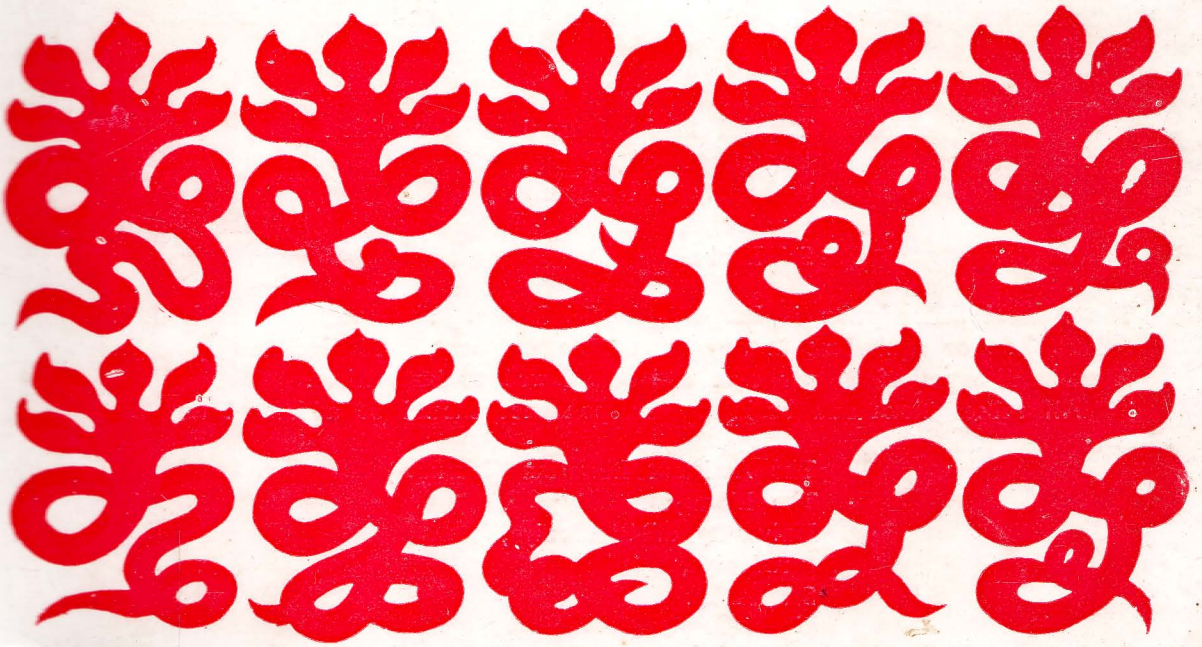
The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities



UNIVERSITY OF PERADENIYA

OLUME VIII

NUMBERS 1 & 2

1982
(Published in 1985)

The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities, is published by the University of Peradeniya and appears twice a year in June and December. It aims to publish a variety of scholarly and original articles on History, Archaeology, Philosophy. Literature, Language, Relgion, the Arts and other related fields. The articles will pertain mainly but not exclusively to Sri Lanka. The Journal is designed to reach an audience that includes both specialists and non-specialists.

Contributions (two copies), books for review and editorial correspondence should be addressed to:

The Editor,
The Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities,
Department of History,
University of Peradeniya
Peradeniya,
Sri Lanka.

The Annual Subscription is Rs. 40/- in Sri Lanka. The overseas rate is U. S. dollars 7.50 or equivalent in any convertible currency, and includes postage. A trade discount of 20 per cent will be allowed to booksellers.

All subscriptions and business correspondence should be addressed to:

The Assistant Librarian (Journals)
The Library,
University of Peradeniya,
Peradeniya,
Sri Lanka.

Institutes and libraries interested in obtaining the Journal on exchange should contact the Librarian, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

Cover design by Stanley Kirinde

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

THE SRI LANKA JOURNAL OF THE HUMANITIES

VOLUME VIII

1982

CONTENTS

PRELUDE TO THE STATE

An Early Phase in the Evolution of Political Institutions in Ancient Sri Lanka[1]

The study of the development of political institutions in ancient Sri Lanka has to be based, to a considerable extent, on evidence pereserved in the Pāli chronicles. The earliest chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, provide the historian with a rich source of material, but, in utilizing this information, he has to proceed with great care, constantly reminding himself that the picture the chroniclers present of conditions prevalent many centuries before their times could have been coloured, even transformed, under the impact of the conditions of their own times and of ideologies that influenced them. The two chronicles were based on material collected at Anurādhapura and written by authors who lived there when the island had been ruled for several centuries as a unified kingdom. For them the whole island represented a single entity, culturally as well as politically, and the control of the island from the centre at Anurādhapura was the norm. It is clear from the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the more detailed of the two chronicles, that its author represented an ideology which placed emphasis on the maintenance of this unity as one of the primary functions expected of the king. Another aspect of this ideology concerned the destiny of the island as the *dhammadīpa*, "the island of the true faith," and the special relationship that its rulers had with Buddhism.[2] Writing at a time when the king and the

---

1 This paper was written in 1980 during a period of stay in Japan as Visiting Research Scholar at the University of Kyoto. The author is grateful to the Director and members the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies for their generous hospitality and encouragement. The paper was subsequently presented at the seminar for Asian Studies, Peradeniya, as Discussion Paper No. 11 of 1983 and is due to be published in *Studies in History*, Delhi, in a special issue devoted to the problem of state formation. The basic ideas presented here were first outlined by the author in 1971 in the synopsis of a chapter for the proposed revised edition of the *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon* which was circulated among the scholars who were expected to contribute to this volume (See Appendix to the Seminar for Asian Studies Discussion Paper No. 11).

2 The ideology of the chronicles of Sri Lanka has ben examined by several scholars. See, for instance, L. S. Perera, "The Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon" in C. H. Phillips ed., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London, 1961, pp. 29-43; Heinz Bechert, "The Beginnings of Buddhist Historiography: *Mahāvaṃsa* and Political Thinking" in Bardwell L. Smith ed. *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka*, Chambersburg PA, 1978, pp. 1-12; Bardwell L. Smith, "The Ideal Social Order as Portrayed in the Chronicles of Ceylon." *Ibid*, pp. 48-72. See also W. I. Siriweera, "The Duṭṭhagāmaṇī-Elāra Eprsode: A Reassessment" and R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, "The People of the Lion: The Sinhala Idenity and Ideology in History and Historiography" in *Ethnicity and Social Change in Sri Lanka*, Colombo, 1984.

greater majority of the people were Buddhists, the monk who composed the *Mahāvaṃsa* saw a threat to the prevalent social order from invasions by South Indians of "false faiths." The hero of his poem was a ruler who waged many battles declaring "Not for the joy of sovereignty is this toil of mine, my striving has been) ever to establish the doctrine of the Sambuddha."[3] In relating heroic tales of Buddhist rulers who struggled to "re-establish the *sāsana*," whenever the ideal order had been disrupted, the chronicler was presenting what he thought to be an inspiring model for contemporaries and future generations.

Consequently, it is difficult to find in the chronicles a picture of the dynamic and evolutionary aspects of the early history of political institutions in Sri Lanka. For the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, even Vijaya, the mythical founder of the first dynasty, was a ruler who enjoyed undisputed power over the whole island (*laṅkam akhilaṃ anusāsamāno*),[4] and the island had been ruled as a single political unit eversince, except in times of rebellion in the provinces and invasions by South Indians. It is even possible to suggest that there was probably a conscious attempt on the part of the chronicler, as in the case of imperial historiography in China, to withhold information that was available to him on the conditions which prevailed before the emergence of a unified polity in Sri Lanka. As will be evident later, on close scrutiny, certain elements which do not tally with the total picture that the chronicler tried to present could be detected in his account.

Despite the noteworthy progress in textual criticism evident in the work of the pioneers of modern historiography in Sri Lanka, the ideological framework inherited from the chroniclers has continued to wield a deep influence on historical writings on the ancient period. L. S. Perera, one of the contributors to the *History of Ceylon*, sponsored by the University of Ceylon and published in 1959, drew attention to the need for caution in the handling of material in the chronicles, and his critical analysis of the Vijaya myth and the legends about Paṇḍukābhaya is an example of the methodology that he advocated.[5] However, it is noteworthy that his chapter was published under the title, "The Early Kings of Ceylon up to Mutasiva." The two other chapters in the University History which are relevant to the present discussion were written by S. Paranavitana. In these chapters Paranavitana questioned the veracity of the *Mahāvaṃsa* account on two important points. Utilizing material in epigraphic sources as well as literary works like the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* and the *Dhātuvaṃsa* he argued that the consecration rituals were probably first introduced in the time of Devānaṃpiya Tissa (250-210 B. C.) and drew attention to the presence of local rulers in the southeastern parts of the island in the period between Devānaṃpiya Tissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161-137 B. C.).[6] However, Paranavitana's

3 *Mahāvaṃsa* (hereafter *Mv.*), ch. 7, v.74.

4 *Mv.*, ch. 7, v.74.

5 *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon* (*UCHC*), ed. S.Paranavitana, Colombo, 1959, Vol. I, pp.98-111.

6 *Ibid.*, Bk.2, chs. 2 and 3, pp. 125-163.

chapters follow the *Mahāvaṃsa* closely in other respects, reproducing at times descriptions of minor episodes of questionable hitoricity. [7] Paranavitana did not pursue the implications of the evidence he found on the presence of ruling houses in the southeastern parts of Sri Lanka and, in fact, he made what appear to be contradictory statements about the relationship between these ruling houses and the lineage which ruled from Anurādhapura. In one place, he notes that the manner in which the local rulers are mentioned in their inscriptions indicates that "they ruled without acknowledging the supremacy of another." [8] Yet, elsewhere, he suggests that the other rulers would have acknowledged the paramountcy of Devānaṃpiya Tissa whom he refers to as "the ruler of Ceylon."[9]

The fact that Paranavitana, who questioned the veracity of the *Mahāvaṃsa* account as regards two important points, did not proceed further, on the basis of the inscriptions he cited and other records which were most probably available to him,[10] to question the total picture that the chronicle presents, points to an important characteristic feature of his methodology. Paranavitana was not alone among writers on the ancient history of Sri Lanka to rely heavily on the easily available and detailed information in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Despite his initial training as an epigraphist he utilized the inscriptions mostly to supplement the chronicles and to correct the chronicles only when they are contradicted by the inscriptions. However, the persistence of the influence of the ideological framework provided by the chronicles cannot be satisfactorily explained as the result of a mere lack of refinement in historical methodology. Modern historiography developed in Sri Lanka at a time when a new form of the Sinhala ideology, which drew on such traditional concepts of identity as those based on religion as well as on more recently acquired racist ideas of the Aryan identity, was gaining increasing influence. From about the 1920s, some of the proponents of this ideology began to adopt a markedly hostile attitude towards the Tamil-speaking population in the island. For them Duṭṭhagāmaṇī became a highly emotive symbol representing the archetypal Aryan-Buddhist-Sinhala hero who waged a victorious campaign against non-Aryan Tamils of false beliefs.[11] In the 1950s when a particularly virulent form of the Sinhala ideology was at the height of its influence, it was difficult, even for academic historians, to question the ideological framework of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. In the *History of Ceylon*, Paranavitana presented Duṭṭhagāmaṇī as a prince brought up in "the best traditions of Aryan chivalry" who "summoned the people to the

7 See, for instance, *ibid*, pp. 139, 151, 158–63.

8 *Ibid.*, pp.155.

9 *Ibid.*, pp.134, 141.

10 Some of the inscriptions cited below had already been published and most of the others had been collected by the Arceaeological Survey of Sri Lanka.

11 For a discussion of the development of the Sinhala ideology, see R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, "The People of the Lion: The Sinhala Identy and Ideology in History and Historiography." *The Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities*, Vol. V, 1979, pp. 1–42.

clarion call of religion." He further stated that, as a result of the campaigns of this prince, "the first Siahalese dynasty *recovered its sovereignty over the whole island* and raised Buddhism once again to the preeminent position it had temporarily lost."[12] It is noteworthy that this interpretation follows the *Mahāvaṃsa* in presenting the campaigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī as having merely brought adout the restoration of political conditions which had prevailed earlier in the time of Devānaṃpiya Tissa.

II

The contributors to the *History of Ceylon* did not address themselves to the task of examining the process of the emergence of a unified polity in Sri Lanka and assumed that, by the time of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, the rulers at Anurādhapura had already become the sovereigns of the island. However, even according to the accounts of the chroniclers, Devānaṃpiya Tissa was only the third ruler of the principality of Anurādhapura founded by Paṇḍukābhaya. Neither Devānaṃpiya Tissa nor his predecessor Muṭasiva has been credited with military conquests. The cycle of legends centering on Paṇḍukābhaya mentions the demarcation of boundaries of villages scattered over the whole island as one of his achievements.[13] Perera and Mendis have demonstrated the unreliability of these legends.[14] Further, the campaigns that this prince is said to have waged, even if we were to accept their historicity, do not cover an area wide enough to support a claim to sovereignty over the whole island.[15] In fact it becomes clear from a study of the chronicles that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is the first ruler credited with a series of campaigns of a magnitude that would give credence to a claim to paramountcy over the island.

Though the *Mahāvaṃsa* seeks to present a picture of a unified kingdom in the island which had existed long before the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, it is possible to recognize certain elements lying scattered in the body of the chronicle as remnants of a discordant tradition which points to a totally different situation. The fourteenth chapter which recounts the reception accorded by Devānaṃpiya Tissa to the Bo-sapling brought from Magadha makes special mention of the *kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma and Candanagāma.[16] Kājaragāma and Candanagāma can be identified with confidence as places located in Rohaṇa.[17] The

12 *UCHC*, Vol I, Pt, 1, pp.145, 156. Emphasis added.

13 *Mv.*, ch. 10, v.103.

14 See *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 98-111; G. C. Mendis, "The *Mahābhārata* Legends in the *Mahāvamsa*," *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Scries, Vol. V, 1956, pp. 81-4.

15 For the identification of the places mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*, see *The Mahāvamsa*, tr. W. Geiger, Colombo, 1950, pp. 69-73.

16 *Mv.*, ch. 19, vv. 54, 61-2.

17 The *Vamsatthappakāsinī* clearly located these places in Rohana: *Roha na janapade Kājaragāmake... tasmim yeva janapade Candanagāmake. Vamsatthappakāsinī (Vap.)*, *ed.* G. P. Malalasekera, London, 135, Vol. II, p. 407.

twenty-second chapter titled "The Birth of Prince Gāmaṇī" refers to a principality at Kalyāṇī under a ruler called Tissa who is described as a contemporary of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's father.[18] According to the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* the commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Tissa of Kalyāṇī had a brother called Uttiya who ruled over the Uttiyajanapada which was situated by the sea. Though this work does not mention their father by name, it states that they were grandsons of *Rāja* Muṭasiva of Anurādhapura and that Tissa had been named after Devānaṃpiya Tissa.[19] Thus both these works which represent traditions accumulated at the same monastery, allude to two principalities which evidently existed two generations after the time of Devānaṃpiya Tissa. Kalyāṇī has been generally identified as the place of this name in the western part of the island but it is not possible to be certain that there was only one place which bore this name.[20] The chapter on the campaigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī in the *Mahāvaṃsa* is perhaps the most interesting and noteworthy in reflecting the discordance between the picture that the chroniclers sought to present and the source material available to them. The Mahāvihāra tradition presents Mahānāga and his successors up to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī as constituting a line of Buddhist princes who ruled over the entire Rohaṇa region. It refers to Mahānāga as *rohaṇe issarokhile* or "lord of Rohaṇa without hindrance."[21] Explaining this phrase, the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* states: *akhileti sakalamhi rohaṇe*, "without hindrance, that is over the entire Rohaṇa."[22] On the other hand, Eḷāra, against whom Duṭṭhagāmaṇī fought, is depicted as the ruler of the whole of the northern plains who, though he was known for his strong sense of justice, was yet an unbeliever with no knowledge of the value of the three treasures of the Buddhist faith (*ratanattayassa guṇasārataṃ ajānanto*).[23] However, the description of the campaigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī in the *Mahāvaṃsa* contains references to his defeating not only Eḷāra but several other rulers as well. In fact, in this chapter, the chronicler states that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī unified the island after subduing thirty two Tamil rulers (*evaṃ davattiṃsa damiḷarājāno duhṭṭhagāmaṇi gaṇhitvā ekachattena laṅkārajjaṃ akāsi so*).[24] That there was a tradition which presented Duṭṭhagāmaṇī as a warrior who waged an extensive series of campaigns against many different princes is also evident from an anthology of tales called the *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa*. In two of the stories in this anthology Duṭṭhagāmaṇī finds mention as calling people to arms by beat of durm to wages war against the thirty-two Tamil rulers, in order to unify the island.[25]

18 *Mv.*, ch. 22, vv. 13–22.

19 *Vap.*, Vol. II, p. 431.

20 The term Kalaṇika occurs in an inscription at Maṇḍagala in the Hambantoṭa District. See S. Paranavitana, *Inscriptions of Ceylon* (*IC*), Colombo, 1970, Vol. I, p. 44, No. 577.

21 *Mv.*, ch. 22, v. 8.

22 *Vap.*, Vol. II, p. 430.

23 *Mv.*, ch. 21, v. 21.

24 *Mv.*, ch. 25, v. 75.

25 *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa*. ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo, 1959, pp. 95, 104.

It will have been evident from the preceding discussion that, beneath the anachronistic picture of political conditions more typical of their own times the chroniclers were trying to present, it is possible to detect indications of an altogether different political order characterized by the presence of several minor principalities which had to be subdued before the claim of a ruler to paramountcy over the entire island would be accepted.

The large corpus of Brāhmī inscriptions published by Paranavitana in 1970 represents the most reliable source of information on the political and social conditions in ancient Sri Lanka. Though some of these records had been utilized by Paranavitana and other scholars in previous writings, this publication presented for the first time a systematic edition of 1289 inscriptions collected from 269 different sites in the island. Paranavitana grouped these inscriptions under two categories on the basis of palaeographical features: 1159 inscriptions were identified as records indited in the earlier form of the script while the rest were classified as forming a later group of inscriptions. As he pointed out, from about the time of Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (41-19 B. C.), records have been indited in "a developed form of the Brāhmī script, resembling that in the records of the Āndhra kings found at Nāsik and elsewhere."[26] This is a strong reason in favour of dating the earlier group of Brāhmī inscriptions in a period anterior to the time of Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa. However, Paranavitana fixed the *terminus ad quem* of this group of inscriptions in the middle of the first century A. D. In doing so, he appears to have been guided by the identification of the author of an inscription from Gōnavatta as a prince who lived in the first century A. D. As will be seen later on, the reading of this inscription as well as the identification of the person mentioned therein are open to serious doubt.[27] It is noteworthy that neither Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa who finds mention in a considerable number of rock inscriptions as a generous patron of the Buddhist *saṅgha* nor any other ruler who lived after his time can be identified among rulers mentioned in any of the other inscriptions indited in the early form of the Brāhmī script. While Uti, who bears the titles *Devanapiya Maharaja Gamaṇi* in an inscription at Mihintale,[28] can be identified with a fair degree of confidence with Uttiya who succeeded Devānaṃpiya Tissa at Anurādhapura, Mahācūḷika Tissa (76-62 B. C.) is the last ruler who can be clearly identified among those mentioned in the early Brāhmī records. The latter, who is described as Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa's father in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, is mentioned as *Rajha* Macuḍi in an inscription at Demäda Oya.[29] Hence, though it is certainly not possible to rule out that there may be some records which fall outside these chronological limits, it seems reasonable to suggest that the vast majority of the inscriptions indited in the early Brāhmi script reflects conditions which prevailed in the island in the period between the end of the third century and the middle of the first century B. C.

26 See *IC*, pp. lxi-lxii.
27 See *infra* pp. 10-12.
28 *IC*, p. 4, Nos. 46, 47.
29 *IC*, p. 64, No. 830.

At twenty-eight of the 269 sites of ancient inscriptions are to be found records set up by individuals who may be identified as rulers of minor principalities. In these records they bear the titles *Rajha* (var. *Raja*), *Gamani* (var. *Gamini*) or *Aya*. While the first two of these titles have been generally accepted as denoting the status of ruler, Paranavitana and other scholars who followed him have traced the derivation of *Aya* and its Pāli equivalent *Ayya* to Sanskrit *Ārya*.[30] However, the Pāli equivalent of the Sanskrit *Ārya* is *Ariya*. While both these terms, *ārya* and *ariya* have been used in an honorific sense with a cultural and religious connotation, there is no evidence to suggest that they had been used to denote political leadership. Though it may be correct to assume that the greater majority of vocables in the ancient inscriptions of Sri Lanka have parallels in Sanskrit and the Parakritic languages, it is quite likely that some others may have a Tamil origin. The term *marumakanake* and its variants, found in the Moṭṭayakallu inscription in the eastern part of Sri Lanka and in several records from other areas of the island, are good examples of words traceable to a Tamil origin.[31] *Marumakanake* was used in Sri Lankan records in the sense of "grandson" and is clearly related to the Tamil term *marumakan* and its variant *marukan*. The latter has been used with the meaning "descendant" in the *Pattiruppāṯṯu*.[32] Similarly, it is possible to compare *aya* and *ayya* with the Tamil terms *ayyā* (var. Kannaḍa *ayya*, Malayalam *ayyan*, Tulu *ayye*) and *ai*. The term *ayyā* and its variants have been used as modes of addressing superiors. The term *ai*, which is represented by the ninth letter of the Tamil alphabet, has been used in certain instances to denote "lord" and "master", as in the *Tirukkural*, and in other instances as in the *Cūḍāmaṇinikaṇṭu*, to denote "ruler".[33] Hence it seems very likely that *Aya* was a word of Tamil derivation which had the same meaning as *Rajha* and *Gamani*. Though the connotation of the term appears to have changed after the unification of the island, when it came to be used by kinsmen of the Anurādhapura rulers who served as provincial governors or other functionaries, it is possible to suggest that originally it denoted the political leaders of settlements which had been founded in different parts of the island. In fact, a record from Kolladeniya clearly refers to "the period of ruie" (*rajhiyahi*) of a certain *Aya* Naga.[34] The terms *Rajha*, *Raja* and *Rāja* have been generally translated as "king", but in both Sanskrit and Pāli they have been used rather loosely to denote varying levels of political authority from incipient types of political leadership reflected in the *Ṛgveda* to leadership of extensive empires as that of Asoka. The individuals bearing the titles *Rajha*, *Gamani* and *Aya*, cited in this paper, held sway over pre-state polities which cannot be described as kingdoms in the strict sense of the word.

30 *IC*, p. lxvi; T. Hettiarachchy, *History of Kingship in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1972, p.65.

31 See *IC*, pp. 6 (No. 83), 23 (No 289), 37 (No. 487), 48 (No. 643), 56 (No. 744).

32 *Pattiruppāṭṭu*, 63.16, quoted in the *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras, Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 3039; T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, Oxford, p. 312, No. 3860.

33 See *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. I, pp. 109, 575; Burrow and Emeneau, *op. cit.*, p.13, No. 163.

34 *IC*, p. 55, No. 736.

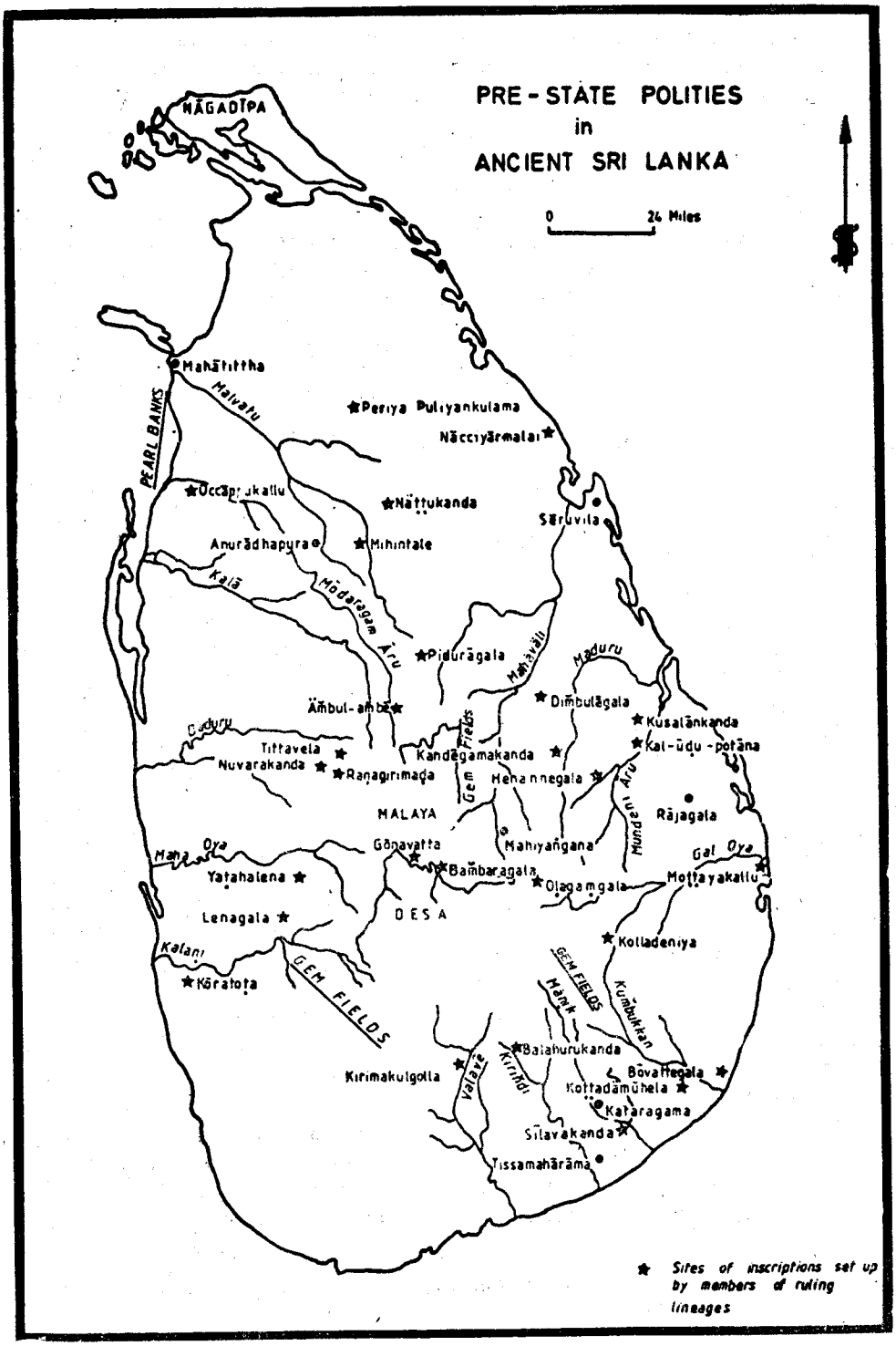
The northernmost site where inscriptions indicating the presence of ancient ruling houses are to be found is in the Vavuniya District. However, the absence of sites further north has to be perhaps explained more in terms of the geological features of the land than as an indication of political conditions prevalent in ancient times. Almost all the inscriptions of this period are records of donations of cave dwellings to Buddhist clerics. There are hardly any caves to be found in the northernmost part of Sri Lanka, and the limestone outcrops in this region are suitable neither for making caves nor for inditing records. Of the sites in the Vavuniya District, Periya Puliyankulama is situated in the upper reaches of the river Parangi Āru, about eight miles to the northeast of the modern town of Vavuniya. At this site there are thirty-five cave inscriptions in the early form of the Brāhmī script. Twelve more records are to be found at Erupotāna, which is about a mile from this site. The number of inscriptions suggests that the Periya Puliyankulama area constituted one of the more important centres of Buddhism in the initial period of its expansion in the island. Four of the caves at Periya Puliyankulama were founded by *Rajha* Uti and his consort *Abi* Anuradi.[35] While Uti's lineage is not given in these records, *Abi* Anuradi and her father are mentioned before Uti, and this may suggest that Naga was the more important ruler. Paranavitana was hesitant about expressing a definite opinion on the identity of *Rajha* Uti.[36] On the other hand, C. W. Nicholas, another leading epigraphist who specialized in the study of early Brāhmi records, was of the view that the rulers mentioned in the Periya Puliyankulama records "are not identifiable in the chronicles, and they may have been local rulers of the late 3rd or the early 2nd centuries B. C."[37] The only ruler of Anurādhapura who bore the name Uti was Devānaṃpiya Tissa's brother who suoceded him. The *Mahāvaṃsa* refers to him as Uttiya and three records at Mihintale refer to him as Uti.[38] In these records he bears the titles *Devanapiya*, *Maharajha*, and *Gamaṇi*. These records also reveal that his consort was S'umanadevi and that he had a daughter called *Abi* Tis'a. Though it is quite possible that a ruler had two consorts, there are other considerations which suggest that Uti of the Periya Puliyankulama records has to be distinguished from his namesake in the Mihintale record. While the former bore the title *Rajha*, the latter was referred to by all his three titles in two records and by the titles *Maharajaha* and *Gamaṇi* in the third record. Further, in contrast to the Periya Puliyankulama records, Uti of Mihintale is always given precedence in the records set up by his daughter and his consort. Thus Naga and Uti of the Periya Puliyankulama records appear to be distinct from the rulers of the Anurādhapura line. They probably represent two ruling houses which wielded power in the Periya Puliyankuḷama area and its vicinity.

35 *IC*, p. 27, Nos. 338–41.

36 See *IC*, pp. lii–liii.

37 C. W. Nicholas, "Historical Topography of Ancient and Ceylon," *Journal of Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. VI, p. 86.

38 *Mv.*, ch 20, v. 29; *IC*, pp. 3–4, Nos. 34, 46, 47.


PRE-STATE POLITIES
in
ANCIENT SRI LANKA
0
24 Miles
NĀGADĪPA
Mahātittha
Malvatu
PEARL BANKS
Periya Puliyankulama
Nāccıyārmalai
Uccāp ukallu
Nāttukanda
Sūruvila
Anurādhapura
Mihintale
Kalā
Mōdaragam Āru
Pidurāgala
Mahāvalli
Maduru
Āmbul-ambē
Dimbulāgala
Kusalānkanda
Kal-ūḍu-potāna
Tittavela
Nuvarakanda
Raṇagirimaṇa
Kandēgamakanda
Gem Fields
Henannegala
Aru
Rājagala
MALAYA
Gōnavatta
Mahiyangana
Mundani
Gal Oya
Bambaragala
Olagamgala
Mottayakallu
Yatahalena
Lenagala
DESA
Kotladeniya
Kalani
Kōralota
GEM FIELDS
Kumbukkan
Batahurukanda
Kirimakulgolla
Kirindi
Bōvattegala
Kottadāmūhela
Kataragama
Sīlavakanda
Tissamahārāma
Sites of inscriptions set up by members of ruling lineages

Four inscriptions in the early Brāhmī script have been found at Näṭṭukanda which lies to the east of Anurādhapura, outside the Malvatu river basin. One of these records was set up by Tiṣ'a who, while being son of the leader (*gamika*) of the village Erakapi, was himself a village-leader, probably after succeeding his father. In his inscription Tiṣ'a mentions *Rajha* Dama.[39] There are two symbols in this inscription (see Fig.1a) which are not found in any other Brāhmī record in the island. Though the name Dama occurs as the name of a ruler in the southernmost part of the island, it seems more likely that Dama of the Näṭṭukanda record was another ruler who wielded authority in the area to the east of the Malvatu river basin.

