle posed by the kārikā, it has to be admitted that this is not exactly the meaning verbally expressed therein. And this is deducible only by reading imaginatively into what is so expressed. The verse as well as the prose vṛtti does not make room to construe the adjective sahṛdayaślāghya to qualify

4. NSP edn., p. 13.

5. This translation was supplied by late Dr. A. Sankaran, the author of *The Theories of Rasa and Dhvani*, one of the outstanding authorities on Sanskrit Poetic Theory.

the pratīyamāna sense alone. It is an appellation to artha which is also established as the kāvyātmā and which has two divisions. Hence, it is only by a process of artificial construing that this idea could be obtained. Thus it remains an ingenious attempt to by-pass the difficulty, without facing it squarely.

Apparently, Viśvanātha is not satisfied with this interpretation of Abhinavagupta. Hence, even though he is a follower of Abhinavagupta well acquainted with the writings of the latter, he does not accept it. On the contrary, he finds the sense contained in the kārikā in question quite irreconciliable with the dhvani theory, and pronounces it to be an inconsistency on the part of the propounder of dhvani. 'Yacca dhvanikārenoktam - Arthaḥ sahṛdayaślāghyaḥ iti. Atra vācyasyātmatvam 'Kavyasyātmā dhvaniḥ' iti svavacanavirodhādevāpāstam.[6]

In modern times too, many scholars have recognized the problem engrained in this kārikā and have attempted to give it a satisfactory interpretation. Sri P. S. Subbarama Pattar is of opinion that the term ātman here is synonymous with artha. Consequently the soul of poetry mentioned herein is nothing but the sense in poetry; and hence what the kārikā really means is that sense in poetry has two aspects-viz. (1) expressed and (2) suggested. The adjective sahṛdayaślāghya qualifies artha- and it is the sense that is worthy of praise of the cultured critics. "The most essential element of poetry is universally acknowledged to be the sense. It is divided into two sorts, the expressed and the suggested."[7]

An eminent scholar who seems to hold this same view is Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. P. V. Kane, and his opinion is recorded in his comments to the above mentioned citation from Viśvanātha in *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Prof. Kane notes the view of the author of *Locana* in this context, but himself expresses the following opinion. 'The Dhvanyāloka here speaks of artha, the soul of poetry, as divided into vācya and pratīyamāna in accordance with ordinary ideas.'[8] Thus according to him too, the word ātman in the kārikā is synonymous with artha. And he does not seem to hold the view that the adjective sahṛdayaślāghya applies only to the pratīyamāna sense and that alone should be considered the soul of poetry—the position maintained by Abhinavagupta.

6. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (ed. Mm. P. V. Kane), 5th edn. 1965, pp. 4 and 5.
7. *Studies in Dhvanyāloka or Reign of Rasa*, Trichur 1938, p. 13. The author does not expressly mention that this is a translation of the kārikā in question. But from what precedes and succeeds the above citation, it is obvious that such is the case.
8. Notes to *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 5th edn. 1965, p. 29.

However, how far is it advisable to hold the term ātman as identifiable with artha? Does that not contradict the initial aphorism that the soul of poetry is dhvani? Although such an identification would help to surmount the difficulty posed by the kārikā, is it in keeping with the spirit of the theory of Dhvani?

Sri Sivarāmakṛṣṇa Śāstri too would favour the opinion that ātman here is identifiable with artha in poetry-but he views it in a different light.[9] He draws attention to the fact that in Dhvanyāloka, the kārikā in question is introduced with the words: 'Tatra punardhvanerlakṣayitumārabdhasya bhūmikāṃ racayitumidamucyate.' Accordingly, the kārikā is meant to serve as the basis to the definition of dhvani which is being undertaken in the succeeding pages. When the new concept of Dhvani is to be defined, it is natural by way of introduction to postulate the existing views on this matter, so that the required definition may be built upon that basis. Hence, it is possible that in the first half of the kārikā, what the Dhvanikāra expresses is not his own view, but the widely accepted view prevailing at the time.

Based on this point of view, the meaning of the kārikā may be expounded as follows. Poetry is composed of two entities, viz. sound (śabda) and sense (artha). Out of them, śabda should be considered the body of poetry, and is easily grasped by every reader. (This view is expressed in *Locana* too: 'Tatra śabdastāvaccharīrabhāga eva sanniviśate.)[10] But it is the sense–artha–that determines poetry: not ordinary sense, but sense that is praised by appreciative critics. If śabda is the body of poetry, artha is what enlivens it; and hence, that has been established as the soul of poetry. Thus the adjective sahṛdayaślāghya qualifies sense in poetry. Though śabda is grasped by every reader, poetic sense is grasped only by those who are truly appreciative of it. This may be considered as the view prevalent among scholars when *Dhvanyāloka* came to be written. And in the second half of the kārikā is shown how the Dhvani theorists would deal with this poetic sense. According to them, this can be divided into two divisions-viz. (1) expressed and (2) suggested.

This exegesis deserves our serious consideration as it easily resolves the problem posed by the kārikā, and it is not without textual support. The fact that śabda should be considered the body and artha the distinguish-

9. This point of view and the exegesis based thereon were expressed by the scholar in an interview with the author of this paper.
10. *op. cit.*, p. 13.

ing mark of poetry is attested by *Locana* itself. And relying on the word bhūmikā in the preceding vṛtti, it is not difficult to assume that the author is giving the view prevalent at the time.

In attempting to arrive at a satisfactory comprehension of the kārikā another important fact deserves mention here. That is in the usage of the word ātman. In *Dhvanyāloka*, the word ātman is not always used in the sense of 'soul'. It is true that in a majority of instances it is used in this sense; but at least in a few places it is also used synonymous with svarūpa—nature. In this context, the following passages deserve consideration.

In the first uddyota in dealing with the views of those who declared that dhvani is beyond the scope of words, *Dhvanyāloka* states: 'Ye'pi sahṛdayahṛdayasamvedyamanākhyeyameva dhvanerātmānamāmnāśiṣuste'pi na parīkṣyavādinaḥ (Even those, who declare that the nature of suggestion is only within the experience of cultured critics and that it is inexpressible, betray only their lack of discernment.)

Once again, in dealing with that variety of suggestion known as anusvānopama in the second uddyota, kārikā 24 reads as follows :

> 'Krameṇa pratibhātyātmā yo 'syānusvānasannibhaḥ,
> Śabdārthaśaktimūlatvātso'pi dvedhā vyavasthitaḥ.'

(The other element of this suggestion manifests itself in the same way as resonance, and the temporal sequence of the two meanings will be noticeable. It is also twofold :—'that which is based on the power of word,' and 'that which is based on the power of sense'.)[11]

Now in both these passages, the word ātman, if it is understood as 'soul' would convey no plausible meaning. On the other hand, if it is taken to mean 'nature' (svarūpa), that sense fits appropriately into the context. In fact in both these instances, commentators have explained the word ātman by svarūpa.[12] Hence, it can be asserted beyond doubt that sometimes *Dhvanyāloka* uses ātman synonymous with svarūpa, and that is not without lexical support.

11. NSP edition, p. 59 and p. 94 respectively. The translations are quoted from Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, *op. cit.*, p. 19 and p. 37 respectively.

12. For example, see Dīdhiti commentary. *Dhvanyāloka*, Haridāsa Samskṛta Granthamāla 66, Varanasi 1953, p. 84 and p. 153 respectively.

If the word ātman is taken to mean svarūpa, the karika in question can be understood satisfactorily without making room for any inconsistency. For, then in its entirety it would mean:

'That sense which is worthy of praise by the appreciative critics, and established as the nature of poetry is of two divisions, viz. the expressed and the suggested'.

It is artha that determines the nature of poetry—but mere presence of artha by itself is not considered poetry. To become poetry it must have some special virtue, and that speciality is its praiseworthiness of the appreciative critics (a fact attested by Abhinavagupta too). Hence, the presence of a sense which wins the admiration of the appreciative readers determines the true nature of poetry. Though the possession of words and sense (śabdārtha) is a quality shared by all forms of speech such as poetic, documentary or didactic, it is this particular feature that distinguishes poetry from the rest.

This poetic sense, which on account of it being praised by the critics is established as of the nature of poetry, can be divided into two-viz. the expressed and the suggested. In other words, poetry possesses a twofold sense (while all other forms of speech have only one, namely, the expressed). And it is found that both these types of senses contribute to some charm in poetry. The fact that the suggested sense is appealing, need not be disputed ; and that is what *Dhvanyāloka* takes great pains to prove. And the expressed sense is also found appealing in diverse ways—especially in many a beautifully conceived figure of speech which springs from the creative genius of the poet. And when this beautiful expressed sense gives rise to a suggested sense which surpasses the former in its appealing nature, that enters the sphere of dhvani.*

G. WIJAYAWARDHANA

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Viiracoozhiyam—as a Grammar of Inscriptional Tamil

It is said that there were two schools of grammatical thought in Tamil, one represented by *tholkaappiyam* and the other by *viiracoozhiyam*.[1] The fact that *viiracoozhiyam* was written many centuries after tholkaappiyam cannot be accounted the reason for the different approach of *viiracoozhiyam* because Neeminaatham, written after *viiracoozhiyam*, only summarises *tholkaappiyam*. According to the paayiram of *tholkaappiyam*, *tholkaappiyam* was a grammar of both literary and colloquial Tamil. As Caldwell says, literary dialect in the Indian languages tends to be conventionalised and standardised, liable only to very small change while colloquial dialect is not inhibited that way.[2] Therefore the difference between the literary dialect of Tamil and the colloquial dialect of Tamil should have been increasing with the passage of time. Therefore, how much importance each dialect should be given in a grammar, becomes a problem for the grammarian.

By the beginning of the Age of the Imperial Coozhas, the necessity for a new Tamil grammar seems to have been felt. Some scholars probably felt that commentaries to *tholkaappiyam* were enough while others started writing new grammars. Among the new Tamil grammars, *viiracoozhiyam* was the oldest. *Viiracoozhiyam* was not well received by the Tamil scholars as a whole, partly because of excessive Sanskrit influence in it and partly because of its slant to colloquial Tamil. Inscriptional Tamil differs from literary Tamil in having a large admixture of colloquial expressions. Though Inscriptional Tamil is in many respects inadequate as a source for colloquial Tamil, yet only that source is available for study of medieval spoken Tamil. The spoken Tamil occupies a more important position in modern linguistics than literary Tamil. The spoken Tamil is considered the real living language of the people. Puththamiththiranaar, the author of *viiracoozhiyam*, seems to have realised the importance of spoken Tamil when he framed his grammar.

1. Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri. *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil* (Preface), University of Madras, Madras, 1934.
2. Robert Caldwell—*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, University of Madras, 78, Madras, 1956.

Studies in Inscriptional Tamil show that the classification of sandhi into case relation sandhi and non case relation sandhi is not very useful. *Tholkaapiyam* has that classification and *nhannuul* and some other grammatical works follow it.[3] *Viiracoozhiyam* seems to have struck a new path when it dispensed with this classification in its treatment of sandhi.[4] Commentaries of grammatical works give so many examples of exceptions that it is difficult to establish the need for rules, based on this classification. This classification is probably more useful in studying literary Tamil more than colloquial Tamil. The author's studies of the language of the Tamil inscriptions before and after the time of *viiracoozhiyam*, have convinced him that this classification is not very useful in the study of Inscriptional Tamil.[5] Where *tholkaappiyam* mentions doubling of the consonant in case relation sandhi, many examples of doubling of the same consonant in non case relation sandhi are also seen in the inscriptions. Further exceptions to the doubling of consonants are also found to be as numerous as forms with double consonants. When change of consonant is mentioned by *nhannuul* for case relation sandhi,[6] it is found that the change of consonant occurs only in a small percentage of the situations referred to and the change of consonant does not occur generally in both case relation sandhi and non case relation sandhi. When change of consonant is mentioned for non case relation sandhi,[7] a number of examples with no change of consonant in non case relation sandhi are also found. Such change of consonant is found in a number of cases in case relation sandhi too. As Inscriptional Tamil was close to the spoken Tamil, it is quite possible that this classification was not important in spoken Tamil.

A glance at examples where case relation sandhi should occur shows that in examples where particular cases are involved, the sandhi is optional. Forms where these particular cases are involved, seem to behave like non case relation sandhi forms. Change of consonant-m, according to the particular plosive which follows, is mentioned in *tholkaappiyam* for non

3. Kanesaiyar, S.—*tholkaappiyam ezhuththathikaara muulamum nhaccinaarkkiniyar uraiyum*, Tirumakal Press, Chunnakam, 120, Ceylon, 1952.

4. Kurumurthy Aiyar, K.—*viiracoozhiyam*, Jaffna, 1—14, Ceylon, 1943.

5. The author's studies are two unpublished theses, *A Study of the Language of the Tamil Inscriptions of the period 800 to 920 A.D.*—submitted to and accepted by the University of Oxford for D. Phil. degree in 1964.

A Study of the Language of the Tamil Inscriptions of CaTaavarman Cunthara PaaNTiya and Maatavarman Kulaceekara—submitted to the University of Ceylon for Ph.D. degree in 1962.

6. Kanesaiyar, S.—tholkaappiyam ezhuththathikaaramum nhaccinaarkkiniyar uraiyum—Tirumakal Press, Chunnakam, 123, 287, 288, 300, Ceylon, 1952.

7. Aatumuka nhaavalar—*Nhannuut KaaNTikaiyurai*—Mudlr. G. Subramanyam, 172, Madras, 1953.

case relation sandhi.[8] But this change is also found to be quite common in the language of the inscriptions when the accusative and locative cases are involved. Thus the study of the language of the Tamil inscriptions throw scholars on the side of the author of *viiracoozhiyam* who challenged the efficacy of this classification in his time. Probably, the attempt at systematisation gave this classification undue importance in literary Tamil.