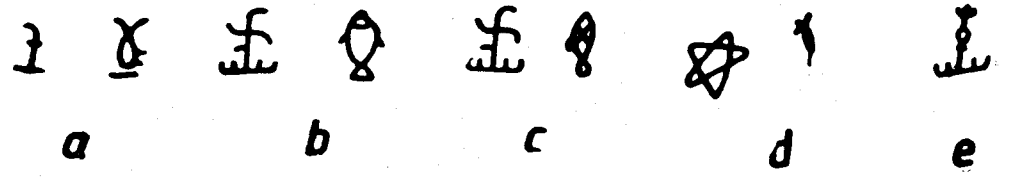


Fig. 1. Symbols in Brāhmī inscriptions: a. Näṭṭukanda b. Henannegala c. Koṭṭadāmūhela d. Kandēgamakanda e. Mihintale & Koṭṭadāmūhela

Nāccivārmalai is a site in the Trincomalee District, situated near the coast about one and half miles to the southwest of the nineteenth milepost on the road from Trincomalee to Pulmoṭṭai. One of the inscriptions at this site was set up by Uti, son of *Aya* Daraka and grandson of a ruler whose name is not legible. The second and third inscriptions at the site are copies of a record of the donation of a canal to the Buddhist *saṅgha*.[39a] The possibility that these records have preserved for us information on a lineage which ruled over some settlements in the coastal region to the north of Trincomalee seems likely though the information in these inscriptions is too meagre to enable us to draw any clear conclusions.

Clearer evidence pointing to the presence of a minor polity is found in an inscription at Occāppukallu, situated about thirty miles to the northwest of Anurādhapura, close to the river Mōdaragam Āru. Though the major irrigation works dependent on the water from this river, like the Mahavilacciya and Kuḍāvilacciya reservoirs, are later works, there are many minor-scale irrigation works in the basin of this river which flows into the sea about twenty miles south of the river Malvatu. Nicholas has suggested that Magana-nakara mentioned in an inscription dated in the second century A. D., which he identified with the port Margana referred to by Ptolemy, was situated at the mouth of the river Mōdaragam Āru.[40] Six records in the early Brāhmī script have been found at this site, and one of them was set up by a scion of *Rajha* Kaṇa with whom he shared his name.[41] It seems likely that this area was of some importance

39 *IC*, p. 14, No. 168.

40 Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, Strassburg edition of 1513, ed. R. A. Skelton, Amsterdam, 1966, p.52; Nicholas *op. cit.*, p. 153.

41 *IC*, p. 9, No. 111.

in long-distance trade even at this early date. Two inscriptions in the early Brāhmī script have been found at Āṇḍiyāgala on the northern banks of the Mōdaragam Āru, and one of them records the construction of a flight of steps by an individual who describes himself as "the mariner of Bhojakaṭaka."[42] Bhojakaṭa occurs as a place-name in an inscription found at Bharhut.[43] Since the place where the Mōdaragam Āru flows into the Indian Ocean is in the coastal area of northwestern Sri Lanka known for its pearl-banks, it is likely that the rulers of this area participated in long-distance trade.

Inscriptions from Lenagala and Yaṭahalena in the Kāgalla District present evidence on a lineage which ruled for at least four generations. The two sites are located about ten miles apart. Lenagala is situated one and a half miles from the eleventh milepost on the Galigamuva-Ruvanvälla road, and Yaṭahalena lies near Yaṭṭōgoḍa, close to the forty-second milepost on the Colomb-Kandy road. Tributaries of the rivers Maha Oya and Kälaṇi flow across this area which is known for its fertile loam and highly productive rice fields. In the single record at Lenagala *Aya* Duhatara grants a cave called Manapadas'ane to the community of monks and also assigns them a "share" (*patake*) from each of the two settlements, Anuḍigama and Batas'anagara. The donor describes himself as a son of *Aya* S'iva and a grandson of *Aya* Duhatara.[44]

Only two of the six inscriptions at Yaṭahalena refer to the construction of cave-dwellings and all of them record endowments made for the benefit of monks who dwelt in these caves. Thus it is evident that some of these caves had been in occupation before the inscriptions were set up. Three of the endowments were made by *Gamaṇi* S'iva who describes himself as a son of *Aya* Dus'atara, grandson of *Aya* S'iva and great grandson of *Rajha* Dus'atara who was a brother of Devanapiya.[45] This genealogical information may be tabulated as follows:

Devanapiya	*Raja* Dusatara
	Aya Śiva
	Aya Dusatara (II)
	Gamaṇi Śiva (II)

42 *Bhojakṭakasa nāvikasa paaagaḍini. IC*, p. 8, No. 105.

43 Lüders List, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, Appendix, pp 8, 22-3.

44 *IC*, p. 60, No. 786.

45 *IC*, pp. 60-1, Nos. 792, 793, 796a.

It is evident from the Yaṭahalena records that this lineage of rulers alternatvild bore the names Dus'atara and S'iva. Dus'atara is clearly the equivalent of the name Duhatara in the Lenagala record, and the donor in the latter recory may be identified either with Dus'atara II or as a son of S'iva II in the Yaṭahalena record. It is noteworthy that in either case a ruler who has been called *Rajha* or *Gamani* in one record was called *Aya* in another record. *Devanapiya* was a title borne by the rulers of Anurādhapura. Though *Gamaṇi* Śiva does not mention the name of the sibling of his ancestor, the claim that the ruling house of Yaṭahalena was founded by a scion of the Anurādhapura line need not be fictitious. It is noteworthy that the monastery Yaṭṭhālaya-vihāra, which Nicholas identified with Yaṭahalena, finds mention in the *Mahāvaṃsa* in the legend about Mahānāga.[46] Since Devānaṃpiya Tissa was the first ruler at Anurādhapura to assume the title *Devanapiya*, the brother of S'iva's ancestor could not have been earlier than him. Henee *Gamaṇi* S'iva, who belonged to the fourth generation, has to be dated in the latter part of the second century or the early part of the first century B C. It is interesting to note that S'iva who claims kinship links with the Anurādhapura lineage does not, however, give any indications that he acknowledged the authority of the contemporary ruler at Anurādhapura.

Information on a polity which existed in the montane regions in the upper reaches of the river Mahaväli is found in an inscription from Bambaragala, situated about eighteen miles from Kandy along the Teldeniya road. In one of the four records in the early Brāhmi script at this site, a lady called Data, who described herself as the consort of *Pocanirajha* Naga and daughter of the *Brāhmaṇa* Kojhara, recorded the donation of a cave to the community of monks.[47] Another record at the site mentions a settlement called Citanagara which was evidently located in this region Yet another record indited in the early form of the Brāhmī script is found at Gōnavatta, about ten miles from Bambaragala. Evidently, the scribe responsible for this single record at the site was not one of the most competent. In one place he misspelt *rajha* as *śajha*, and, in another, he omitted a letter which he inserted only later on. In this record, *Gamaṇi* Tis'a, the donor of a cave, presents his long line of descent. According to this informarion he was a son of *Rajha* Abaya, grandson of *Rajha* Naga and great grandson of *Rajha* Abaya. This last named Abaya was a son of another *rajha* whose name was read by Paranavitana as Macuḍika[48] Paranavitana identified Macuḍika with Mahācūḷika Tissa mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, and Macuḍika's descendants with Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, Mahadāṭhika Mahānāga and Āmaṇḍagāmaṇī Abhaya.[49] The last of these rulers lived in the first century of the Christian era.

---

46 *My.*. ch. 22, vv. 2–9; Nicholas, *op. cit*, p. 122.

47 *IC*, p. 63, No. 814.

48 *IC*, p. 62, No. 813.

49 *IC*, pp. lxi–lxii.

Paranavitana's identification of rulers mentioned in the Gōnavatta record does not appear to be plausible for several reasons. It is noteworthy that titles characteristic of Anurādhapura rulers, like *Devanapiya* and *Maharajha*, are not found in this record. Further, though Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa is referred to as Abaya in some records, he is mentioned either as Puṭikaṇa Abaya or Kuṭakaṇa Abaya. *Gamaṇi* Tiṡa of this record cannot be identified with a person mentioned in the chronicles. Paranavitana presents the hypothesis that he was a prince who had retired to the montane regions after losing his right of succesion in a struggle for the throne of Anurādhapura. Noting that it was an unusual practice for a donor to present a genealogy going back five generations, Paranavitana suggested that it was "a public announcement of his right to the throne, and must have been resorted to as a means of attracting support to his cause from the local people" [50] If this was indeed the case, it would be a stronger reason to expect *Gamani* Tiṡa to assign to his forbears the grander titles of the rulers of Anurādhapura. Perhaps the most serious ground for objection to Paranavitana's identification would be the palaeographical characteristics of this inscription. As mentioned earlier, it is indited in the early form of the Brāhmi script, clearly different from the script of records from the first century A. D., and it is most difficult to assign this record to a period later than the first century B. C. As Paranavitana himself admitted, even the inscriptions of Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa who, according to the proposed identification, would be the grandfather of Tiṡa who set up this record, are inscribed in the more developed later Brāhmī script.[51] Confronted with this difficulty, Paranavitana suggested that the Gōnavatta record was deliberately indited in an earlier type of script because it was considered more appropriate "to indite inscriptions in caves in the early form of the script,"[52] but this line of reasoning does not carry conviction. The greater majority of the records that Paranavitana groups as later Brāhmī inscriptions in this very volume are also indited on caves. Hence it would appear that a re-examination of his identification is necessary.

On attempting to verify Paranavitana's reading at the site of the inscriptions, the present writer found that the first letter of the record is absolutely illegible. Hence the reading *ma*, which Paranavitana appropriately gave within square brackets, is a pure conjecture, Further, the third letter, which Paranavitana read as *ḍi*, is also a doubtful reading. It is clear even from the photograph of the estampage accompanying Paranavitana's edition that it is more like *ni*.[53] Thus the three letters may be read as *cunika*. It seems plausible to suggest that the original reading was *Pocunika*, a variant of *Pocani*, and to identify *Pocanirajha* Naga of the Bambaragala inscription with the first or the third ruler mentioned in the Gōnavatta inscription. On palaeographic considerations, it does not seem likely that the two inscriptions are from periods five generations apart, hence the latter identification appears to be preferable. On the basis of this identification,

50 *IC*, p. lxi.
51 *IC*, pp. lxi-lxii.
52 *IC*, p. lxii.
53 *IC*, see Plate LXXXIX.

the genealogical information in the two records may be tabulated as follows:

Pocunikarajha
|
Rajha Abaya — *Bamaṇa* Kojhara
|
Rajha Naga (*Pocanirajha* Naga) + Data
|
Rajha Abaya
|
Gamani Tiśa

Thus *Gamani* who set up the Gōnavatta record in about the end of the second century or the beginning of the first century B. C., appears to have been a scion of a ruling family which held sway for about five generations over the montane regions near the modern city of Kandy. Traditions which preserve the memory of polities which existed in the upper reaches of the river Mahaväli are found even in the *Mohāvaṃsa* and its commentary which refer to a prince called Abhaya (Uddhacūḷābhaya, or "Abhaya with the upright knot of hair") who ruled over the area around Mahiyaṅgana.[54] As we shall see later on, the *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa*, too, has a story which describes the campaigns waged by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and his followers against foes in the montane regions in the upper reaches of the river Mahaväli.[55]

Three inscriptions in the early Brāhmī script, found at Ämbul-ambē, close to the northern foothills of the Malaya ranges, provides information on another lineage of rulers. Two of them are records of donations made by *Aya* Tiśa, son of *Pacinarajha*, and by Raki who was Tiśa's wife. The third inscription was set up by another *Aya* Tiśa who describes himself as a son of *Rajha* Abhaya and grandson of *Pacinarajha*.[56] Thus these records provide the following genealogy extending to three generations:

Pacinarajha
|
Rajha Abhaya — *Aya* Tiśa + Raki
|
Aya Tiśa

54 *Mv.*, ch. 1, v. 40; *Vap.*, Vol. I, p. 99.
55 *Sahassavatthupakarana*, pp. 106–7.
56 *IC*, p. 64, Nos. 831–833.

Paranavitana believed that *pacina* in this inscription and *pocani* in the Bambaragala inscription were related terms. It fact, he was of the opinion that *pocani* was a variant of *pacina* which he considered to have been drived from the Sanskrit term *prācina*, meaning "ancient".[57] Like *pocani*, *pacina*, too, is not found in the chronicles as the name of a ruler or a dynasty, and one can be fairly certain that the lineage mentioned in these inscriptions is distinct from the rulers of the Anurādhapura line. If, on the basis of Paranavitana's views, *Pacinarajha*, *Rajha* Abhaya and *Aya* Tis'a were to be identified with *Rajha* Naga (who was described as *Pocanirajha*), *Rajha* Abaya and *Gamaṇi* Tis'a of the Gōnavatta record, it would imply that a good part of the Malaya hill country had been brought under this line of rulers by the time Tis'a set up these inscriptions. However, this identification is by no means certain, and it is also possible to assume that the Āmbul-ambē records point to the presence of another line of rulers who wielded authority over the northern parts of the Bambaragala area.

Pidurāgala is a rocky hill, situated close to the well-known ruins at Sigiriya and slightly less than twenty miles from Ämbul-ambē. There are two early Brāhmī inscription at the site, One of them records the donation of a cave made by two ladies, Tis'adevi and Madana. Tis'adevi is described as a daughter of *Aya* Majhima and grand-daughter of S'iva of Kolagama.[58] It is noteworthy that while Majhima was assigned the title *Aya*, his father was mentioned without a title. Most probably, it reflects a situation where the son of a leader of a settlement (*gama*) had become powerful enough to set up himself as the ruler of a larger grouping of people.

Several other inscriptions in the early Brāhmī script, set up by individuals bearing titles associated with political leadership, have been found at five more sites in the northwestern and western parts of Sri Lanka. Four of these sites are found to the south of the river Däduru, close to the borders of the Hiriyāla and Devamädi Hatpattu divisons of the Kurunāgala District. An inscription at Raṇagirimaḍa mentions *Aya* Uti whose daughter Tis'a donated a cave-dwelling to the community of monks.[59] At Hīpavuva, a nearby site, there is another reference *Aya* Uti in an inscription set up by his steward (*ayaka*), a certain *Parumaka* Naga on behalf of whose lineage a cave was donated to monks.[60] The records from these two sites, which thus appear to belong to the same period, do not, however, provide any information on the lineage of this ruler.

While the information from inscriptions at the other three sites is also most limited, they present more formidable problems of interpretation. An inscription found at Tittavela, about three miles to the north of Raṇagirimaḍa,

57 *IC*, pp. lxiii-lxiv.
58 *IC*, p. 67, No. 873.
59 *IC*, p. 75, No. 960.
60 *IC*, p. 75, No. 958.

records the donation of a cave, made at the time when a certain *Gamaṇi* Abaya was ruling (*gamaṇi abayas'a rajhiyas'i*).[61] There are about twenty records at the fourth site, Nuvarakanda, which is located about three miles to the southwest of Tittavela, one of these inscriptions mentions a donation made by a certain *Aya* Duhita.[62] According to Paranavitana's reading of the text of anther inscription at the site, a certain Kaṇatis'a, who bore no title, was the son-in-law of a *Gamiṇi Abaya Pitamaharajha*.[63] Paranavitana identified the latter personage with Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (19-77 B. C.), the Anurādhapura ruler who is referred to as *pitirāja* in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[64] If this identification is accepted, it would raise the question whether *Gamaṇi* Abaya of the Tittavela record should also be identified with this Anuradhāpura ruler. Since Nuvarakanda is close to both Tittavela and Raṇagirimaḍa, it would further suggest that, by the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, the principalities which had existed in this area had been brought under the control of Anurādhapura. However, on comparing the published text with the photograph of the estampage, one notices that a good part of the crucial words *Gamiṇi Abaya Pitamaharajha* is only a conjectural reading.[65] Only the first two and the last six characters, *Gami* and *tamaharajhaha* are legible, and the intervening portion appears to have been damaged. Paranavitana has not used square brackets to indicate that he was presenting a conjectural reading, but a remark he makes in the fotnotes suggests that this was so.[66] Hence the identification that the inscription at Nuvarakanda refers to Vaṭṭagamaṇī appears to rest on a reading which is certainly not beyond doubt. On the other hand, it is a distinct possibility that these records refer to an early polity in this region.

There are only two inscriptions at the fifth site, Kōraṭoṭa, which is in the Palle Pattu division of the Colombo District. One of them was set up by Mahabi, daughter of Maharajha.[67] It is possible to suggest that Mahabi and Maharajha were titles, but it would imply that this was a very unusual inscription in which only the titles of the donor and her father, and not their personal names, were given. The other possible approach would be to consider Maha (Skt. *mahaḥ*, "light, lustre, offering" [68]) as a name and to suggest that the record was set up by *Abi* Maha, the daughter *Rajha* Maha. If the second interpretation is accepted, this inscription may be taken as evidence of the presence of a petty principality in this area. Kōraṭoṭa is situated about fifteen

61 *IC*, p. 75, No. 963.
62 *IC*, p. 72, No. 919.
63 *IC*, p. 71, No. 913.
64 *Mv.*, ch. 33, v. 36; *IC*, p. lx.
65 See *IC*, Plate C.
66 See *IC*, p. 71, note 2.
67 *IC*, p. 86, No. 1103.
68 See Varman Shivaram Apte, *The Practical Senskrit English Dictonary*, Revised version, Kyoto, 1978, p. 1246.

miles from Kälaṇiya. According to the Mahāvihāra tradition cited above, a prince named Tissa had ruled at a place by this name.[69]

Records from the Rohaṇa region, some of which are well known to students of the ancient history of Sri Lanka, reflect the presence of several principalities in the southern and eastern parts of the island. Among these polities of varying power and influence, the house that ruled over the river basins of the Māṇik Gaṅga and Kumbukkan Oya was one of the oldest and most influential. Seven cave-inscriptions written in the early Brāhmī script have been discovered at Bōvattegala, a site located to the north of the Kumbukkan Oya in the Pānama Pattu of the Ampāre District. In one of these records the donor, *Aya* Mahatiśa, son of *Rajha* Dama, states that his father was the son of the eldest among the ten brothers who were sons of a certain *Gamaṇi*.[70] In another inscription at the site *Aya* Mahatiśa limits the genealogical information to a reference to his father.[71] A third inscription presents additional information on this ruling house. In this record *Abi* Anuradi, the donor, describes herself as a daughter of *Aya* Abaya, grand-daughter of *Rajha* Uti, and great grand-daughter of *Gamaṇi*.[72] It is thus evident that *Rajha* Uti was another of the ten sons of *Gamaṇi*.

Twenty early Brāhmī records were discovered at Koṭṭadāmūhela, a site located a few miles to the west of the river Kumbukkan Oya. Fourteen of these inscriptions record donations made by a lady belonging to the ruling house mentioned in the Bōvattegala inscription. *Abi* Śavera was the daughter of *Aya* Mahatiśa and the grand-daughter of *Rajha* Dama. Further, she was the consort of *Aya* Tiśa, the son of *Aya* Abaya.[73] Mahatiśa and Dama can be easily identified with the individuals mentioned by the same names and titles in the Bōvattegala inscription. Paranavitana identified *Aya* Abaya and *Aya* Tiśa with *Rajha* Abaya and *Gamaṇi* Tiśa cited in an inscription from Kusalānkanda.[74] Alternatively, it is also possible to identify, perhaps with greater consonance with the evidence, *Aya* Abaya with the personage of the same name and title who was the father of *Abi* Anuradi, and to suggest that *Aya* Tiśa was a brother of this lady. Even if we do not accept Paranavitana's identification, it is important to note his valuable contribution in suggesting that it was this line of rulers mentioned in the Bōvattegala and Koṭṭadāmūhela records who were referred to as the *kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and as the princes of Kadaragama (Kataragama) in the *Dhātuvaṃsa*.[75] If, as the chronicles seem to suggest, these rulers did in fact have their political

69 See *supra*, p.5.
70 *IC*, p. 42, No. 549.
71 *IC*, p. 42, No. 551.
72 *IC*, p. 42, No. 550.
73 *IC*, pp 43-4, Nos. 556–559.
74 *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 146-7; *IC*, pp. lvi-lviii.
75 *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 145-7; *Mv.*, ch. 19, vv. 54, 61-2; *Dhātuvaṃsa*, ed. Dambagas-āre Śrī Sumedhankara, Colombo, 1930, p. 23

centre at Kataragama, on the banks of the river Māṇik Ganga, it is most likely that their power extended into the area to the west of this river. The donations made by the members of this lineage are clearly the most important and impressive examples of patronage extended to the two communities of clerics at Bovattegala and Koṭṭadāmūhela. Seventeen of the twenty-seven caves at the two sites were their donations. This is a fair indication of the resources available to them. The extensive patronage extended by the members of this ruling house to these monastic communities and the steps they took to publicise their donations in inscriptions containing information about their lineage perhaps reflect that, apart from religious zeal, they were also motivated by a desire for prestige.

Inscriptions from Kusalānkanda, Moṭṭayakaḷḷu, Henannegala and Kal-ūḍupotāna reveal the presence of another contemporary polity of considerable power in the area to the north of the principality of the *kṣatriyas* of Kataragama. Kusalānkanda is situated in the Eravur Pattu of the Batticaloa District, by the river Mundeni Āru notable for its considerable water resources. One of the seven inscriptions at the site records a donation made by *Gamaṇi* Tiṡa who states that he was a son of *Rajha* Abaya and a grandson of *Uparajha* Naga.[76] Paranavitana suggested that *Uparajha* Naga should be identified with Mahānāga, the brother of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, who is said to have founded a principality at Mahāgāma. He further identified *Rajha* Abaya and *Gamaṇi* Tiṡa with Goṭhābhaya and Kākavaṇṇatissa who, according to the chronicle, were descendants of Mahānāga.[77] Paranavitana's identifications, published in 1959, have been since then accepted by students of the history of Sri Lanka with hardly any reservations. However, a more recently discovered inscription from the Ampāre District, edited by Paranavitana himself, throws doubt on at least some aspects of his earlier identifications. This record was found at Moṭṭayakaḷḷu, a site close to the eastern sea coast, to the south of the river Gal Oya. It records the construction of a monastery by *Gamaṇi* Tiṡa, son of *Rajha* Abaya and grand-son of *Uparajha* Naga.[78] There is hardly any reason to doubt that *Uparajha* Naga, *Rajha* Abaya and *Gamaṇi* Tiṡa of this record are identical with the individuals bearing the same names and titles mentioned in the Kusalānkanda inscription. The Moṭṭayakaḷḷu inscription provides some additional information on this lineage. Paranavitana read the initial portion of this inscription as *Daṡabatikarana [jha]vakanaya uparajha Naga* and translated it has follows: "Uparaja Naga, the Jāvaka leader of the ten brother kings."[79] In his discussion on the inscription Paranavitana identified *daṡabatikarana* with the ten brothers of the Kataragama lineage and the term Jhavaka as a reference to people from a region in Malaysia.[80] Paranavitana's reading

76 *IC.* p. 30, No. 389.
77 *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 153–4; *IC*, p. lvi.
78 *IC*, p. 37, No. 487.
79 *IC*, p. 37.
80 *IC*, pp. lvi–lvii.

and interpretation confronted him with the difficult task of explaining how the ten brothers of the Kataragama lineage came to have a Jāvaka leader who bore the title *Uparajha*. The difficulty was further compounded by Paranaviana's suggestion that this Jāvaka leader was the same as Mahānāga mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[81] Paranavitana tried to overcome these difficulties by yet another feat of speculation in suggesting that Mahānāga would have been either "the Commander of a Jāvaka (Malay) battalion which had taken service under the Rohaṇa rulers, or one who undertook voyages to the Jāvaka (Malay) regions in pursuance of mercantile enterprises."[82] However, it is noteworthy that the first letter of the word *Jhavaka*, on which these highly speculative reconstructions are based, is a doubtful reading as indicated by the use of square brackets. Though the lines are not very distinct, it appears to be easier to read this character as *śa*, than as *jha*, and it is possible to present an alternative reading of the whole phrase as *daśabatikaraṇa śavakanaya*.[83] The term *kanaya* may be considered to be a derivation from the Pāli term *kaniṭṭha* (Skt. *kaniṣṭha*, *kaṇiṣṭha*), meaning "junior" or "younger" and the phrase may be explained as denoting "the youngest of all the ten brothers." This second interpretation is consonant with the title *Uparajha* assigned to Naga and with the information from the Bōvattegala records wherein another brother is described as the eldest (*śavajhetu*). The evidence pressented in the Moṭṭayakaḷḷu inscription is crucial since it makes it clear beyond doubt that *Uparajha* Naga was connected with the ruling family of the ten brothers mentioned in Bōvattegala records. On the basis of our reading it is possible to suggest that the lineage which enjoyed power in the eastern parts of the island was a collateral branch of the Kataragama rulers. It would thus appear that Paranavitana's original identification of *Uparajha* Naga mentioned in the Kusalānkanda record as a scion of the Anurādhapura line of rulers may have to be revised.

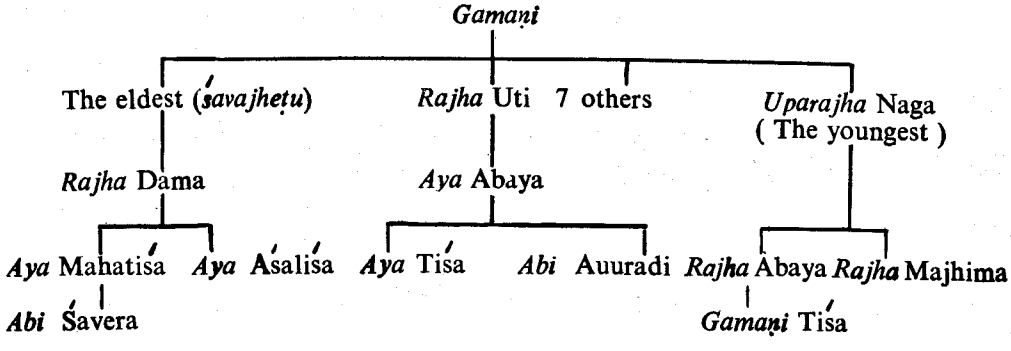
Like Kusalānkanda, Henannegala, the third site, is also located in the Mundeni Āru river basin, in its upper reaches, and is about six miles to the northwest of the sixty-seventh milepost on the Badulla-Batticaloa road. It is within the Bintänna Pattu of the Ampāre District. The Henannegala inscription records the transfer to the *saṅgha* of rights over six settlements. It states that this transfer was made "by the father of *Gamaṇi* Tiṣa and by *Rajha* Majhima."[84] This somewhat unusual wording probably indicates that the inscription was set up by *Gamaṇi* Tiṣa after the demise of his father. It bears two symbols (Fig. lb) strikingly similar to those found in the Bōvattegala and Koṭṭadāmūhela inscriptions (Fig. lc). Hence it appears safe to identify *Gamaṇi* Tiṣa with the individual of the same name and title mentioned in the Kusalānkanda and the Moṭṭayakaḷḷu records. It is likely that *Rajha* Majhima was a younger

81 *IC*, pp. lvi-lvii.
82 *IC*, p. lvii.
83 *IC*, see Plate LII.
84 *IC*, p. 32, No. 406.

brother of *Rajha* Abaya and that he ruled either conjointly with or after Abaya.

The fourth site, Kal-ūḍu-potāna, is located between Henannegala and Kusalānkanda and is within the same river valley. There are three early Brāhmī cave-inscriptions at the site and two of them record donations made by Ś'adana, who bore the title *Parumaka*, and by his wife. Ś'adana states that he made his donation at the time "when *Aya* Abaya's son was ruling."[85] In a previous contribution, the present writer has suggested that *Parumakas* were probably clan leaders.[86] A remarkably large number of individuals bearing this title figure as donors in inscriptions in the early Brāhmī script, reflecting their access to resources during this period and their motivation of gaining prestige through acts of conspicuous generosity. The almost casual manner in which *Parumaka* Ś'adana refers to the current ruler, without giving his title or name, perhaps reflects the nature of the prevailing relationship between the ruler and the *Parumakas*. Though *Parumaka* Ś'adana was not particularly respectful in his choice of words, it is quite clear that he accepted the authority of the ruler since his "period of rule" (*rajhiyaś'i*) is specifically mentioned. The inscription also enables us to recognize clearly that the title *Aya* represented a level of authority higher than that of *Parumaka*. Ś'adana refers to the father of his ruler as *Aya* Abaya and not as *Rajha* Abaya, but, on consideration of the location and the palaeographic features of the inscription, it is reasonable to identify the ruler with *Gamaṇī* Tiśa, the son of *Rajha* Abaya, mentioned in the three other record sfrom this area.

The genealogical information from the inscriptions found at Bōvattegala Koṭṭadāmūhela, Kusalānkanda, Mottayakallu, Henannegala and Kal-ūḍu potāna as well as the Mihintale inscription which will be discussed later,may be tabulated as follows:



An inscription from Situlpavuva records a donation made by a lady called *Abi* Anuradi who describes herself as a daughter of *Parumaka* Puśadeva and the

85 *IC*, p. 31, No. 396.

86 See R. A. A. L. H. Gunawardana, "Social Function and Political Power: A Case Study of State Fotmation in Irrigation Society." *Indian Hietorical Review*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1978, pp.259-273.

consort of *Aya* Pusadeva.[87] Like Kataragama, Situlpavuva is in the basin of the river Mäṇik Gaṅga and, hence, Paranavitana's suggestion that *Aya* Pusadeva was a scion of the Kataragama line of rulers is quite plausible.[88] The inscription is also important for the additional light it throws on the relationship between the *Parumakas* and the rulers of these early polities. In the absence of genealogical information on *Aya* Pusadeva, it is not possible to determine his position in the table listed above. However, like other patrons of Buddhism in this area, he and his wife probably belonged to the fourth or the fifth generation of descendants from *Gamaṇi*.

The genealogical information tabulated above carries the implication that these rulers who traced their descent back to a common ancestor controlled a substantial part of the Rohaṇa region. However, this whole area does not appear to have formed a single political unit. The inscriptions of the descendants of the eldest son of *Gamaṇi* and of *Rajha* Uti are limited to the basins of the two rivers Kumbukkan Oya and Mäṇik Gaṅga. Probably, Naga was a junior ruler in this southern polity, but his sons seem to have ruled over an independent polity in the north. Evidently, by the time of *Gamaṇi* Tisa, the power of this collateral branch had spread over an area even wider than the chiefdom of Kataragama. *Gamaṇi* Tisa controlled the basin of the river Mundeni Āru, and his authority extended beyond the river Gal Oya in the south, though the upper reaches of this river valley appear to have been outside his control.[89] It is very likely that Dīghavāpi, mentioned in the Mahāvihāra tradition in contexts suggestive of the importance of surplus grain produced in this area,[90] was within the range of *Gamaṇi* Tisa's authority. In fact, an early Brāhmī record from Kuḍuvil, about ten miles to the northwest of Moṭṭayakaḷḷu, refers to Dīghavāpi.[91] Parker who assumed that the name Dīghavāpi indicated the existence of an irrigation reservoir with a particularly long embankment suggested that the Mahakaṇḍiyavāva in the Ampāre District should be identified as the Dīghavāpi reservoir.[92] However, the name Dighavāpi need not necessarily reflect the size or the shape of the reservoir, and it is equally possible that the name was derived from the person who took the initiative in its construction.[93] The Mahakaṇḍiya reservoir was most probably constructed after the "cistern sluices" came into use, and not in the period of the early Brāhmi inscriptions.[94] However,

87 *IC*, p. 49, No. 655.

88 *IC*, p. lxxxi.

89 See *infra* p. 23.

90 *Mv.*, ch. 24, v. 58; *Vap.*, Vol. II, p. 470.

91 *IC*, p. 37, No. 440.

92 Henry Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*: *An Account of the Aborigines and Part of the Early Civilization*, London, 1909, p.396.

93 Such instances are to be seen in names of reservoirs like Abhayavāpi and Tissavāpi.

94 The Government Agent of the Eastern Province, who visited the site of this reservoir on May 9, 1900 to study thr feasibility of restoring it, reported that there were "two large bisokotuwa sluices in ruins." *The Sri Lanka Government Archives*, File No. 72/658. Sluices of this type came into use by about the second century A. D. See R. A. L. H Gunawardana, "Hydraulic Engineering in Ancient Sri Lanka: The Cistern Sluices." *Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume*, ed. P. L. Prematilleke *et al.*, Leiden, 1978, pp 61–74.

the Kuḍuvil record certainly points to irrigation activity in this area, and it is most probable that the rulers of *Gamaṇi* Tiṡa's lineage took an interest in these activities and thereby provided the basis for the development of the agricultural productivity in this region.

While the southern and the eastern areas of Rohaṇa were being ruled by the chiefs of Kataragama and their northern collateral branch, it appears that there were several more minor polities in other parts of the Rohaṇa region. There are seventeen inscriptions at Mutugalla, which is situated close to the river Mahavāli in the Egoḍa Pattu of the Polonnaruva District. Paranavitana read the text of one of these inscriptions as *[A]ya Śivaha lene* and translated it as "the cave of Aya Śiva."[95] However, it is not possible to detect a letter before *ya* and the leter *A* is a conjectural reading.[96] A person by the name Aṡiya Śiva occurs as a donor in another inscription at the site, and this raises the possibility that he may have been the donor of both caves.[97] About six miles to the south of Mutugalla as the crow flies is the group of caves at Dimbulāgala where four early Brāhmī records have been discovered. One of them was set up by *Abī* Upala, the consort of *Aya* Śuratisa.[98] It is likely that Mutugalla, too, came under the control of Śuratisa.

Further south, whithin the same subdivision of the Polonnaruva District, is a site known as Kandegamakanda where ten early Brāhmī records have been found. One of these mentions the donation of a cave-dwelling by a certain Tiṡa who is described as the leader of a village. In this record Tiṡa does not mention his father, but he states that he was the grandson of Mahatiṡa who was also a leader of a village. It is interesting that here, too, the term *marumakana*, which points to Tamil influence, was used to denote "grandson". Tiṡa further states that his grandfather was the steward or functionary in charge of income (*ayaka*) under *Aya* Maha, son of *Aya* Tiṡa.[99] Kandegamakanda is situated about ten miles to the northwest of Henannegala, but it is not likely that *Aya* Tiṡa is identical with *Gamaṇi* Tiṡa who ruled over the latter area. Kandegamakanda is in the basin of the river Māduru Oya, close to its northern banks, and the inscription at the site carries two symbols (Fig. 1d), one of which appears to be an astral symbol. These two symbols are not found in any of the other early Brāhmī records of Sri Lanka. It is rather unfortunate that while *Gamika* Tiṡa provides information on political conditions prevalent in his grandfather's time and the generation preceding it, he makes no reference to political condition in his own time.

---

95 *IC*, p. 24, No. 304.
96 *IC*, Plate XXIX.
97 *IC*, p. 25, No. 313.
98 *IC*, p. 22, No. 272.
99 *IC*, p. 23, No. 289.

Evidence on the presence of another minor polity is found in two inscriptions from Oḷagaṃgala in the Bintänna Korale of the Badulla District.[100] One of these inscriptions was set up to record a donation made by a certain *Rajha* Śiva. The second document was indited by a grandson of this ruler and it provides the following genealogical information:

Rajha Śiva
|
Aya Śiva
|
Aya Śiva

While the Occāppukallu inscription examined earlier provided an instance of a father and son sharing the same name, this record reveals an instance of three generations of rulers bearing the same name. Oḷagaṃgala is situated at a short distance from Mahiyaṅgana and it is very likely that the house of the Śivas ruled over settlements in the plains around Mahiyaṅgana.

To the southeast of Oḷagaṃgala, in the Buttala Korale of the Monarāgala District, is to be found a site known by the name Kolladeniya where a single inscription in the early Brāhmī script records the donation of a cave-dwelling by a lady named Śona. This lady, who bore the title *Parumaka* and was the wife of a *Parumaka*, states in her record that she made the donation at the time *Aya* Naga was ruling (*rajhiyahi*).[101] One possible interpretation of the material in the inscription would be to suggest that *Aya* Naga should be identified with *Uparajha* Naga of the Kusalānkanda inscription. However, no inscriptions recording grants to the *saṅgha* by members of this ruling house, belonging to *Uparajha* Naga's generation, have been found: all donative records of this ruling house are from the second and third generations after him. Further, his descendants consistently refer to him as *Uparajha*, and, on consideration of these facts, it seems preferable to assume that the Kolladeniya record points to the presence of another polity in this area.

The last two sites relevant to our review of political conditions in ancient Rohaṇa are from Kirimakulgolla in the Valavē basin and Balahurukanda in the Kiriṁdi Oya basin. There are two inscriptions at the first site which is located on the right bank of the river and is within the Mäda Korale of the Ratnapura District. One of these inscriptions records the donation of the cave Manapadaśäne by *Aya* Mahaśiva, the son of *Aya* Kera.[102] The name Kera does not occur in any other contemporary record. Paranavitäna compared it with Keraḷa.[103] These two rulers are distinct from the chiefs of Kataragama to whom the Kirimakulgolla

100 *IC*, p. 57, Nos.756-757.
101 *IC*, p. 55, No. 736.
102 *IC*, p. 58, No. 768,
103 *IC*, see note on p. 106.

record makes no reference. Balahurukanda is situated at a distance of about twelve miles to the east of Kirimakulgolla. Two of the three records at the site were set up by donors who describe temselves as leaders of villages. In the third inscription *Parumaka* Tiśa refers to his father *Parumaka* Śumana who was the steward (*ayaka*) to *Abi* Upala. The usual practice of giving the husband's name is not followed in this record. It is possible that this lady was the consort of one of the rulers mentioned in the Kirimakulgolla inscription. However in the absence of adequate evidence, it is not possible to ascertain whether she belonged to that ruling house or to a separate line of chiefs who ruled in the upper reaches of the Kiriṅdi Oya basin.

The epigraphic material from twenty - nine sites reviewed in the preceding paragraphs is of crucial importance for understanding the political conditions which prevailed before the emergence of a unified kingdom with a single lineage of rulers controlling the island from Anurādhapura. The inscriptions are also of considerable value in enabling us to recognize the type of distortion that crept into the historical tradition of the Mahāvihāra.

As mentioned earlier, inscriptions in the early Brāhmī script may be dated to the period between Devānaṃpiya Tissa and Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa. It seems likely that some of the records examined above, like those from the upper montane regions near Kandy and those from Kāgalla District, are from the latter part of the second century or the beginning of the first century B. C., but it seems reasonable to suggest that the majority of these records represent the conditions that were prevalent before the time of the campaigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. We can be fairly certain that the records of *Gamaṇi* Tiśa at Kusalānkanda and other places in the eastern part of Sri Lanka are from a period anterior to the campaigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, it was at Dīghavāpi in this area that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī stationed his brother Saddhā Tissa. Saddhā Tissa lived at Dīghavāpi till he came to Anurādhapura to become the ruler in succesion to his brother, but, evidently his eldest son, Laṇjaka Tissa, was left at Dīghavāpi probably in the capacity of a subordinate ruler.[104] *Rajha* Lajhaka, the son of *Devanapiya Maharajha Gamaṇi* Tiśa, who claims in an inscription from Rājagala to have founded twenty-five cave dwellings at the site, can be identified with Laṇjaka Tissa.[105] Rājagala is located very much in the area where *Gamaṇi* Tiśa and his predecessors held sway, and this inscription clearly indicates that by this time that area had come under the hegemony of the rulers of Anurādhapura.

While Lajhaka's inscription reflects conditions prevalent after the campaigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, the earlier inscriptions from this area, when taken together with records from other areas of the island, provide a picture of political conditions sharply different from the *Mahāvaṃsa* account of an island unified under

---

104 See *Mv.*, ch. 24, v. 58; ch. 32, v.2; *Vap.*, Vol. II, p. 470.
105 *IC*, p. 33, No. 428.

Anurādhapura even before the time of Devānaṃpiya Tissa. The ruling house at Kataragama, to which Paranavitana drew the attention of scholars, was one of the most important among them, but these polities were by no means limited to the Rohaṇa region and were widely distributed over many different parts of the island.

III

The absence of theoretical clarity on the relationship between ritual and power, which may be described as one of the common characteristic features of many historical studies on ancient political institutions of South Asia, is the source of a considerable amount of confusion in Sri Lankan historiography. The appearance of ceremonies of consecration has been too often and too easily accepted by scholars as indicative of the emergence of kingship and the state, and very little attention has been paid to the tasks of investigating such other aspects as the evolution of mechanisms of social control. The information in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Sri Lanka is particularly useful in clarifying the point that while ritual played an important part in legitimizing political authority, the appearance of political authority strengthened by rituals of consecration is not tantamount to the emergence of the state.

The consecration of Devānampiya Tissa marked an important stage in the evolution of legitimizing rituals in ancient Sri Lanka. The Malvatu Oya basin, where his political centre was located, has a large cultivable area. It is possible to infer from the ruins of ancient village-scale irrigation works in the area that it was probably the largest concentration of population in ancient times. It is likely that in assuming the distinctive titles *Devanapiya* and *Maharajha* the rulers of Anurādhapura who controlled these comparatively extensive resources were laying claim to a status higher than that of the other rulers in the island. However, it is equally clear from the inscriptions examined above that there was a long task ahead before this claim could be translated into reality. Discussing the inscription from Kolladeniya, Paranavitana observed that the period of rule by this prince "is mentioned without any reference to a paramount sovereign." "Nāga, thus was ruling Rohaṇa," Paranavitana opined, "without acknowledging the authority of the Anurādhapura king." [106] Paranavitana's comments would apply equally to the other inscriptions mentioned above.

Certain inscriptions from Mihintale are valuable for the light they throw on some aspects of the relations that prevailed between Anurādhapura and the chiefdoms in other parts of the island. Of the seventy-five inscriptions found at Mihintale, fifty-eight are in the main area occupied by the clerical community. Mihintale was perhaps the most important centre of Buddhism during the period of its early expansion in the island. Hence it is not surprising that the community of religieux at the site attracted patrons even from distant parts of the

106 *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 470.

island which lay outside the pale of authority of the Anurādhapura rulers. The text of one of these records has been read by Paranavitana as *kaṇagama ra [jhaśa] tiśaha jhita śavera śamaniya leṇe śagaśa.*[107] Of the letters given inside square brackets, the *śa* is illegible, but it is possible to detect the upper part of *jha*. Thus, though it is not possible to be certain about the text, Paranavitana's reading appears to be plausible. He has translated the text as follows: "The cave of the nun Śavera, daughter of Tissa, King of Kaṇagama, is given to the *Saṅgha*." Nicholas was of the view that Kaṇagama was in the vicinity of the reservoir Kaṇā (Pāli Khāṇavāpi) located to the north – east of Anurādhapura on the rivulet Kaṇadarā which is a tributary of the Malvatu Oya.[108] The *Cūlavaṃsa* mentions a hospital that King Dappula (ca. A. D. 659) built at Kāṇagāma among his activities in Rohaṇa.[109] In its description of the campaigns of Parākramabāhu I (A. D. 1153-86), the same chronicle refers to a place called Kāṇamūla which appears to have been close to the Kalā Oya.[110] While it seems possible that there was more than one settlement with the name Kaṇa, it is more likely that *Rajha* Tiśa of the Mihintale inscription was from an area further away from Anurādhapura than the Kaṇadarā Oya basin.

The second document from Mihintale, relevant to this discussion, is an inscription set up by *Abi* Maha, daughter of *Diparajha*.[111] Paranavitana interpreted *Diparajha* as "King of the islands".[111a] Though it is also possible to suggest that Dipa was a personal name, information in the commentarial literature on the Pāli Canon supports Paranavitana's interpretation. According to the *Sammohavinodanī*, a ruler of Anurādhapura, who probably belonged to a period between the first century B. C. and the second century A. D., appointed his son to ruler over Nāgadīpa or the Jaffna Peninsula, and this prince came to be known as *Dīparāja*.[112] It is quite possible that *Dīparāja* was originally a title borne by rulers of the Nāgadipa area, and that, after the unification of the island, it continued to be used by princes appointed by Anurādhapura rulers to govern this area.

One of the most noteworthy inscriptions at Mihintale is the one which records the donation of a cave-dwelling by *Aya Aśaliśa*, the son of *Gamaṇi* Damarajha or *Gamaṇi Rajha* Dama.[113] Another fragmentary inscription from this site, which reads from right to left, carries the words *gamaṇi dama*,[114] and it is not impossible that this was also a record of a donation made by a member of the same lineage. Dama does not occur in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as the name of

---

107 *IC*, p. 2, No. 14.
108 Nicholas, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
109 *Cūlavaṃsa*, ed. W. Geiger, London, Vol. I, 1925, ch. 45, v. 43.
110 *Ibid.*, ch. 72, v. 183.
111 *IC*, v. 4, No. 37. For on explanation of the name Maha, see *supra*. p. 16.
111a *Ibid.*
112 *Sammohavinodanī*, ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, London, 1923, pp. 443–4.
113 *IC*, p. 2, No. 13.
114 *IC*, p. 5, No. 56.

a ruler. As noted earlier, it occurs in the inscriptions of the Kataragama rulers and at Näṭṭukanda, but nowhere else. Though Näṭṭukanda is closer to Mihintale, it is significant that one of the symbols (Fig. 1e) used by *Abi* Śavera, the grand-daughter of *Rajha* Dama of Kataragama, is also found in the Mihintale inscription. Hence it is very likely that *Rajha* Dama of the Mihintale inscription is identical with the member of the Kataragama lineage who bore the same name. This identification would imply that the *Aya* Aśaliśa who set up the Mihintale record was a brother of *Aya* Mahatiśa, the father of *Abi* Śavera.

It is noteworthy that the donors in these inscriptions, who refer to themselves or their kinsmen with titles associated with the status of rulers, do not make any reference to the rulers of Anurādhapura, despite the fact that Mihintale was so close to Anurādhapura. There is absolutely no indication that these men who came from afar to patronize the monks at this hallowed site had accepted the suzerainty of the Anurādhapura ruling house. The four inscriptions from Mihintale indicate that this religious centre had acquired an influence that extended beyond the confines of the Anurādhapura chiefdom, and they point to the importance of Buddhism as a factor which stimulated contact between people who lived under different political leaders.

IV

It is evident from the epigraphic material examined earlier that, in the earliest historical phase of the evolution of political institutions in Sri Lanka, the human settlements in various parts of the island were controlled by many different rulers. The polities ruled by these men were not of a uniform type and varied from those at an initial stage of development, like the one at Pidurāgala, to the more established chieldoms of Anurādhapura, Kusalānkanda and Kataragama which were at a higher level of development and had access to greater energy resources. However, the range of authority of even the more established polities does not appear to have been extensive. At the lower end of the scale it would be difficult to distinguish these minor rulers from the *Parumakas* who may be described, using the terminology popularized by Sahlins, as Big Men.[115] The political leadership in the principalities mentioned above may thus be described as representing degrees of variation from Big Man to Chief. The inscriptions of these rulers suggest that they were very concerned about prestige. As in chiefdoms elsewhere, redistributory activities would have been important for securing prestige; political leaders in ancient Sri Lanka appear to have considered "conspicuocus generosity" to the Buddhist clerics to be an important means of creating a favourable impression on the ruled laity and of gaining prestige. The evolution of the chiefdoms had reached a point where the distinction between the ruler and the ruled was being emphasized. While the position of the ruler

115 Marshall D. Sahlins, "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. V, 1963, pp. 285–303.

had become hereditary, the rulers and their kinsmen were generally careful in their records to mention their titles as well as the fact that they had been born in families which had produced rulers for several generations. Like the staff of office used by the rulers of Anurādhapura before the time of Devānaṃpiya Tissa,[116] it is likely that there were symbols of authority and even ritual associated with the assumption of rulership. Perhaps, the variety of titles current at the time reflects diversity of ritual associated with such assumption of rulership.

As would be expected, the organizational arrangements in these polities would have varied according to the level of development each of them had achieved. It is noteworthy that all but one of the records of individuals who bere the title *senapati* or "commander of forces" appear to be datable to the time of Daṭṭhagāmaṇī, if not Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (82–77 2. C.), and even the Kuḍumbigala record of Jhuvaya or Tivaya may date from this later period.[117] Similarly, inscriptions of functionaries like keeper of the palanquins (*śivika-adeka*) and keeper of the elephants (*ati-adeka*) also appear to be associated with a period later than the campaigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[118] The steward (*ayaka*) and the keeper of the treasury (*baḍakarika*) were probably the most common offices in the chiefdoms. There are three inscriptions where a courier or envoy (*dutaka*) has been mentioned,[119] and an inscription at Periya Puliyankulam was set up by a person who was the keeper of the horses (*asa-adeka*).[120] On the whole, one does not get the impression that these elementary organizational arrangements available to the chiefs were adequate for the centralized exercise of anthority. Rather, in order to maintain his power, the ruler probably depended to a considerable extent on the support of the *Parumakas*. A good number of the stewards and treasurers and, in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, most of the troop leaders, were from the ranks of the *Parumakas*. The dependence of the ruler on this important social group was to last for about two or more centuries after his time. Some of the *Parumakas* were related to their rulers by marriage.[121] They had access to prestige goods obtained through long distance trade as is evident from the fact that some owned horses.[122] In additions to the prestige of the ruler, his generosity in enabling these Big Men to have access to status goods and, probably, force, such personal links would have

---

116 According to the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, consecration rituals were not found in Sri Lanka before the time of Devānampiya Tissa: a "new staff" was the symbol of office (*Tato pubbe pana īdisaṃ abhisekagahanaṃ nāma natthi, kevalaṃ navayaṭṭhiyā eva rajjaṃ kariaṃsu*), *Vap.*, Vol. I, pp. 306-7.

117 See *IC.*, pp. lxx-lxxii, 26 (No. 322), 39 (No. 500), 47 (No. 620). 50 (No. 665), 55 (Nos. 724-5), 79 (No. 1013). While Paranavitana read the name of the persorage in record No. 500 as Jhuvaya, C. W. Nicholas read it as Tivaya. See C.W. Nicholas, *Brāhmī Inscriptions of Ceylon*. Ms. University Library, Peradeniya. Vol. I, p 104.

118 *IC.*, see pp. 69 (Nos. 894, 895, 896a, 896b). The Kaduruvāva record (p. 78, No. 993). too probably belongs to this period.

119 *IC.*, pp. 10 (No. 131). 23 (No. 295), 83 (No. 1054).

120 *IC.*, p. 28, No. 315.

121 *IC.*, pp. 49, (No. 655), 78 (No. 994).

122 *IC.*, pp. 28 (No. 355), 46 (No. 606)

122a *IC.*, p. 3, No. 29.

been important for winning over their allegiance as well as for retaining it. It is possible to suggest that these polities represented a system of power embedded in kinship and bonds of personal allegiance. The chiefdom of Yaṭahalena, founded by an indvidual related to the ruling house at Anurādhapura, and the chiefdom of Kusalānkanda, where princes claiming descent from the Kataragama *kṣatriyas* ruled, are instances of new chiefdoms being founded by scions of the more powerful ruling houses. It is possible that the Mihintale record of Loṇapi *Aya* Śiva also points to a chiefdom founded urder similar circumstances. According to the account in the *Vaṃsatthappkāsini*, the polity at Kālaṇiya also belonged to this category.[123] The *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Dhātuvaṃsa* refer to the marriage alliances that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's father forged with the ruling houses at Kālaṇiya and Girinuvara. However, in the absence of administrative links, junior collateral branches usually asserted their independence before long and, as in the case of the Kusalānkanda line, sometimes they could even become more powerful than the senior branch.

The majority of the polities which existed before the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī were in the Dry Zone area and were dependent on reservoirs and canals for irrigation, It is likely that some of the minor irrigation works, which are found in great abundance in the Dry Zone, date from this time. The construction and the maintenance of these small-scale works were within the capacity of the village settlements. If there was some involvement of the rulers in giving leadership to irrigation enterprise in the Dry Zone, even this was not necessary in areas like Kālaṇiya, Yaṭahalena and Bambaragala where the cultivators could depend on the relatively high rainfall and arrangements for water control which involved little investment of labour resources. It is also possible to suggest that the physical setting introduced an element of inequality among settlements in various parts of the island in the access they enjoyed to certain basic resources. The chiefdoms of Kālaṇiya, Yatahalena, Ambul-ambe and Kirimakulgolla were close to areas where iron-bearing ores like hematite, limonite and goethite were found close to the surface. Nodular ironstone or ferricrete is found extensively at or just below the surface level in the area close to Tittavela and Raṇagirimaḍa. The northwestern coastal belt has been known throughout history for its pearl banks and the Malaya mountian region has been equally well-known for its precious stones. The Yaṭahalena and Kirimakulgolla chiefdoms lay adjacent to the major gem deposits in the island. The Kolladeniya chiefdom was by the less extensive but important gem fields of Buttala and Okkampiṭiya.[125] It is also likely that the chiefdoms close to the valley of the Amban Gaṅga had access to gem deposits in this area. The difference in ecological setting and the inequality of access to important resources were most certainly factors which would have stimulated a certain degree of specialzation in production and exchange of products among the polities in the island.

123 See *supra* p. 5.

12 *Mv.*, ch.22, vv.13-22; *Dhātuvaṃsa*, p.30.

125 This information on mineral deposits has been extracted from P. G. Cooray, *An Introduction to the Geology of Ceylon*, Colombo, 1967, pp. 178-180, 196-224.

It is obvious from the early Brāhmī records that tools adequate for cutting drip-ledges and inditing inscriptions were avalable in a very wide area of the island. The fact that some of the inscriptions are on granite points to the likelihood that well-made steel implements were in use. Paranavitana has drawn attention to the fact that one of the inscriptions at Anurādhapura, datable to the second centry B. C., reflects the abilty of the craftsmen of the period not only to carve letters on granite but also to produce out of this difficult material a slab with regular lines and a smooth surface.[126] References to ironsmiths (*kabara*) as well as coppersmiths (*tabakara*) are found in the early Brāhmī records.[127] While the evidence cited above testifies to the levels of craftsmanship they attained, it also points to the existence of a system of exchange involving the raw materials necessary for their craft as well as probably the implements they produced.

That some form of exchange of products did take place is clear from references to traders (*vanijha, vanica*) found in several inscriptions.[128] A story in the *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions a trader from Anurādhapura who went to the Malaya region "with many waggons to bring ginger and other things."[129] Ptolemy refers to ginger, honey, gold, silver and precious stones among the products of the island.[130] There are seven references to lapidaries (*maṇikara*, lit. "maker of gems") in early Brāhmī reoords. One of them is from the time of Mahācūḷika Tissa, and was found in the Mātale District. The rest are widely distributed: two from Mihintale and Panikkankulama in the Anurādhapura Disitrict, one from Galagamuva in the Kurunāgala District, one from Végiri in the Kandy District, one from Māmpiṭa close to Yaṭahalena aod the other from Kōngala, near Bōvattegala.[131] The inscriptions cited above are indicative of the access enjoyed by certain chiefdoms like those at Anurādhapura, Kataragama and Yatahalena, to this commercially valuable product. Since references to lapidaries occur in inscriptions found in areas not known for gem deposits, these records appear also to reflect the presence of a system of exchange between chiefdoms. It is possible to suggest that the availability of pearls, gems and ivory in the island and the local demand for other prestige goods of foreign origin were conducive to long distance trade. An inscription from Anurādhapura mentions a sailor (*navika*) called Kārava.[132] The fact that Onesikritos, who accompanied Alexander to India, heard about the elephants of Sri Lanka, indicates the prevalence of contacts between the island and the north-western parts of India. Onesikritos remarked that voyages to this island took twenty days. Apparently he thought these voyages were difficult. Referring to the vessels used at the time, he speaks of "the pecularity of their structure" and "the poor quality of their sails."[133] Not long afterwards, Megasthenes, who spent some time at the Mauryan court, reported that Sri Lanka was a noteworthy source of

126 *IC*, pp. cxxii – cxxiii.
127 *IC*, pp. 13 (No. 161d), 24 (No. 301), 28 (Nos. 350-1), 54 (No. 720).
128 *IC*, pp. 28 (Nos. 356-7), 37 (No. 480), 40 (No. 515), 45 (Nos. 585, 591), 49 (No.660), 70(No.897).
129 *Mv*, ch. 21. v.21.
130 *Goographia*, p. 52.
131 *IC*, pp. (No. 74), 17 (No. 209), 42 (No. 546), 60 (No. 791), 62 (No. 807), 81 (No. 1033).
132 *IC*, p. 7, No. 94.
133 J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, London, 1901, pp. 30, 102.

gold and "pearls of great size.[134] The *Mahāvaṃsa* relates how the envoys sent by Devānaṃpiya Tissa to Asoka took with them three varieties of valuable gems, a conch-shell which spiralled to the right and eight different kinds of pearls. The three types of gems are explained as sapphires (*indanīla*), "cat's eyes" (*veḷūriya*, Skt. *vaidūrya*) and rubies (*lohitaṅka*) while the eight varieties of pearls are said to be horse-pearls, elephant-pearls, myrobalan-pearls, bracelet-pearls, ring-pearls, *kakudha* (lumped, irregular?) pearls, and common pearls.[135] Tissa's mission seems to be representative of "gift exchange" which probably accounted for a good part of long-distance trade during this period. The reference to Bhojakaṭaka, cited earlier, indicates contacts with the western parts of India, and certainly by about the first century B. C., relations with this region were important enough even to influence the development of the script in Sri Lanka. It is noteworthy that one of the inscriptions at Bōvattegala records a donation of a cave-dweiling made by *Kabojhiya mahapugi*.[136] *Pugi* (Skt. *puga*) denoted a corporation of merchants or artisans. There is yet another reference to a corporation of Kabojhiyas in an inscription found at Kaduruvāva in the Kurunāgala District.[137] Paranavitana identified Kobojhiyas with the Kāmbojas from the northwestern parts of India and suggested that they were probably involved in trade.[138] However, it seems reasonable to believe that the closest trade contacts were with South India and it is very likely that even some of the goods of a North Indian origin came to Sri Lanka through South India. Some of the traders mentioned in the early Brāhmī inscriptions were Tamils (Dameḍa).[139] Horses probably represented an important item among prestige goods brought to the island. As mentioned earlier, some chiefs maintained stables of horses with special functionaries to look after them. The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions Tamils who brought horses for trade in Sri Lanka,[140] On considering the difficulties involved in transporting horses by sea over long distances, it seems most likely that the horses used by the leading elements in ancient Sri Lankan society were brought from South India.

---

134 *Ibid.*, p 102.

135 *Mv.*, ch. 11, vv. 7–22. *Indanīla* (Skt. *indranīla*) denoted both lapis lazuli and sapphire, but the former is not found in Sri Lanka. The blue sapphire (corundum) is one of the most valued precious stones found in the island. *Veḷūriya* or *vaidūrya* was a common term for the "cat's eye" gem. There are two varieties of this gem in the island: chrysoberyl and quartz. Similarly, there are two varieties of rubies: corundum and spinel, the former being the more valued. See Cooray, *op.cit.*, p. 197.

136 *IC*, p. 42, No. 553.

137 *IC*, p. 77, No. 990.

138 *IC*, pp. xc-xci

139 See *IC*, p. 28, Nos. 356–7.

140 *Mv.*, ch. 21, v. 10.

As Polanyi emphasised,[141] long distance trade was a discontinuous phenomenon in the ancient world. The production of prestige goods, though requiring high levels of skill, probably constituted only a small part of the economic activities in the agrarian chiefdoms of ancient Sri Lanka. However, the importance of trade as a factor in political evolution should not be underestimated. Together with migrations and movements of religieux which were often phenomena associated with trade, it provided channels of communication for the transmission of political concepts. Status goods obtained through trade enhanced the position of the leadership. Perhaps one of the most important consequences of long-distance trade in this period was that it endowed the areas which produced goods like pearls and gems and places through which the goods moved with a special importance that would be reflected in the political activities of subsequent times.

The early Brāhmī inscriptions show remarkably little regional variation in language and script. There are a few indications of cultural diversity. The term *marumakanake* occurs in five early Brāhmī records: one of them is from Anurādhapura while the other four are from the Rohaṇa region. The use of the term *Aya* is more widespread. Since these terms relate to such critical areas as kinship and political organization, it is likely that the Tamil influences on the island were considerable. However, even if the cultural influences on the island were not homogeneous and were of diverse origin, there are reasons to believe that there were certain fundamental features of social organization and culture which were common to people from different parts of the country. Common terms denoting political and social status are found in inscriptions from all different parts of the island. Though certain women like *Abi* Anuradi and *Abi* Śavera were generous patrons of Buddhism who exercised rights in the allocation of resources, in all these records, ancestry was always traced through paternal descent. It is particularly significant that, according to the genealogical lists in these rocords, a common pool of personal names was in use in different parts of the island several generations before records of patronage extended to the Buddhist faith were set up. Some of these names like Tiśa (Skt. Tiṣya) and Anuradi (Skt. Anurādhā) are names of constellations: they point to interest in astronomical phenomena and are suggestive of astral cults and belief in astrology. The popular name Naga (Pāli and Skt. Nāga), which occurs by itself and as a part of compound names, probably reflects the prevalence of Nāga cults.[142] Though a proper assessment of the cultural conditions prevalent in different parts of the island during this period can only be made on the basis of material from archaeological excavations, the evidence from the early Brāhmī inscriptions seems to suggest that the chiefdoms shared several cultural traits in common which were conducive to the development of a political unity on a higher scale.

141 Karl Polanyi, "Traders and Trade" in Jeremy A. Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, Alberquerque, 1975, p. 144.

142 For detailed information on the pre-Buddhist culture of the people of Sri Lanka, see S. Paranavitana, "Pre-Buddhist Religious Beliefs in Ceylon, "*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXI, No. 82, 1929, pp. 302-28.