Viiracoozhiyam is the only Tamil grammar that provides for the change of the consonant zh before the other consonants. Puththamiththiranaar says that if zh is followed by a plosive, it is changed to T or N and if it is followed by nh, zh changes nh into N and then disappears.[9] There must have been examples for these changes before the author of *viiracoozhiyam* formulated these rules. But the examples quoted below, are from inscriptions[10] later than *viiracoozhiyam.*

zh becomes T before plosive p :—
pukaTpaTara; KaluT perum piNakkuntam
zh changes the following nh into N and then disappears :—

kii Nookkiya.

Viiracoozhiyam again mentions a number of new case signs and post-positions, not mentioned in *tholkaappiyam.* It also omits a few of them mentioned in *tholkaappiyam.*[11] While *tholkaappiyam* mentions -aan, *viiracoozhiyam* mentions only -aal. In the language of Inscriptional Tamil before *viiracoozhiyam*, there were two examples with-aan while there were twelve examples with aal.

examples with -aan:—

ututhiyaan (S.I.I. Vol. XII, p. 20, line 10).
meetpaTiyaan (S.I.I. Vol. III, p.230, line 26).

8. Kanesaiyar, S.—*tholkaappiyam ezhuththathikaaramum nhaccinaarkkiniyar uraiyum*, Tirumakal Press, Chunnakam, 257, Ceylon, 1952.

9. Kurumurthy Aiyar, K.—*viiracoozhiyam*, Jaffna, 9. Ceylon, 1943.

10. South Indian Inscriptions, Volume V, page 179, Inscription from Tiruppuunturutti Puspavanesvara temple—lines 2 & 7.
South Indian Inscriptions, Volume VIII, page 82, Inscription from Kaalhaiyaar temple—line 22

11. Kantacamiyar and Devaneyappavanar, N.—*tholkaappiyam collathikaaram Ceenaavaraiyar urai*, The South India Saiva SidhanthaWorks Publishing Society Ltd., 51—72, Madras, 1952.
Kurumurti Aiyar, K.—*viiracoozhiyam*, Jaffna, Collathikaaram 1—10, Ceylon, 1943.

examples with -aal :—

puuththotumpaTTiyaal (S.I.I. Vol.XII, p. 43, line 15).
kaalaal (S.I.I. Vol.XII, p. 46, line 27).
pitaraal (S.I.I. Vol.XII, p. 48, line 44).
nitaiyaal (S.I.I. Vol.III, p. 222, line 7).
ponnaal (S.I.I. Vol.III, p.227, line 8).
naalhaal (S.I.I. Vol. XII, p.45, line 15).
neyyaal (S.I.I. Vol.XIII, p.128, line 1).
kaacaal (Epigraphia Indica, Vol.XXI, p.109, line 10).
cuulavuzhakkaal (S.I.I. Vol.III, p.230, line 16).
nilaththaal (S.I.I. Vol.XIII, p.46, line 13).
muzhaiyaal (S.I.I. Vol.XII, p.34, line 3).
kuuTaiyaal (S.I.I. Vol.III, p.222, line 8).

The language of the Tamil inscriptions after *viiracoozhiyam* was more positive in that there were twelve examples with -aal while there was no example with -aan.

examples with -aal:—

peeraal (S.I.I. Vol.VIII, p.82, line 23, also p.300, line 13, S.I.I.Vol. VII, p. 9, line 3).
eerikalhaal (S.I.I. Vol.VII, p. 10, line 3).
anavarathaananaal (S.I.I. Vol.V, p. 151, line 15).
maaththaal (S.I.I. Vol.V, p.179, line 21).
naalhaal (S.I.I. Vol.V, p.118, line 10, Vol. IV, p. 133, line 14)
arulhaal (S.I.I. Vol.IV, p.133, line 8).
paNiyaal (S.I.I. Vol.VII, p.255, line 15).
kulhaththaal (S.I.I. Vol.VII, p.9, line 4).
kaiyyaal (S.I.I. Vol.V, p. 138, line 24).

While *tholkaappiyam* mentions - in as the fifth case suffix, *viiracoozhiyam* mentions - il as that case suffix. In the inscriptions before *viiracoozhiyam* there were seven examples with - in and nine examples with -il.

examples with -in :—

thalaiyin (S.I.I. Vol.III, p.454, line 101).
ponnin (S.I.I. Vol.III, p.2, line 5).
akavaayin (S.I.I. Vol.XIII, p.154, line 5).
pirampin (S.I.I.Vol.XII, p.48, line 4).
kaalin (S.I.I. Vol.XII, p.48, line 8).
palhlhiyin (S.I.I. Vol.III, p.223, line 12).
thamizhin (S.I.I. Vol.III, p.454, line 90).

examples with -il :—

nellil (S.I.I. Vol.XII, p. 47 line 24).
naalhil (S.I.I. Vol.VII, p. 456 line 10).
nettiyil (S.I.I. Vol.III, p. 454, line 98).
maavil kizhaththimayakkalil (S.I.I. Vol. XII, p. 172, line 4).
ceyyil (S.I.I. Vol.XIII p. 153, line 2).
ellaiyil (S.I.I. Vol. V, p. 288, line 14).
teruvil (S.I.I. Vol.III, p. 222, line 4).
puutuuril (S.I.I. Vol.XII, p. 45, line 11).

In the inscriptions after *viiracoozhiyam*, there were five examples with -in and eleven examples with -il.

examples with -in :—

varaiyin (S.I.I. Vol. V, p. 179, line 3).
pitappin (ibid, line 4).
muththiiyin (ibid.)
veempin (ibid. line 12).
veelaiyin (ibid. 13).

examples with -il :—

nilangkalhil (S.I.I. Vol.VIII, p. 82, line 20).
varampukalhil (ibid.)
cTuththapaathanhalluuril (S.I.I. Vol.V, p. 27, line 4).
muthalikalhil (ibid. line 2).

tiruvoththuuril mantaaTikalhil (S.I.I. Vol.VII, p.36, line 5).
ulakil (S.I.I. Vol.V, p.179, line 16).
marumakkalhil (S.I.I. Vol.VIII, p.300, line 7)
naalhil (ibid. line 18).
aattil (S.I.I. Vol. V, p.248, line 7).
teevaraTiyaaril (S.I.I. Vol. VII, p.289, line 4).

Thus the case signs mentioned by *viiracoozhiyam*, are the ones frequently met with in the inscriptions. It is quite possible that -aal and -il have replaced -aan and -in in spoken Tamil and that might have been the reason why *viiracoozhiyam* gives them so much prominence. Pakkal was a postposition signifying place in the locative case and it was used frequently in the inscriptions. *Viiracoozhiyam* mentions it while *tholkaappiyam* and *nannuul* do not do so. The postposition nhintu was mentioned in con-

nection with the fifth case by *viiracoozhiyam* alone among the early and medieval Tamil grammars and it too was found to be used in the language of the inscriptions. uTaiya is a postposition of the possessive case in the spoken language today. It was mentioned neither by *tholkaappiyam* nor by *nhannuul*. This postposition was in common usage in the inscriptions and *viiracoozhiyam* mentioned it. *Viiracoozhiyam* mentions appellative forms like uTaiyaan, uTaiyaalh, uTaiyaar etc. as postpositions of the sixth case but Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri criticises it on the ground that they have to be treated as appellative forms and not as postpositions. But in certain contexts in which forms like uTaiyaan and uTaiyaar are found in the inscriptions, it seems that they have the force of the possessive case. For example, KaanjcivaayiluTaiyaar Uthaiyathivaakaran Thillaiyaalhiyaar (S.I.I. Vol.II, p. 93, line 4) means Uthaiyathivaakaran Thillaiyaalhiyaar of Kaanjcivaayil. Puththamiththiranaar probably realised that in grammatical study, syntactical function was more important than mere form.

Tamil verbs are generally classified into simple and causal verbs, i.e. thanvinai and pitavinai. *tholkaappiyam* does not mention this calssification. *viiracoozhiyam* mentions them by Sanskrit terms keevala thaathu and kaaritha thaathu.[12] Kaaritha thaathu or causal verbs are further sub-divided into kaaritham, kaarithakkaaritham (double causals) and kaarithakkaarithakkaaritham (treble causals). Inscriptional Tamil before the time of Puththamiththiranaar provide examples for some of these sub-divisions.

examples :—

Causal :—

aakki (S.I.I. Vol.III, p. 93, line 16).
kuuTTi (Epigraphia Indica, Vol.XXI, p. 109. line 198).
eetti (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, p. 88, line 74).
itakkina (S.I.I. Vol.VI, p. 167, line 5).
tiruththi (S.I.I. Vol.III, p. 454, line 99).
curukki (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVIII, p. 91, line 13).

Double Causal :—

ATTuviKKa (S.I.I. Vol.III, p. 8, line 3),
uuTTuvippathu (S.I.I. Vol.XII, p. 48, line 5).
puthukkuviththaar (S.I.I. Vol.XII, p. 27, line 7).

nhanuulaar, even though he came after *viiracoozhiyam*, was not very clear about this classification. He uses the term eevalvinai for the causal verb at one place and for the imperative mood of the verb at another

12. Kurumurti Aiyar, K.—*viiracoozhiyam*, Jaffna, 35, Ceylon, 1943.

place.[13] Therefore on this point too, *viiracoozhiyam*, as a descriptive grammar appears to have an edge over the early and medieval Tamil grammars.

Forms like aana, poona, aaya and pooya which are found in spoken Tamil, were used in the inscriptions. *viiracoozhiyam* mentions past adjectival participles ending in na and ya and Perunteevanaar, the commentator, gives these forms as examples.[14] Other early and medieval Tamil grammarians do not mention them.

Passive forms are rarely used in Tamil. But passive forms in paTu were in existence even in *tholkaappiyam* and there were examples for it in Inscriptional Tamil. Neither *tholkaappiyam* nor *nhannuul* mention these forms. *viiracoozhiyam* mentions it by a Sanskrit term karmakaaraka where the root paTu or some other one is added to the original root followed by -a and then the personal terminations are added.[15]

Thus it seems that *viiracoozhiyam* can lay claim that it is a better descriptive grammar than the other early and medieval traditional grammars, for the language of the Tamil inscriptions.

13. aarumuka nhaavalar—*nhannuut kaNTikaiyurai*—Mudlr. G. Subrahmanyam, 93, 95, Madras 953.
14. Kurumurti Aiyar, K.—*viiracoozhiyam*, Jaffna, 36, Ceylon 1943.
15. Kurumurti Aiyar, K.—*viiracoozhiyam*, Jaffna, 44, Ceylon, 1943.

*Land Use Problem in the Gal-Oya Valley (left bank) Peasant Colony**

THE Gal-oya (left bank) colony, the foremost of the peasant colonies in the Dry Zone of Ceylon covers an area of 24,884 acres under cultivation with a total colonist population of 4,897 in 1963. The allottees have been settled in 40 village units, each comprising approximately 150 families. Each allottee has received approximately three acres of lowland and two acres of highland. Paddy is the dominant crop cultivated on the irrigated lowland during both the *Maha* and *Yala* seasons. The River Valleys Development Board had encouraged the allottees to take up to the cultivation of subsidiary crops, especially tobacco on the lowland during *Yala*, with a view to conserve irrigation water, but this has not been a success. The crops cultivated on the unirrigable highland fall into four main groups: (a) tree crops (b) rainfed paddy (c) dry grains and (d) vegetables.

This paper is an attempt to analyse the problems of land use in the Gal-Oya colony. It emerged from field investigations in three representative villages of this colony carried out in 1966. It is believed that a study of this nature would be useful in two ways: (1) highlighting the problems of the peasant allottees in Gal-Oya, would lead to effective steps being taken to their speedy solution and (2) lessons learnt in Gal-Oya could be utilised in planning other major settlement schemes, as the Uda Walawe Development Project currently being undertaken by the Government.

The three villages selected for this study, numbers one, seven and nine represent respectively the three principal categories of allottees settled in this colony: (1) Compensation, *purana* (old) villagers displaced from the area submerged by the Senanayake Samudra; (2) Local, landless Tamil and Muslim villagers and those with little land in the densely populated East coast strip of the Batticaloa district and (3) Immigrant, the colonists proper, consisting of people from the land-hungry villagers of the Wet Zone. The principal method of investigation followed in this study was

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questioning the allottees. 130 allottees comprising, 48 allottees from village one representing the compensation category, 41 allottees from village seven representing the local category and 41 allottees from village nine representing the immigrant category, selected on the basis of a random sample, were questioned.

The problems are discussed below.

All lowland allotments in the colony were not cultivated regularly during *Maha* and *Yala*. During the agricultural year 1965-66, while 109 allottees out of the 130 allottees interviewed, cultivated their lowlands during the *Maha*, 84 allottees cultivated during the *Yala* season. The reasons for non-cultivation by some allottees during *Maha* were: (1) unirrigability of their fields due to defective field channels or due to situation of the fields above the level of the channels (2) ill-health and (3) financial difficulties. In addition to the above mentioned factors which operated in all the three villages, it was found that in village seven, the Tamil allottees were tapping water irregularly, very much more than their share, with the result that there was not enough water lower down in the channels to feed the fields of the Muslim allottees, who being a minority in this village were helpless. Further, stray cattle from the neighbouring Tamil villages of Anamala and Navithinveli also destroyed the crops cultivated by the Muslims. These factors forced many Mislims to lease out their lands to the *podiyars*. the rich middle class land-owners, and work as agricultural labourers. A larger number of allotments remained uncultivated during *Yala*, since in addition to the operation of the same factors as in *Maha*, there was a general shortage of water in the colony as a whole and this was particularly felt in villages further away from the source of supply: the Senanayake Samudra. Thus in village seven, the furthest situated from the Samudra, only nine allottess out of the 41 allottees interviewed cultivated the 1966 *Yala* crop.