Our identification of Aśaliśa, the donor of a cave-dwelling at Mihintale, is useful for understanding the changes in religious life that were taking place before the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. As noted in an earlier context, *Aya* Mahatiśa and *Abi* Anuradi, members of the fourth generation of the ruling lineage of Kataragama, were the first amongst their kinsmen to appear in historical records as patrons of Buddhism. *Aya* Aśaliśa of the Mihintale record belonged to the same generation. While this may not necessarily imply that, after his visit to Mihintale, he took the initiative in promoting the propagation of the new faith in the south, it certainly indicates the support extended to Buddhism by members of this generation. While the inscriptions of *Aya* Mahatiśa and *Abi* Anuradi are found in the Kuṁbukkan Oya area, further north, in the basins of the Mundeni Āru and Gal Oya rivers, it was again a member of the same generation, *Gamaṇi* Tiśa, who occurs prominently as a patron of Buddhism in inscriptions in the region. However, it is noteworthy that the Henannegala inscription points to the possibility that his predecessors, *Rajha* Abaya and *Rajha* Majhima who were members of the third generation had also been benefactors of the Buddhist clerical community. This may suggest that Buddhism reached the Mundeni Āru basin in the time of Abaya and Majhima and steadily expanded further south to the Kuṁbukkan basin by the next generation. Such a hypothesis on the sequence of the expansion of Buddhism in Rohaṇa is further supported by the records of *Abi* Śavera in the Māṇik Gaṅga basin. This lady, who was the most generous patron of Buddhism among members of the Kaṭaragama ruling house, belonged to the fifth generation of her lineage. It is also possible to suggest that the expansion of Buddhism brought about a culturally as well as politically significant paychological orientation among the converts, making them look towards a place beyond the bounds of their polities as the centre of their new faith. Inscriptions set up by Aśaliśa and several others reflect this new development which attracted pigrims and patrons from different parts of the island to Mihintale long before they came to accept Anurādhapura as their political centre.

V

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, whose campaigns mark a crucial point in the political evolution of ancient Sri Lanka, is described in the Mahāvihāra tradition as a scion of a line of rulers at Mahāgāma who were devoted patrons of Budhism. His father is credited with the construction of several monasteries including the Tissamahāvihāra, Cittalapabbtavihāra, Gamiṭṭhavālivihāra and the Kūṭāḷivihāra.[143] His ancestor Mahānāga is also described as an ardent supporter of the faith who built the Nāgamahāvihāra, the Uddhakandaravihāra and "many other monasteries" in Rohaṇa.[144] The present writer has pointed out elsewhere that

143 *Mv.*, ch. 22, vv. 23–4.

144 *Mv.*, ch. 22, vv. 9, 10.

the claim to descent from the lineage of the Buddha formed an important element of the concept of legitimacy which evolved at a later time.[145] In the chapter on the birth of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, Mahānāga ia presented as a descendant of Paṇḍukābhaya, who, according to the myths in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, was the first prince of Śākya descent who ascended the throne of Anurādhapura.

Of all the ruling houses mentioned in the early Brāhmī records of Rohaṇa it is the lineage of Kusalānkanda which most closely matches the genealogical information on the predecessors of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Hence Paranavitana's suggestion that Mahānāga, Goṭhābhaya and Kākavaṇṇa Tissa should be indentified with *Uparajha* Naga, *Rajha* Abaya and *Gamaṇi* Tiśa mentioned in the Kusalānkanda inscription appears to be plausible.[146] It is noteworthy that this identification raises serious doubts on the veracity of the *Mahāvaṃsa* account on two other important points. Firstly, it casts doubts on the description of Mahānāga as a brother of Devānāṃpiya Tissa and carries the implication that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was a scion of a collateral branch of the Kataragama lineage and not of the ruling house at Anurādhapura. Secondly, it also implies that, at least intially, the power base of this lineage was in the eastern parts of Sri Lanka. As noted earlier, *Gamiṇi* Tiśa's inscriptions are found in or close to the Mundeni Āru and Gal Oya river basins. None of his records has been found in the vicinity of Tissamahārāma which has been indentified as the site of the ancient Mahāgāma. Though the *Mahāvaṃsa* states that Kākavaṇṇa Tissa was the founder of the Cittalapabbata (Situlpavuva) monastery, no records of *Gamaṇi* Tiśa have been found among the many donative inscriptions discovered at the site. On the other hand, this monastery, which was located a few miles to the southeast of Kataragama, was patronized by members of the senior branch of the Kataragama lineage.[147] Like *Gamaṇi* Tiśa, even his predecessors made donations to the community of Buddhist monks in the Mundeni Āru river basin. Among the rulers of this line, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was the first to be mentioned in inscriptions found in the area to the south of Moṭṭayakallu, and it appears likely that it was the expansion of his power which brought about the final collapse of the main ruling house of Kataragama. An inscription of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's paladin Mita is found at Situlpavuva.[148] It is likely that a record from Śīlavakanda also belongs to his period of rule.[149] However, even if the political centre shifted southwards with the expansion of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's power, there are strong reasons to believe that the Mundeni Āru-Gal Oya area soon regained its position as the critical power base in Rohaṇa. As noted in an earlier context, Saddhā Tissa governed Dighavāpi when his brother was ruling at

145 R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, "The Kinsmen of the Buddha: Myth as Political Charter in Ancient and Early Medieval Kingdom of Sri Lanka," *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka*, pp. 96–107.

146 See *supra* pp. 18–9.

147 See *supra* pp. 20-1.

148 *IC*, p. 47, No. 620.

149 *IC*, p. 50, No. 672.

Anurādhapura. After Saddhā Tissa succeeded his brother, his son Lañjaka Tissa appears to have become the ruler in the Dīghavāpi area. The extensive ruins at Rājagala, which is located to the northwest of Moṭṭayakaḷḷu and to the south of Kusalānkanda, are an indication of the importance of Buddhist activity in this area and the forty-eight donative inscriptions at the site are indicative of the patronage it attracted. The support that this monastic community received from members of the ruling family, like Lañjaka Tissa, was certainly an important factor in the rise of its importance.[150] While Lañjaka Tissa occurs as a prominent patron in the records at this site, none of his records has been found at Situlpavuva. Had the politicai centre of this line of rulers been for long in the Tissamahārāma area, it would have been rather strange for them to abandon such a well-established base. On the other hand, the inscriptions of both the predecessors and the successors of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi indicate that the area between the rivers Mundeni Āru and Gal Oya was the more important focus of their activities. Unfortunately, this area has received comparatively less attention from archaeologists than the Hambantoṭa District where Tissamahārāma is located. Though more archaeological research is certainly necessary before it is possible to arrive at a definite conclusion on this problem, it seems very likely that it was a ruling house based in the Mundeni Āru-Gal Oya area in the eastern parts of Rohaṇa which ushered in a critical phase in the early political evolution of Sri Lanka.

Paranavitana was the first scholar to draw attension to a reference in the *Dhātuvaṃsa*, a later chronicle, to a conflict between Gothābhaya, a predecessor of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, and the princes of Kataragama.[151] According to this chronicle, Goṭhābhaya annihilated them. *Rajha* Abaya of the Kusalānkanda record was a contemporary of *Rajha* Dama of Kataragama. It is quite clear from the inscriptions at Bōvattegala and Koṭṭadāmūhela that the main line of Kataragama continued for at least two or more generations. Hence the statement about the annihilation of the Kataragama princes appears to be unhistorical. The story probably reflects a clash which occurred when the collateral line in the north asserted its independence.

The description of political conditions in the time of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa presented in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* differs from the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* refers to the presence of contemporary rulers like Siva of Sēru, Mahānāga of Lōṇa, Abhaya of Giri who later moved to Sōma, and Tissa of Kālaṇi. According to this interesting account, Kākavaṇṇa Tissa used clever means to intimidate the first three rulers mentioned above and to reduce them to client status. Tissa had also forged matrimonial alliances with Abhaya of Giri and Tissa of Kālaṇi. It is not possible to identify Lōṇa, Giri or Sōma. There were several rulers who bore the name Siva, but if Sēru is the same as modern Sēruvila,

150 See *IC*, pp. 33-5.

151 *UCHC*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 146

this may point to the extension of Tissa's influence to the north of Māduru Oya. In the South, rulers of this generation, like Mahatiśa and Tiśa, were issuing inscriptions in the Bōvattegala area. Hence it is likely that the subjugation of Kataragama took place at a later date. The literary sources do not provide any information on these developments.

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* account of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's campaign, he left Mahāgāma for Anurādhapura and, after winning battles fought at eighteen different places on the way, he faced Eḷāra whom he killed in a duel. It is said that he fought the final battle at the port of Mahātittha where he defeated a nephew of Eḷāra's paladin Dīghajantu who had come with Tamil troops to support his uncle. The victorious Buddhist, who was then struck with remorse at the thought of having sent so many to death in battle, metamorphosed into a deeply pious man who spent the rest of his life constructing many religious edifices including the great monument, the Mahāthūpa.

It is clear from the distribution of the polities mentioned in the early Brāhmī inscriptions that any ruler who intended to subdue them would have had to wage not one but several campaigns in different parts of the island. In this context, it is noteworthy that the information on the campaigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī found in certain tales in the *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa* is markedly different from the account in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. According to the version that this anthology presents, these campaigns do not end with the capture of Anurādhapura. Later on, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is said to have ordered a detachment of forces to proceed to the upper reaches of the river Mahaväli and to subdue hostile elements at a place called Kolamahāmala. Theraputtābhaya, one of the leaders of his troops, accomplished this mission and then ventured beyond the Sumanakūṭa (Adam's Peak) where he defeated a ruler named Pālatthi. Then he built a palace, complete with parks and ponds, at a place called Bāḷhagāmatala, and sent word to his lord. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī arrived there and, after resting for some time, set forth to subdue rulers at various places (*tasmiṃ tasmiṃ ṭhāne*), before returning to Anurādhapura.[152] It is clear from this account that, in addition to the version presented by the *Mahāvaṃsa*, there was another tradition which held that the capture of Anurādhapura was followed by campaigns against rulers in several areas including the montane regions in the upper reaches of the river Mahaväli. In the light of evidence from the early Brāhmī inscriptions, it is the *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa* version which appears to be the more acceptable of the two traditions.

Both the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa* refer to the adversaries of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī as Tamils. The former work emphasises that they were "unbelievers" as well. If these statements were to be accepted without question they would imply that Tamil rulers were in power not only in the northern plains in Sri Lanka but also in the Malaya highlands and at several places in

152. *Sahassavatthupakaraṇa*, pp. 106 – 7.

Rohaṇa including Dīghavāpi and sites along the river Mahavāli from Mahiyaṅgana to Kacchatittha. Here again, the inscriptions present a picture that is entirely different. As we observed earlier, the rulers of the polities in different parts of the island as well as other individuals who issued inscriptions appear to have shared several cultural traits in common. They issued these inscriptions in the Brāhmī script and in a language which was clearly the early form of what later developed into the Sinhala language. And, even if we cannot be sure that these rulers were all Buddhists, the greater majority of them and their families were certainly patrons of the Buddhist clerical community. Thus it appears that while some of the foes against whom Duṭṭhagāmaṇi fought were probably Tamils, a considerably large proportion would not have been different from his own forces as regards language and religion. It is understandable that such a picture would undergo a transformation in the hands of later writers who were trying to convey the message of the need for the unity of all Buddhists against non-believing aliens, giving events from the remote past a contemporary colouring more suitable for their purposes.

Through his extensive campaigns of unprecedented scale, waged against the rudimentary polities which had existed up to his time, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was probably trying to forge a higher political unity which would bring under his control not only the more densely populated regions like the Malvatu Oya basin but also commercially important areas like the Malaya region valued for its gems and the Mannar coastal belt with the port of Mahātittha and the pearl banks. There are some inscriptions which provide a limited amount of information on the extent of his authority. Apart from the inscription from Situlpavuva and Sīlvakanda mentioned above, it is likely that an inscription from Rājagala which refers to *Maharajha* Abaya dates from his period of rule.[153] Paranavitana has assigned an inscription from Riṭigala to this time.[154] Inscriptions in the early Brāhmī script which mention a king called Abaya, who bore the titles *Devanapiya*, *Maharajha* and *Gamani*, have been found at Mihintale and Kōsavakanda in the Anurādhapura District, at Tōnigala in the Puttalam District, and at Sässēruva and Kumburulena in the Kurunāgala District.[155] It is difficult to ascertain whether this ruler was Duṭṭhgāmaṇī or his descendant Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, but Nicholas was of the opinion that the last two records should be assigned to the latter.[155] The epigraphists who tried to identify the paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī among individuals mentioned in the early Brāhmī records have evinced a keen interest which was not often tempered by caution, but it seems reasonable to accept their identifications at least as regards records from Gōnagala Situlpavuva, Vāla-ellū-goḍakanda and Mahakaccaṭkōḍi.[157] The records mentioned above are from the modern administrative districts of Vavuniya, Anurādhapura, Puttalam, Ampāre, Monarāgala and Hambantoṭa.

153 *IC*, p. 33, No. 429.
154 *IC*, pp. lv-lvi.
155 *IC*, pp. 3 (No. 29), 16 (No. 193), 69 (Nos. 894, 895), 78 (No. 994), 82 (Nos. 1051, 1052).
156 Nicholas, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 106.
157 *IC*, pp. lxx - lxxii.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī located his political centre in the Malvatu Oya basin. To the position of the subordinate ruler of the critical Mundeni Āru–Gal Oya area, he appointed Saddhā Tissa who was to succeed him, and the latter followed suit by appointing his own son. Evidently, this clever arrangement helped them to avoid the problems which could arise from the usual tendency of collateral branches to assert their independence: it ensured that the two main "core regions" would remain under the same ruling house. However, despite the size of the island, the complete unification of Sri Lanka does not appear to have been accomplished within one generation.[158] If, in the course of his campaigns, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī did coerce most of the rulers of the petty principalities in the island to accept his suzerainty, evidently, his attempts to subjugate the montane regions did not meet with much success. As noted earlier, the records from the Bambaragala area near Kandy and from Yaṭahalena in the Kāgalla District seem to suggest that the ruling houses in these areas continued for some time longer.

Like many ancient rulers who have left their imprint on history, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī combined seemingly incongruous traits of behaviour. If, in his quest for power, he was a ruthless warrior who came to be known as "Gāmaṇī, the Wicked" (Pāli *duṭṭha*, Skt. *duṣṭa*), he was also a generous patron of Buddhism. The mansion adorned with copper plates that he built for monks at Anurādhapura was an impressive contrast to the humbler cave-dwellings of an earlier era. The Mahāthūpa, completed by his brother, was the largest monument in the Buddhist world for a long time. Adjoining the Mahāvihārā, to its southeast, he founded another monastery, the Mariccavṭṭivihāra, with a prominent *stūpa* of its own. These were politically significant activities which extended the mobilizatory powers of the ruler and enhanced the importance of the capital as the foremost centre of ritual for Buddhists living in all parts of the island. After this burst of activity with its catalytic effects on the process of state formation, political evolution in Sri Lanka appears to have slowed down. It was a long drawn out process, often arrested in times of political disorder, and its pace was determined by the slow processes of societal change and the development of channels of administrative communication. It is only in about the second century of the Christian era that it becomes possible to detect the presence of a mature state characterized by the institutionalization of coercive force and an administrative apparatus which enabled the rulers of Anurādhapura to ensure that decisions taken at the capital were implemented in the distant parts of their kingdom.[159]

---

158 For a discussion on the territorial limits of the authority of the successors of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, see Hettiarachchy, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–62.

159 There are several inscriptions which testify to the development of the capacity of the Anurādhapura rulers to implement their decisions. See, for instance, the inscriptions of Gajabāhu (A. D. 112-34): S. Paranavitana, "The Epigraphical Summary," *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sec. G, Vol. II, Colombo, 1933, p.187, 197; C W. Nicholas, "The Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Yāla East Wild Life Reserve, "*Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume*, 1956, p. 64.

The study of state formation in South and Southeast Asia has been for a long time based on a diffusionist approach. Pioneer scholars like George Coedés, who studied the past of countries which had come under cultural influences emanating from the Indian subcontinent, interpreted state formation in these "peripheral" areas as the result of the transplantation of concepts and institutions from the centres of Indian culture.[160] By glossing over the differences between institutions in the "centre" and the "periphery" the advocates of the diffusionist approach failed to recognize internal factors in state formation and tended to simplify highly diverse and complex processes. Indian concepts were certainly important in the political evolution of ancient Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan rulers bore titles of Indian origin. From the time of Devānāmpiya Tissa, when consecration ceremonials were introduced, the ruling house at Anurādhapura adopted the Mauryan title *Devanapiya.* However, the incongruity of a ruler of the Malvatu Oya basin, with little administrative machinery at his command, bearing the Mauryan title points to the validity of the truism that the same term can denote radically dissimilar things in different contexts. It underlines the fact that, while titles and ritual could be borrowed, it was infinitely more difficult to transplant political institutions from one social setting in another. As among the Cōḷas and he Pāṇḍyas of South India, located in the border areas of Mauryan activity, in Sri Lanka also, the state appears too late to be interpreted as a mere response to the Mauryan impulse. Though external influence was certainly an important factor, it appears that the evolution of the state was, in essence, an indigenous phenomenon.

R. A. L. H. Gunawardana

160 George Coedés, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie* (Paris, 1947) is an example of this approach. For two excellent critiques of this approach, see J. G. de Casparis, Historical Writing on Indonesia (Early Period)" in D. G. E. Hall, ed., *Historians of Southeast Asia*, London, 1962, pp. 121-163 and Paul Wheatley, "Satyanṛta in Svarṇadvipa" in *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, pp. 227-283.

HERODOTUS IN THE JATAKAS

Among the Greek story-motifs which have parallels in the stories of that great compendium of the Buddhists, the *Jātaka Book*, no less than four appear in the *Histories* of Herodotus. Already well-known is the striking similarity of the fable of the dancing peacock of the *Nacca Jātaka* (No. 32) to the Herodotean anecdote which tells of how Megacles of Athens and not Hippocleides, his fellow-citizen, came to marry Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon.[1] Another is ihe *Ucchaṅga Jātaka* (No. 67), in which a woman. given the choice of saving only one member of her family from death, opts for her brother, adducing the same arguments which Intaphernes' wife in Herodotus adduced before the King of Persia, when she was faced with a similar predicament and made a similar choice.[2]

These two parallels, together with another of the Rhampsinitus story in Herodotus with a jātaka, which I have so far failed to discover,[3] have been observed and commented upon in the consideration of their original source, since Western scholars became acquainted with the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* after its edition in the Pali by Prof. Fausböll[4] and its translation into English afterwards by various hands under the editorship of Prof. E. B. Cowell.[5] The other two jātakas, which I bring into discussion in this paper, have not been as popularly recognized as reflecting motifs from the Herodotean story material as the *Nacca Jātaka* and the *Ucchaṅga*, though I find that S. J. Warren had observed one of them in passing.[6]

My point, however, is that if all of them were considered together, as I will do here, their consensus would have raised a similar question as now exists between the jātakas and the Aesopica, whether the Buddhist authors of the respective birth-stories had been familiar with the work of the great Greek historian or, conversely, whether the anecdotes, which had found their way into

---

1 vi. 127 - 130

2 iii. 118 - 119

3 ii. 121. See W. R. Halliday *Greek and Roman Folklore* London etc. (1927) p. 107 - 108 and also his *Indo-European Folk Tales and Greek Legend* Cambr. (1933) p. 49. He writes, "The story, which appears in the *Jātakas* and in other Indian collections, is evidently old in the East: it is one of the tales which passed with Buddhism from India to Tibet and China". The motif appears in a Sri Lankan folk-tale, which Parker entitles 'The Thief called Harrantika'; see his *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon* London (1914) p. 41 - 42 and the variant in p. 43 - 46. W. Goonetilleke gave the story in *The Orientalist* vol. I. p. 59.

4 *The Jataka: together with its Commentary*, first published by Trubner & Co. (1899); reprint for the Pali Text Society, London (1962). vol. VII is the *Index to the Jātakas*.

5 *The Jātaka* vols. I - VII Cambridge (1895)

6 'Herodot. VI. 126' *Hermes* vol. XXIX (1894) p. 478,

his work, has somehow been inspired by motifs from story-prototypes of the jātakas, which had made their way to Greece from India in greater antiquity. The first of these jātakas I refer to is the *Macch-Uddāna Jātaka.* (No. 288), which emulates in part Herodotus' story of how the poet, Arion, was separated from his money during a voyage home by ship,[7] in part the story of the restoration of Polycrates' ring, cast into the waters of the sea, by means of a fish who had swallowed it.[8] The other is the *Maṇicora Jātaka* (No. 194), which builds upon a detail of the life of Aesop himself, which, true enough, is only alluded to in Herodotus,[9] but, if so, simply because he could take it that his audience was quite familiar with it. It concerns the arrest of the fabulist on a trumped-up charge of having stolen a gold cup from the god at Delphi and his death at the hands of the Delphians. Where these parallels have been subjected to discussion to decide the direction of borrowing – if a theory of borrowing was accepted as against coincidence – they have been, more often than not, considered individually and cursorily, with little attempt at anything like a detailed examination of their features or contexts to see what they indicate. For instance, the plurality of such parallels as exist between the jātakas and Herodotus must not only rule out coincidence, as they do with the fables of Aesop and Greek myths in general, but suggest some degree of literary dependence, one way or the other, to account for the phenomenon. Other considerations beside the multiplicity of such parallels rule out the hypothesis, except in a very few instances, of similar motifs appearing in the stories of the two diverse cultures as owing to their common Aryan heritage. Coincidence was a popular enough explanation when the examples of such parallel motifs known, or at least known to the particular writer, were few and far between.[10] Other scholars, including Max Müller,[11] suggested as an alternative the spread of some story-motifs through diverse lands with the migration of the Aryans, perhaps in the form of proverbs, which in time germinated into full-blown myths, fables or historical anecdotes.

If such theories are not tenable any longer, except in exceptional instances, it is due to the sheer number of the parallels that have come to light,[12] and, in addition to this, their conformity in detail as well, not just in motif alone.

---

7 i. 23 – 24

8 iii. 40 – 43

9 ii. 134

10 See Max Müller *Selected Essays on Language, Myth and Religion* vol. I. London (1881) p. 512 – 513; J. Jacobs *History of the Aesopic Fables* vol. I, London (1889) p. 108. (He refers to parallels with Aesop in jātakas 30, 32, 34, (with 45), 136, 143, 146, 189, 215, 294, 308, 374 383 and 426); H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas ed. *Jātaka Tales* Cambridge (1916) p. 5 – 6; A. B. Keith *A History of Sanskrit Literature* London (1920) p. 355 etc. But see Halliday *op. cit.* p. 46. He finds it difficult to believe that one particular fable would have been invented more than once independently in different areas.

11 *op cit.* p. 508 – 510. Müller cites as example the possibility of a proverb *nulla vestigia retrorsum* for common fables of some creature warned of danger lurking in a place by seeing footprints leading to it but none coming back. In this connection see p. 52 – 53 and the proverb of the *Rāmāyana*, that even Parjanya (god of rain) cannot rain down a brother.

12 See my 'Greek Motifs in the Jātakas' in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* vol. XXVII (1983)

Sometimes such conformity of detail has been surprisingly extensive and intimate as, for instance, between our own foundation myth of Vijaya and Kuvaṇṇā and the adventure of Odysseus with Circe in the Homeric saga.[13] While the most number of parallels are struck between the jātakas and the fables of Aesop, quite a number also refer to Greek myths, sometimes following their representation in tragic drama, on occasion even as paintings.[14] The extreme to which such adaptation can go is exemplified in a frieze from Gandhāra in the use of the Greek myth of the Trojan Horse itself to express the Buddhistic story based upon its motif – the capture of Prince Udena of Vatsa by the ruse of the wooden elephant.[15]

It may be thought that historical anecdote has precedence over myth and fable in the claim to evolving motif. And indeed it should be so, since such anecdote is generally based on an event in fact. In which case the four stories we treat here from Herodotus must have evolved the motifs, which then reappear in the fables and stories of their respective jātaka versions. The wedding of Agariste, Intaphernes' wife's remarkable choice, the story of Polycrates and his fateful ring and the incrimination of the fabulist. Aesop, all involve historical personalities and would have taken place in exactly that way or at least gave rise to the formulation encountered by the historian, and the imaginative Indian stories would have seized upon them and represented them, fiction from fact, as the birth-stories of the Buddha.

Unfortunately no writer is prepared to concede anything more to the historicity of these Herodotean anecdotes than that of the participants and perhaps some unrecognizable happening or basic idea devoid of the romanticism which may have dressed them up. The romantic treatment may be no less fiction than fable and myth themselves and may indeed be secondary elaboration interwoven with fact in the tradition in which the historian encountered them – that is, if it were not the work of the historian himself.[16]

Thus, on the face of it, the claim of Greek history to priority in the motifs of our four stories as against that of the Buddhist birth-stories on this contention appears to be little better than that of the Greek fables or

13 See my 'Greek Elements in the Vijaya Legend' in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* vol. XXVI (1982) p. 43-66.

14 Compare for instance the seventh and eighth dreams of the sixteen the king dreams in *Mahāsupina Jātaka* (No. 77) and the paintings of Orpus and the ass and the water-carriers of Hades in the murals of Polygnotus in the club – house (*lesche*) or the Cnidians at Delphi (Paus. x.29 and 31). See also W. H. D. Rouse 'A Jataka in Pausanias' *Folklore* vol. I (1890) p. 409. I have discussed this in an article 'Three Jātakas with Greek Myth-Motifs' accepted for publication in the forthcoming issue of *The Journal of Religious Studies* of the Punjab University of Patiala.

15 See my 'The Ujjain Elephant and the Trojan Horse' *Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities* vol. II no. 1 (1976) p. 32 – 43.

16 See for instance W. W. How and J. Wells. *A Commentary on Herodotus* vol. II. (1912) p. 117 n. to vi. 126: "The fact of the wedding of the daughter and heiress of Cleisthenes is doubtless historical, the details are obviously fictitious". On Herodotus as responsible for lies and inventions (*pseusmata kai plasmata*) see for instance Plutarch *De Herodoti Malignitate* 854f, 866c and 867b.

Greek mythology. Thus it is necessary to turn from such *a priori* considerations to an actual examination of the several ancedotes in Herodotus, along with their respective jātaka parallels, to determine the likelihood of the direction of borrowing and, in connection with this, the probable date. At any rate, a fresh and closer look at the counterparts, the Greek, which appear as historical anecdotes in Herodotus, and the Indian, which appear as imaginative Buddhist moral-stories, seems to me as relevant an exercise *a propos* the historian and the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* as do the fables of Aesop in thc light of the Indian compilation.

1. To begin with the wedding of Agariste, the Herodotean story has its parallel in the jātakas, as mentioned before, in the fable of the dancing peacock of the *Nacca Jātaka*. In brief, both accounts tell of how his unseemly dance cost a suitor the hand of the maiden he had all but won and how she was thereupon betrothed by her father to someone else.

Herodotus tells his story in a characteristic digression on the house of Alcmaeon, occasioned by the gossip, which he strongly repudiates, that it was the Alcmaeonidae who were responsible for treacherously signalling the Persians with a shield during their invasion of Greece in 490 B. C. ; for, asks he, "Is it likely that these men, who were obviously greater tyrant-haters than even Callias, the son of Phaenippus, father of Hipponicus, should have wished to see Athens ruled by Hippias under foreign control"? [17]

With this he launches into two episodes in the history of the Alcmaeonidae, which brought them wealth and prestige. In the first of these he tells the humorous story of how Alcmaeon, offered as a reward by King Croesus of Lydia as much gold as he could carry out of his treasury on his person, loaded himself up to appear so grotesque that it made the monarch burst into laughter and give him as much gold again as he had brought out.

In the next generation, says Herodotus, the family became even more famous than before through the distinction conferred upon it by Cleisthenes, the master of Sicyon, and goes on to tell the story of interest to us here. Cleisthenes had a daughter, Agariste, whom he wished to give in marriage to the best man in all Greece. So, by an announcement made at the Olympic Games, he invited any Greek who thought himself worthy to be his son-in-law to make his presence at Sicyon within sixty days or sooner, because he intended, within the year following the sixtieth day, to betroth her to her future husband. Presently the suitors began to arrive - every man of Greek nationality who had something to be proud of, whether in his country or in himself. Here follows a description of the distinguished suitors from various Greek cities, who, however, have no interest for us just now, except the two Athenians, Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, and Tisander's son, Hippocleides, "the wealthiest and best-looking man in Athens." For a year Cleisthenes kept them in his house, testing their

17 vi. 121

ability in conversation, temper, accomplishments, manners, virtues – and in the case of those who were not too old, their athletic prowess; but the most important test of all was to be their behaviour at the dinner-table.

For one reason or another it was the two Athenians who impressed Cleisthenes most favourably, and of them, Tisander's son came to be preferred, "not only for his manly virtues but also because he was related to the noble Corinthian family of Cypselus."

At last, when the day came, which had been appointed for the betrothal, Cleisthenes held a great banquet, to which not only the suitors but everyone of note in Sicyon was invited. Of what transpired at this banquet I give in translation Herodotus' own words.[18] "When dinner was over, the suitors began to compete with each other in music and in talking on a set theme to the assembled company. In both these accomplishments it was Hippocleides who proved by far the doughtiest champion, until at last, as more and more wine was drunk, he asked the flute-player to play a tune and began to dance to it. Now it may well be that he danced to his own satisfaction; Cleisthenes, however, who was watching his performance, began to have serious doubts about the whole business. Presently, after a brief pause, Hippocleides sent for a table; the table was brought and Hippocleides, climbing on to it, danced first some Laconian dances, next some Attic ones, and ended by standing on his head and beating time with his legs in the air. The Laconian and Attic dances were bad enough; but Cleisthenes, though he already loathed the thought of having a son-in-law who could behave so disgracefully in public, nevertheless restrained himself and managed to avoid an outburst; but when he saw Hippocleides beating time with his legs, he could bear it no longer. "Son of Tisander," he cried, "you have danced away your wife!" (*Ō pai Teisandrou, apōrchēsao ge men ton gamon*). "Hippocleides doesn't care!" (*Ou phrontis Hippokleidē*) was the cheerful reply; and it was hence that the common saying had its origin."

As for the girl, Agariste, Cleisthenes gave her in marriage to Megacles, the son of Alcamaeon.

Turning to the *Nacca Jātaka*, it will be found that it borrowed its *paccuppannavatthu*, or 'story of the present', which sets out the context in which the Buddha was supposed to have narrated the jātaka, from the *Devadhamma Jātaka* (No. 6), a jātaka which itself has elements common with Greek story.[19]

---

18 vi. 129

19 Footsteps leading down to a pool but none returning (see n. 11 above) warn the Bodhisatta, born as a prince, that it is the haunt of a water-demon, who devoured all who went into it. Cf. Aesop's fable of *The Lion and the Fox* (C.196, H.246, P.142, Hs.147), where the fox was warned by the same clue that the lion, who pretended to be ill, had killed and devoured all who came to visit him. As for the riddle asked by the demon, which permitted him to take any who failed to answer it, compare the Sphinx and her riddle in the Oedipus-legend.

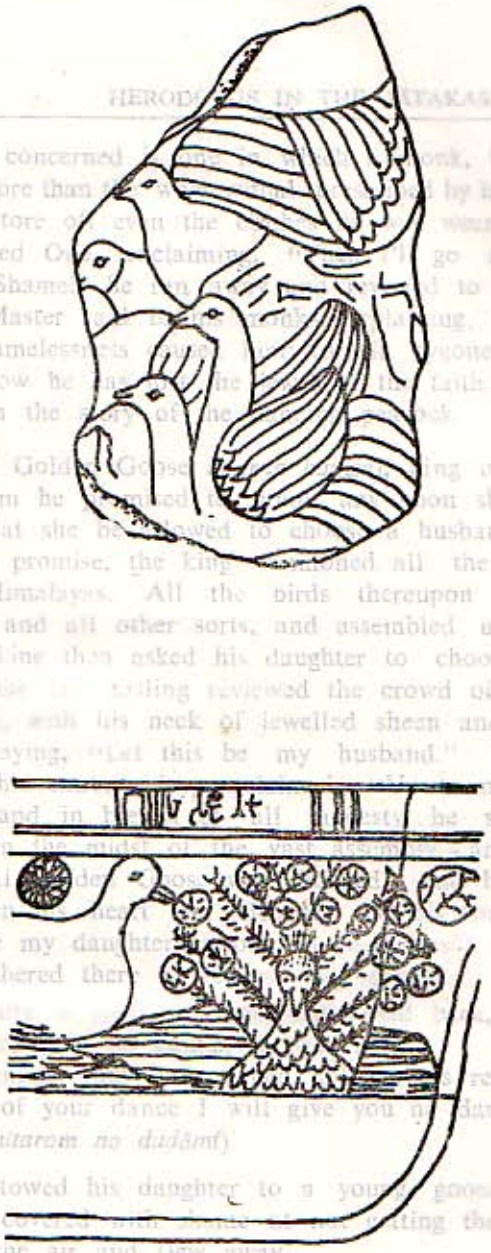
The incident concerned is one in which a monk, brought before the Buddha for possessing more than the wherewithal prescribed by him and questioned by him, lost his temper, tore off even the clothes he was wearing and stood stark naked before the Exalted One, exclaiming, "Then I'll go about like this!" When everyone cried "Shame!" he ran away and reverted to the state of a layman. Afterwards the Master said to his monks, explaining, "Brethren, this is not the only loss his shamelessness caused him; for, in bygone days he lost a jewel of a wife just as now he has lost the jewel of the faith." And so saying, the Master told them the story of the dancing peacock.

It seems the Golden Goose (*svarṇa haṃsa*), king of the birds, had a lovely daughter, to whom he promised to grant any boon she might ask. The boon she asked was that she be allowed to choose a husband for herself. So, in fulfilment of his promise, the king summoned all the birds together in the country of the Himalayas. All the birds thereupon made their appearance, swans, peacocks, and all other sorts, and assembled upon a great plateau of bare rock. The king then asked his daughter to choose a husband after her own heart. As the fair gosling reviewed the crowd of birds, her eyes lighted upon the peacock, with his neck of jewelled sheen and tail of varied hue, and she chose him, saying, "Let this be my husband." Thereupon the peacock, overwhelmed by his extreme joy, exclaimed, "Up to now you haven't seen how talented I am," and in breach of all modesty he spread his feathers and began to dance in the midst of the vast assembly – and in dancing he exposed himself. The royal Golden Goose was shocked. And he said, "This fellow has neither modesty in his heart nor decency in his outward behaviour! I will certainly not give my daughter to one so shameless!" And in the presence of all who were gathered there he recited this stanza:

A pleasing note is yours, a right resplendent back,
Almost like opal in its colour is your neck,
A fathom length your outstretched tail-feathers reach,
But because of your dance I will give you no daughter of mine
(*naccena te dhītaraṁ no dadāmi*)

So saying he bestowed his daughter to a young goose, a nephew of his. As for the peacock, covered with shame at not getting the fair gosling, he rose straight up into the air and flew away.

The similarity between the motifs of the two stories, the Greek historical anecdote and the Indian beast– (or bird–) fable, is unmistakable. Here are two fathers who wish to give their daughters in marriage; each invites a host of eligible suitors to a venue and a selection is arrived at of one who is most outstanding in looks and talent, when, for one reason or another (in the Indian story, elated by his selection, in the Greek by inebriation) the prospective bridegroom begins a dance – a dance which turns out to be most indecorous and vulgar, which so infuriates the girl's father, who had been watching the performance, that he declares (the expressions in the two stories are strikingly similar) that he has 'danced his bride away'. The variation in the reaction to



Fragments from the railing reliefs of the Bharhut Stupa depicting a scene from the Hamsa Jātaka (i. e. the Nacca Jātaka). Above – part of the assembly of birds summoned by the royal Golden Goose; below – the elated peacock, his tail-feathers fanned out, dances before the fair gosling. Line reproductions by K. H. Jayatileke after a plate and line drawing in A. Cunningham's *The Stupa of Bharhut*, Benares (1962).

this rejection between Hippocleides and the peacock (observed by Warren)[20] is little to the point and, if anything, underlines the close similarity of the rest of the motif. Hippocleides may have continued the dance, which, from a means had become an end in itself and more to his fancy than the girl, to win whom he had begun to perform it in the first place. As for the peacock, we are told that he departed in the shame of defeat. In both stories it would be noted that thereafter the father betrothed his daughter to another, at best a second best.

Though the author of the *Pañcatantra* made no use of the fable of the dancing peacock from the jātakas in his work, there is reference to it in a stanza occuring in what may perhaps be its oldest recension, contained in the Berlin ms.[21] On the other hand, at the time of the publication of his translation of the first forty jātakas, one of which happens to be the *Nacca Jātaka*, Rhys Davids was unaware of the existence of its parallel in Herodotus; consequently we are deprived of his opinion on the matter, though there is little doubt he would have accepted priority for the Indian story as against the Greek.[22] This was also the view of G. H. Rawlinson[23] and others like W. R. Halliday[24] and T. R. Glover,[25] who followed him in thinking that Indian fables such as this and that of the *Ucchaṅga Jātaka*, including also the account of the Indian Uttarakuru, who had their home in the Himalayas, had found their way into Herodotus. A fuller discussion of the Herodotean anecdote of the wedding of Agariste and the Indian fable of the dancing peacock, however, appears in the edition of *Herodotus* by R. W. Macan,[26] whose attention had been drawn to the jātaka by the Pali scholar, Arnold C. Taylor.

Macan found it unacceptable "that the Greek story, as told by Herodotus, was carried to India in the days of Alexander the Great, and there, in course of time, transformed and degraded into a beast- (or bird-) fable, to be again in course of time, moralized into a Buddhist birthstory (according to which the soul of the peacock was reincarnate in the person of a luxurious monk, one that degraded himself in the presence of the Master, whose soul had formerly inhabited the body of the same royal Golden Goose)". Any such hypothesis, he says, would place a severe strain upon the conscience of historian and mythologist. According to him, it is infinitely more probable that an Indian fable had reached Hellas and been historicised before the days of Herodotus, than that a page of Herodotean history, so to speak, was torn out and carried to India in the train of Alexander, and there "dissolved and dessicated into a bird-fable." For, says he, "the fable wears upon its very face and front the more primitive stamp: the Herodotean story is transparently imaginative, poetical, pragmatic."

20 *op. cit.* p. 477
21 *Pantschatantra* Leipzig (1859) i. 98 (p. 280).
22 *Buddhist Birth-Stories* London (1880) p. 294 n.1
23 *India and the Western World* Cambridge (1916) p. 25
24 *op. cit.* p. 48 – 49; see also his *Greek and Roman Folklore* p. 106 – 107.
25 *Herodotus* California (1924) p. 119.
26 *Herodotus* London vol. II (1895) append. xiv p. 304 – 311.

Theorizing thus that the fabulous element in the Herodotean story is derived neither directly nor indirectly from the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā* but from an earlier and remoter source, Macan sets out to determine the time about which this peacock-fable from India would have made its advent within the European area by the date assignable to the introduction of the bird to the West, only to find that the epiphany of the bird in Athens does not antedate Herodotus, [27] while Herodotus himself nowhere mentions it. On the other hand, while fable as a story-genre may antedate historical anecdote, there is no reason to think that other forms of narrative could not have been deliberately reduced to fable in the folk medium of a different culture. For instance, the Greek myth of Icarus reappears transformed into a bird-fable in the *Migālopa* and *Gijjha Jātaka*s (Nos. 381 and 164) [28] and I cannot help thinking that there is also the Phaethon-motif at the bottom of the story of the two geese of the *Javana Haṁsa Jātaka* (No. 476), who tried to fly with the sun and felt as if the joints of their wings were afire - though they were saved from the fate of that rash youth by the Bodhisatta, born as a goose himself.

It is true that the fabulous element of the tale of the wedding of Agariste leaves the historical substance unaffected – namely, that Hippocleides and Megacles were the chief, perhaps only, suitors for the hand of Cleisthenes' daughter. But those who suggest that it was Herodotus himself who worked the fable-motif from India, or wherever, into the texture of the historical event, have the onus of explaining in some other way the saying "Hippocleides doesn't care" (*ou phrontis Hippokleidē*) already popular in Greece in Herodotus' day. It is too much to think, however, that this saying had grown out of some other event, and perhaps some other Hippocleides as well, and was the cause (not consequence) of the metamorphosis of the dancing peacock into the dancing Eupatrid. Despite calling the concordance between the Greek and Indian stories a 'coincidence' (Uebereinstimmung), Warren too was inclined to the idea of a borrowing from India, both on the grounds of the seeming antiquity of the story (which he, like Macan, however fails to establish beyond the third century B. C.) and the manner in which the bridegroom was to be selected, which he found reminiscent of the Indian practice of *svayaṃvara* i. e. the girl or her father makes the choice from among the assembled suitors. [29]

In the strictest sense *svayaṃvara* ('self-choice') must mean the privilege for the girl to choose for herself – which is the boon King Golden Goose granted his daughter, even though it was he who ultimately, and from a more serious consideration than the superficial appearance of the peacock, which had swept the fair gosling off her feet, rejected her choice and chose some other for her.

---

27 The bird was known to his contemporaries; see Eupolis apud Athenaeus p. 397, Aristophanes *Acharn.* 63, *Birds* 102, 269, 885; cp. Athenaeus *loc. cit.*

28 Discussed in my 'Three Jātakas with Greek Myth-Motifs'

29 *op. cit.*

Birds and beasts assembling at one spot to select one of themselves king or for some other purpose is popular in fable throughout the world; it occurs in Aesop as it does in the jātakas and other stories of the *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* in India. In fact the Golden Goose had himself been selected king in this way in the *Ulūka Jātaka* (No. 270) and was himself a second choice upon the rejection of the owl (on an objection raised by the crow). Such fabulous assemblies of birds and beasts are really an extension of human conduct, a democratic element replacing the natural selection within a species, which is more akin, however, to the selection by trial of prowess or talent also found in epic and familiar to the Greeks as much as to the Indians and, in fact, the mode of selection which figures in the Herodotean story. Well-known of course is the contest of the suitors for the hand of Penelope in the *Odyssey*. Grote however suggested that the wooing of Agariste imitated the epic *Wooing of Helen*, and Stein, that it came from an ode in Pindar. [30]

What is surprising and goes far towards suggesting that whatever story, the Greek or the Indian, borrowed from the other knew more of it than its central motif, is the fact that a clear idea of *svayaṃvara* figures in Herodotus as well, with a father granting his daughters the boon of selecting husbands for themselves – and, of all places, immediately prior to the story he tells of the wedding of Agariste! [31] Besides, it is told of no less a person than the Callias, whom Herodotus says the Alcmaeonidae rivalled in their hatred of the Persians. For, says the historian, one of the three things for which the man "deserved frequent mention by all" was the fact that, when his three daughters were of marriageable age, "he not only gave them a most magnificient portion, but likewise attended to their desires so much that he gave each in marriage to him of all the Athenians whom she herself chose to select".

Admittedly one could argue that Herodotus is culprit here as well as in the anecdote proper. In his devastating attack on the honesty of the historian, Plutarch had already compared Herodotus to Hippocleides himself, accusing him of "dancing away the truth" and saying "Herodotus doesn't care!" I cannot think, however, that Herodotus would have dared to roundly lie about not one but two prominent families of Athens, whose close descendants would have heard him – and, of all things, based his lies upon a peacock-fable from India! This, and the well-grounded anapaestically formulated proverb involving Hippocleides and his gay abandon, must belong with some historical truth in Greece itself.

There is yet another detail, however, which links the *Nacca Jātaka* with the Greek story; true, one that is not of great importance, but still remarkable in that it re-echoes a qualification of the suitor found most eligible for the hand of Agariste. This is the relationship of the young goose, whom the royal Golden Goose chose for his daughter after rejecting the peacock. He was, we are told in the jātaka, a kinsman of his, a nephew. The same qualification, a particular

30 *A History of Greece* London (1869) vol. III p. 38 n. See How and Wells *loc. cit.*
31 vi. 122.

kinship to someone, even if not to himself, figured in Cleisthenes' preference for Hippocleides over Megacles as his son-in-law; for Hippocleides was related some generations back to the noble Corinthian family of Cypselus. That this has shifted from Hippocleides in the Greek story to the young goose (the Megacles of the jātaka) and not to the peacock, is nothing to the fact that it is after all present in both stories. And here again I cannot think that Herodotus has strained historical fact to make it conform to a detail – and an inessential one at that - of an imaginary fable from India.

What really fascinates me and could be used to argue for the genuineness and originality of the Indian fable is, of course, the aptness with which the peacock features in it. It is a matter of opinion whether the cry of the peacock is, as described by King Golden Goose, "a pleasing note" (*rudaṁ manuññaṁ*),[32] but there can be no doubt as to the bird's beauty, which swept the fair gosling off her feet. What is more remarkable is the exactitude with which its dance fits the fable – the bird's tendency, when fanning out its tail-feathers in the dance, not only to expose its rear end but to turn it towards those watching! This is best described in the words of Flannery O' Conner, a peacock-rearer, who, I presume, was totally unaware of the jātaka when he did so.[33]

This handsomeness of the peacock, coupled with its tendency for indecent exposure when dancing (*naccanto appaṭicchanno ahosi*), which may be thought to clinch the origin of the story to itself and India, a land of peacocks, is, however, strongly matched in Greece by certain dance-forms (*schēmata*), which, like the *kordax* of Old Comedy, were positively unseemly and vulgar. Hippocleides' offending dances were, Cook conjectures, "Theban figures," if not improvisations of Hippocleides' own. He refers to the fragment of a *pella* of local fabric

32 The peacock's voice is here called pleasing along with his glamorous appearance merely as counterpoint to the unseemliness of his dance. In fact, however, the bird's cry is, as Tertullian calls it, 'raucus'. Flannery O' Conner, who rears peacocks, says ('The King of Birds' *Spam* vol. XXIII no. 9 (Sept. 1982) p. 18) "Frequently the cock combines the lifting of his tail with the raising of his voice. He appears to receive through his feet some shock from the centre of the earth, which travels upwards through him and is released: *Eee – ooo – ii! Eee – ooo – ii!* To the melancholy this sound is melancholy and to the hysterical it is hysterical. To me it has always sounded like a cheer for an invisible parade". The hen's call he compares to a mule's bray – *heehaw, heehaw, aa – aawww.*

33 *op. cit.* p. 17. He writes. "The cock opens his tail by shaking himself violently until it is gradually lifted in an arch round him. Then, before anyone has had a chance to see it, he swings around so that his back faces the spectator. This has been taken by some to be insult and by others to be whimsy. I suggest it means only that the peacock is equally well satisfied with either view of himself. Since I have been keeping peafowl, I have been visited at least once a year by first-grade school children, who learn by living. I am used to this group chorus as the peacock swings around, "Oh look at his underwear!" This "underwear" is a stiff gray tail, raised to support the larger one, and beneath it a puff of black feathers that would be suitable for some really regal woman – a Cleopatra or a Clytemnestra – to use to powder her nose". Describing the dance of the peacock, O'Conner says (p. 18): "The cock, his tail raised in a shimmering arch around him, will turn this way and that, and with his clay-coloured wing feathers touching the ground, will dance forward and backward, his neck curved, his beak parted, his eyes glittering".

found in the site of the Kabeirion in Thebes and datable to the end of the fifth century B. C., which shows a man standing on his hands on a three-legged table, with his feet in the air, while another, seated on his right, may be playing a flute.[34] One wonders if, in executing his dance, standing on his head and beating time with his legs in the air, Hippocleides did not also, like the shameless peacock of the jātāka, expose what decency required him to conceal in the presence of Cleisthenes' guests!

Herodotus' story does not seem to have been a popular one; it is not told by any other ancient writer and is in fact hardly referred to even afterwards, except by Dio Chrisostom (in his *Troikos* xi. 47). Yet the historian narrates it with such confidence as if it really happened that Warren himself, who found the *svayaṃvara* Indian and the evidence bespeaking a greater antiquity for the Indian peacock-fable, had his doubts and remained undecided. On the other hand, the *Nacca Jātaka's* re-use of the *paccuppannavatthu* of another jātaka may perhaps – though not necessarily – imply that it is an interloper of sorts among the other jātakas, even if not much later in date than them. The verse stanza of the *Nacca Jātaka* is definitive enough and links the commentarial birth-story with the canonical *Jātaka Book*, the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, which contains only the verses. But the *Nacca Jātaka* is fortunate in being one of those depicted in the bas-reliefs on the railings of the Bharhut stūpa. There the gosling is shown in profile, facing left, while the peacock, on a slightly lower register and facing forwards, dances characteristically with his back to her, his tail-feathers beautifully splayed out. The scene, though entitled *Haṁsa Jātaka* (in characters of the third century B. C.), is clearly that of our story, for which this may have been an alternate title.[35] The stūpa itself dates to around the middle of the third century B. C., but since almost all its identified scenes are not explicable by the verses alone that are relevant to their respective jātakas, it must be presumed that the narratives, which prompted the verses, pre-dated the carvings and the verses themselves; indeed, some of the

34 'Hippocleides Dance' *Classical Review* vol. XXI no. 6 (1907) p. 169 – 170. Cook conjectures that Hippocleides' famous remark meant no more than that he had no cares, not that he did not care, and that Cleisthenes was perhaps unjust when he treated Hippocleides' Kabeiric capers as a proof of indecorous levity; posterity, he says, is still more so, if it mistakes light-heartedness for downright impudence. But see L. Solomon *Classical Review* vol. XXI no. 7 (1907) p. 323. He rightly points out that (a) the expression is strange if it intended to say Hippocleides had no cares (b) he was retorting to Cleisthenes' rejection of him *(hypelabon eipe)* (c) the expression became proverbial and (d) the joke loses its point in Cook's interpretation.

35 See A. Cunningham *The Stupa of Bharhut* Benares (1962) p. 69 (with plate XXVII item 11). "The sculpture is very much broken", he writes, "the whole of the lower half and portions of both sides being lost. Enough, however, remains of the head and neck of the Goose (hansa) and the head and outspread tail of a Peacock to identify the story, even without the accompanying label, as the *Hansa Jātaka* or "Goose Birth". See also J. F. Dickson 'The Popular Acceptance of the Jatakas as shown in Picture – stories and Sculptures' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Ceylon Branch) vol. VIII. no. 28 p. 137. He thinks the jātaka has undergone a name-change, not that what we have here is an alternate. But see Rhys Davids *Buddhist India* 6th ed. Calcutta (1955) p. 110.

carvings that remain unidentified may well be illustrative of jātakas which were current in the community at the time but failed to be included in the text. Yet the *Nacca Jātaka* is not likely to have belonged to the earliest compositions categorized as *Jātakam* in the Buddhist literature recognized in the Nikāyas, since in none of these is the Buddha identified in his previous birth with an animal (or bird), as he is in this jātaka, where he is no less than the royal Golden Goose, father of the fair gosling.

Thus it would appear that the story of the dancing peacock was composed or compiled in the Buddhist jātakas at some time before the railings of the Bharhut and Sanchi stūpas were decorated with scenes from the birth-stories, but some time after the earliest compositions called jātakas in the Nikāyas, a period of time which encompasses at least three-quarters of a century after the arrival of the Greeks in India, during which - to use Macan's words - a page of Herodotean history, torn and carried to India in the train of Alexander, could well have "dissolved and dessicated into a bird-fable".

2. Herodotus' story of Intaphernes' wife and the jātaka called the *Ucchaṅga* both tell of a woman who, when offered the life of any one of her family, who had been condemned to death, chooses brother over husband and son with the same argument that she could always get another husband or son, but, mother and father being dead, not another brother.

According to Herodotus, Intaphernes, one of the seven confederates who conspired against the Magi and seized power in Persia, was arrested by King Darius along with all his children and near relations on the strong suspicion that he and his family were about to raise a revolt. Thereupon Intaphernes' wife came to the palace and wept and lamented outside the door, until the king, moved by pity, agreed to spare the life of any one of them, whom she chose. Having thought the matter over, the woman answered that, if the king would grant her only the life of one member of her family, she would choose her brother. The answer surprised Darius, who then inquired of her the reason for the unexpected choice. "My lord," she replied, "God willing, I may get another husband, and other children, when these are gone. But as my father and mother are both dead, I can never possibly have another brother". We are told that Darius so appreciated the woman's good sense that he granted her, not only the life she asked, but also that of her eldest son. The rest of the family were all put to death.

It will be recalled that Sophocles, in his *Antigone*,[36] makes Antigone use the same argument in defence of her intense brother-love, when, caught in the act of burying Polyneices in defiance of the edict of Creon, her uncle and king, she was being led away to her rock-vaulted tomb. For she says:

I would not have done the forbidden thing
For a husband or son.

36 909 - 912.

For why? I could have had another husband,
And by him other sons, if one were lost;
But father and mother dead, where would I get
Another brother?

Sophocles is thought to have been a close friend of Herodotus, and this may well be true. Evidence of this is partly the poem Sophocles addressed to the historian and partly the correspondences that there are in the works of the two. These are more than accidental in the passage under review and one other at least[37] – that is, if the texts in the present form are original. Some are of the opinion that this particular passage in Sophocles is an interpolation, notably Dindorf, who thought that what Antigone should have said of her dead brother here was what Intaphernes' wife said of her living brother – that she would not have transgressed in favour of a son or husband, because such loss could be repaired, but that her brother could never come back to life.[38]

If the verses in Sophocles were an interpolation, it must have got into the text at a very early date, for they appear to have been there in the *Antigone* known to Aristotle. Some have therefore ascribed the addition to the poet's son, Iophon. Pischel, for one, was convinced that there was no interpolation here and that the matter did not need further proof; he thought it even less doubtful that it was Sophocles who had borrowed the argument from Herodotus.[39] Donaldson thought otherwise;[40] but it seems more natural in the context of the historian than in Sophocles. As Blakesley observes, "The argument comes in so strangely in the play, introduced by the question *tinos nomou dē tauta pros charin lego* (;) that it is difficult not to conceive it as taken from some popular imported story, rather than the home-growth of Sophocles' imagination".[41] Thus, if there is any truth in Plutarch's story in the *De Malignitate* (862) and Herodotus had in fact recited a portion of his history before the *Antigone* was written, it is easier to think that Sophocles adopted the argument from the historian than the other way round.

Antigone's words are strange and illogical in the context in which she utters them. It is natural to say, as Intaphernes' wife in Herodotus does, "I choose my brother before my husband or son, because I can never have another brother, though I may have another husband or son," but less natural to say "I pay rites to a dead brother, which I would not have paid to a husband or son, because I could have others (to pay funeral rites to!)" Again, why must the loss of the son be linked with the loss of the husband as well, so that she should expect another son from *another husband?* – the two hypotheses of

37 Hdt. ii. 35.2 and *Oed. Col.* 337 – 341; cf. also i. 33.5 and *Oed. Tyr.* 1530; iv. 95.4 and *Elect.* 62 – 64; i. 31.4, vii. 46.3 – 4 and *Oed. Col.* 1225 f.

38 See L. Campbell and E. Abbot *Sophocles* vol. II Oxford (1886) p. 212, n. to verses 905 f.

39 'Zu Sophocles Antigone 909 – 912' *Hermes* vol. XXVIII (1893)

40 See C. W. Tawney 'A Folk-lore Parallel' *The Indian Antiquary* vol. X (1881) p. 370

41 See Tawney *loc. cit.*

loss should have been kept separate.[42] Finally, quite apart from these sentiments, when expressed by Antigone, being "somewhat unromantic", as Tawney calls them,[43] should not even the underlying thought of other brothers, unrelizable (thank heaven!) now that father and mother are both dead, be repulsive to her, knowing, as she did, how the children, who had been born to them, had been born in incest? Besides, is she not also forgetting that this was not the only brother she did have? There was Eteocles, even though he was also dead.

The circumstances in which the Buddha is said to have narrated the *Ucchaṅga. Jātaka* are as follows:

Some robbers had plundered folk in the forest and made their escape. Their victims, pursuing them, mistook three men – a man, his wife's brother and his son, who were ploughing on the edge of the forest, for the robbers and haled them before the king of Kosala (who, it is to be inferred, condemned them to death). After some time there appeared at the king's palace a woman, who with loud lamentation begged for "where-with to be covered". The king, misconstruing her request, sent her a shift; but she refused it, saying that that was not what she meant; she meant a husband. Here the sutta explains:

Like kingless kingdoms, like a stream run dry,
So, bare and naked is a woman seen,
Who, having brothers ten, yet lacks a mate.

Pleased with her answer that the real covering for a women was a husband, the king granted her the freedom of any one of the three whom she chose. Whereupon the woman replied, "Sire, if I live, I can get another husband and another son; but as my parents are dead, I can never get another brother. So give me my brother, Sire".

The stanza relevant to this choice does not appear in the *paccuppannavatthu* but in the jātaka proper, where the circumstances are said to have been identical in that past life, except that the king was different.

A son's an easy find; of husbands too
An ample choice throng public ways. But where
Will all my pains another brother find? [44]

Pleased with the woman's reply, the king (in the *paccuppannavatthu* the king of Kosala, in the jātaka King Brahmadatta of Benares) let her have all three prisoners – brother, husband and son.

Pischel argued for an Indian origin for this ratiocination in favour of a brother over spouse and son and drew attention to a parallel in the *Rāmāyana*. [45]

42 R. Jebb and E. S. Shuckburgh *The Antigone of Sophocles* Cambridge (1924) p. 182, n. to 909 f.

43 *op. cit.* p. 370.

44 I have adopted the translation of the stanzas from the Cowell ed. of *The Jātaka*.

45 *loc. cit*; see *Rāmāyana* vi. 24. 7. 8.

Here, when Lakṣmana, the dear brother and inseparable companion of the hero is killed in the battle for Lanka, Rāma complains:

> *Yatra kva cid bhaved bhāryā putro 'nye 'pi ca bāndhavaḥ*
> *taṁ tu deśaṁ na pasyāmi yatra sodaryam āpnuyām*
> *Parjanyo varṣate sarvaṁ itiyaṁ vaidikī śrutiḥ*
> *pravādas' capi satyo, yaṃ mātṛajātaṁ na varṣati.*
>
> "Somewhere I can find a wife, a son and all other relations; but I don't see a place where I can find a brother. Parjanya (god of rain) sends down all things from above – that is the teaching of the Veda; but this proverb is also there, that he cannot rain down a brother".

Old as the *Rāmāyana* may be,[46] the proverb in it must be of greater antiquity; and upon this and the presence of the notion in the Buddhist story Pischel bases his argument for its origin in India. The Persian context of the Intaphernes anecdote only confirms for him that Persia was the land through which the Western world got most of its Indian fables and fairy tales.

On the other hand, the latter point only serves to convince Noeldeke that the origin of the story must be in Persia itself, whence it made its way to India.[47] As further evidence he cites an Iranian story from the Marzbanname fable- and fairy-tale collection belonging to the twelfth century A. D., but which may have been retold from a work two hundred years older. In this a woman proffers the same argument to a demon, Dahak, when the serpents issuing from his shoulder-blades threatened to consume her husband, son and brother, and when he granted her the life of any one of them. She is still young, she argues, and so can take another man for husband, and by him be able to bear another son; but as her father and mother are no more, she cannot have another brother. Dahak's humanity is stirred by her reply and he grants her the lives of all three.

Something close to the Intaphernes story may very well have taken place in Persia, with its volatile and eccentric oriental monarchs; there is also evidence for a Persian practice of punishing a whole family for the wrong of a single individual in the *Book of Daniel*,[48] though the Darius here, more merciful than his Biblical namesake, had not arrested the womenfolk. It will also be observed that the king, according to Herodotus, spared only the woman's brother and the eldest son; the rest, including her husband, Intaphernes, Darius put to death.

Noeldeke asserts that Herodotus' version is cruel; but this very point may be the evidence that lifts the story in the historian above the level of fable. But it also goes a long way to suggest that, if anything, the late Persian story, where all are spared, is more in affinity with the version in the

46 Keith puts the date of the work between 500 B.C. and 300 B C. as against Jacobs, who suggested it was older. See his argument in 'The Date of the Ramayana' *JRAS* (1915) p. 318 - 328, and for his conclusion, p. 327.

47 'Zu Herodot. 3, 119 (Sophokles Antigone 903 - 913)' *Hermes* vol. XXIX (1894) p. 156.

48 6.24

Ucchaṅga Jātaka (a fact Noeldeke observes) than with the basic Intaphernes story Herodotus sets in Persia itself. This point of concordance may furthermore establish that this late Persian story has derived from the Buddhists in the spread of jātaka story-motifs westward in the middle ages than (as Noeldeke construed) from an indigenous Persian story which Herodotus had found involving Intaphernes. Quite apart from the gap of over one and a half thousand years between the Intaphernes story and the Dahak fable, during which there are no traces of the motif in Persia, the new element of compassion (menschliches Rühen), which takes the place of the king's pleasure with the woman's reply in the Intaphernes-version, and from it (in my opinion) even in the jātaka story as it appears in the *Jātaka Book*, must owe something to the Buddhist source from which such stories emanated westwards in the later centuries. [49] Tawney, who says that the stanza the woman in the *Ucchaṅga* uttered before King Brahmadatta to justify her preference of her brother to husband and son,

Ucchaṅge deva me putto, pathe dhāvantiyā pati,
taṅ ca deśaṁ na passāmi yato sodariyam ānaye ti

is less romantic even than the speech of Antigone, suggested the story was part of the common heritage of the Aryan races. [50] Motif, perhaps. But the concordance in detail as well between the Greek and the Indian suggests a more direct influence between the two than can be accounted for by acquaintance with merely the common motif. The same may be said for a theory of dispersal in either direction, to Greece and India, from Persia, since at the end of it one has to account for how the Greek and Indian versions come out reflecting each other so closely in material as well. Noeldeke may be right that the Greeks and Indians have ultimately got their story from a Persian original, if he would, however, concede that the Indian borrowing could be through the Greek.

Pischel is not conclusive about India being the original source of the motif; he suggests a common source for Greece and India, or again, the likelihood of their having lit upon the idea independently. The appearance of it in the *Rāmāyana*, which he remarks, cannot however be treated lightly, since the work must be the oldest in which it is found – and may antedate Herodotus by as much as a century and a half at least. Besides, there is undoubtedly a resemblance between the second stanza of the Pali of the jātaka

taṅ ca deśaṁ na passāmi yato sodariyam ānaye ti

and the second of the four verses of the Sanskrit from the *Rāmāyana* given above:

taṁ tu deśam na pasyāmi yatra sodaryam āpnuyām

which is, as Pischel points out, nothing but remarkable.