The cultivation of tobacco as a rotational crop on the low-land allotments during *Yala* was practised only in village nine, even here only 22 allottees out of the 48 allottees interviewed cultivated this crop in 1966, on extents of land varying from a quarter to half an acre. The reasons for non-cultivation of tobacco during this season by the greater majority of the allottees interviewed were (1) unfavourable sandy, saline or ill drained soils (2) lack of sufficient knowledge with regard to the cultivation practices pertaining to this crop and (3) the absence of a proper organisation to

market the produce. The cultivation of tobacco during *Yala* would not only conserve irrigation water, but it would bring in much greater income to the allottees than from the cultivation of paddy.

Tree crops cultivated on the high-land allotments of the three villages were in varying stages of successful growth. Coconuts were doing well in all three villages. Most allotments in village one had between eight to 20 trees per allotment while several allotments in villages nine and seven had over 20 trees. One allotment in village nine contained 150 trees and another in village seven, 100 trees. Many trees were in bearing. The successful growth of coconuts in these areas could be explained with reference to the high underground water-table here, due to situation in proximity to tanks, major irrigation channels, and the lagoon. Citrus cultivation was of significance in village one. The number of orange plants per allotment, in the case of the colonists, interviewed, varied between ten and thirty, while there were two allotments with nearly 100 plants in each. Lime was relatively less important than orange. Citrus cultivation was much less important in the two other villages: seven and nine. Its greater importance in village one could be attributed to the fact that the allottees here had practised citrus cultivation in their villages of origin in the tank-bed area. The cultivation of *Murunga* was practised only in village seven, where it was cultivated in nearly 14 allotments. Even in this village, *Murunga* cultivation was of not much importance, since nine out of the 14 allotments contained only a single tree in each allotment. *Murunga*, though suited to the Dry Zone because of its drought-resistant character, was not widely grown because of poor crop prices due to inadequate facilities, available for ready marketing. Paddy cultivation based on the North-east monsoon rains was practised in all three villages. The extents cultivated varied from quarter to one acre. It was most important in village seven, where several allottees cultivated paddy on the entire extent of the highland. The cultivation of dry grains was of any significance only in village one, where many allottees cultivated a *Yala* crop of maize on about three quarter acre plots. This could be attributed to the fact that these allottees were mainly *chena* cultivators in their home villages. The other allottees had no tradition of cultivating dry grains. Cultivation of vegetables was of some significance in villages one and nine, where many allottees cultivated plots varying in size from small extents to about quarter to half an acre during *Maha*. The limited cultivation of dry grains was due to unsuitable sandy soils of the highland allotments, surfeit of water during *Maha*, consequent on the North-east monsoon rains, which are invariably

angmented by depressions, shortages of family labour and a special factor operative in village one, the problem of eradicating the weed, *illuk*, which is a menace to the allottees in their highlands. Most of the vegetable growers in these two villages were cultivating chillie and a few, onions. Vegetable cultivation was hardly of any significance in village seven, where only a few allottees were cultivating a little manioc and long beans. The insignificance of vegetable cultivation here may be attributed to two factors: (a) the Tamils and Muslims of the Batticaloa district had hardly any background and experience in the cultivation of subsidiary crops in their villages of origin and (b) the relative importance of growing paddy on the highland.

On the whole, highland allotments were more systematically developed in village nine than in either of the other two villages. They were least developed in village seven. While infertile sandy and gravelly soils and the lack of water during *Yala*, were problems facing development of agriculture in the highlands in general, *illuk* problem was particular to village one and salinity consequent on proximity to the lagoon to village seven. Everywhere lack of labour was a problem inview of the limited availability of family labour. The allottees considered it uneconomic to hire labour for highland cultivation. It was found more remunerative to work in the Hingurana sugar planttaion at a daily wage of Rs. 3.50, during off seasons of paddy cultivation rather than devote their time to the development of the highland allotments. The better development of highlands in village nine could be explained with reference to the better agricultural traditions of these allottees in their villages of origin in the Kandy district.

The allottees' animals consisted of buffaloes and neat cattle. Several problems confronted the allottees in rearing animals. The chief of these was the lack of sufficient pasture within the colony. Animals were usually maintained in the highland allotments, in near by forests or in other uncultivated stretches in and around the villages. Forest areas are fast being cleared up for expansion of colonisation or are being occupied by squattors. Friction among allottees was quite frequent due to cattle trespass on one anothers' allotments and the resulting damage to highland and lowland crops. This resulted from the animals wandering astray due to frequent thefts of ropes and chains used to tie them and the absence of perimeter fences around most allotments. During the dry season it was a problem to find sufficient feed to the animals within the colony as all vegetation got parched up. Feed has got to be brought from neighbouring *purana* villages

several miles away. Cattle diseases as mastitis and foot and mouth disease were prevalent and tended to destroy the animals and the allottees complained that the veterinary services available were inadequate. These problems act against any significant development of animal husbandry in the colony. Added to these, it was found that the demand for animals to plough and thresh was dwindling due to the increasing supply of tractors and the speed with which work could be done with their use.

Improved methods of paddy cultivation were practised by these allottees only to a limited extent. Improved varieties of seed paddy propagated by the Department of Agriculture were used. During Yala 1966, the most popular varieties of seed paddy used were H4 and H5. However the allottees were not obtaining fresh stocks of seed once every three years to maintain the purity of seed as recommended by the Department of Agriculture. Instead they used paddy from each year's harvest as seed or obtained a stock from a fellow farmer. The Government distributes seed paddy to the allottees through the net-work of Co-operative Societies at subsidised prices. However stocks of seed paddy were not available at the Co-operative societies at times when the allottees needed them. A case in point was the Wavinna Co-operative Society in village one which was not functioning at the time of this investigation. Seed paddy had been distributed by this Co-operative Society for the last time in 1963. The allottees said that even if seed paddy was available at the Co-operatives, the purity of the seed would have been questionable and it would not have been possible to obtain the seed at the required time. Some allottees were ignorant of the benefits that could be derived by changing seed paddy as advised by the Department, while many said they do not have the necessary funds to buy seed paddy from outside at unsubsidised prices.

Transplanting was practised to any significant extent only in village nine, where 23 allottees practised this method on extents varying from half to two acres during *Maha* 1965-66, while 11 allottees transplanted similar extents during *Yala*, 1966. In village one only three allottees transplanted on about half acre extents during *Maha* and there was no transplanting during *Yala*. In village seven this practice was hardly of any significance. The factors which restricted the practice of this method were: (1) shortages of family labour, the average size of the family work force being three. In village seven this problem was further accentuated by the fact that Tamil and Muslim women folk did not participate in transplanting; (2) the expen-

diture of hiring labour from outside, the cost of hiring a female labourer is rupees three per day and inaddition free food had to be supplied. Ten labourers are needed to transplant one acre in a day. (3) sandy soils, which lack the property of water retention; (4) shortages of water especially during *Yala* and (5) the undulating nature of the land in some allotments, which encourage an outflow of water, transplanting had to be carried out in standing water. The allottees who did not transplant broadcasted their fields. Some allottees were of the opinion that transplanting results in a better growth of the paddy plant, hence there is a greater chance of attack by pests and disease, especially the stem-borer. This could result in a greater expenditure on pesticides.

Practically all the allottees interviewed in village nine weeded their fields using both weedicides and manual labour during *Maha* and *Yala* 1965-66. Shortages of family labour hindered more intensive mannual weeding. The extent to which weeding was practised was less in village seven, where 26 allottees out of the 41 interviewed, weeded their fields with weedicides during *Maha* and seven allottees weeded the *Yala* crop. Hand weeding was of very little significance in this village. Weeding was least practised in village one where only seven allottees used weedicides during the two seasons. The allottees' reasons for the limited practice of weeding in villages seven and one were: (a) the absence of facilities in Co-operative societies to obtain weedicides and the lack of funds to buy these from outside sources at unsubsidised and higher prices; (b) shortages of sprayers and (c) shortages of family labour, the daily wage rate for weeding could be as much as rupees five per day and free food. Some allottees had found that certain types of weed, *berala* and *katugedera*, could not be eradicated by any means known to them.

The majority of the allottees in villages nine and seven used artificial fertiliser during the two seasons in the agricultural year 1965-66. The number of allottees that used fertiliser in village nine was greater than the number in village seven. The use of fertiliser was hardly of any significance in village one, where only two allottees manured their fields. Some allottees in village nine could not use fertiliser due to inability to avail themselves of the credit facilities for the purchase of fertiliser from co-operatives, consequent on unsettled debts. In the case of the other two villages, the problem was that the co-operatives had no fertiliser for sale. Fertiliser was available in the open market, but at a much higher price than the Government subsidied, price and the allottees could not afford to

buy it. Some allottees in village one considered that the sandy soil in their allotments did not absorb fertiliser and when applied it was blown away by the wind.

The limited practice of the improved methods of paddy cultivation by the allottees resulted in poor to medium yields from the lowland allotments. 92 allottees secured yields between six and 30 bushels per acre for *Maha* 1965-66 and 33 allottees obtained yields between six and 25 bnshels per acre for *Yala* 1966. The allottees attributed these yields to the infertile sandy and gravelly nature of the soils and the problem of insufficient water supply due to inadequate control exercised by the cultivation committees regarding the distribution of water. Paddy yields were highest in village nine and lowest in village one while those of village seven were intermediate. The relatively higher yields secured by the allottees of village nine reflect the greater extents of land transplanted and weeded here. These allottees also used greater quantities of fertiliser than the allottees of villages, seven and one.

Statistics of the income of the allottees from the sale of paddy reveal that nearly 70 percent of the allottees interviewed received gross incomes not exceeding Rs. 750/- during *Maha* 1965-66 and nearly 90 percent of the allottees received similar incomes during *Yala* 1966. These incomes reflect the state of the paddy yields referred to earlier. It was found that about 75 percent of the paddy crop was sold during each season. The allottees other sources of income were: (a) sale of tobacco and highland produce, (b) hiring draught animals (c) hiring labour and (d) trading. Of these, only one source, hiring labour, brought any significant income to a sufficiently large number of allottees. 39 allottees out of the 130 allottees interviewed, derived incomes varying from Rs. 30 to Rs. 800 per annum by hiring labour either to *podiyars* for work in their paddy fields or in the Government sugar plantation at Higurana.

The principal conclusion that emerged from this study is the lowlevel of income derived from agriculture. This has forced many allottees to supplement their meagre incomes by hiring their labour.

H. N. C. FONSEKA

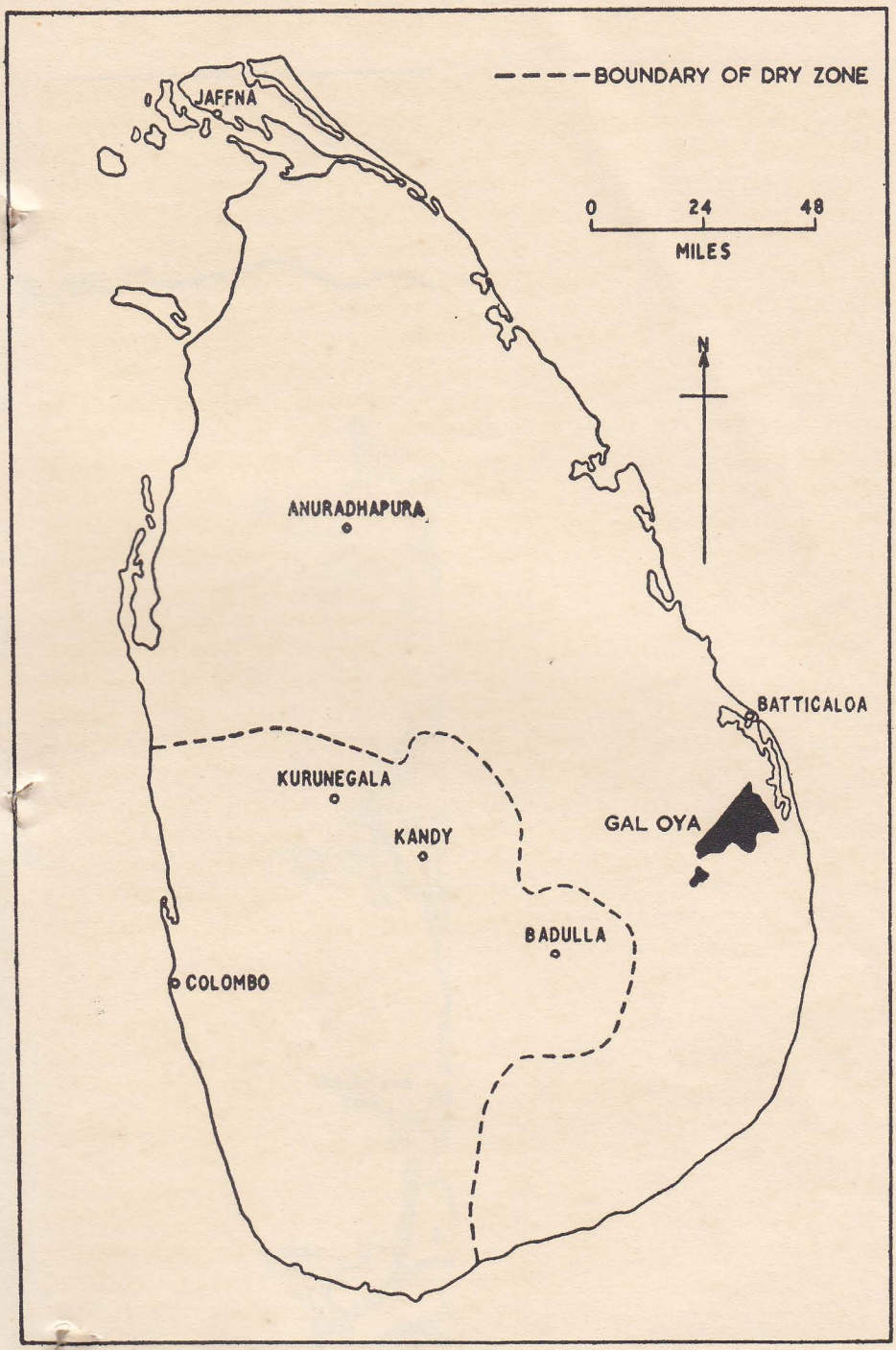
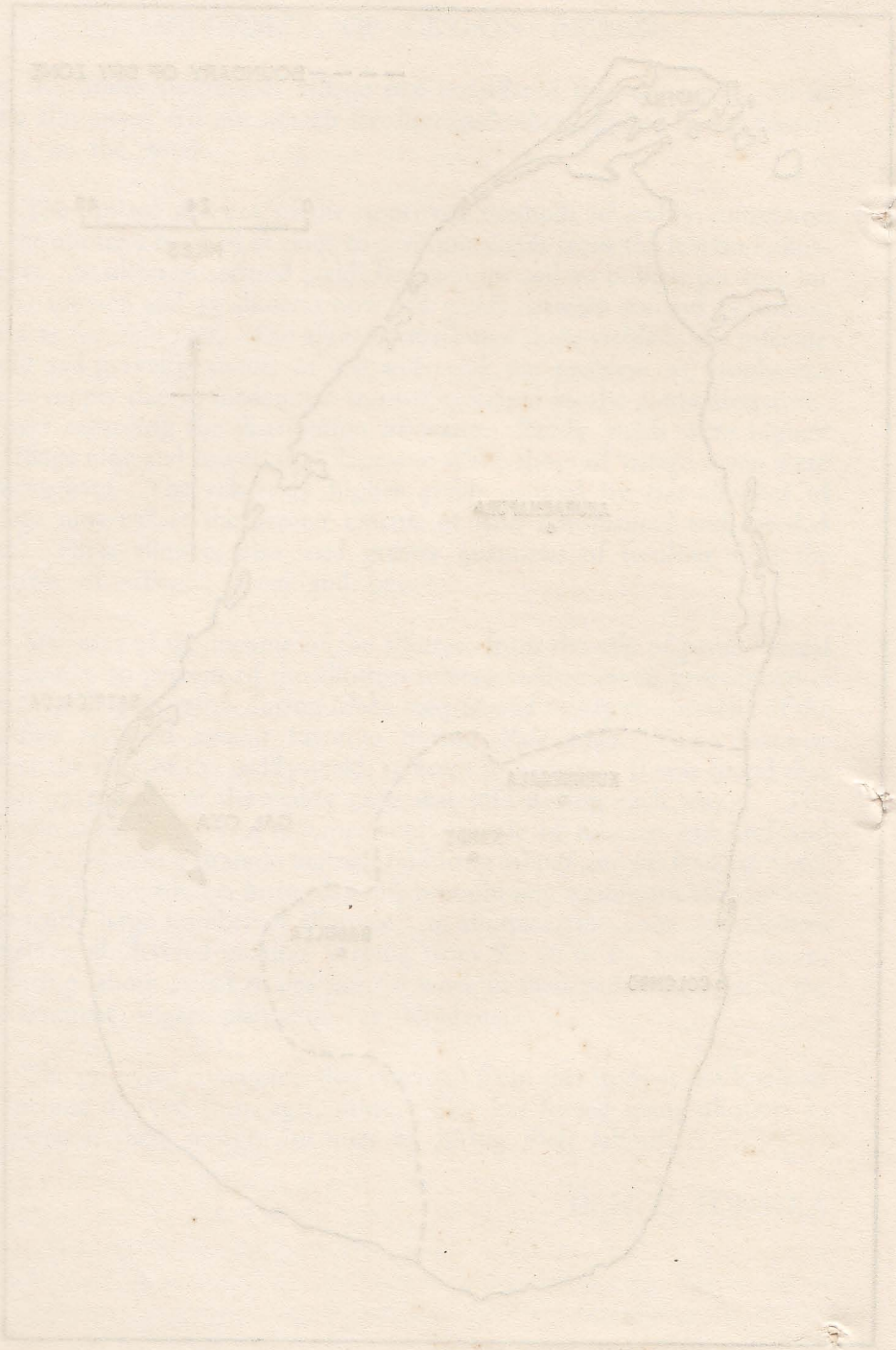


Figure 1' Location of Gal Oya (left bank) Colony



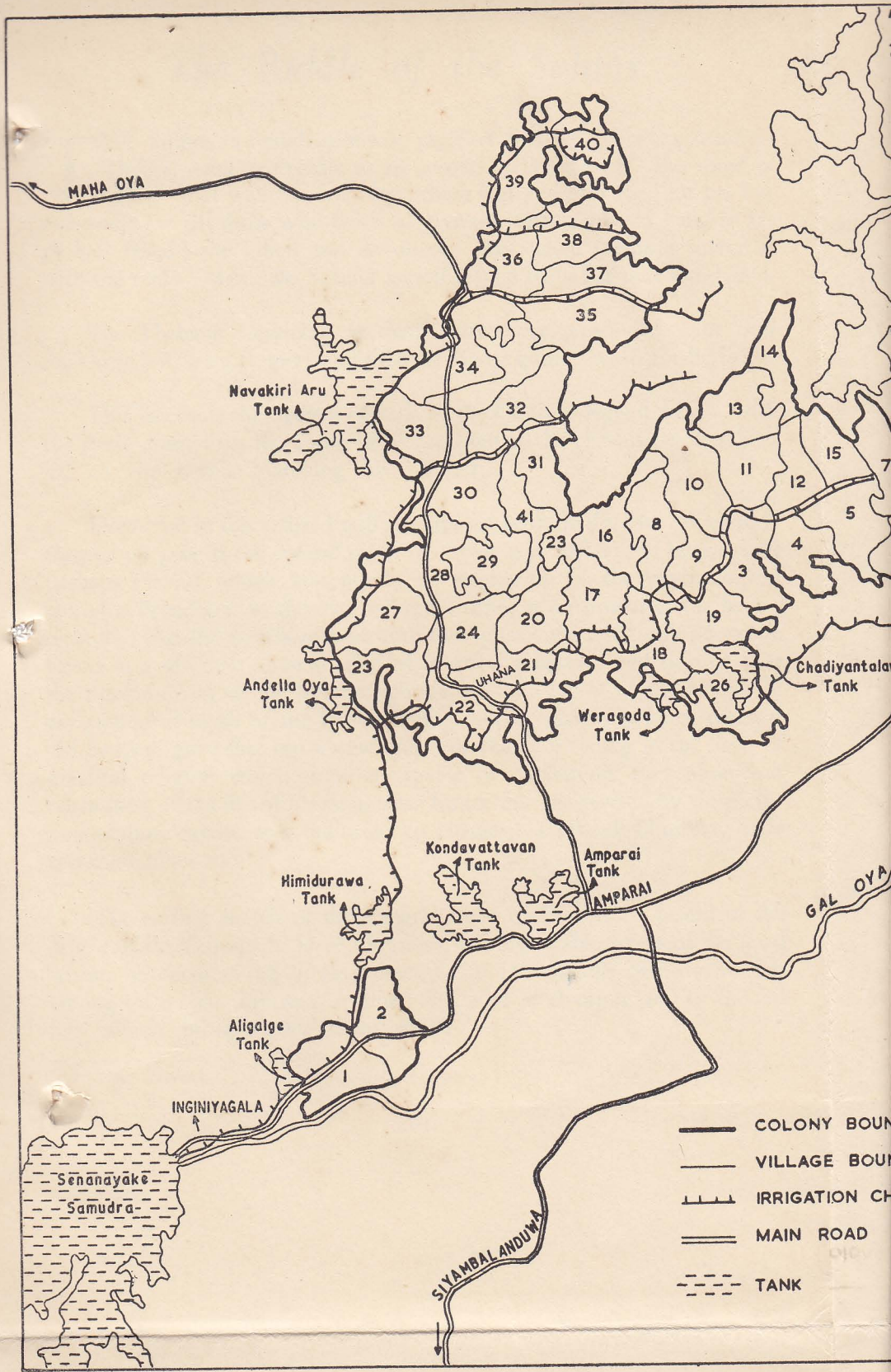


Figure 2 Layout of Gal Oya (left bank) Colony

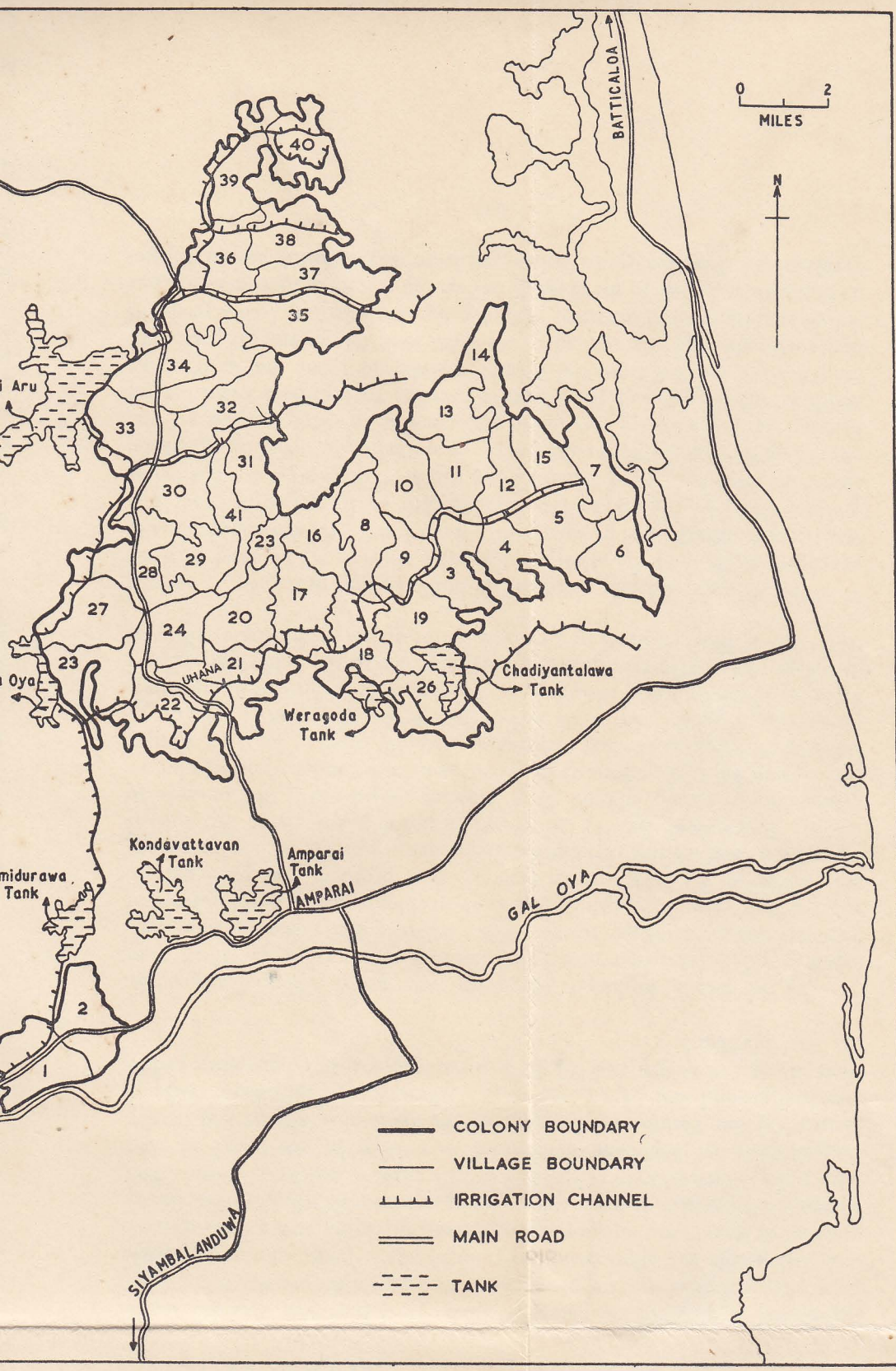
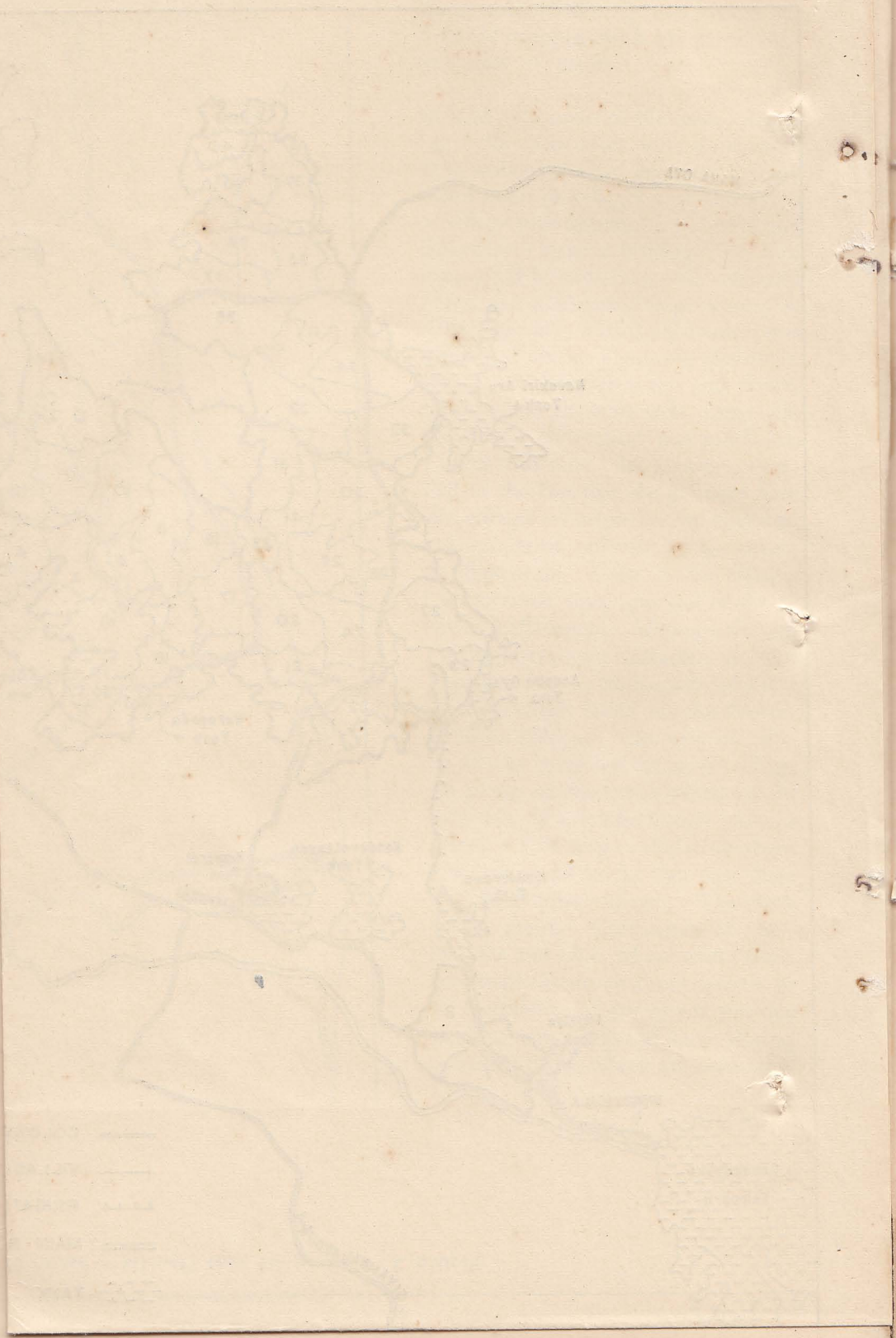


Figure 2 Layout of Gal Oya (left bank) Colony



The Riddle of the Sphinx

THE Sphinx, a female monster, perched on a hill at the approach to Thebes, sang her riddle to all comers. 'What is it,' she asked in effect, 'that walks on two legs, three legs and four legs but has but one voice ?' All those who failed to give the correct answer (and so far all had failed) she killed and devoured. But when Oedipus solved it with the reply ' Man ' the Sphinx herself leaped from her perch and died.