I have my doubts, however, as to the priority of the argument for a brother over spouse or son in the *Rāmāyana* and suspect the similarity of the second

49 The woman here, like Antigone, says she can have a new husband, and *through him* a son. But in her case choice of one of the three entailed the loss of both the others. Antigone was merely faced with the problem of how she was to replace any one of the three singly, and therefore needed to consider each situation separately.

50 *op. cit* p. 371

line in language and the whole idea in the first two is an interpolation and inspired by nothing other than the corresponding stanza in the story of our jātaka. On the other hand, the reference to the Veda and the ancient proverb may constitute what Rāma had said in the original text – it looks old and genuine material, free from the sophistication of this rather feelingless and selfish contention, which has been attracted into the work from the nature of the context. [50a]

Quite apart from the date of Herodotus and the compilation of the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, once again it is the *paccuppannavatthu* that betrays signs of an accommodation of what may be a later composition into the bulk of the birth-stories. For is it not passing strange that a woman, who comes to a king for "wherewith to be covered" (meaning a husband) and feels bare and naked, even with ten brothers, but without a mate, ends by requesting of the king the life of a *brother* over husband and son? The contradiction goes right back to the two stanzas themselves.

There seems no way, then, of escaping the conclusion that the latter part of the story in the *paccuppannavatthu*, which is also the part which constitutes the jātaka proper and is commentarial to the second of the stanzas, has been grafted on to an existing one, in which a woman petitions for her husband from the king with a riddling request, which the king fails to solve correctly, and, pleased with the wit thereof, grants her the life of her *husband!* After all, had she not declared the need of a husband more to her than having ten brothers? How else can we explain her right-about-turn in the second part of the story, in which she goes on to suggest that husbands are a dime a dozen, as it were, and then ask for her brother, ten of whom she had declared earlier did not serve her need (of a cover!) as did a single husband? Besides, it is a weakness of the narrative as it stands that, when she has come explicitly for her husband, the king should offer her a choice – a choice in which the woman ends by contradicting the intent with which she first came to the palace. *Varium et mutabile* is hardly the character of the woman which impressed his royal highness to make his generous gesture!

Howèver, too much should not be made of Noeldeke's argument that the Herodotean version is the original simply because in it only two lives are spared, whereas in the oriental version, all three – husband, brother and son, are given their freedom. After all, in the latter they deserved to be spared, since they were innocent; it would have been tragic and not in the character of the moral stories to which the *Ucchanga* belonged, if any one of them had been punished, with death or otherwise. What the woman in the jātaka achieved by her answer, therefore, was a divine dispensation; Intaphernes' wife merely had her plea doubly answered by a king's whim.

50a I am obliged to my colleage, Ven Y. Dhammapala of the Dept. of Pali and Buddhist Studies of the University of Peradeniya for drawing my attention to the fact that P. L. Vaidya omits both these slokas (and the four others that follow) as later additions. See his *The Ramayana* vol. VI. Baroda (1971) p. 241. n. 796.

So then the happening involving Intaphernes' wife, which may have actually taken place and in the same, or some similar way, in Persia and found its passage into the pages of the Greek historian, Herodotus, must be thought to have reached India some time shortly after Alexander's invasion and the Greek advent there to work itself into a birth-story of the Buddha. If it were indeed true that it was the jātaka that thereafter inspired the fable of the woman and the demon, Dahak, in Persia, where the story had its origin in fact many centuries before, the cyclic passage of this motif in antiquity need not surprise us; the motif of the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka* story of the judgement by the chalk circle will be found ot have done a circuit of far greater dimension and duration. [51]

3· I now come to the third of the parallels between Herodotus and the jātakas. Story-motifs from two anecdotes in his history have been used to compose the single story of the Buddhists here. In the very first pages of Herodotus occurs the digression in which he tells of the adventure of Arion of Methymna, poet, musician and supposed inventor of the dithyramb, and of how he was robbed at sea.

It seems that, after making a great deal of money in Italy and Sicily, Arion was making his way back to Corinth, where he had found favour with the tyrant, Periander, when the crew of the Corinthian ship, in which he was journeying, hatched a plot to throw him overboard and rob his money. He, however, got wind of it and begged them to take his money but spare his life. It was to no purpose; the sailors bid him kill himself if he wished to be buried ashore, in the alternative, to jump into the sea.

Arion, seeing that their minds were made up, requested permission to stand on the after-deck, dressed in his singing-robes, and sing a song before throwing himself overboard. They agreed to this, but when he was in the water, a dolphin picked him up and carried him on its back to Taenarum. From Taenarum Arion made his way to Corinth, where he told Periander all that had transpired. Later, when the ship put in at Corinth and the sailors were questioned as to the absence of the poet, they lied that they had left him safe and sound at Taenarum. Thereupon Arion made his appearance and gave them an unpleasant shock; the lie was detected and further denial useless.

The first part of the plot of the *Macch-uddāna Jātaka* makes use of this motif, even though what ends up in the water in this Indian story is the money and not its owner. Here, a younger brother, set on robbing his elder brother (the Bodhisatta) of his parcel of thousand pieces of money, made a similar parcel full of gravel and put both away. When, however, they were both aboard a boat and in the middle of the river they were crossing, the younger pretended to stumble against the side of the boat and dropped overboard the parcel of gravel, as he thought, but by some confusion really the parcel of money. Then he cried to his elder brother that the money was gone. There was nothing the

51 See my 'The Tunnel-Maker and the Labyrinth-Builder' *Senerat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume* Leiden (1978) p. 147 n. 8.

elder brother could do but accept the loss. As for the younger brother, upon going home and discovering that it was in fact the parcel of money and not the parcel of gravel that he had dropped into the river, his heart dried up in anguish and disappointment.

The money, however, was restored to its rightful owner, as no doubt Arion's was – but that is the second part of the plot in the jātaka and utilizes a different motif from Herodotus, one which involves another tyrant, Polycrates of Samos, and how his fabulous ring, cast into the sea, came back to him in the belly of a fish. The parallel has already been observed by Warren,[52] and also the occurence of the same motif in the *Śākuntalā* of Kalidasa, though he only uses it to suggest the existence of more than one case of such concordance between India and Greece.

To turn to the second motif – before their boat-trip across the river, the elder brother of the jātaka, the Bodhisatta, had fed some fish in it with the remnants of his meal and given the merit of his act to the river-spirit. Now, when the parcel of money was dropped into the water by the younger brother in mistake for the parcel of gravel, the river-spirit, out of gratitude for the merit he had received, made a wide-mouthed fish swallow it. Later, fishermen happened to catch this fish and go around hawking it for one thousand rupees and seven annas. No one bought it. But when they came to the Bodhisatta's house and he inquired of them its price, they offered it to him for just the seven annas. So he paid the money and bought it; and when his wife cut it up for cooking, there was the parcel of money he had lost! Thereupon the river-spirit made his appearance and explained everything, and though he advised the Bodhisatta not to give his brother any part of the thousand pieces of money, he gave him five hundred.

The anecdote connected with Polycrates of Samos Herodotus tells us when narrating the rise of the tyrant. Amasis, pharaoh of Egypt and friend of Polycrates, alarmed by the remarkable run of good luck Polycrates was enjoying, advised him to throw away what he valued most and the loss of which he would regret most. This happened to be a signet-ring he used to wear, an emerald set in gold, the work of a Samian named Theodorus. So, setting out to sea in a vessel, he threw it into the water Some days later a fisherman caught a fine big fish and thought of making a present of it to Polycrates. When, however, Polycrates' servants cut up the fish, they found the signet, ring in its belly and took it to him triumphantly. When Polycrates saw the ring sent back to him, he at once recognized that the hand of God was in this and wrote to Amasis; whereupon Amasis, surmising that the tyrant would one day die a miserable death, severed all connections with him to spare himself the grief.

In aftertimes it happened that Polycrates was lured to his death by a Persian named Oroetes, murdered, and his dead body hanged on a cross.)The account of this appears in Herodotus in no less a place than the pages

52 *op. cit.* p. 478. See also Keith *op. cit.* 355 n. 3.

of his work, which immediately follow his story of the wife of Intaphernes. emulated in its motif by the *Ucchaṅga Jātaka* and discussed above). [53]

In the first motif a man is separated from his money on a voyage by a party who has designs on robbing him of it, the one or the other being cast overboard so that rescue is effected through a fish. In the Greek story based on it, it is the man, Arion, who is thrown into the water; he is rescued by a dolphin. If in the jātaka it was the money that went overboard, it is to accommodate this motif to the use of the second Greek one, found involving Polycrates. For, in this latter it is the coveted valuable thing that goes into the water and is brought back to its owner in and through the fish. The friendliness of the dolphin in the Arion-story (the implication is that this was evoked by the poet's song) appears transferred in the jātaka to the river-deity, who made the fish swallow the parcel of money, though in the case of the Polycrates-adventure the whole thing seems to happen accidentally - or was there divine agency there too, as Amasis and Polycrates themselves thought?

Thus, in the running together of the two motifs in the jātaka, which appear separately in Herodotus, certain elements have been transferred from one to the other, which become evident when they are extricated from each other. In addition to this a religious intention is run through the texture of the resultant story, which, though it owes itself to the Buddhist context in which the narrative is made, may reflect the divine dimensions found in Herodotus' anecdote of Polycrates. The elder brother (the Bodhisatta) showed concern for the deity of the river he was intending to cross, and for its denizens, the fish - and afterwards, inspite of the deity, who quite unbuddhistically had caused the death of one of the fish to restore the money to the Bodhisatta and then also advised him not to give his younger brother a share of that money, displayed a generosity incomparable, I am sure, with whatever it was that Polycrates would have meted to the sailors who tried to do Arion out of his wealth.

Whatever degree of fiction there may be in the two anecdotes from Herodotus' history, which share motifs with the *Macch-uddāna Jātaka*, there is no doubt that they engross factual details or popular beliefs that are thoroughly Greek. For instance, in the first there is the historicity of the poet Arion and the tyrant, Periander of Corinth, together with the knowledge, widespread among the Greeks and afterwards the Romans as well, of the dolphin's friendliness towards men - even if it be an exaggeration that one carried Arion to shore on his back. [54] The

53 iii. 125.

54 Taras riding a dolphin was shown on coins of Tarentum (G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* (1906) p. 175 plate II) and so also Arion on later coins of Methymna (B. V. Head *Historia Numorum* 2nd ed. (1911) p. 561); Melicrates was shown on a dolphin at Corinth. The story is told more fully in Plutarch *Sept. Sap. Con.* 18f., where other dolphin-stories are given. See also J. G. Frazer *Pausanias Description of Greece* London (1897) vol. II p. 398. On the monument of Arion at Taenarum, see Paus. iii. 25.5. Herodotus no doubt saw this and heard the story there. A fable of Aesop tells of a dolphin taking upon his back a ship-wrecked monkey, thinking him to be a human being (*The Monkey and the Dolphin* C.305, H.363, P.73, Hs.75); see also Pliny *Letters* ix. 33 for the story of a friendship between a dolphin and a boy.

signet-ring of Polycrates, made by the Samian craftsman, Theodorus, was famous in antiquity; the donation of an extraordinary catch to the ruler by fishermen is emulated in the case of the turbot gifted to Domitian in later times, which forms the subject of one of Juvenal's satires; [55] it is also history that Polycrates had concluded a pact of friendship with Amasis of Egypt - perhaps also that the pharaoh had revoked it for some reason – even if it may not have been the one suggested by Herodotus' story. The story of Polycrates is one of the best illustrations of the doctrine of Divinity as jealous (*to theion .....hōs esti phthoneron*), coupled with the notion of Nemesis prevalent among the Greeks, in which Herodotus was himself an ardent believer. Equally strongly Greek is the fear that an unbroken run of good luck would terminate in a great disaster, and the expectation that a small calamity (natural or self-induced) might serve to avert it. [56]

These anecdotes, then, look throughly homespun in Greece, even if the latter may have had as its basis a popular folk-tale. Quite apart from reappearing with anonymous characters and relieved of historical details, a significant divergence in the Indian story is the substitution of the parcel of money for the ring. Yet it is the reappearance of the ring of the tyrant Polycrates as the ring of King Dushyanta in the motif in the *Śakuntalā* of Kalidasa, a dramatist whose plays show much Greek influence, that we have clearer proof that it was the fable in its Greek version that had also reached India. [57] It had to be a wide-mouthed fish indeed, a *mahamukho maccho*, in the jātaka to swallow a parcel containing a thousand pieces of money and not just a ring!

4. The *Manicora Jātaka*, which takes off from a very brief and unimaginative *paccuppannavatthu*, is narrated by the Buddha at Veḷuvana in example of the fact that "it was not this once only that Devadatta had tried to kill me; he tried to do so before also and failed".

When Brahmadatta was ruling in Benares, the Bodhisatta had been born as a householder and came to marry a very beautiful wife named Sujātā. One day the two of them set out in a waggon loaded with cooked provisions to visit the good lady's parents. When they entered the city of Benares, however, the king, who happened to be on a circuit round the city, mounted on his elephant, saw Sujātā and was overwhelmed by desire for her. So, finding out that she had a husband, he devised a ruse to get rid of him; he had a man take his own jewelled crest and, while passing the waggon, drop it surreptitiously into

55 *Sat.* iv.

56 See Livy v. 21.15, the prayer of Camillus *ut eam invidiam lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo publicoque populi Romani liceret*. As he prayed he fell - and interpretted it as a small misfortune; Plut. *Cam.* 5. But, like Polycrates, it did not help avert the subsequent calamity.

57 The alternate title of this play is *The Ring*. The ring figures in it much as a 'trinket' in Greek New Comedy; it was to identify her to the king, who had lost all memory of her; but at the crucial occasion she finds it missing – it had fallen into a river, when she was washing her hands. In the Prelude to Act VI a fisherman is arrested by two constables, when offering to sell it, and they discover from him that he had found it when cutting a large fish, which he had caught.

the vehicle. This done the king raised a hue and cry that he had been robbed of his crest, had the gates of the city shut to prevent anyone leaving, and a search made. The crest was duly discovered in the waggon, the householder arrested, assaulted and condemned to death.

From here on another motif becomes operative, in which a victim, whose death is for some reason not desired by the gods, is miraculously rescued and in his place is found substituted some other creature – here, with justice seasoning the miracle, the king himself! For, when the Bodhisatta was thrown upon his back for his head to be struck off, Sujātā lamented in despair at the unconcern of the gods despite her own virtue and the injustice that was being perpetrated. Thereupon the attention of Sakka was drawn to what was happening and, coming down to earth, he miraculously switched roles, putting the king under the executioner's axe and placing the Bodhisatta, in the regalia of the king, upon the royal elephant's back. So it was the king's head that rolled, while Sakka, making himself manifest, consecrated the Bodhisatta king. Of course, as the *samodhana* of our jātaka here explains, "at that time Devadatta was the wicked king".

If the two motifs of the *Maṇicora Jātaka* are disentangled one from another and read separately, you would not fail to observe their striking similarity to two incidents which occur in the Old Testament i.e. Joseph's arrest of his brother, Benjamin, on the trumped-up charge of having stolen a gold cup, [58] and God's miraculous substitution of a ram in place of Isaac as the sacrifical victim of Abraham's altar. [59] The chance that these Biblical stories reached India is, however, less than that of their having influenced the Greek, and then of the Greek having been the prototypes for the Indian. The only Biblical story that would have appeared in the jātakas without the mediation of the Greeks is, as far as I know, the judgement of Solomon in the dispute between two women claiming a single child; it is remarkably reflected in Mahosadha's judgement in a similar situation in the *praśna* called the "Son" (5) of the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka* (No 546). [60] Those who were for tracing the story of the false incrimination of a youth by a woman scorned in the *Mahā-Paduma-Jātaka* (No.472) to the Biblical story of Potiphar's wife have, however, failed to observe the closer correspondence the jātaka has in its details to the Greek myth of Hippolytus. [61]

Herodotus does no more than allude to the incident, which is the Greek parallel of the main motif of the *Maṇicora Jātaka* - the planting of a valuable object in the property of someone, who is thereafter condemned to death. As observed earlier, it is remarkable that this centres on a detail of the life of no less a person than Aesop himself, whose fables have provided the most numerous and striking parallels to the motifs of the jātakas and whose name inevitably comes up in any discussion of Greek influence in them.

58 *Gen* 44. 1 – 15.
59 *Gen.* 22.1 – 13.
60 *Kings* 3.18 - 28. See my 'The Tunnel-Maker and the Labyrinth Builder' p. 147 and n. 8.
61 See my 'Three Jātakas with Greek Myth-Motifs'.

I mentioned earlier that, even when so many as a dozen examples of such parallelism were discovered, some scholars had sought to explain the occurence by theories which, for the most part, avoided any notion of direct influence between Greece and India. Both the nature of the correspondence and the number of instances now recognized make anything short of an immediate acquaintance, one way or the other, untenable; either some of the authors of the Buddhist birth-stories knew fables from the collection called after Aesop, or Aesop (be he a single person or a class-name) knew in some form or other a whole lot of the stories that ultimately went to form the Buddhist compendium, the *Jātaka Book*. To find among these a detail from the 'life' of the great fabulist itself (and one that is well evidenced in early sources) is, then, most interesting and significant to the issue.

Talking of the courtesan, Rhodopis, and an absurd rumour that it was she who built the third pyramid of the Great Pyramids at Giza, Herodotus says that this Rhodopis was a slave of Iadmon, son of Hephaistopolis of Samos, and fellow-slave of Aesop, the fable-writer. Then he adds: "The clearest proof that Aesop was the slave of Iadmon is the fact that when the Delphians, in obedience to the oracle's command, repeatedly advertised for someone to come and claim the compensation for the murder of Aesop, the only one to do so was the grandson of Iadmon, a man of the same name; and he received the compensation."

The circumstances of the killing of Aesop must have been so well known to the Greeks of his day that Herodotus did not need to explain the reason for the oracle's pronouncement nor the need for the Delphians to pay compensation. There is, however, the very good evidence of Aristophanes' *Wasps* (422 B. C.) that Aesop was accused by the Delphians of having stolen a gold cup from the temple of Apollo and that in defence of himself he narrated to them the fable of *The Eagle and the Dung-Beetle*.[62] The scholiast on the *Wasps ad loc.* adds that the gold cup was planted in Aesop's baggage by the Delphians themselves - which, though it looks suspiciously like the Bible-story of Joseph and Benjamin, gives reason for the oracle's demand that the death of the fabulist be compensated. That the charge was trumped-up is also confirmed by the evidence of Plutarch, though he does not specify the nature of Aesop's sacrilege nor the offence he had given the people of Delphi, for which they implicated him falsely.[63] He was put to death, it appears, by being cast down

62 1446 - 1449.

63 Plutarch (*De Ser. Num. Vind.* c. 12.557a) records that Croesus had sent Aesop as ambassador to Delphi (see *The Life of Aesop* 98 - 100 also) to distribute four minae to each of the Delphians, but that he he sent the money back to Sardis and that this enraged them and they executed him. Afterwards they suffered from 'strange diseases' until they made atonement by paying compensation to Iadmon. That part of the story was obviously not the one known to Herodotus (cf. 1.154) and seems no more than a literary invention to bring the two men, Croesus and Aesop, into a relationship.

from a rock, a manner of death which interestingly enough appears in the *Mahā Paduma*, a jātaka of similar vein, which, as mentioned before, is also indebted to a prominently Greek motif.[64]

Fact or fiction, then, this tradition of the arrest and execution of Aesop was well established by the middle of the fifth century B. C., so that Herodotus could presume knowledge of it among his hearers without qualms. The same could be said of the audience, which three or four decades later attended the performance of Aristophanes' lively comedy, the *Wasps*.

As for the motif of the miraculous substitution, one has to step outside the *Histories* of Herodotus to the even better known mythology of the Trojan War and the episode of King Agamemnon's sacrifice of his daughter, Iphigeneia, at Aulis. Sent for from home on the pretext of being given in marriage to Achilles, the maiden was laid upon the altar of Artemis as a sacrifical offering to propitiate the goddess and obtain a wind for the Greek ships. But as the knife fell on her neck – so the version used by Euripides goes – a mist obscured the sight and, when it cleared, there lay upon the altar, not the maiden but the body of a hind. As for Iphigeneia, the goddess had whisked her away from under the knife to Tauris, where she was established as priestess of her temple.[65]

Knowledge of the Trojan cycle of myths is not confined to this one Indian story. The *Valāhassa Jātaka* (No 196) compresses into a single adventure in the island of Lanka a number of island-adventures of Odysseus, while our own foundation-myth, the legend of Vijaya and Kuvaṇṇā, reflects more closely than has been suspected the Greek hero's individual adventure with Circe.[66] The ruse of the wooden elephant used to capture Prince Udena, which had appeared in Guṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā* about the second century A. D., was surely inspired by the tale of the Wooden Horse of Troy, a scene from which is the subject of a schist relief from Gandhāra.[67] Some of these myths may have got to India through the tragic dramas themselves. In the year 326 B. C. a play *Agen* (?) was staged in the military camp of Alexander the Great on the bank of the river Jhelum in Upper Punjab. Among the other evidence is the fragment of a Greek vase, found in Peshawar, depicting a scene from no less a play than the *Antigone* of Sophocles, while the *Mahā Paduma Jātaka* must surely have owed its treatment of the Hippolytus-Phaedra theme to a great degree to its dramatized versions,

64 See p. 61 above. Prince Paduma, in this jātaka, is hurled down from the thieves-cliff (corapāta), a form of execution not unknown in India, but in the context also not failing to recall the *barathron* of Athens, a yawning cleft beyond the Acropolis, into which criminals were thrown. (Compare the *kaiadas* of the Spartans).

65 Aeschylus, in his *Agamemnon*, implies that she was actually killed; but the story in the *Cypria*, followed by Euripides (*Iph. in Aulis*; see 1577 – 1589, and *Iph. in Tauris*. see esp. 26 – 34 and 784 f.), is that in the nick of time Artemis carried her off, substituting a hind on the altar; or a she-bear (Schol.Arist. *Lys*. 645). See also Hyginus *Fables* 98.

66 See my 'Greek Elements in the Vijaya Legend'. *JRAS*. vol. XXVI (1982).

67 See the discussion in my article entitled 'The Ujjain Elephant and the Trojan Horse'.

perhaps the lost *Hippolytus Kaluptomenos* of Euripides or even Sophocles' *Phaedra* rather than Euripides' extant *Hippolytus.*

Individually and collectively, then, these parallels that subsist between the history of the Greek Herodotus, written during the third quarter of the fifth century B. C., and the stories that had found compilation in the *Jātaka Book* as birth-stories of the Buddha, speak for some degree of influence one way or the other. The likelihood is that whoever derived these motifs from the other had them from an oral recounting or as part of the paraphernalia of his own literary memory and not by direct recourse to the written work as such. The rendition of the motifs in the local metaphor, detail and context is consummate, even if deliberate.

As the first Greek writer about India, whose account has survived, Herodotus seems fairly well-informed about the land, even if there is much in his description which smacks of credulity on his part. Some of his information he may have drawn from a lost narrative of Skylax of Caryanda, whom Darius had sent to explore the Indus, or from some other first-hand evidence, some of it from Hecataeus, the geographer. Those who were for the idea of a Greek borrowing from India thus presumed that the Indian stories, which were later to be developed into jātakas or birth-stories of the Buddha, had reached the Greeks before or during the time of Herodotus and via Persia and that in the course of this, or soon afterwards, they transformed themselves into myths, fables or historical anecdotes that were typically Greek. The *Ucchaṅga* is thus valuable evidence for them of the Persian route by which the Indian stories had made that passage, while the fable-form of these, like the peacock fable, speaks for their being of a more primitive genre than the historical anecdotes at least, in which some of them have (as we have seen) appeared in Herodotus.

Fable undoubtedly is more primitive in genre than the historical anecdote in Herodotus and elsewhere and may be older in India than in Greece.[68] But the fact remains that, even if Herodotus' standards of historical criticism were lax, he was not as lax in his historical morality as to have deliberately interwoven into historical record alien material he himself knew was exotic fable. Many in his audience would have been familiar with the background, factual and romantic, of such personalities as the Alcmaeonidae, Polycrates or, Periander, so that any imposition on his part would not have failed to raise many an eyebrow. The alternative, then, is to think that the historian found his material already cast in the motifs derived from the orient and that at worst he was an innocent and uncritical receiver of borrowed and transformed property. Were this the case with one or two story motifs in Herodotus, it would be understandable, perhaps even true. But where they are more numerous, the cumulate points in the other direction, no matter how Greece herself came by these motifs (and one or two may even have got there from India!) in the first place.

68 For the view that fable as such is of oriental origin, see intro. of Benfey's *Pantschatantra* which remains a classic; but for Hasrauth's uncompromising defence in Pauly-Wissowa vol. VI. ii. p. 1704 - 1736 s. v. 'Fabel'.

There is no evidence of the respective stories of the *Jātaka Book*, let alone their motifs. in India before the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. – to be more precise. before the invasion of Alexander. With his advent in India with a host of Greeks, however, it would indeed be surprising if the contrary were the case with the writing of Herodotus. It may be that for some time such knowledge would have been confined to the Indo-Greeks, but it could well be that some of these Indo-Greeks joined the sangha of the Buddhist faith, which was then exciting great interest in the very regions of India into which the Greeks had moved.[69]

If anything, such an event would account for how, within less than a century Greek literary and artistic influence permeated Buddhist work to produce a distinct cultural milieu popularly recognized by the term Graeco-Buddhist. Thus some of the jātakas we have in the compilation known as the *Jātaka Book* are as truly Graeco-Buddhist as the tableaux of sculpture from Gandhāra or the very reliefs on the Bharhut and Sanchi stupas, which tell these jātakas pictorially. As for historical anecdote being reduced to fable, even beast- or bird-fable, it is a far more facile thing (since fable is pure fiction and does not offend in ignoring fact) than that of straining historical fact and personality into the framework of a fable and dishing it out to a public who are in quite a different mood of receptivity. If some of these derivative fables of the jātaka "wear on their face and front a primitive stamp," it speaks for the ingenuity of their transmutors, who had so quickly come to assimilate the spirit and flavour of Indian story. Such jātakas hold about them the same mystery as the Graeco-Buddhist sculptured art of India, where perfect syncrasis prevents the distinction of where Greek influence stops and Indian begins.

Merlin Peris

69 Seet M. Winternitz *A History of Indian Literature* vol. II Culcutta (1933) p. 125-126. The Greeks ruled North-Western India from 326-305 B. C. and again from 190-90 B. C. but remained an influential community in the intermediate period under ther Mauryan kings. See *Mahavamsa* xxix.39 for record of a (no doubt hugely exaggerated) number of Greek monks from Alasanda (Alexandria) in that region attending the inauguration of the building of the Ruwanveli Stūpa in Sri Lanka during the second period of Greek rule. To a great extent Greeks were familiar with the fundamental concepts found in Buddhism through the teachings of their own religious sects, the Orphics, Pythagoreans and Academics.

Of Love and Development: A Passage to India in a fresh connection

One may as well begin with the homosexuality.

> He would not – and this was the test – pretend to care about women when the only sex that attracted him was his own. He loved men and always had loved them. He longed to embrace them and mingle his being with theirs. Now that the man who returned his love had been lost, he admitted this. (*Maurice*, ch 10)

Such an admission is what Philip Herriton, in Forster's first published novel, *Where Angels Fear to Tread*, fails to make. The novel ends instead with the absurd suggestion that he is in love with Caroline Abbot, its spinster turned heroine. She, more brave, doubtless because she can be so in accordance with convention, declares that she is in love with Gino, the novel's coarse Italian symbol of life (an expression Forster would perhaps have found pleonastic). Philip 'heard himself remark "Rather! I love him too!"' but when Caroline goes on to say, '"You're taking it wrongly. I'm in love with Gino – don't pass it off – I mean it crudely – you know what I mean."', all Philip can reply is, "Laugh at love?"' (*Where Angels Fear to Tread*, ch. 10) He forbears to point out that he too is in the same boat.

In 1905 he scarcely could have. Forster cannot be blamed for his omission. But the consequence is an unfortunate muddle about the theme of the novel. For what is it about? – apart, that is, from the story which every novel has perforce to tell. In terms of development of character there are no candidates for consideration apart from Philip and Caroline; and she indeed simply discovers and reveals hidden depths that were already there in herself. It is Philip who is meant to be crucially affected, who is educated into acknowledgment of the importance of values apart from those with which he started out. This happens to him twice, once before the action of the book begins, when his first visit to Italy enlightened him to a limited extent, consequently in the course of the novel under the influence of Gino and his manifestation in a concrete form of the life with which Philip had come to associate the country. But the actual consequences of this internal process are left shrouded in uncertainty; due to Forster's unavoidable reticence about what Philip actually felt, the final impact of the novel is a limply unsatisfactory one.

The internal process itself seems to me quite obvious, the more expressibly so after the critical stimulus provided by the revelation of Forster's secret life and works: the spur to Philip's development is clear in the first scene in which he watches Gino eating spaghetti, in the pleasure he derives from Gino's

apology, in the enchantment he calls from the meeting with him at the opera, indeed in the concluding description of his 'love by the spiritual path' for Caroline in its juxtaposition against the growing intimacy with Gino. But the physical aspect of love is presented neither steadily nor whole, so that the actual effect Gino has on Philip is not adequately considered; with the consequence that it is very unclear in what way Philip has in fact developed. Forster declares in the penultimate chapter that 'There came to him an earnest desire to be good through the example of this good woman...He was saved', but the question remains, from what? He had, at least from the very begining of the novel, and even before as it would seem, been an amiable youth without very much backbone, There is no reason whatsoever to suppose that the backbone would develop because Caroline rescued him from being murdered by Gino. He would go on being helpful to his sister Harriet and, even reprehensibly, subservient to his mother, while claiming to be hopelessly but conventionally in love with Miss Abbot: the basic amiability within, which required little alteration in Italy and does not seem to have received much, will be almost as powerless to express itself as it was before. Philip had been saved long ago; what was required was that he would be able to express this fact to others and therefore stir up the complacency with which they fitted him into their unamiable scheme of things, and that a mere platonic passion for Caroline is scarcely going to be able to let him do.

I referred above to the physical aspect of love – because that, for Forster, is what is important since it is through that alone, or at any rate through the acknowledgment of it, that emotional development occurs. What would have been of effect in Philip's case was some sort of commitment that would have taken him out of the confines within which he had hitherto functioned, that would have in effect liberated him. Spiritual affinity with Miss Abbot was not enough for this. Hence the declaration that Philip would live in London and go to Italy once a year to visit Gino; but such hints are not enough to register a substantial change in his relations with an oppressive society. The description early on in the book of his relapse into chains after the first inspiring visit to Italy could very well prove apt once more. The saving, as described, is an inessential one, and there is no reason to suppose that its effects would be permanent or far-reaching.

Quite the contrary of the resolution in the posthumously published *Maurice*, where the protagonist abandons home and associates and vanishes off to the greenwood with his lover. The preposterousness of this conclusion, however, seems to me to be alleviated by its desperate honesty. Forster is not concerned here with the facile distinctions between saved and unsaved that give to his first three novels the nature of apostolic propaganda. Rather, he is anxious to emphasize what being saved actually implies, and he does so in an almost mystical sense. That he is dealing with homosexuality may reduce the impact of the novel, but the essential point he is making, about the need for self assertion in the interests of a higher humanity, about the need to liberate oneself

from hypocritical social constraints, about the undeniable claims of love and individuality and so on, remains a valid one.