The Thebans, rejoicing at their deliverance, not only made him their king but, as a gift, gave him their widowed queen Jocasta for his bride.

This briefly is the Sphinx episode of the Oedipus legend which, with the Attic dramatists, has come to be accepted as the circumstances which led to the hero's marrying his mother.

However, in this article I will attempt to show, firstly, that this episode formed no part of the central myth of Oedipus as known to Homer and perhaps Hesiod, which was purely an expression of the psychological complex Freud was to discover in recent times and name after the hero ; secondly, that the significance of both the Sphinx and her riddle are to be found in a different context, that of mystical religion ; and thirdly, that the interweaving of the Sphinx episode into the fabric of the originally psychological myth of the father-slaying mother-marrying hero, when it did happen, gave that too a new and remarkable meaning in the light of mystical religion which alone is capable of explaining the subsequent rehandling of the life of Oedipus after his terrible *anagnorisis* by the inclusion of those events, also unknown to Homer, of his self-blinding, exile and miraculous end.

The earliest sketch of the integral story of Oedipus is found in the *nekyia* of the *Odyssey*.[1] Here Odysseus, talking of the shades of the dead whom he encountered in his ' descent ' to Hades, tells of how he saw among them fair Epicasta, mother and wife of Oedipus, and of the sad fate which brought her there thus :

1. xi. 271-280.

Μητέρα τ' Οἰδιπόδαο ἴδον, καλὴν Ἐπικάστην,
ἣ μέγα ἔργον ἔρεξεν ἀϊδρείῃσι νόοιο
γημαμένη ᾧ υἱεῖ. ὁ δ' ὃν πατέρ' ἐξεναρίξας
γῆμεν. ἄφαρ δ' ἀνάπυστα θεοὶ θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν.
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Θήβῃ πολυηράτῳ ἄλγεα πάσχων
Καδμείων ἤνασσε θεῶν ὀλοὰς διὰ βουλάς.
ἡ δ' ἔβη εἰς Ἀΐδαο πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο,
ἁψαμένη βρόχον αἰπὺν ἀφ' ὑψηλοῖο μελάθρου,
ᾧ ἄχεϊ σχομένη. τῷ δ' ἄλγεα κάλλιπ' ὀπίσσω
πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα τε μητρὸς Ἐρινύες ἐκτελέουσιν.

(*And I saw the mother of Oedipus, the beautiful Epicasta, who in ignorance committed a dreadful deed, marrying her own son. And he had slain his father before he married her. Soon afterwards the gods made these things known among men. But he ruled over the Cadmeans in lovely Thebes, though he suffered anguish through the dread counsels of the gods. As for her, she went to the house of Hades, the strong warder, when possessed by her pain, she had hung a noose high on a roof-beam. And to him she left behind full many a sorrow, all that a mother's Avengers bring to pass.*)

This brief recounting of the story, it will be noticed, makes no mention whatever of the Sphinx episode. This is not all. It does not know of the self-blinding of Oedipus, or again, of his exile from Thebes. Nor must it be thought that the account is merely silent about these two details. On the contrary it denies their possibility when it goes on to state that, subsequent to the discovery of his sins, Oedipus, though ' suffering anguish through the dire counsels of the gods ', *continued to rule over the Cadmeans in lovely Thebes.*

ἄλγεα, taken with πάσχων, suggests a plurality of continuous afflictions (these being added to by those of the mother's Avengers) rather than a single pain of the self-inflicted wound or the consequent affliction of the loss of sight. What these ἄλγεα are we have no indication except perhaps that they included the sorrow his sons caused him as well as those raids upon his cattle, mentioned by Hesiod[2], which led to the death of many a hero of the heroic age. In any case it is not specific enough to imply the

2. *Op.* 162-163.

self-blinding ; on the contrary, the assertion that he continued to rule over Thebes gives us reason for thinking that he was not incapacitated in any such serious manner.

The later version, known to us from Sophocles[3] at least, says that the blind and ageing Oedipus, exiled and wandering through the land of Greece, came at length to Colonus in Attica where Theseus extended to him the hand of friendship and afforded him the longed-for refuge. Here Apollo called to him and, attended by mysteries which none save Theseus was permitted to witness, he vanished from the face of the earth in some remarkable and awe-inspiring manner.

This again is at variance with what Homer knew of Oedipus. For the *Iliad*, in its single reference to him,[4] adds to the assertion of the *Odyssey* of his having continued to live in Thebes by implying that he even died there. For it states that Mecisteus, the father of Euryalus, once visited Thebes in order to attend the funeral games which were celebrated there at the burial of Oedipus.

ὅς ποτε Θήβασδ' ἦλθε δεδουπότος Οἰδιπόδαο
ἐς τάφον, —

(....*who once came to Thebes to attend the burial of Oedipus who had fallen in death.*)

'The word δεδουπότος', writes Jebb,[5] 'plainly refers to a violent death in fight, or at the hands of an assassin ; it would not be in accord with the tone of epic language to understand it as a figurative phrase for a sudden fall from greatness'. Certainly there is no need to go to the extent of understanding it figuratively as 'a sudden fall from greatness' when the context, associating Oedipus with burial, gives the simple inference that the fall referred to is none other than that of death. Any other interpretation of the word must be forced and besides create an ambiguity where none exists.

3. *Oed. Col.* esp. the messenger's announcement 1579-1666. Though written long before the *Colonus*, the *Tyrannus* already reveals the transfiguration of the hero and his knowledge of the special destiny awaiting him.

4. xxiii. 679. Euripides in *Phoen.* follows Homer in keeping Oedipus in Thebes until the battle between his sons. But so does he Jocasta. Pausanias (1.28.7) observed the discrepancy.

5. *Soph : The Plays and Fragments. Part I. The Oed. Tyr.* (1914) p. xii H. J. Rose agrees. See his *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* 6th ed. (1958) p. 188.

Rose[6] conjectures that Oedipus himself may have been among those heroes who fell fighting over his flock. This theory of his has the virtue that it makes Oedipus' death the result of violence as well as an event that takes place around Thebes and thus in accord with the Homeric account of the *Odyssey*. Even so, it must of course remain a conjecture.

But whatever the circumstances of Oedipus' death, the likelihood, according to the earliest version of the story, is that he met it by violence of some kind, secondly, that he met it in or around Thebes, and thirdly, that he was buried there.

There is no indication of anything in the least miraculous about his end. He is buried with funeral ceremonies, including athletic games, as was customary at the burial of a man of heroic stature at the time. And certainly there would have been a tomb (*τάφος*) to show as his there.

It appears then that this core myth, upon which the richer version known to the Attic dramatists was an elaboration, was by itself self-consistent and complete. It was simply the story of a father-slaying mother-marrying hero which Freud was to recognize as a mythic expression of those sub-conscious desires of human beings and make famous in psychology as the ' Oedipus complex '.

It does without the Sphinx/episode ; nor are the self-blinding of the hero, his exile and the manner of his departure from life complementary to the idea, nor do they necessarily flow from it.

Jebb,[7] commenting on the sketch of the Oedipus story in the *Odyssey*, observes that the hero's marrying his mother, Epicasta, may imply the deliverence of Thebes from the Sphinx. He is obviously looking for traces of those details of the story as are known to us through the Attic dramatists and thus reads implications into this earliest version of it that it itself does not carry.

I can see nothing in Oedipus marrying his mother which necessitates the Sphinx episode any more than his marrying someone else. At the same time, he could well have come to marry her through any number of different circumstances.

6. *The Oxford Clas. Dict.* s. v. Oedipus.
7. *op. cit.* p. xiii.

Far from presupposing the Sphinx episode as the circumstance which led to his marrying his own mother, Epicasta, the very discrepancy of the name of the lady with that of Jocasta of the later versions leads us to suspect the possibility of two different wives by two different myths, the one, of a hero who kills his father and marries his mother, Epicasta, the other, of a hero (here the same hero) who kills the monster, Sphinx, and marries a princess, Jocasta. A subsequent confluence of the two myths seems to have resulted in the identification of the one wife with the other, so that while she remains his mother, she is now called Jacasta. Even after this confluence (which appears to have taken place some time after Hesiod) the two myth-motifs are unmistakeable.

The Sphinx episode of the Oedipus saga seems to have originated as an independent adventure of the hero, telling as it does a story, familiar in the mythologies of many a people of the world, of a prince who vanquishes a monster upon answering its riddle and marries a maiden whom he rescues thereby[8]. If we go on to presume that not only was the name of this maiden Jocasta but that she was the true mother of Oedipus ' four children, the theory of a fusion of the two myths would easily explain how Epicasta became Jocasta and also how there came to be children of Oedipus by that incestuous union in the later versions in spite of the fact that, according to the Homeric version of the *Odyssey*, his mother-wife killed herself ' soon after ' (ἄφαρ) their marriage.

First mention of the Sphinx comes from Hesiod, himself a Boeotian. He not only knew her as the daughter of Echidna and Orthros[9] but also as ' the bane of the Cadmeans '[10], thus implying knowledge of her destruction of the Thebans, and therefore, of her riddle. Hesiod must also have known the central myth of Oedipus, though in his extant works there is no more than the passing reference to the detail, already mentioned, of heroes dying fighting for Oedipus ' flocks.

A connection between Oedipus and the Sphinx is however not manifest in the evidence till we come to Pindar and Aeschylus.

8. See W. Christ *Gesch. der griech. Lit.* 6th ed. (1912) p. 73; L Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* (1889). Some have considered the killing of the Sphinx an original part of the myth and all else an addition or later elaboration. For inst. see M. Bréal in L. Constans *La Légende d'Oedipe* (1881) p. 4.

9. *Theog.* 326.

10. *Theog. loc. cit.*

Pindar, who, like Hesiod, hailed from the land of Boeotia, talks in one instance of 'the riddle of the maiden monster issuing from her wild jaws' (*αἴνιγμα παρθένου ἐξ ἀγριᾶν γνάθων*)[11] and in another refers to 'the wisdom of Oedipus' (*τὰν Οἰδιπόδα σοφίαν*)[12] to describe a wise utterance couched in enigmatic language, presumably on the implication that the skill which solves riddling speech is equally capable of weaving it. It is conclusively established in Aeschylus to the extent that the satyr play which concluded his trilogy on the fall of the house of Labdacus, the *Laius*, *Oedipus* and *The Seven against Thebes*, was even entitled *Sphinx*.

This must mean that the association between Oedipus and the Sphinx belonged to a greater antiquity than the time of these two writers. It must have been earlier than Hesiod himself, to judge from his allusion to the monster's destruction of the Thebans. For from its first formulation itself the story of the Sphinx's appearance in the region of Thebes must have been rounded off with the manner in which she was herself ultimately destroyed. And no other version is known of how this was effected than that which make Oedipus the agent.

We can even go much further and take it that the whole episode was known to Homer himself and thus as old as the mother-marrying myth itself. For if Epicasta, dying 'soon after' the marriage to Oedipus, could not have had any issue by him, who was the mother of Polyneices whom the *Iliad*[13] knew fought against Thebes? The answer which suggests itself is that he must have been the son of Oedipus by another wife whom he had married some time before or after his marriage to his mother Epicasta. And such a lady, on our conjecture, is to be found in Jocasta, the heroine of the Sphinx episode.

Thus it would appear that originally these two myths, the one, in which Oedipus kills his father and marries his mother Epicasta, the other, in which he kills the Sphinx and marries the princess Jocasta, existed independent of each other and distinct in their nature as well as the inspiration that created them. They were known in that discrete form to Hesiod, and perhaps to Homer before him, coming down from more ancient times with that wealth of lays that belonged to the Theban cycle.

11. Fr. 62.
12. *Pyth.* iv. 263.
13. iv. 378.

But sometime after Hesiod and before the date of the *Oedipodeia*, out of mythological economy aided by the fair similarity of the names of the two brides, Epicasta and Jocasta, a conflation of the two myths seems to have taken place as a result of which, in the first place, Epicasta and Jocasta came to be identified as one and the same lady, henceforth popularly known as Jocasta, and following upon this the children of Oedipus by Jocasta, the bride of the Sphinx episode, came to be children begotten by that incestuous union with his mother, an union which Homer had implied was issueless.

This derivation of the children of Oedipus from the incestuous union with his mother must then be considered an ' accident ' of the conflation of the two myths. And so far as we know, it is by the Attic writers that they are so derived. This no doubt increased the horror of the fate of Oedipus and consequently the potential of the story to evoke pity and fear. And the Attic dramatists did not fail to exploit it to the full.

On the other hand, and interestingly enough, the *Oedipodeia* of the Theban cycle of epics (in which the two myths may have appeared interwoven for the first time in literature), even when it had taken the name of Oedipus' wife to be Jocasta, confirmed the ancient tradition that the children of Oedipus were not born of her but another wife, calling her—now that the name Jocasta is being used for the mother-wife — Euryganeia.[14]

Our concern about the mother of Oedipus' children is incidental. More pertinent to the present study is the remarkable change that the confluence of the myths had upon the afterfate of the hero. For where the *Odyssey* says that after the gods revealed the truth, Oedipus continued to rule in Thebes and the *Iliad* implies that he died and was buried there, a new and remarkable account of things is found. The story seems to have undergone a sea-change. Upon learning the truth i.e. that the man whom he met and slew on his way from Delphi to Thebes was his own father and

14. Apollod. iii.. 55 says there were others who followed this tradition. Pausanias ix. 5. 10 *sq* accepts it despite the popular version, citing as proof the evidence of the *Oedipodeia* as well as a picture by the artist Onasias in Plataea which depicts Euryganeia bowed with grief because of the fight between her children. According to Pherecydes of Leros (456 B. C.) Jocasta, Oedipus' mother-wife, bore him two children who were killed by the Minyae but, as in the *Oedipodeia*, Eteocles, Polyneices, Antigone and Ismene were born to him by his other wife, Euryganeia. This incidentally is the earliest ascription of issue to the incestuous union, and it will be noted that the issue so ascribed are not the known children of Oedipus. It is by the Attic writers, so far as we know, that they are made the children of Jocasta (as mother-wife). Scholiast on *Il.* iv. 378 admitted the existence of a second wife, though he called her Astymedusa and did not make her the mother of the children.

the queen he married upon solving the Sphinx's riddle his own mother, Oedipus blinds himself ; thereafter, he goes into exile ; after wandering some indefinite time through Greece he comes to Colonus in Attica ; here Apollo calls to him and, attended by mysteries only Theseus was permitted to witness, he disappears from the earth in a miraculous manner.

The discrepancies between the old and the new versions are obvious. Oedipus, after learning what he had done, does not continue to rule in Thebes until the end of his days ; he blinds himself and becomes an exile. He does not die by violence, whether in battle or by assassination ; he terminates his life by disappearing in a miraculous manner. He does not meet his end in Thebes but in Attica. And certainly the manner in which he meets that end in this later version is such that there cannot have been funeral games such as those at which Mecisteus took part; there would not even have been a tomb to show as his.[15]

What then is it that led to this reformulation of the life of Oedipus subsequent to the *anagnorisis* ? And what, it may be asked, is the meaning of these several events ?

The answer to these questions is to be found, if anywhere, in the meaning of that remarkable creature, the Sphinx, and the riddle he propounded. For it was clearly the interaction of the episode in which he slays the Sphinx upon the originally psychological myth in which Oedipus kills his father and marries his mother that brought about this new representation of things.

Freud explained the father-slaying and mother-marrying of Oedipus as an expression of the unconscious wish of a son to possess his mother

15. Lusimachus (contemp. of Cic.) and Arizelos used by Schol. on the *Colonus* reflect a tradition that Oedipus was buried in the temple of Demeter in Eteonos in Boeotia and that this shrine was called the 'Oidipodeion'. Pausanias i. 30. 4 testifies to a heroon of Oedipus and Adrastus at Colonus but mentions the sepulchral monument (1. 28. 7) as being on the Acropolis in the precincts of the shrine of the Semnai, explaining that the bones of the hero had been brought there from Thebes. Pausanias remarks no Semnai-cult in Colonus though Sophocles describes the grove of the Avengers with careful topography. Antigone (*Oed. Tyr.* 1756) calls the place Oedipus was last seen a τύμβος and Theseus (1763) θήκην ἱεράν ἥν κεῖνος ἔχει . But Ismene (1732) says of him ἄταφος ἔπιτνε δίχα τε παντός . Thus Sophocles seems to imply that whatever place in Colonus was identified as the tomb of Oedipus was the spot on which he last stood. The suggested possiblity (*Oed. Col.* 1661-1662) that the earth gaped open and swallowed him looks at his prophesy that the land which has his bones shall be blessed.

and dispose of his father, the rival to his mother's affection, by murder. The manifestation of this wish in dreams is noted by Jocasta herself in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*[16] thus :

> πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη κἀν ὀνείρασιν βροτῶν
> μητρὶ ξυνευνάσθησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦθ' ὅτῳ
> παρ' οὐδέν ἐστι, ῥᾷστα τὸν βίον φέρει.

(*Many a man has dreamed that he slept with his mother. Such things must be treated as of no consequence if life is to be endured.*)

Velikovsky in his *Oedipus and Akhnaton*[17] puts forward a tentative theory in which he seeks to bring the Sphinx herself within the psychological intention of the Oedipus myth. Basing himself on Theodor Reik's observation that the creature too meets death in the same manner as Jocasta, suicide, and O. Rank's explanation of the creature as the incarnation of the repulsive traits of the mother, he suggests that the victory over the Sphinx or the overpowering of the mother was the necessary counterpart of the killing of the father. Otherwise, he asks, why should a prince who has killed a king be burdened with the riddle of a maiden monster before taking the queen ?

Why indeed ? Velikovsky observed the existence here of two distinct myth-motifs, or rather, of a legend with some historical basis, the mother-marrying, and an episode which was clearly mythical in character, the encounter with the Sphinx. But as far as Greece is concerned, he thinks they got there already interwoven into a single story conforming to the complex pattern discovered by Raglan[18] (though he differs from him in holding that the whole thing is not pure mythological invention but based on some great degree of historical truth). The review we made of the Oedipus legend however gives us reason to think that these two myths that went to form the complex pattern existed independently for some time in Greece itself before they were brought together and that as far as the Greek account is concerned, this too took place in Greece itself. The story still reveals the relief of these two separate myths, one inset in the other and interlocked by the identification of its heroine with the heroine of the other.

16. 980-982.
17. (1960) p. 32.
18. *The Hero* (1937) p. 178-180.

If the similarity of the mode of death of the Sphinx and Jocasta makes the Sphinx significant in the 'Oedipuscomplex' as the repulsive aspect of the mother image and necessitates her death as much as the death of the father, it is indeed pertinent to ask why Jocasta herself, that *attractive aspect* of the mother image, also dies—and not merely dies, but dies in the same manner as the Sphinx, that repulsive aspect of the mother image.

To my mind, the death of the Sphinx has no more to do with the death of Jocasta than it has to do with the death of Laius. If it has to be brought into significance with the death of anyone, it is the death of those Cadmeans whom she used to kill before she herself was killed by Oedipus.

And their death as well as her's depended upon the riddle and its solution.

Before turning to the riddle, however, it would be worth considering the nature and significance of the riddling monster herself. That there existed a close connection between the Sphinx and her riddle is suspected even with the most superficial knowledge of the story, if not from the enigmatic nature of the monster herself. What the Sphinx stood for is not as easily discovered for with the history of the myth, the monster characteristically appears to have developed new symbolism while not shedding the old.

Velikovsky, in that same fascinating work of his, attempts to show that Oedipus was in reality the Pharaoh Akhnaton and that the Thebes of the myth was originally the Egyptian Thebes. The myth, he thinks, was later transplanted on Greek soil. One of the prominent features which makes him suspect an Egyptian origin of the myth is the presence in it of the Sphinx, a monster primarily native to that land before its appearance elsewhere and in any case popular in Greece *post*, and thereafter largely *propter*, the Oedipus story.

Egypt is almost certainly the land of the sphinx's origin[19]. But two characteristics of the Sphinx whom Oedipus encountered and slew show her immediate derivation was from the Near-East. The first of these is the distinct femininity of the creature, the second her possession of wings.

19. A. Dessenne *Le Sphinx, êtude iconographique* (1957).

The Egyptian type is usually wingless and male.[20] Winged sphinxes appear prominently in the lands of the Euphrates, the earliest known example being that, belonging to the seventh century B. C., of the palace of Esharaddon, which is both winged and female.[21]

Wingless sphinxes and likewise male sphinxes, distinguished by their beards, are not unknown to the early art of Hellenic countries. Sculptured examples of the wingless sphinx (female and thus showing derivation from the Near-East) occur on the Sacred Way at Miletus while, remarkably enough, Thebes itself has yielded a small terracotta image of a wingless crouching sphinx.[22] Bearded males sphinxes are prominent in the orientalizing vase-paintings of the archaic period, particularly on Protocorinthian vases.

Notwithstanding these examples of wingless sphinxes and male sphinxes, the characteristic representation of the creature in Greece is both winged and female. The noble specimen that stood in front of the Treasury of the Naxians in Delphi as well as the beautiful marble figures sculptured in the round found in Attica and Aegina treat her as conspicuously winged and female. Similarly bewinged and female are the representations of the creature upon later vase-paintings, of which a most interesting one depicts her crouched upon a pillared pedestal and facing an Oedipus seated, chin on fist, with the words και τρι ('and three (footed ?)') issuing from her.[23] Correspondingly, in literature the Sphinx, identified with the monster whom Oedipus slew, is always a maiden. Aeschylus, like Hesiod, does not remark her possession of wings in his brief description of the pictorial representation upon the shield of Parthenopius in his *Septem*[24], nor again, in his only other surviving allusion to her.[25]

20. Queen Tiy, wife of Amenhotep III in the Eighteenth Dynasty seems to have been represented as a female sphinx, even winged. See Dessenne *op. cit.* p. 107. This may have been in accordance with a practise of representing the human face of the sphinx in the likeness of pharoahs, that of the Sphinx of Gizeh being possibly the aspect of Kephren.

21. Milchhoefer *Mitth. des deutschen archaeol. Institutes in Athen.* 4th year (1879) p. 48. Phoenicia (the original land of Cadmus) was in this case, as in many others, the meeting point of Egyptian and Asiatic influences.

22. Milchhoefer *op. cit.* p. 54.

23. Cylix in the Museo Gregoriano, Vatican. See J. Harrison *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Rel.* 3rd ed. (1922) p. 207 *sq.*

24. 541.

25. Fr. 232.

This is however an omission, not a denial of those features ; her possession of them is remarked both by Sophocles[26] and Euripides.[27]

A fragment of an oinochoe in the Berlin Museum,[28] treating the Oedipus-Sphinx episode as pure comedy, shows the Sphinx as a monster with wings and claws but with a dog-like head, while Oedipus in turn displays the hind quarters of a dog. The monster is inscribed, not with the name we know her by, 'Sphinx', but as 'Kassmia', the, 'Cadmean one,' or probably, 'the creature of Cadmus.'

In her Asiatic setting the Sphinx belonged with those man-headed lions and bulls of Assyria, so that her body may have been regularly that of a lion. In her advent to Boeotia, however, the body was probably that of a dog, deriving that part of herself from her father, the dog Orthros.[29] The tail is rendered as a snake, the brush at the end lending itself easily for representation as a snake-head. Her other parent, it will be recalled, was Echidna, a snake.

If we remember Cadmus' Asiatic origin and that he was an ophite who settled in Boeotia, peopling it by sowing snake's teeth and making it famous for snake-worship, it is possible that it was he or his people who introduced the snake-tailed Sphinx, daughter of the viper Echidna, from the lands of the Euphrates to Boeotia in Greece. Which is why perhaps the monster was sometimes called Kassmia, 'the bogey of Cadmus'.[30]

If in her wingedness and femininity the Greek Sphinx derives from the Near Eastern type, her characteristic traits she owes to the Egyptian prototype itself. Her riddling, for instance, may have been suggested by the pitiless enigmatic smile displayed even in the earliest representation of the monster, the colossal Sphinx of Ghizeh. This was further accentuated by the expectancy of her traditional postures, crouching or squatting on haunches, as though waiting for a reply.

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26. *Oed. Tyr.* 508 πτερόεσσα κόρα

27. *Phoen.* 1019 *sq.* She is called πτεροῦσσα and a δάιον τέρας φοιτάσι πτεροῖς.

28. Inv. 3186. *Jahrbuch dl. Inst.* 1891. Anzeiger, p. 119, fig. 17.

29. Sophocles *Oed. Tyr.* 391. He calls her ῥαψῳδὸς κύων . If Orthros is a dog, Echidna is fore-part nymph and hind-part snake (See *Theog.* 309 and 297-300).

30. J. Harrison *op. cit.* p. 210-211.

We need not take this to imply that the non-Greek sphinx was also associated with a riddle ; the riddling was probably an invention of the Greeks themselves though suggested by the enigmatic aspect of the monster.

However the conception and treatment of the Sphinx as, at the same time, a symbol of death can be traced back to Egypt, remarkably enough to Thebes there, where a grave shows a bearded sphinx with one of its fore-paws resting upon three human beings.[31] Following this motif an Attic vase shows two sphinxes with a prostrate man between them while a bowl from Lanarka depicts winged griffins and sphinxes with a man held captive.[32]

We have here the origin of the story of the destruction of the Thebans by the Greek Sphinx whom Oedipus encountered and slew, which made Hesiod call her 'the bane of the Cadmeans' and Euripides after him, 'the snatcher of the Cadmeans.[33]

On the other hand the detail of her own destruction at the hands of Oedipus seems to have been inspired by a pictorial variation of the combat of Marduk and Tiamat as set forth in the Epic of Creation. For among the number of artistic designs it gave rise to, the female dragon Tiamat is replaced by a winged horse, a scorpion-man, a winged unicorn, winged human-headed animal with a long beard, or a winged sphinx. Frequently however a human figure, undoubtedly the king, takes the place of the god Marduk in these combats with winged monsters. Notable among these is the design upon a cylindrical seal which not only shows a human being (presumably a king) in conflict with a winged sphinx and an antlered stag but a winged sphinx remarkably approximating in detail to that which Oedipus slew.[34] The version of the story which goes on to say that Oedipus slew the Sphinx with his own hand[35] may be a look back at the manner of the monster's death in the myth-form in which the story originally reached Greece, like the Sphinx herself, from the Near-East.