All the more is it to be regretted, therefore, that the book seems somewhat lacking in balance, that facile distinctions again arise, that the salvation of Maurice is underwritten so wholeheartedly while Clive is summarily despatched to the underworld. Forster himself realized that he had been unfair to Clive –

> Henceforward Clive deteriorates, and so perhaps does my treatment of him. He has annoyed me...This works well enough for Maurice, for it accelerates his descent into Hell and toughens him there for the final reckless climb. But it may be unfair on Clive who intends no evil and who feels the last flick of my whip in the final chapter. (*Maurice*, Terminal Note)

But this avowal of care solely for Maurice is not explanation enough. After all, why was it that Forster tried in the first place in Maurice anyway 'to create a character who was completely unlike myself or what I supposed myself to be. someone handsome, healthy, bodily attractive, mentally torpid, not a bad business man and rather a snob.'?

The answer may well be that it was so that the full extent of the process of salvation could be extravagently displayed. Had, for instance, the novel been called *Clive* and had Maurice decided half way through that he were not homosexual, Clive would have had far less strenuous a journey to make to find himself, one suspects; even despite his early insistence on platonism; more importantly, the essential change of attitude to the world called for would not have been so great in his case. With Maurice, 'Except on one point his temperament was normal' (*Maurice*, ch. 26) whereas Clive the conscientious intellectual had early on displayed signs of the independence that Forster appears to have seen as the desirable corollary of the homosexual temperament; therefore it is only with Maurice as the protagonist that the whole satisfying progression can be described with intimate detachment. His involvement in business and residence in suburbia allow for the contrasts and criticisms that Forster can so pointedly make; the woeful procedures with doctors and psychiatrists, whereby Forster can pinpoint the essential lack of understanding in the normal world, come fairly convincingly to Maurice whereas Clive can hardly be conceived of as embarking upon them; even further, perhaps, the claustrophobia which Forster rather touchingly shows as overwhelming Maurice would not have been able to develop in the open spaces which Clive inhabited.

So we have both the suffering and its alleviation brought before us more tellingly: not only does Forster take the battle right into the heart of the enemy's territory by making his protagonist the large and otherwise ordinary unthinking public schoolboy, he also suggests that it is necessary for a choice to be made between two worlds, which would not readily have been the case with someone more articulate such as Clive. Another might, after a long or a

short pilgrimage, have acknowledged unashamedly to himself his homosexuality; it took a Maurice to abandon the rest of the world in clinging to it wholeheartedly. Hence, it seems to me, the acceptable nature in what Forster might have called the prophetic context of his work of the escape into the greenwood. Rejection of constraints, liberation of self and commitment to a broader and better world is what Forster had been trying to express in his early novels, and with Maurice and his otherwise hidebound respectability he can at last do so openly. As for those novels, Maurice himself might well have said of them, 'Even so did they speculate in a little vice – not in too much, lest it disorganise domesticity, but in enough to show that their virtue was sham. And until yesterday he had cringed to them. (*Maurice*, ch. 42) With the open advent of Alec Scudder, albeit in detachment from the rest of the world, both Maurice and his creator ceased to cringe.

It is, I would suggest, as the complement of this new fullbloodedness that Clive ends up so badly: the acknowledgment of homosexuality saves, therefore its rejection must corrupt. Clive's morbid sexual diffidence in every respect after his conversion, his callousness, his patronising social confidence – all these seem very unnatural in the impetuous undergraduate who had been passionately indiscreet outside hall. Doubtless people change, undergraduates in particular; but not only is everything relatively sudden in Clive's case, it is also presented as deriving in large measure from the alteration in his sexual nature and his attempt to live up to that to the full. The extraordinary scene involving Maurice's sister Ada, on Clive's visit to confess his changed condition after his trip to Greece, is redolent with insensitivity and unkindness; and what are we meant to see as the cause of this but Clive's attempt to establish himself firmly on the other side from Maurice? Correspondingly with Clive's behaviour throughout the rest of the book: attempt after attempt to distance himself emotionally from Maurice registers him as more and more appalling. But it would be useless to complain that all this is very unconvincing. Forster obviously recognized that himself. But it meant nothing to him, for the simple reason that he was writing not a realistic novel but a myth: he was writing about a world of absolutes, of blacks and whites, where adulation was reserved for unnatural love, the beloved republic. Clive is merely an unfortunate victim of this crusading viewpoint: in abandoning such love he descends to the depths of iniquity.

This might at first sight seem surprising because, since Forster was apparently anxious to make Maurice as unlike himself as possible, it may be thought that Clive would to some extent have been a self-portrait. The 1953 interview that appeared in the Paris Review indicates, however, that such a supposition would be a mistake. Forster suggests there that the self-portraits in his work are Philip Herriton, Rickie Elliot in *The Longest Journey* and, to a lesser extent, Cecil Vyse in *A Room with a View*. The fact that Clive is not mentioned is not of course, enough in itself since *Maurice* was not then public. But there seems to me to be a decisive difference between Clive and the characters mentioned inasmuch as they are all, even Cecil, extremely diffident, even shy

in their relations with other men – which, it may be suggested, is what is relevant in Forster, and not only in the present context – and might even be described as passive, Clive, who is active and impetuous, seems to me therfore to be a sort of alter ego of Forster, even in despite of his intellectuality and his early romanticism. In addition, not being abrasive in the way Risley or Ansell, in *The Longest Journey*, is, he is the more alien simply by virtue of what might have proved ideally congenial but didn't. It is, in effect, the actual failure of love that annoys Forster here, not merely its non-existence.

With regard to Forster himself, of course, such failure would not have occurred; with him there would only have been repression, as we have noted already and will note again, in considering the other characters he likened to himself – or acceptance, such as there is to be seen in the case of Maurice. For, despite the disclaimer, there are hints of Forster in Maurice, in the diffidence, the devotion, the susceptibility to being led. For the full impact of the redemption to be apparent, however, there had to be basic social and intellectual differences. Hence – implying, one is tempted to add, his presence – there is the absence of Forster from this, his only novel that deals explicitly with the theme that in one way or another dominates so much of his work.

But let us go back now, to *The Longest Journey*, Forster's second published novel, and to Rickie Elliot who Forster said represented himself more than any other of his characters; and who married, even though he recognized that

> Nature has no use for us; she has cut her stuff differently. Dutiful sons, loving husbands, responsible fathers – these are what she wants, and if we are friends it must be in our spare time. Abram and Saria were sorrowful, yet their seed became as sand of the sea, and distracts the politics of Europe at this moment. But a few verses of poetry is all that survives of David Jonathan. (*Longest Journey*, ch. 7)

In that he marries, Rickie is like Clive and like Clive he degenerates rapidly and appallingly. But, perhaps because he did not quite know on what he was turning his back to begin with, he is allowed a chance of redemption.

And, like Maurice now, being redeemed he goes off into the greenwood with 'a powerful boy of twenty, admirably muscular, but rather too broad for his height' (*Longest Journey*, ch.10) – it may be recalled that Gino was '"well built – though I dare say English standards would find him too short"' (*Where Angels*, ch. 2). Unfortunately for Rickie, the muddle in his case is not going to be resolved: Stephen Wonham is not his lover but a half-brother. The consequence is that the relation doesn't really get off the ground and is dissolved in an excess of alcohol: in saving Stephen's life Rickie loses his own. Even in a book in which nearly half the characters die, this is sad. But there is really no very good reason to be sad. In a world in which his creator had to be content with fudging the real issue there was not very much point in Rickie carrying on. Naturally Stephen was bound to get bored with whatever sort of epicene relationship it was that Rickie was trying to establish with him

was bound to go off on his own and leave Rickie bankrupt 'for the second time'; going back to Agnes his wife, which it seemed was the only alternative left to him, was of course unthinkable. Unfulfilled and unfulfillable, sexually or emotionally, Rickie could only die.

It could perhaps be objected that I am leaping to excess in this analysis of Rickie's problems, not so much with regard to the homosexuality since of that there does not seem to have been much doubt over the last few years, but with regard to the attachment to Stephen. It is certainly true that my argument is an inductive one. My thesis with regard to the four novels I am discussing first is that they are concerned with emotional development as conditioned by sexual awarenss and as displayed by the assertion of individuality in opposition to social conventions that preclude sympathy and sensitivity. Thus, Maurice welcomes Alec and rejects society to the accompaniment of authorial plaudits, when Philip associates with society in opposing Gino he is condemned, but when he achieves intimacy with him he is shown, in theory at any rate and albeit to a limited extent, as being on the side of the angels; with regard to Rickie it is apparent that the dominant symbol of his wife's having perverted his natural goodness into domestic shallowness is meant to be the rejection she forces him to of Stephen. Given these common social connotations, my view is that it would be uncharacteristic of Forster did the sexual ones not follow.

And they do, with a vengeance. The subtlest, and really quite splendid, enunciation of the basic situation occurs when Agnes sees in Stephen her long dead first love Gerald; for we remember that Rickie's 'love' for Agnes had begun when his enthusiasms 'transfigured a man who was dead and a woman who was still alive' (*Longest Journey*, ch. 6). The further ambiguities in the narrative insofar as it concerns the physical and emotional basis of Rickie's feeling for Agnes confirms the point that account suggests. Certainly, the chapter in which Agnes discerns Gerald in Stephen is also that in which Rickie begins to be conscious of his need of Stephen's love, and that not merely in terms of the brotherhood he had earlier rejected – '"Come with me as a man," said Stephen, already out in the mist. "Not as a brother; who cares what people did years back? We're alive together, and the rest is cant"' (*Longest Journey*, ch. 31). It is after that that, when Stephen calls upon him to come, Rickie goes along with him and doubtless has, in the period which culminates in the railway journey – replete with tender flirting – which the two take some months later, a thoroughly pleasant if sexless honeymoon. But the affair can go no farther, and accordingly it comes to an abrupt and tragic close.

A Room with a View, on the other hand, has a happy ending; uncontroversially so, for in this case Forster had made his protagonist a woman. The object, not so obscure here, of desire and thereby the means of salvation remains a strong young man. Naturally, he is 'personable'; not so naturally but equally predictably perhaps he appears to be stocky and childlike – his father is 'of heavy build, with a fair, shaven face and large eyes. There was something

childish in those eyes, though it was not the childishness of senility' which is followed by '"Of course, he has all his father's mannerisms"' (*A Room*, ch. 1); the repeated references to him as Michaelangelesque seem to me to confirm the identification with the muscular children of nature we have been subjected to before.

And there is another association which I would suggest is even more instructive. Forster evidently failed to realize that a gardener's boy by any other name would not sound quite so convincing; his fascination with the breed appears to have concentrated itself on two facets, compactness of body and incoherence of speech, and he attached this last characteristic as well to the one amongst his catalytic figures whose social position rendered it improbable. The inarticulacy of the rustic figures we have noted already is readily acceptable if not particularly illuminating; in *A Passage to India*, with the apotheosis into punkah wallah extraordinaire of the symbol of the simple bodily life, the formula seems to me to achieve its greatest success, for that individual is necessarily neither able nor allowed to open his mouth; but since social distinctions could not be adduced in the case of George to keep him quiet, morbid melancholia and diffidence had to be attributed – and these have the unfortunate effect of making George tedious and even, at times, wooden.

In addition to these correspondences between George and the other young man considered already, there is also an attempt to distinguish him socially from Lucy: he works on the railways, at which the genteel middle classes sniff, and when to that is added his father's unconventionality it is possible to treat Lucy's decision to marry him as some sort of social revolution. Yet this particular aspect of things is underplayed; partly doubtless because Forster thought it unwise to put George utterly beyond the pale since Lucy was destined to marry him and the book to be published, but partly I would also suggest for another very interesting reason. Had George been totally unacceptable socially, that would have been the reason for Lucy having to break decisively with the world in which she had hitherto lived when she married him; and such a reason woul have guided the reader's sympathies unequivocally towards Lucy with regard to the break.

As it is, though I grant that it would be excessive to suggest that Forster does not in general endorse her rebirth, there are in this novel ambiguities that cannot be ignored. Philip's, admittedly vague, rejection of his family and their world, Rickie's of Agnes and hers – both of these called Sawston - and Maurice's of Clive and his are all thoroughly and conclusively underwritten. This arises in part because of the ghastly character, as presented by Forster, of those people and those worlds, in part because the rejection is a deliberated and deliberate choice of the protagonist. With Lucy and *A Room with a View* the situation is different: Lucy does not want to turn away from her world, she merely wants to have George; it is that world that rejects her and, moreover, its inhabitants have been previously presented as very decent people. As such, it is worth considering whether there is not here some slight difference in Forster's attitude to the consequences of the mixture as before.

My own view is that there is, and that for the very reason noted above, that the protagonist here is a woman. Let us, however, first take a closer look at the way in which Forster registers Lucy's disjunction from her original world. With regard to Mrs. Honeychurch and Freddy, there can be no doubts about Forster's basic approval: they are natural and charming and had previously been placed in opposition anyway to the values from which George's appearance rescues Lucy. For this very reason, it may be supposed, so that they might perhaps thereby be removed from being thought to disapprove of her alteration in itself, what they are held to condemn is 'her past hypocrisy'. This is understandable in itself in that Lucy could have been thought to have behaved badly, to have muddled everyone up by her refusal to be honest with them or with herself, and to have treated Cecil unfairly in deceiving him about her reasons for breaking off her engagement to him. But I would suggest that there is actually a bit more to the disapproval of the Honeychurches; and that this can be connected with the attitude of Mr. Beebe who is stated in this respect to have influenced '"them so much at Windy Corner."' (A *Room*, ch. 20)

Mr. Beebe indeed provides the great surprise in the book; he, and Miss Bartlett. He, most of the way through the story, had seemed the model clergyman, broadminded, generous, enthusiastic. She had seemed the epitome of the frustrated spinster, determined to quell any zest for life in those around her, anxious to enforce celibacy like her own upon her young cousin. But in the last few chapters it is Mr. Beebe who appears as the votary of celibacy, and in the very last chapter it is suggested that Miss Bartlett had done what she could, and certainly so at the crucial moment, to bring the young couple together. These surprises may be explained on the grounds that Forster disliked clergymen on principle and had to show that Mr. Beebe was intrinsically unsound, whereas the kindly ambiguities of his nature demanded some sort of approval for Miss Bartlett. Yet such an explanation takes no account of the fact that Mr. Beebe is associated at the conclusion with the Honeychurches, as to whom Forster cannot be claimed to harbour any animosity. Instead therefore of taking an easy way out and supposing the inconsistencies of prejudice in the last few pages, it would be illuminating I believe to consider here whether a consistent ambiguity may not be discerned in Forster in this regard; whether, along with the previously admirable people in the book, he did not himself disapprove of the marriage – which is why he permits it to be precipitated by the hitherto ghastly Miss. Bartlett. We know after all from Forster's use of the passage that gives *The Longest Journey* its name that he may have thought marriage destructive of the finer sympathies of the soul.

But besides the general point there is more, in the case of Mr. Beebe at any rate. Forster, arguably in the interests of propriety, explains his otherwise incomprehensible attitude by means of a reference to a religious belief in celibacy; but I would argue that there is more than a hint that his opposition arises from a basic jealousy of Lucy with regard to George. We had seen him before enjoying a characteristically Forsterian baptism with George and Freddy in the magic pool. More pointedly, when Lucy finally acknowledges her affection for George,

when it might have been thought that it would have been her refusal to remain celibate that would have upset him, his dismissive remark is, '"he no longer interests me"' (*A Room*, ch. 19) – it may be recalled that Mrs. Emerson had fallen into the clutches of the acid clergyman Mr. Eager when she began to despair; George, deprived of Lucy and therefore going under '"As his mother did"', may well have fallen into Mr. Beebe's. It would be too much to suggest that this was Mr. Beebe's conscious intention. But we have long been made aware that Mr. Beebe was, from rather profound reasons, somewhat chilly in his attitude to the other sex, and preferred to be interested rather than enthralled' (*A Room* ch. 3); far then from being a religious celibate of a maniacally indiscriminate sort, Mr. Beebe seems to me rather someone with whom Forster sympathized right through, even to his disappointment at seeing a stout young fellow wasted in marriage.

It was not, however, Mr. Beebe with whom Forster compared himself in the interview mentioned above, but Cecil Vyse – though the comparison was not as wholehearted as in the cases of Philip and Rickie: Forster simply said that Philip represented him and that Cecil had something in him of Philip. This last is apparent with regard to the patronizing use Cecil makes of his aesthetic accomplishments. But, though it may have taken into account a danger to which Forster felt himself susceptible, it is markedly Philip and not the Forster who could recognize such a danger, with regard to outrageous bullying of Lucy after their engagement, Cecil is not even recognizably Philip, let alone Forster. I would suggest, in fact, that for any close correlation between Cecil and Forster we must look to the latter part of the book: there the Cecil who had been positively awful while engaged to Lucy becomes almost ideal, notably in his acceptance of Lucy's breaking off of their engagement.

In this, indeed, he might even be said to approximate to Rickie, the closest to Forster of his characters, who achieved salvation after he had broken away from Agnes. After all it may be recalled that Freddy had reported early on of Cecil that 'Mr. Beebe said....."Mr. Vyse is an ideal bachelor." I was very cute. I asked him what he meant. He said: "Oh, he's like me – better detached."' (*A Room*, ch. 8) – for which reason it was perhaps that Mr. Beebe disapproved of the engagement at first; later certainly he comes to dislike Cecil and is glad primarily on that account when the engagement is broken off, but there may have been right from the start the anxiety that Cecil should continue like him. After Lucy's engagement to George, certainly, having '"turned so cynical about women"' (*A Room*, ch. 20), Cecil has become an exaggerated version of the clergyman and it is in this mood that Forster, so to speak, takes him under his wing and advances the identification. But it had been suggested before, in addition to in the hints cited above with regard to the actual moment at which Lucy broke off the engagement – 'By a cruel irony she was drawing out all that was finest in his disposition.' (*A Room*, ch. 17). Like Philip, who was saved from going so far, and like Rickie, who unfortunately went further, Cecil was not made for marriage. That is where the resemblance to Forster comes in – and that is why, in Forster's only novel to end in a conventionally

happy fashion, the ambiguities are so marked. The transformation of the protagonist into a woman meant that the Forsterian vision of love grew awry: Lucy was liberated as Maurice was going to be, but in this case a chorus of bachelors remains to remind us that Forster had his reservations about the pairing.

Howards End seems at first sight very different form the works that have been considered so far: to put it at its simplest, it is about women and values whereas those were about men and bodies. The distinction becomes clear when we consider the consequences of love with regard to the principal protagonist, in the case of *Howards End* Margaret Schlegel. Love, as far as previous protagonists had been concerned, had been a means of their own development; for Margaret it is a means of development of the loved one. She herself it would appear was good enough to start with and advancement in the book is the prerogative of Henry Wilcox – and, though the process is but sketched, the last paragraph of the penultimate chapter registers graphically how important it is in terms of the whole novel. Previous protagonists had had to be connected in a sense, to the real source of life or whatever; Margaret's roots, as Forster keeps pointing out in relation to her association with her sister, are firm enough and she is accordingly an active instrument of salvation herself, to provide connections for others.

Yet there do seem to me to be associations between this work and the others, and in the sense that there is some sort of development that the protagonist must undergo; and I would even go so far as to say that, subtly, some might almost claim imperceptibly, as this particular pilgrim's progress is presented, it is aesthetically the most satisfying in the corpus – for it does not presuppose identification with such of Forster's tenets about the life of the body and so on that might not find general acceptance. I base my argument on the fact that Margaret Schlegel does originally display deficiencies in her dealings with the world of the Wilcoxes: when she does finally turn on her husband it is after, as she puts it, '"I've spoilt you long enough. All your life you have been spoiled. Mrs. Wilcox spoiled you"' (*Howards End*, ch. 38) It seems to me absurd to suppose that Forster underwrote this speech merely in terms of its content. Its considered effect is to make it clear that Margaret has been damnably weak with her husband in the past – just as Philip had been with Harriet and Rickie with Agnes and Lucy with Charlotte Bartlett. And this fact ought to have been clear even earlier on, if only from the scene at Oniton when Henry refuses to help the Basts and Margaret puts up with this 'Something must be arranged for the Basts later on, but they must be silenced for the moment...Henry must have it as he liked, for she loved him, and some day she would use her love to make him a better man.' (*Howards End*, ch. 28). – it is no coincidence that Margaret brings up the matter of the Basts in the speech after her transfiguration: what we are to see as regrettable is that she had ignored it for so long before.

In this aspect of her behaviour, of course, she resembles Mrs. Wilcox, and part of the diffidence about identifying Margaret's weakness springs from the

idealization of Mrs. Wilcox to which it has been held that Forster subscribed. This seems to me a classic case of buying a second copy of the morning paper to confirm the accuracy of the first: it is Margaret who idealizes Mrs. Wilcox, for the understandable reason that they resemble each other; to hold therefore that Forster was uncritical about the one naturally leads to misapprehension about the other. If, however, one accepts that there is a great deal of criticism about the other Wilcoxes – and one must – it seems to me impossible not to recognize and condemn the drawbacks in Mrs. Wilcox. We are shown quite clearly how harsh she can be at a failure of imagination, when Margaret does not at once accept enthusiastically the invitation to visit Howards End. A little bit of such harshness towards those who deserved it much more, for complete lack of imagination, would have been more salutary, one might have thought. Of course it could be argued that she recognized in Margaret a kindred spirit and that she believed much was to be expected from those to whom much had been given, whereas the ranks of the benighted were to be ignored; but we know from Margaret's crucial outburst how important it is that they not be ignored, how much panic and emptiness they spread when they are allowed to flourish unchecked. The Forster who presented with glee Stewart Ansell's violent explosion in a boarding school dining room can hardly be assumed to have not thought that it was the role of a wife and a mother to instruct and educate where such was necessary. As Margaret put it, Mrs. Wilcox had spoilt her husband; and Margaret herself was in grave danger of doing the same, had not fate dramatically intervened.

So that we are able to discern, in some sense, the pattem as before – and, just as Philip and Rickie and Lucy had required the strong young man syndrome to prevent them from relapsing into an unfulfilled mediocrity, so does Margaret; only in her case the catalytic process happens at a remove, and the strong young man is not quite as obviously strong as before. On the other hand he is more recognizably, if not unequivocally, working class than previously for in the other cases the class barrier had been overlaid by race or relationship or – as I have suggested with George, and which may also have affected the other cases – the demands of propriety; interestingly enough, it is precisely his lower social status that denies Leonard strength –

> One guessed him as the third generation, grandson to the shepherd or ploughboy whom civilization had sucked into the town; as one of the thousands who have lost the life of the body and failed to the spirit. Hints of robustness survived in him, more than a hint of primitive good looks, and Margaret, noting the spine that might have been straight, and the chest that might have broadened, wondered whether it paid to give up the glory of the animal for a tail coat and a couple of ideas. (*Howards End*, ch. 14)

It is, therefore, once again a masculine reperesentative of another and more elemental world who prompts to a critical reappraisal of a previous way of life that involved indulgence to reprehensibly limited peers.

Yet though it is Margaret who registers Leonard's relation to the gardener's boys, it is her sister Helen who has the physical relationship with him. This disjunction, however, it may be suggested, also has its roots in propriety: just as would be the case in *Maurice*, actual sex was going to be required in this book – but it had to arise through hysteria, an ordinary sexual relationship not being quite the thing for the genteel though cataclysmic novelist Forster was; Margaret, balanced enough as she was to appreciate to some extent the Wilcox way of life, was not going to be hysterical enough to succumb either to Leonard Bast or to his umbrella; hence Helen. But, this identification having been made, it is not enough simply to look on Helen as an instrument for Margaret's improvement. Helen is a protagonist in her own right, and one who it seems to me has been made too little of in general by critics. She after all could be said to have had as much of Forster in her as Margaret did, certainly in terms of ideas both musical and apocalyptic; she it was who judged the monstrous Wilcoxes right almost from the very beginning, through a process of attraction just as Margaret was to go throuh only in Helen's case the repulsion had been swift and instinctive – she had seen right through straight away to the panic and emptiness that underlay their way of life. Even more importantly, perhaps, it is her child who inherits. The last chapter of the book makes clear the contrast between Margaret, who loves Henry tenuously and places much more than people, and Helen who loves her child; I don't suppose there would have been much doubt about which one Forster would have associated himself with even had he not made clear in an interview that he disagreed with Margaret and himself put people first and in this case, corresponding to the scenes we have been presented with already in which Gino and Stephen played with their children, it is the Forsterian figure who is left, the socially undesirable Bast being disposed of, with the baby.

Yet like Philip Helen as a protagonist does not really satisfy, and that in essence because like him she is complete from the beginning – or, rather, almost: the opening chapter records her brief and swiftly withdrawn indulgence to Wilcox ways. She herself suggests that Leonard grew out of Paul Wilcox; perhaps like Maurice she had to experience the falsity that pervades a socially satisfactory not quite physical relationship before becoming fit to go on to the other one; but with regard to that other she is generally in control, at any rate as far as Leonard is concerned, and cannot be said to have developed through it. She had always remained vividly direct and decisive in her zest for life, even if she had not quite managed to arrange the practicalties of it satisfactorily. As a consequence, it is Margaret who takes up our interest, and Forster's, for the main course of the book. Being a more balanced person than Helen she requires Helen's divisive pregnancy to be able to act decisively herself and thereby publish, rather than merely abide by, her allegiance to the right values; but simply because she is therefore compelled to do something unusual of a sort that Helen had naver stopped doing, to her belongs the centre of the stage.

1 See K. W. Gransden, 'E. M. Forster at Eighty.' *Encounter*, Jan. 1959.

So the book ends with the hitherto diffident Forsterian figure having its colours nailed firmly to a humanist mast, in possession of a child derived, albeit at a distance, from a ploughboy, in unanimity with the other representatives of humanity who had not themselves derogated from the standard. This last distinguishes Margaret from Lucy – and it may have been the happy outcome of Forster himself feeling no ambiguous dissatisfaction about the particular husband she had got for herself. In addition to this minor detail, however, there is a more vital aspect of the particular nature of Margaret's marriage which has to do with the ostensible theme of connection: whatever might be asserted of the menage of Helen and Henry Wilcox along with Margaret at Howards End, it is not a question of sharing and synthesis; Helen has without a doubt won, and won quite conclusively; the representative of the life of telegrams and anger has caved in completely. [2]

But, significantly, he is happy. This, perhaps, is what is held to justify the death of poor Leonard – Margaret declares that he got an adventure out of life that would not have sufficed ' "for us. But him." ' (*Howards End*, ch. 44) though Helen, it is a relief to read, remains dubious: it is Leonard's death and Charles' consequent imprisonment that cause Henro's exhaustive collapse as a result of which he becomes totally dependent on Margaret. This may be seen as the ultimate triumph for the life of the spirit, to have a leading light of the opposing forces voluntarily submitting to its control and being thoroughly satisfied with the result: not only has the protagonist rejected the insensitive world in this instance but that world has also acknowledged its own inferiority. No wonder one is tempted to suggest, that Mrs. Wilcox and Margaret had hitherto held their hand. In any less dramatic circumstances they would not have achieved quite so satisfactory a result.

Nevertheless, despite the melodrama, we ought not to complain. Perhaps because he chose, to represent him, protagonists as distant from himself as possible – and the more important one the more distant – Forster has woven together his preoccupations more convincingly and effectively than elsewhere. The weight being lifted off the bodies, as it were, the characters are better equipped to fullfil the spiritual roles they have to sustain. Distinctions and oppositions are less harshly drawn than before so that, Charles Wilcox always excepted, it is not quite as obvious as it had been in other books that inhuman dummies are being constructed only that they might be exposed. As a consequence the exposure, when it occurs, is the more acceptable – especially as its catalysts arise more credibly from the basic characterization. I would claim, in short, that before he moved on to the extravagant myth of *Maurice* Forster managed with *Howards End* actually to produce a novel.

2 Wilfred Stone, *The Cave and the Mountain: A Study of E. M. Forster*, Stanford, 1966, ch. 10 sec 5 exposes the real situation succinctly. I have tried, and in particular in this general discussion of the early work, to omit as far as possible references to secondary sources. This seems to me the less reprehensible inasmuch as discussions of these are usually confined in critical books to separate chapters that can readily be investigated. I ought not to omit this opportunity, however, to record my indebtedness to Stone's study, which deals most illuminatingly with the whole crpus as then available.

What, then, of *A Passage to India?* Is it about the spirit or the flesh? Is it novel or myth? - Perhaps confusingly my view, it may have been noted above, is that it is the myths that are about the flesh; the one novel qualifies for that status by not being quite as singleminded about its message as the others. With regard to *A Passage to India* as with *Howards End* it seems to me that there are complexities of presentation that preclude simple analyses. To discern what the book is it may be easier first to examine what it is not, so many and so varied are the claims that have been made on its behalf. Fortunately it does not seem neeessary in this respect to argue at length, since the pros and cons have already been gone through thoroughly with reference to the various interpretations. I shall content myself therefore with citing briefly the views with which I find myself in agreement and considering rather their relation to the views I have expounded above - a process which I trust will also enable us in similar fashion to find out what the book is in fact about.

The most absurd claim that has been made for *A Passage to India* is that it is a celebration of the Hindu religion and its spiritual outlook. This been disposed of ably by a number of critics, most succinctly by Frederlck Crews, [3] so I shall content myself with considering a consequence Forster might have been thought to deplore which he presents as arising from that outlook. Professor Godbole is in the novel the representative, almost unrivalled, of Hinduism which it is held comes into its synthesizing own in the last section of the book. But before that his contribution to the action, after the minor effort of being late for the expedition to the Marabar Caves so that its texture changed completely, had been to ignore its injurious outcome and abandon Aziz and run away. We have seen before the criticism of Rickie for abandoning Stephen in far less dangerous circumstances; we have recognized the inadequacies diagnozed in Lucy and in Margaret for repudiating, for whatever ostensibly higher motive, George and Leonard and also the endorsements of their finally being prepared to take a stand; is Godbole to be excused simply because he is able to absorb a wasp? We have noted that Forster disagreed with Margaret's announcement that she would end up caring most about a place and that he placed people first; it cannot be doubted that, sympathetically though he might be thought to present unanthropocentric spiritualities, the code of values that he himself underwrote was quite different. The fact therefore remains that, for whatever grand reason, at a crucial moment Godbole fails (it also seems to me significant that Forster goes on to mention the transformation into a granary of the school he trotted off to establish at the vital time);, so that, though Nirad Chauduri's criticism of the presentation of Godbole may appear harsh at times, there seems to be no essential exaggeration in his characterization of him as being a 'clown' [4]. He may be a divine clown, but to think of the novel as exalting that particular attitude to life shows woeful incomprehension.