31. Lepsius *Denkm.* v. 3. 76c.

32. Milchhoefer *op. cit.* p. 57 and 51.

33. *Phoen.* 1021. Καδμείων ἅρπαγα

34. See *The Mythology of All Races* ed. J. A. MacCulloch (1964) vol. V (Semetic) p. 281 *sq.* and fig. 87.

35. Corinna in schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 26. See C. Robert *Oidipus* (1915) ch. 2. A gem from Thisbe in Boeotia and thought to belong to Mycenean times shows a young man attacking a sphinx, and a second gem, a like figure aiming an arrow at a man in a chariot. The motif of the first, if not the second as well, may derive from the representations of the battles of Marduk with various creatures, mostly of chimerical form. They possibly depict Oedipus slaying the Sphinx, and again, his father Laius. The genuineness of these is however rather doubtful.

In the Hesiodic *Theogony* the Sphinx is called Phix (Φίξ), the Boeotian and probably original form of the name of the monster, while the hill on which she perched was known as Mt. Phicium (Φίκειον ὄρος).[36]

This has given rise to conjectures as to whether the hill got its name from the monster or the monster from the hill. The scholiast on Hesiod *loc. cit.* thinks the former the case. If on the other hand the name of the hill was older, Jebb[37] conjectures that 'the very localising of the myth had been suggested by the accident of a hill with such a name existing near a town in which Phoenician and Egyptian influences had long been present.'

Like everything about her, the name of the Sphinx itself presents us a riddle. The detail of the story at best leads us to hazard the suggestion that a sphinx may in fact have occupied the hill or its vicinity, be it a sculptured representation set up by the first Cadmeans or a rock outcropping which fairly resembled the head or the head and some part of the monster. As a result of this the early settlers of Boeotia would have come to call the hill after the name of the monster, or if the name of the hill was the older, vice-versa. Later, as Jane Harrison[38] suggests, by a slight modification 'Phix' may have become 'Sphinx.'

In Greek mythological art sphinxes were represented as a type of *keres*, evil spirits or symbols of inscrutable and ineluctable death which, like the gorgons, carried away boys and youths or were present at fatal combats. Gradually, and by that very token of fatality, they seem to have acquired apotropaic or prophylactic significance and were represented on shields, helmets, tombstones and as akroteria on temples, and so on, for the protection of the living, the dead and the sacred.

By classical times, which also saw the humanisation of the Medusa, the Sphinx herself came to be treated as a benign creature, the enigmatic messenger of divine justice, 'the wise virgin' of the tragic poets.

But the Sphinx whom Oedipus encountered and killed was still very far from this. She was that dreadful monster whom Hesiod called 'the

36. *loc. cit.* See also Hesiod *Shield of Her.* 33, Plato *Crat.* 414d, Apollod. iii. 5. 8, Tzetzes *Schol.* on Lycophron 1465, Steph. Byzant. s. v. Φίκειον. Plautus *Aul.* iv. 8. 1 calls her Pices instead of Sphinges.

37. *op. cit.* append. (4) to vs. 508 p. 228.

38. *op. cit.* p. 211.

bane of the Cadmeans' and Aeschylus[39] ' the reproach of the state ', ' eater of raw flesh,' bringing of ill-luck to him who bears her as his ensign. Pindar[40] observes her ' wild jaws ' and Sophocles[41] her ' curved talons ' while among her victims she counted the son of Creon, Haemon of the luckless name.[42]

In her advent to Greece then, the Sphinx must have been, as sphinxes were primarily in Egypt and the Near-East, a symbolic representation of the enigma of death. But a subsequent recognition of her by the Greeks as a symbol of a somewhat different sort is unmistakeable in the modification of her name from 'Phix' to 'Sphinx', the etymology of the new form of the name being connected, and undoubtedly rightly, with the verb *σφιγγεῖν*.

However, the nearly unanimous translation of *σφιγγεῖν* in connection with the etymology of the name Sphinx as 'to throttle' has been so wide off the mark that this secondary symbolism the Greeks saw in the monster has so far remained concealed. But even to casual observation it must have been evident that a creature such as she would hardly have put her victims to death by, of all modes, throttling. The manner in which a creature lion-like and having curved claws and wild jaws would be expected to kill her victims is by holding them down with the forepaws (as depicted by the bearded sphinx on the grave in Egyptian Thebes) and tearing their flesh with the jaws like a dog or lion. It is surprising then that such a creature should have been considered a ' throttler '.

A definite clue to the meaning of *σφιγγεῖν* from which the name Sphinx is derived is, I think, to be found in the recognition of the riddle as a kind of knot or bond which, as it were, binds the city of Thebes or its people and requires ' releasing '. Sophocles, we find, makes the priest of Zeus, who leads the citizens to beg Oedipus for help in the city's distress, call him[43]

ὅς γ' ἐξέλυσας, ἄστυ Καδμεῖον μολών,
σκληρᾶς ἀοιδοῦ δασμὸν ὃν παρείχομεν.

(.... *You who, coming to the city of the Cadmeans, released us of the payment which we rendered to the cruel songstress.*)

39. *Septem* 527 *sq.* and 543. See also 760.
40. Fr. 62.
41. *Oed. Tyr.* 1199 *τὰν γαμψώνυχα παρθένον* .
42. *Oedipod.* fr. 2 Allen; See also Apollod. iii. 54. Also E. Haspels *Attic Black-Fig. Lekythoi* (1938) p. 131. Arist. *Frogs* 1287 calls her 'the harbinger of misfortune and the solution of the riddle in verse cited by Jebb *The Oed. Tyr. of Soph.* p. 2 with the riddle, 'the Muse of the dead.'
43. *Oed. Tyr.* 35-36.

while Oedipus himself later asks the seer Teiresias[44]

πῶς οὐχ, ὅθ' ἡ ῥαψῳδὸς ἐνθάδ' ἦν κύων,
ηὔδας τι τοῖσδ' ἀστοῖσιν ἐκλυτήριον;

(*How is it that when the riddle-singing bitch was here you said nothing that brought release to the citizens?*)

The death of her people is a δασμός tax levied by the Sphinx from the city of Thebes. Jebb[45] however rightly observes of ἐξέλυσας. . . . δασμὸν : 'The notion is not, 'paid in full', but 'loosed it', —the thought of the tribute suggesting that of the riddle which Oedipus solved'. And then he adds, 'Till he came, the δασμός was a knotted cord in which Thebes was bound.'

Surely then ἐξέλυσας and ἐκλυτήριον imply a play on δασμός (in the manner of σῶμα-σῆμα, body-tomb, attributed popularly, and perhaps correctly, to the Orphics), i.e. δασμός-δεσμός or 'payment-bondage'. By his act of freeing Thebes from the tax of citizens that was incurred to the Sphinx, he also released it from the bond or noose with which she had bound the city and its people.

In the light of this, the word σφιγγεῖν must be taken, not in its second meaning of 'to throttle', but in its first, 'to bind'. The Sphinx is in fact 'the one who binds' or 'the Binder', belonging in this capacity to the widespread and popular symbolism in mystery religion of bonds, knots and other forms of constriction. Visiting the city of Thebes she casts her knot round all whom she accosts, involving them in that magico-psychological feeling of constriction that expresses itself in such symbolism, while she herself or Hera, the goddess who despatched her against the Thebans, figures in this context in the equally well-known capacity of 'the God who binds'.[46]

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44. *Oed. Tyr.* 391-392.

45. *op. cit.* p. 16 n. to vs. 35.

46. See Mircea Eliade *Images and Symbols* (1961) ch. 3 p. 93 sq. F. A. Paley *The Epics of Hesiod* (1883) p. 209 n. to *Theog.* 326 takes it to mean 'to grasp' and says, 'The legend of the Sphinx was probably nearly identical with that of the Harpies viz: an impersonation of the influences which caused sudden death and sudden disappearances, as by pestilence.' Michael Grant *Myths of the Greeks and the Romans* (1962) p. 220-221 rightly sees the Sphinx as a 'binder' rather than a 'choker', but he takes her to be no more than a female incubus and a demon of death.

The riddle the Sphinx asks must then be recognized as the 'knot' with which the Binder binds her victims ; for like the knot the riddle too calls for λύσις. In this sense it is the literary counterpart of the labyrinth, which is itself often conceived as a knot to be untied and belongs with that metaphysico-ritual unity which comprises ideas of difficulty, danger, death — and initiation.

Aside from its ligher uses, the riddle served in antiquity as a literary vehicle for the preservation and transmission of ritual, religious ceremonial, philosophical speculation and—of interest to us here—esotoric teaching, its incomprehensibility to the uninitiate serving to protect the secret at the core.[47] In this respect riddles were not unlike the utterances of the oracles, which Aristophanes[48] calls γρίφοι, a word commonly used for riddles.

Riddles of this nature, like oracles, called for skill of a special order to discover their hidden meaning, a skill which belonged to the mantic art. The earliest known Greek riddle, that given as an oracle to Minos by the Curetes about his missing son Glaucus, was referred to the seer Polyidus ('he who sees many things') for interpretation, while mention is made of riddling contests between seers and wise men, such as that between Calchas and Mopsus and again Theognis and Homer, which, to all purposes, seem a trial of each other's claim to some special knowledge or insight. If anything, Oedipus' taunting of Teiresias[49] for his failure to solve the Sphinx's riddle makes this evident.

ἐπεί, φέρ' εἰπέ, ποῦ σὺ μάντις εἶ σαφής;
πῶς οὐχ, ὅθ' ἡ ῥαψῳδὸς ἐνθάδ' ἦν κύων,
ηὔδας τι τοῖσδ' ἀστοῖσιν ἐκλυτήριον;
καίτοι τό γ' αἴνιγμ' οὐχὶ τοὐπιόντος ἦν
ἀνδρὸς διειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μαντείας ἔδει.

47. The riddle, like the labyrinth symbol, involves the popular symbol of the Centre, the maze around which obstructs the uninitiate from reaching it. In this context, the Centre represents or holds within it the Mystery. 'Mystery', writes W. F. J. Knight (*Cumaean Gates* (1936) p. 79) 'comes from the word which means 'shut', μύω ; in the ancient sense it means a series of rites belonging to a secret or esoteric religion closed to all but the initiated'. See Eliade *op. cit.* p. 53 where he likens the placing of a neophyte in a mandala to initiation by entry into a labyrinth. See my article *The Labyrinth and the Minotaur.* Ceylon Journ. of Humanities vol. II no. 2 (1971)

48. *Birds* 970.

49. *op. cit.* 390-394.

(Come now, tell me where have you proved yourself a seer ? How is it that when the riddle-singing bitch was here, you said nothing that brought release to the citizens? Yet the riddle at least was not for any chance person to interpret; there was need of the mantic art.)

The riddle with which the Sphinx ' bound ' those who encountered her is at a superficial level hardly a difficult one. The formulations in which it has come down to us even help towards the answer so that it calls for no remarkable wisdom to solve. I would not put it beyond a youngster of average intelligence to hit at the answer in a few moments.

But why then, it may be asked, did the solution of this riddle win for Oedipus an almost proverbial reputation in occult matters as Thales in philosophy.? What was there about it that it called for the mantic art so much so that Teiresias' failure to take it up made Oedipus belittle his claim to be a seer ? What was there so terrible about the failure to solve it that rendered the unsuccessful ' dead ' and what so shattering about the answer itself that it led to the death of the riddling monster herself ?

Connected with riddle contests is the widespread mythology that the loser lost his life. For instance, in the contest between the seers Calchas and Mopsus, Calchas, or as another version has it, Mopsus suffered death as a consequence of defeat. Similarly Homer is said to have been vanquished by Theognis and died of mortification. To turn from mythology to life itself, in certain parts of Germany the boy who failed to solve a riddle was greeted with such expressions as ' Er ist des Henkers ', ' Muss sich zum Henkers scheeren ', ' Kommt in die Hölle ' or simply ' Er ist todt ', all meaning that he is dead.

But what is the meaning of this ' death ' ? Surely it cannot be that these boys, when it says that they died, died in reality. Similarly it is hard to think that ' death ' or expressions of death connected with the failure in answering riddles even in antiquity are to be taken in the literal sense. Mortification at the failure to solve a riddle, however profound the implications be with respect to the loser's possession, or rather, non-possession, of the requisite wisdom, cannot have led him to such an extremity.

We must then suppose that such expressions referred to something other than the physical existence of the person who failed to discover the import of a riddle or lost a riddle contest. They derive from the context of

mystery religion, to which also belong the teachings or μυστήρια occult in the riddles. The defeated are uninitate (ἀμυήτοι), dead. Taken with the riddle as also a knot symbol, all those who failed to solve such a riddle were reckoned ' dead ', firstly in the sense of the initiate alone as being ' alive ', the ' twice-born ', and secondly, as being constricted in the toils of the αἴνιγμα into which the ' god who binds ' has cast them. All such riddles involve the idea of initiation.

The riddle of the Sphinx is remarkable in this twofold nature, both as an esoteric riddle and as a knot symbol. For while the riddle figures as a knot or cord which binds Thebes or her citizens with the Sphinx or her sender, Hera, as ' the god who binds ', the Sphinx also figures as a participant in a one-way riddling contest in which she probes her opponents for the possession of some secret knowledge or wisdom which renders the possessor ' alive ' or initiate and all the rest, those many Cadmeans whom the monster despatched to Hades, ' dead '. Oedipus alone, by his answer, establishes his possession of that secret knowledge or wisdom which the riddle involves.

In keeping with riddle mythology, the monster dies or is killed by Oedipus and the hero marries the queen of the beseiged city of Thebes that he frees.[50]

With the growing influence of Delphic religion however the Sphinx seems to have evolved a new symbolic significance. The creature who was sent against the Thebans by Hera now becomes the creature of Apollo, the god whose inscrutable purpose is made responsible for the fate of the hero and whose oracle increasingly determines its terrible fulfilment. The story of Oedipus begins to bristle with oracles (though sometimes they are not specified as Pythian) while the Sphinx herself is made the subject of one which naively tells the Thebans that they will not be rid of her until someone solves her riddle.[51]

It is difficult to determine whether the Sphinx, in her original conception as a human-headed lion in Egypt or subsequently with the addition of wings as well in the Near East, symbolized corporeality as much as she did death. In her advent to Greece however, she came as the daughter of

50. Apollod. iii. 48 says Creon offered the kingdom and its widowed queen to anyone who would solve the riddle and destroy the Sphinx. In this as in other details he may have followed the lost *Oedipodeia*. See also Eur. *Phoen.* 45 *sq.*

51. H.W. Parke and D. E.W. Wormell *The Delphic Oracle* (1956) vol. I p. 310-311.

Echidna, the viper, displaying the fact by a metamorphosis of her tail into a serpent. This left the Sphinx a creature composite of parts representative of four kinds of living things, human (head), animal (body), bird (wings) and reptile (tail).

At this stage it becomes evident that the creature is being worked all into a symbolic representation of all mortal creation. If further proof of this is needed, it is found in the incised or polychrome decorations around the shoulders of some of her statues, which have all the appearance of the scales of fish. An example of the Sphinx in this growing concept of her is to be seen in the marble sculpture from the top of a gravestone from Spata in Attica (570 B.C), which depicts her in her complete representation of all the kinds of mortal creation of the earth, and perhaps, in that femininity of her human head, the two sexes as well.[52]

The symbolism of corporeality may well have been implicit in the association of sphinxes with death from the very beginning, remarking the inevitability of this fate to all that is of mortal nature. The development of the creature does no more than make its symbolism grow more explicit, emphatic and complete. And it is in this state that Apollonine religion seizes upon it in its reinterpretation of the story of the father-slaying mother-marrying hero so as to present him in a new light — that of a savant-in-the-making of its god of growing prestige.

Similarly, the riddle itself must be taken in its true import if we are to understand how it works together with the Sphinx-symbol to represent the myth in this new form.

The riddle, as prefixed to the manuscript of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* and quoted or referred to by ancient writers and scholars, reads as follows :

> *Ἔστι δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπον, οὗ μία φωνή,*
> *καὶ τρίπον. ἀλλάσσει δὲ φυὴν μόνον ὅσσ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν*
> *ἕρπετὰ κινεῖται ἀνά τ' αἰθέρα καὶ κατὰ πόντον.*
> *ἀλλ' ὁπόταν πλείστοισιν ἐρειδόμενον ποσὶ βαίνῃ,*
> *ἔνθα τάχος γυίοισιν ἀφαυρότατον πέλει αὐτοῦ.*

52. Compare Empedocles fr. 117 which in its own way seeks to exhaust the varieties of corporeal existences, not to mention age and sex.

(There is on earth a creature with two feet and four feet and three feet but with only one voice. For it changes its form alone of all the creature that move on the ground or through the air or sea. But when it walks supported on the most number of feet, then is the swiftness of its limbs weakest.)

Atheneus derived the riddle in this form from Asclepiades of Tragilus, who was the pupil of Isocrates and wrote a work called *Tragodoumena* in which he dealt with the mythological material used by the tragedians and their treatment of the same. Thus the riddle in this form is carried back to at least the earlier part of the fourth century B.C.

This particular riddle is a remarkably widespread one and occurs among many peoples throughout the world in one form or another. It is found in precisely the same form among the tribes of British Central Africa and in a slightly different form among the Mongols of the Selenga.[53] Remarkably enough it appears in our own literature in the verses attributed to the poet-monk Vidagama and in any case belonging to a date which makes it unlikely of derivation from any European source.[54]

But it is in a Gascony story[55] that we have a close parallel, not merely of the riddle but of the context in which it occured in Thebes. For it tells of how a great beast with a human head dwelt in a cave full of gold of which the half it promised to him who solved three riddles, one of which ran ' At sunrise it creeps like the serpent and worms ; at noon it walks on two legs like the birds ; at sunset it goes away on three legs '. Those who could not solve the riddles, we are told, the monster devoured. At length a poor young man, anxious to win the gold and marry his lady love, answers the riddles, slays the monster and carries away the gold.

The versions of the riddle presented by the Sphinx to the Thebans equate the stages of human life, in one case, to the sequence of numbers, 1, 2, 3, and 4, and in another, to the parts of the day, i.e. morning, noon and

53. See J. G. Frazer's transl. of *Apollod.* (Loeb Cl. Libr.) (1921) vol. I p. 347 n. 2. See also his transl. with comment. of *Pausanias's Descript. of Greece* (1913) vol. V p. 138-139 comment. on ix. 26. 2 The Mongol version goes: 'Morning, four; noon, two; evening, three'.

54. *Daham Gata Malava* 22. See also P. Sannasgala's *Sinhala Sahitya Vamsaya* (1964) p. 285. The riddle is hardly likely to have been a composition of the poet. More probably it was folk. It reads

උදය ගමන යන්නේ සතර පයකිනි
මැදය ඉර මුදුන යන්නේ දෙපයකිනි
පදය සැපත් අවරට ගිය තුන් පයිනි
සොඳය මෙපද තේරුවොත් නුවණකිනි

55. Frazer *locc. cit.*

evening. The first of these, that which describes the subject of the riddle as having two legs, three legs and four legs but one voice, it will be noted, attempts to get in the first four integers as much as the unity in diversity. This may be no more than a casual play on the sequence of numbers and nothing more than that. On the other hand the slipping in of the number 1 (of voice) among the 2, 3 and 4 (of leggedness) might be an attempt to complete the integers which go to construct the Tetractys of the Decad by number-mystics of the Pythagorean order. The version which equates the three stages of life to morning, noon and evening compares with the form in which the riddle appears among the Mongols of the Selenga and in our own literature. Death, by implication, is equated with night with, among the Greeks, a possible suggestion of rebirth in the new day that will dawn thereafter.

Aristotle[56] defined an *αἴνιγμα* as an expression in which the things said cannot be reconciled; the first use of the word in Greek, i.e. by Pindar,[57] is for this very riddle. Notwithstanding this irreconcilability of its parts, the riddle brings them together in the constitution of its answer, 'the creature Man'.

In this respect the subject of the riddle is not unlike the riddling Sphinx, that monstrous creation of incongruous parts. Man here is the creation of three stages of varying leggedness, the sum of infancy, adolescence and old age, while the solution of the riddle itself consists in the resolution of these incongruities in a single entity, a creature with one voice. The riddle in the Gascony story, it would have been observed, likened man's infancy to a serpent and his two-legged stage, adolescence, to a bird. Similarly the Sphinx's riddle (in the Athenaeus version) seems to evoke an association between man and the rest of creation (already represented by parts in the makeup of the Sphinx) when it says that man alone changes his nature *of all the creatures of earth, air and sea.* Nothing is to be made of this fact. On the other hand very much is made of the three stages of man's life in the myth itself, for, as we shall see, they are dramatically emphasised there in the life of Oedipus himself.

56. *Poet.* 22 *αἰνιγματός τε ἰδέα αὕτη ἐστί, το λέγοντα ὑπάρχοντα ἀδύνατα συνάψαι.*

57. *loc. cit.*

But what are we to make of the riddle? Is it a simple brain-teaser so much so that the Sphinx was guilty of perversity when it killed all those who failed to guess its meaning? If so, why would she kill her own self when someone found the correct answer to it? Does this not indicate that both the riddle and its answer are of a profounder import than appears?

If anything, the answer to the riddle, 'Man', must alert us to the possibility that what the Sphinx was requiring was a knowledge far deeper than the superficial answer to a superficial riddle. What the riddle stands for, I suspect, is a riddle within the riddle, the riddle of man himself. What the monster of Apollo is probing for in the citizens in the neighbourhood of his shrine is the possession of a secret knowledge associated with the mysteries of initiation, the possession of which qualifies the possessor to serve Apollo as his savant, a 'man of god' (*θεῖος ἀνήρ*) like Abaris, Aristeias, Pherecydes, Epimenides, Pythagoras and those other Greek 'shamans' who were intimately associated with his cult. This accounts for the need the riddle had of 'mantic art' and also for the great reputation Oedipus won from solving it as the possessor of a wisdom in occult matters. Above all, it accounts for that remarkable change brought over him in the Apollonine representation of the myth which make a *sadhu* of this great sinner. Oedipus alone is found initiate in the occult science of man, as the trial of the Sphinx proved; all those others who failed to construe the riddle were 'dead'— dead in the sense of mystery religion.

Up to this point Oedipus' life had exemplified the four-legged stage and the two-legged stage. His infancy is an emphatic expression of the subconscious desires which make up the 'Oedipus complex'; his adulthood distinguishes him as the hero of riddle-mythology who slays a riddling monster and cuts the 'bond' which it has cast round the city. But it is in the third stage, the three-legged, in which the Apollonine interpretation of the Oedipus legend finds its full significance, the stage which begins with the hero's realization of the aweful truth of his prior deeds, no longer to be interpreted psychologically but as a terrible infliction by a god whose purpose is beyond man's comprehension.

The whole myth now appears in a new light. Before his very birth, Apollo's determination of the destiny of Oedipus is proclaimed by the god's oracle in Delphi; as an youth he is driven to the commission of those fated acts by that same oracle; that same oracle helps in his realization of what he has done, or more properly, what Apollo has done to him.

The psychological complex recedes to the back-ground ; a moral problem never existed. What the myth presents us now is the awe-inspiring drama of the transfiguration of a man.

With this catastrophic realization which shatters him, this, as it were, baptism of fire, at the height of the mental agony of which he seeks relief through the physical pain of self-blinding, Apollo takes possession of him. He is bewildered, feels himself the uncomprehending agent of the god's inscrutable purpose ; like Teiresias, he is become a 'man of Apollo'.

The signs are unmistakeable. Like Teiresias he is blind, the denial or loss of physical sight being a concomitant of the opening in him of ' the Third Eye ', the eye of mystic insight[58]; the staff, that third leg, is, as with Teiresias and other seers, the symbol of his profession. He foresees things to come ; he is beyond the touch of human evil. Apollo speaks to him as he did to another of his savants, Pythagoras.[59] The land which receives his bones shall be blessed. Mysteries that no human eyes may see (save those of Theseus)[60] attend his end; and instead of dying (by violence and being buried in Thebes) he walks unaided to a sacred spot, purifies himself and, in a miracle that leaves Theseus awe-struck, vanishes from the face of the earth.

In the light of all this, the exile of Oedipus must be interpreted as the traditional exile for bloodshed required by Greek religion which his own lord and master, Apollo, himself once underwent for the killing of the Python. It is not known how long Oedipus wandered through Greece as an exile ; it was long enough to turn him into an old man. We may presume a period of from seven to nine years, the stipulated term of expiation

58. According to one account, Teiresias was struck blind by Athena because he had seen her bathing, but later she relented and cleansed his ears with the snake on her shield so that he could hear and under stand the language of the birds (for prophesy). According to another, Hera stuck him blind because he agreed with Zeus that a woman derived more pleasure in the sex-act; Zeus later compensated him by the gift of prophetic vision See Robert Graves. *The Greek Myths* Penguin Bks. (1955) vol. II p. 10-11. sec. 105*g* and *h* and n. on sources.

59. *Oed. Col.* 1626-1628. Cf. Aristot. fr. 191 Rose (= Diels/Kranz *Vorsokr* (1961) vol. I p. 98. for Pythagoras.

60. Theseus is a remarkable figure in Greek religion, being even associated with a descent to Hades. Oedipus is not the only polluted person to whom he gave hospitality; there is Herclues. Like Oedipus who solved the riddle and slew the Sphinx, he had slain a half-man half-beast monster and pierced the labyrinth, that physical counterpart of the riddle, reaching the sanctum of mystery (symbolized by a star) at the Centre. The spool of thread used by him (to *enter*) is a popular symbol of the Way. Later he performed a dance called 'the Crane' which imitated the windings of the labyrinth. See my article cited.

His acceptance into the *temenos* in Colonus of the Eumenides, the goddesses who avenged murder, must, if anything, signify his requital of their claim by the fulfilment of this ritual period of purification.

Sophocles gives reason for thinking that there was a cult of Oedipus in Athens in his day, in which there figured the mysteries which were vouchsafed to Theseus of yore and which was in the care and conduct of the descendants of the Theseus. I cannot think what else the dramatist implies by these lines of his *Oedipus Colonus*[61] which Oedipus, in the final hour of his life, tells Theseus before an audience of over thirty thousand Attic citizens:

What follows,
A holy mystery that no tongue may name,
You shall then see and know, coming alone
To the place appointed. There is no one else
Of all this people to whom I can reveal it,
Not my own children, though I love them well.
You are to keep it for ever, you alone,
And when your life is drawing to its end,
Disclose it to one alone, a chosen heir,
And he to his, and so for ever and ever.'

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61. 1526-1532. E. F.Watling transl. in *Sophocles : The Theban Plays* (Penguin Cl.) (1959) p. 117-118. Cf. 1640-1644. There was cult of Oedipus and Adrastus in a heroon at Colonus (Paus. i. 30. 4). Also in Boeotia at Eteonos (Schol Soph. *Oed. Col.* 91). The Aigeidae established a cult in Sparta (Herod. iv. 149). It is possible that in Attica he had cult in the temple of the Semnai on the Areopagus as well as in Colonus (Paus. i. 28. 6) See L. R. Farnell *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immort.* (1921) p. 332-334.

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