The same sort of failure to act and assist at thc important time is what also conclusively condemns Mrs. Moore, on whose behalf too extravagant claims

3 Frederick C. Crews, *E. M. Forster: The Perils of Humanism*, Princeton, 1962.
4 Nirad C. Chauduri, 'Passage To and From India', *Encounter*, June 1954.

have been made. Her actions and attitudes earlier on in the novel show her basic superiority to Mrs. Wilcox, with whom she has been compared[5] ; but her refusal to act after her experience in the caves indicates that the comparison is not wholly unsound. Whether her catatonic vision implies the inadequacy of the Christian or of the liberal humanist attitude to life is immaterial; what we have in essence is someone who, like Mrs. Wilcox. is ineffectual. Of course Mrs. Wilox is so all the time and Mrs. Moore only obviously so when she refuses to participate in the Marabar affair in the advisory role to which Adela implores her; given that she had suffered something, whereas Godbole had not, our exasperation with her must be less; but the hard fact is that she fails and, though we may be prepared nevertheless to treat her with love and affection, respect is eroded.

There remains to be cast in the role of perceptive hero Fielding who unlike the other two mentioned above who have also been advanced for adulation, certainly behaves admirably at the crisis and stands up, at whatever cost to himself, for truth and justice and the Cambridge way of life. This doubtless is what has led to the suggestion that to the list of self-portraits Forster had recorded, mentioned above, he might well have added Fielding too.[6] Yet he did not, for consistent and illuminating reasons I would suggest. I hasten to add I believe Forster would have thought Fielding's actions right up to the trial and including it unequivocally admirable and vitally important. His other books, as I hope I have shown, are conclusive evidence of the positive stress he laid on individuals sticking out their necks on behalf of those more vulnerable than themselves in the face of all opposition; it is for this reason that the only aspect of Godbole and Mrs. Moore that I have drawn attention to is their retreat at the time of Aziz's trial, and in comparison with them certainly Fielding is admirable. Yet in the final conclusion he is flawed. I have already argued that, with regard to Cecil Vyse, the early depiction of him is at odds with what we know of Forster and my explanation therefore for the identification despite this was that Forster was considering the figure, the mellowed unmarried misogynist. Correspondingly, I would claim, Fielding is deprived of inclusion in the canon also by virtue of his final state; for Fielding, we are told quite specifically, had declined from his once fine state, had fallen from the ranks of the saved –

> He had thrown in his lot with Anglo-India by marrying a countrywoman, and he was acquiring some of its limitations, and already felt surprised at his own past heroism. Would he to-day defy all his own people for the sake of a stray Indian? (*A Passage*, ch. 37)

---

5 Rose Macaulay, *The Writings of E. M. Forster*, London, 1938 puts the difference concisely. For an effective undermining of Mrs. Moore's claims to canonization, see John Sayre Martin, *E. M. Forster: The endless journey*, Cambridge, 1976.

6 J. B. Beer, *The Achievement of E. M. Forster* London, 1962.

It would be insensitive to suppose that it is simply coincidental that Rickie is saved by abandoning a wife and Fielding derogates in acquiring one. I am not really suggesting that Forster thought the married incapable of redemption (though his employment of the verse that gives *The Longest Journey* its name may justify doubts abouts this); but I think he was incapable, constitutionally or otherwise, of actually presenting redemption being achieved in such a state. It is for this reason that I would equate Fielding not with the acknowledged self-portraits but with Clive in *Maurice* with whom Forster clearly and confessedly grew out of sympathy towards the conclusion of the book the detracting blemishes of both lay in their marriages.

It must however be granted that there are better reasons for the decline in this ease than in *Maurice* where, as Forster suggests in his Terminal Note, it was due simply to prejudice; in *A Passage to India* it is one of the central tenets of Forster's criticicsm of the social role of the British in India that the presence of wives vitiates it. Not simply is this a matter of their attitudes, though in the harsh but vivid characterization of for instance, Mrs. Turton this too is brought out; it is also a matter of their very existence which both puts pressure on the man to adopt extravagant attitudes and appears too to justify those attitudes It is for this reason that, however perceptive or admirable Stella might be depicted as being, Fielding must nevertheless deteriorate. She may not demand from him the pomposity other women are shown as requiring, but has yet got to conform more and to allow himself to be absorbed by his own race, with all the divisiveness that that entails.

Fielding indeed suffers even more than does Clive who, if his sexual relations with his wife are described in unfortunate terms, is nevertheless presented as enjoying some sort of affinity with her and, through her and otherwise, with the rest of the world. Fielding, on the contrary, in addition to failing by the standards of the world he abandons, does not seem to do so well in that which he enters either (The blessedness he is said to achieve for his union at the end through the form of reconciliation he goes through with Aziz does not seem to me very promising; he had just before emphasized the continuing gap between his own aspirations and those of his wife) Forster possibly meant us to see this deprivation as deserved: Fielding had after all made a conscious decision to abandon the better way whereas Clive, though he may have been grossly insensitive, had the justification of an unexpected and unavoidable physical change that parted him willy nilly from Maurice. With Fielding, I would suggest, Forster felt he had been culpably weak in allowing himself to be parted from Aziz, the more obviously so in that this had arisen through his newly developed relationship with Adela. I am not, I hasten to add, suggesting that he ought too to have abandoned her when the rest of the British community did; but he ought to have made a greater effort to have preserved his relationship with Aziz and the rest of the Indian community in the exercise of his sympathy towads her. Indeed, it even seems to me that Forster indicates that he failed not simply because of his sympathy but through a misplaced sense of

loyalty and comradeship. Certainly the whole business of influencing Aziz, and that improperly, not to demand compensation shows an adherence to irrelevant sentiments of chivalry and an insensitivity to the need of the Indians to feel compensated for the humiliation and disgrace they had undergone.

Money, it might be objected, is not everything. Of course, but it is something and Aziz had nothing: Fielding, in dividing his allegiances, had deprived him too of the love he required. No wonder therefore that, like Scudder, he feels upset and appears to behave badly. But, where Scudder demanded money and was rewarded instead with commitment, Aziz gives up his money and receives no commitment either. I am not by any means suggesting that Forster wanted a physical angle to the relationship between Aziz and Fielding. But, in the context of their social separation and their racial characteristics, he has depicted a situation in which the one can demand and require from the other love and affection that, though less loaded than before, are equally decisive. Fielding however refuses and, in responding to Adela's more immediate but less vital need, loses his opportunity.

Ironically and I think importantly what might be called the physical angle of such a relation had already been suggested with regard to Adela herself. It does not seem to me that, now at any rate as opposed to in the days of imperial English criticism, there can be any doubt about the basis in physical desire of Adela's fantasy in the caves – given the presentation just before it of her consciousness of the physical base of love, her awareness of Aziz as a sexual being, and her uncertain questioning of him. Much more important, and much more rarely noticed, is the corresponding physical basis of her return to sanity and balanced awareness [7]. A great deal has been made, to some extent justifiably, of the spiritual impact of the memory of Mrs. Moore on what happened, both to Adela and to the whole court, just before her recantation; but Forster's vital presentation here must also be taken into account of and the adverb is important, 'a person who had no bearing officially upon the trial: the man who pulled the punkah.' (*A Passage*, ch 24) Forster refers more than once to the godlike appearnce of this individual. Fantasy, I would suggest, is here given full rein, but discreetly and within the limits of psychological motivation, so that the idiosyncratic excess almost passes unnoticed. Thus the wheel is allowed to turn full circle: the nightmare began with Adela's awareness, which became oppressive, of the sexuality both of another; the image of the punkah wallah permits the reduction of sexuality to manageable proportions by enabling it to be placed in a less emotive context. With Aziz Adela was painfully conscious of something that had irregular social connotations for, though Aziz was another, he was not quite other enough to be viewed with the detachment necessary in the presenee of the facts of physical desire. The punkah wallah is quite different. Placed as he is, he makes clear to her her own security – 'Something in his aloofness impressed the girl from middleclass England, and rebuked the narrowness of her sufferings.'

7 I am indebted for this point to Beer, op. cit. see pp. 150-3 for a development of the argument; G. K. Das, *E. M. Forster's India*, London 1977.

Adela, if not quite completely at first, is thus liberated quietly and effectively to a wider and more sympathetic vision of humanity. As with *Howards End* and even *Maurice* we are presented then with two protagonists, only one of whom participates in full measure in the statutory, physically based if not always quite physical, awakening. Adela is like Helen the less balanced of the two protagonists, like Maurice she was the less receptive to begin with; like both of them, I would suggest, it is her final development and attitudes that Forster underwrites. Though by force of sex and circumstances she goes off to England and does not come back, her state at the end of the novel is undeniably better than it had been whereas Fielding's is clearly worse. It is perhaps in accordance with this that, while Aziz's final words to Fielding are negative and indeed retrogressive from the stage that had been reached much earlier on, his final message to Adela is a positive one and certainly much better willed than anything that had been experienced towards her before.

But, it might be said, I have been attributing far too much, or rather the wrong sort, of importance to Aziz throughout the above discussion and I ought at any rate to attempt to justify this attitude. My position is that we have again the strong young man of the working classes, albiet one who is disguised even more effectively than in previous cases, whose role it is to act as humanizing catalyst on generally sympathetic but fundamentally diffident protagonists. We have, in short Gino once more. As is to be expected, the physical account of Aziz sets a tone that has been heard already – 'He was an athletic little man, daintily put together but really very strong' (*A Passage, ch. 2*). Further, there is the essential otherness that Trilling draws attention to when he writes –

> The mould for Aziz is Gino Carella of the first novel. It is the mould of unEnglishness, that is to say, of volatility, tenderness, sensibility, hint of cruelty much warmth, a love of pathos, the desire to please even at the cost of insincerity, Like Gino's, Aziz's nature is many ways child like, in many ways mature: it is mature in its acceptance of child-like inconsistency. ... He is hypersensitive, imagining slights even when there are none because there have actually been so many; he full of humility and full of contempt and, desperately wants to be liked. He is not heroic but his heroes are the great chivalrous emperors, Babur and Alamgir. In short, Aziz is a member of a subject race. [8]

That is, Aziz is an inferior but one with a vibrant life of his own that rouses interest and the desire to participate in his superiors. I don't think everyone would automatically apply all the attributes Trilling lists to Gino, nor indeed to any other of the significant young men we have seen in the other novels; but some of those attributes – and in their juxtaposition here we can see how they might be thought to be necessarily connected – spring to mind at once with regard to each separate one of Aziz's precursors. At the same time it must be granted that he differs form them: intimacy with him can proceed on certain shared assumptions as it could not with Gino; it can be

8 Lionel Trilling, *E. M. Forster: A Study*, London 1944; Revised Edition 1967, p. 131.

stimulating in every respect as it was not with Stephen; his insecurity is part of a problem that is a subject of interesting debate as was not the case with George; correspondingly his need for love was one that could be satisfied on purely moral grounds without the peculiarities and akwardness inherent in Leonard's relations with the superiors from whom he sought comfort; and unlike Alec, he can demand intimacy openly. In effect, the particular relation Forster is dealing with here is one that allows for the creation of the sort of intimacy he delighted in on a generally appealing and relatively exoteric basis.

The above statement requires qualification, however, inasmuch as the novel apparently did not appeal to Anglo - Indians who 'bought the novel as suitable reading for their voyage, only to throw the copies overboard angrily when they discovered the contents'[9] – which brings us to the most important fact about *A Passage to India*, that it is a great political novel. I may have appeared to ignore this above, but that was for the reason, as Rutherford puts it, that it 'was never intended primarily as a political novel, but as a political novel it has had a notable success'[10]. This distinction, I believe, is what brings the discussion of the political aspects of the novel within my scope. Had the main thrust of the novel been political, one would have had to stress its deficiencies, the facts that justice does not appear to have been done to either side, that characters are largely caricatures, that basic political ideas are ignored in favour of general social principles. As it is, in noting that despite these the novel proved effective politically, one can consider the reasons for the successful development in a story for once of Forster's personal predilections.

For it is because his subject matter so readily takes on a moral bias that the spirit of the novelist, a spirit that demands sympathy and sensitivity, makes so convincing an appeal in this book. I would suggest, for instance, that in terms of spiritual suffering the sensitive Indians endured no more from their imperial masters than Alec apparently did when he pointed out that Clive's mother had no idea what his name was; no more than the Basts did from the solipsistic behaviour of Wilcoxes and even, at times, of Schlegels; no more than Stephen did at the inconsiderate patronage extended to him by Mrs. Failing. Forster is certainly indignant about these relations. But his indignation has to remain idiosyncratic because, to quote what he said in *Howards End* in a somewhat different context, 'We are not concerned with the very poor. They are unthinkable, and only to be approached by the statistician or the poet' (*Howards End*, ch. 6). That is, there need be felt no essential responsibility for them and their situation. In general, whatever contacts exist in such situations between protagonists and their inferiors involve some sort of conscious concession on the part of the former that diminishes the demands that could justifiably be made upon them; correspondingly,

9 Beer, op. cit., p. 133.

10 *Twentieth Century Interpretations of A Passage* Ed. Andrew Rutherford, Englewood Cliffs, 1970 Introduation, p. 2.

the object of patronage may readily be thought to have consciously submitted in some sort of sense to the inequalities of the relation. A moral basis for claims therefore is the less obviously acceptable.

But with India the case was emphatically otherwise. Doubtless even in 1924 there were those who looked on the Empire as embodying a trust, one exercised over an inferior race that required guidance and control. Forster, by his balanced presentation of his characters, shows that this was an absurd concept. Inadequacies are about equal but because the British are in such authoritative physical dominance the impact of theirs is much more harmful; the Indians, it is implied, could manage perfectly well without the British and their own dissensions would not be productive of hurt and brutality. In short, Forster shows a relation of patronage that is not only oppressive but also both unnecessary and embitteringly repressive; and he shows as well how, while this stifles some admirable qualities in the Indians, more dissastrously it allows the worst in the British to flourish. We have, of course, seen this sort of thing before, the refusal to trust, to treat people as individuals without allowing one's preconceptions to vitiate relations, to act upon love and affection rather than upon dogma and distancing. We have seen this most notably in the relation of Leonard and even Jackie to Schlegels and to Wilcoxes, and also elsewhere. In other contexts, however, it could have been argued that relations were, to some extent at any rate a matter of choice and that anyone who found them unbearable could refrain from them; in India on the other hand they were a matter of necessity because the British had arbitrarily planted themselves there. Hence the moral obligation to adapt which Forster suggests is theirs.

It is this deeply felt and unequivocally expressed moral aspect that makes *A Passage to India* so important a book. Others may have expressed the facts of imperialism more accurately; as far as India alone is concerned Kipling, say, may be thought to have understood and depicted the country more consummately; with regard to the concept of empire Orwell, perhaps, may be said to have explored it more thoroughly; but *A Passage to India* remains to my mind one of the most impressive works written in the imperial period about the corrosive effect of that particular relation on people both as individuals and as races – and for that reason one of the more effective denunciations of the essential drawbacks of imperialism. As I have said, this success rests on its moral preconceptions; because those were for Forster inextricably associated not simply with personal relations but with those relations as they exist in a social context.

And it is both interesting and illuminating, therefore, to consider to what extent all this depends on Forster's own peculiar predilections. As I have shown, there is indubitably a pattern present; and one that emerges the more clearly when we consider *A Passage to India* in the light of *Maurice* and the protagonist's attitude there to Alec just before they both decide, accepting the other for what he is, to vanish off into the greenwood. Alec's own resentment and touchiness that prompt him to make extravagant demands, simply perhaps to prove to himself that he has not been taken undue advantage of, have their parallels too; but

more important, I would suggest, are Maurice's own fear of being taken advantage of, his anxiety not to place himself in the other's power which prevents him even from answering letters (after he realizes that the first embrace had involved him in a relation from which he could not escape, either in practical terms or in terms of his own emotional needs), his morbid diffidence about being loved for his own sake. Underlying these, of course, were the liberation the first free contact with the other had in a sense provided him with, his own deep affection and, vitally, the desperate need that he felt himself precluded from expressing or love on his own account. It is, I would suggest, precisely because Adela could understand and express these deeper needs that Forster traces with regard to the British relationship to India, whereas Fielding in the end could not, that Forster would have identified finally more with her than with him.

Significantly Maurice can only express himself because of Alec's imminent departure; perhaps because only that can give rise to the possibility of a free relationship. This foreshadows Aziz's remark that he and Fielding could be friends only after the British had left India. Any forced association would inevitably give rise to dissension, lack of confidence and self-expression, insecurity and hostility. This indeed suggests a less idiosyncratic reason for Forster's objections to marriage than might have otherwise been assumed: free commitment was what he required, a relation based on nothing but mutual affection. It can of course be argued that this is impractical and absurd and would give rise to insecurities that are more grave; but, in extending his vision to the concept of imperialism, Forster does register succinctly the dangers inherent in any forced security inasmuch as it leads to a false view of individuals.

It is very probably that these perceptions arose from Forster's homosexuality, that it was his affection for strong young men of the working classes which led to an appreciation of the inadequacy with which relations with such were generally conducted But, and in particular as his work matured, he was able to express this appreciation in a universally illuminating manner. His message concerning the need to put aside prejudice and convention in order to deal properly with people becomes generally applicable; and, in indicating the sterility to which those prejudices lead and the vast possibilities to which an open outlook gives rise, he reinforces his moral view about abandoning the limited outlook with an exposition of the practical advantages of doing so. Extravagant as his expression of it may sometimes be, Forster's vision of love and commitment as being the necessary concomitants of freedom and development thus becomes a convincing one: only through a clearsighted appreciation of others can a true understanding of oneself arise. It required the publication of the carefully suppressed *Maurice* for this to be made clear in detail, But the spirit of the message had made itself heard before; and, with *A Passage to India*, amongst the inheritors of an imperialism the limiting spiritual consequences of which might otherwise have gone unrecorded,

Rajiva Wijesinha

Classical Sinhalese Narrative Prose : Its Themes, Conventions and Prose Styles

The earliest extant Sinhalese writings in prose comprise the cave and rock inscriptions.[1] These are either records of grants of caves (and other donations by pious individuals to the *sangha*), or royal decrees and proclamations; extremely short at the early stages, they gradually grow longer between the fifth and the twelfth century. These lithic records, though written in prose, are non-literary in character, and need not be considered further here.

The earliest non-lithic prose works in Sinhalese are dated to the ninth and tenth centuries. Of these, the *Dampiyā Atuvā Gatapadaya*[2] of King Kassapa V (913-923 A. D.) and the *Sikha Vaḷañda*[3] (together with its commentary, the *Sikha Vaḷañda Vinisa*[4], both c. tenth century), if typical of the current literary tradition at the time, indicate that prose at the time was used more as a vehicle of record and exegesis than as an instrument of creative literary activity, for all three of these works are non-literary in purpose. The *Dh. AG.* and the *SVV.* are both exegetical, while the *SV.* is a manual of monastic discipline used as a text by *bhikkhus* before their higher ordination.

These and the other early, semi-literary exegetical and commentarial works[5] appear to have contributed to the gradual evolution of Sinhalese narrative prose in several ways[5A]. As time went on, the early word-for-word glosses were gradually expanded in length and in scope to include longer explanations, synonyms involving the use of simile, metaphor, and imagery, and even short passages of narrative elucidating the use of certain words and expressions in the originals. The search for synonyms (and the attempts at coining Sinhalese words where such synonyms did not exist) led to the growth of the vocabulary of prose, and to the development

---

1. Dr. S. Paranavitana states that the earliest cave inscriptions "have been made in dates ranging from approximately the last quarter of the third century B. C. to about the end of the first century A. C." (*Sinhalayō*, Lake House Investments Ltd., Colombo, 1967, p.4). For a concise account of the contents and literary value of the rock and cave inscriptions, see *ibid.*, pp.3-5. For an account of Sinhalese literature before the 10th century, see Ananda Kulasuriya, *Sinhala Sāhityaya*, Vol. I, Colombo, 1961, pp. 37-49, and P. B. Sannasgala, *Sinhala Sāhitya Vansaya*, Colombo, 1961, pp. 40-71.
2. The *Dhampiyā Atuvā Gätapadaya* (abbreviated *DH. A. G.*) is a verbal commentary to the Pali *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. For details, see Kulasuriya, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-81.
3. For details regarding the *Sikha Valañda (SV)*, see Kulasuriya, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-99, and Sannasgala, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-81.
4. For an account of the *Sikha Valañda Vinisa (SVV)*, see Kulasuriya, *op. cit.*, 99-100, and Sannasgala, op. cit., pp. 67-70.
5. The numerous exegetical works in Sinhalese from the *DH. A. G.* to the 18th century were necessory glossarial or explanatory works which furnished easy Sinhalese equivalents for difficult or obsolete words, phrases and expressions in the original Pali texts.

5A. In this paper "narrative" prose is taken to include "descriptive prose" as well.

of a vocabulary suitable for lucid and emotive description. The process of translation (from the Pāli) helped to enrich Sinhalese prose, (which in the inscriptions referred to earlier had been a denotative prose restricted to prosaic record and proclamation) into a flexible, connotative medium suitable for literary composition. For instance, in two of the earliest exegetical works, vivid similes and metaphors are employed to explicate the meanings of difficult Pāli terms and expressions:

කෙස කල්‍යාණ නම්; සිනිදු සරල් කෙහෙ. ඡවි කල්‍යාණ නම්; රන්වන් සිවි. මාස කල්‍යාණ නම්; රත් අතුල් පතුල් ඔට මස් ඇ. නහාරු කල්‍යාණ නම්; තඹ නිය පෙළ; අටයී කල්‍යාණ නම්; විදුරු පෙළ බදු දත් පෙළ.

කුමුදපත්ත වර්ණෙ- - කුමුදු පත්‍රයට බදු පැහැ ඇති- -හෙළ ඇඹුලු මල් පෙත්තේ බදු පැහැ ඇතිය යනුයි.

These explanatory portions are not only surprisingly lucid and simple, but are also couched in an emotive, figurative language suitable for creative writing; the words do not appear as archaic as those in contemporary inscriptions, indicating the existence of a *literary* style as early as the ninth century. [6]

Apart from the glosses, there are a few short narrative portions in the *Dh. AG.*; the style of these excerpts indicates that the vocabulary in current use for prose narrative was almost exclusively made up of native *Hela* (Sinhalese) words without any admixture of the Sanskrit element which was to enter *en masse* into Sinhalese prose diction in and after the twelfth century. The following fragments are from the *Dh. AG.*:

මෙතැන සිටැ හෙළටුවායෙහි සංවිපත්වැ දෙවිපිත් දහසක් දෙවිසරන් පිරිවරයි බුදුන් කරා ගියේය, බුදුහු බණ කියුහ. බණ අසා දිවසරන් හය් සැමැග සෝවාන් පෙලෙහි පිහිටියයි කියා මතුයෙහි බත් සිහියැ ගමට ආ මහණුන් පතිපූජිකාව පවත් ජැනැ නිවන් තැන් පුළුවුන් සේ කියුහු.

මෙහෙ රිය රන් රියෙයැ, එයට දිලියෙන සක් සහළක් වූව මැනැව මෙලෙවුහි පිලියෙනුවෝ හිරැ සඳු දෙජෙනයැ. ඔවුන් මට සක් සහළ කොට දෙ"යි කියටි බමුණු පළමු පුත්හට තා ඇවිටු මෙම වැනියයි හහවනුව වස් කී බැවු නොදැන "බාලො බො ත්වං" යන ගා කී.

In these examples, too, the complexity of the sentence and clausal structures employed, the easy rhythm and cadence of the prose, the complex syntactic relationships between words, phrases and clauses, and the inflections of the words indicate the existence of a well-developed narrative prose tradition; and this style is marked, once again, by the use of an exclusively *Hela* (native Sinhalese) vocabulary. However, the scantiness of original prose works composed before the tenth century precludes further analysis of this, the earliest, narrative prose style in Sinhalese.

6. Although literary works composed before the 9th century are not extant at present, evidence has been adduced to indicate the probable existence of a rich literary tradition even before the 9th century. See in this connection, especially *Kulasuriya, op. cit.*, pp. 37-43.

The rise of Sinhalese narrative prose to full literary status is marked by the works of two contemporaneous writers whose writings are by common consent dated to the twelfth century, Gurulugōmi and Vidyāchakravarti. The *Dharmapradipikāva* of Gurulugōmi and the *Butsaraṇa* of Vidyāchakravarti mark the transition from the short narrative fragment to full-length extended narrative, from glossarial exegesis and explication in the form of phrases and isolated sentences to full literary narration using long continuous paragraphs (each made up of an orderly series of well-formed sentences made to cohere by the use of inter-sentential syntactic connectives). Their transitional character is marked also in the varieties of styles that they display; they contain not only passages that look back to the pre-tenth-century pure-*Hela* style in diction, (similar to the passages already quoted) but also passages in a highly Sanskritic style and those which look forward to the 'mixed' style which was to become the staple of later classical Sinhalese narrative prose.

The *Dharmapradipikāva* and the *Butsaraṇa* in fact provide the prototypes for almost all the major styles and narrative forms that were to be employed by subsequent Sinhalese prose writers from the twelfth century upto the end of the eighteenth century. Here is found, for instance, the short *narrative summary* in which a complete *Jātaka* story is telescoped into a single sentence, often containing descriptive detail and direct speech. Two examples of this type of synoptic narrative are quoted below:

කුණාල ජාතකයෙහි : පංච පාණ්ඩවයන් විසින් අනාප්තවූ කුබ්ජයා හා මෙට්ටුන කොට ඔවිහට "තාසෙ මට ප්‍රිය පුරුෂයෙක් නැති, රාජ පුත්‍රයන්ගෙ ගල ලොහිතයෙන් තා පාද ප්‍රක්ෂාලනය කෙරෙමි" යි බැණ පංචපාණ්ඩවයනට ද වෙන වෙන "තා හා සම මට ප්‍රිය පුරුෂයෙක් නැති, මාගෙ ජීවිතය තට පරිත්‍යක්තයැ, මා පියරජුහු ඇවැමෙන් තට රජය දෙමි" යි තමාගෙ අසද්ගුණ කියන රාජ කන්‍යාව සෙයින් බඩුයෙහි ගුණ වණනුවනු වැනියහ".

තෙමිය කුමාරවූ අත පව් පුරා කරන රාජ්‍යයෙහි කලකිරී, සොළොස් හවුරුද්දක් මුළුල්ලෙහි සිකියමැ ඇදි රුවක් සෙ නිශ්චල වැ හෙවැ, වළැ ලා පියන්නට ගෙන ගිය තන්හි තමන් නොගොළු නොබිහිරි බව හඟවා මහ බිනික්මන් කොට සියලු ලොවට වැඩ සැබු "බුදුන් සරණ යෙමි" යි බුත්සරණ යා යුතු.

This synoptic technique of narration is found in many later prose works, especially in the *Daham Saraṇa*, the *Sañga Saraṇa*, the *Pūjāvaliya*, and the *Saddharmālankāraya*. In these attempts at relating a complete story in a single sentence may be seen the beginnings of the style characteristic of portions of almost every Sinhalese prose classic : the "periodic" style where the staple of the narrative is a long, amorphous, never-ending multi-clausal sentence in which the successive clauses are strung together with the aid of non-finite verb forms. [7] The synoptic single-sentence narrative gradually begins to grow in length as well as in complexity, incorporating within its bounds longer stretches of dialogue and conversation, strings of similes, background detail and description, and so on, ending up ultimately in the amorphous, monstrously-lengthy periods each

7. See below, p. 104, for an example of this style.

consisting of a bewildering succession of clauses strung together by the use of non-finite verb forms and phrases such as කී කළුහි, දෝ කළුහි ('having said,' 'having come'). Each such non-finite verb form leaves the sentence open-ended. The fact that the use of the extremely long periodic sentence for narration had been considerably developed even during the earliest known phase of Sinhalese prose is exemplified in the first sentence-paragraph of the story of King Kōsala in *Dharmapradipikāva* (pp. 326–328), running to two pages, and the first paragraph of the story of the Taming of Angulimāla in *Butsaraṇa* of one and a half pages; again, Vidyāchakravarti narrates the Chaddanta Jātaka and the story of Maṇḍuka in single complex-compound sentences extending to two and a half pages each; the author of the *Daham Saraṇa* outdoes both Gurulugōmi and Vidyāchakravarti by including, in his opening chapter, a single sentence covering four and a half printed octavo pages. By the end of the Polonnaruwa period, the use of the extremely long periodic sentence for narrative appears to have hardened into a literary convention; even writers of later works using the short or medium-length sentence as the norm of narrative style appear to have considered it mandatory to open their works with long, decorative Sanskritised sentences in order to display their erudition and virtuosity.[8] The long opening sentence was also employed to create a tone, atmosphere and mood of religious faith and grandeur.

Themes and Conventions of Classical Sinhalese Prose Narrative

The 'Great Tradition' of Sinhalese narrative prose spanning three centuries extends from Gurulugōmi's *Amāvatura* (twelfth century A. D.) to the *Saddharmaratanākaraya* (1417 A. D.). This narrative prose tradition exhibits a surprising homogeneity both in subject matter and style, one which is primarily attributable to the identity of purpose of the writers, and their highly circumscribed concept of literature as religious indoctrination. The continuity of this tradition, as will be shown later, was, however, seriously disrupted between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries probably as a result of the unsettled political state of the country, and the consequent withdrawal of royal patronage on which literature had thrived during the time of the ancient Sinhalese monarchs.

There was a partial revival of literary activity in the eighteenth century, under the leadership of Väliviṭa Saranankara thero; this revivalist phase, however, produced no works of narrative prose which can stand comparison with the classics of prose such as the *Amāvatura*, *Butsaraṇa*, *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*, *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya*, *Pūjāvaliya*, and *Saddharmālankāraya*, all of which were composed before the fifteenth century. Indeed, in their tendency to plagiarism and slavish imitation of the afore-mentioned classics, the works of Saranakara thero and his pupils show unmistakable signs of decadence and lack of imaginative power.

8. See, for instance, the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*, pp. 3–7, the first three paragraphs of *Ummagga Jātakaya*, pp. 1–3, *Pūjāvaliya*, ch. 3, pp. 25–40, *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya*, pp. 1–2, and the second sentence of *Saddharmālankaraya*. pp. 1–2.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Sinhalese narrative prose tradition upto the end of the eighteenth century is its totally religious and didactic character in theme, intention and subject matter. The subject matter of almost every Sinhalese prose work from the *Dhampiyā Atuvā Gätapadaya* (tenth century) to the *Upāsakajanālankāraya* (1801) was some aspect of Buddhism. The narratives comprised some aspect of the life-story of the Buddha (e. g., *Amāvatura, Butsaraṇa, Pūjāvaliya*), stories of the previous births of the Buddha (e. g., *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya, Umandāva*), stories of the Buddha's disciples (*Saṅgasaraṇa, Saddharmaratanāvaliya*), chronicles connected with the Buddha's sacred relics (*Daladā Sirita, Daladā Pūjāvaiya, Dhātuvaṇsaya*), the Bōdhi tree (*Bodhivaṃsaya*), or *stūpas* and other places of worship enshrining the Buddha's relics (*Thūpavaṃsaya, Elu Attanagalu Vaṃsaya*). All these narratives were, moreover, presented in such a manner as to inculcate in the reader a sense of edification, devotion and faith in the Buddha, his doctrine and his disciples.[9]

The composition of literary works in ancient Sri Lanka appears to have been largely in the hands of religious dignitaries, especially Buddhist *bhikkhus*.[10] Little is known about Gurulugōmi and Vidyāchakravarti, but the doctrinal scholarship displayed in the works of these two writers suggests that they were probably lay devotees (upasakas) whose knowledge of the Buddhist doctrine perhaps even surpassed that of many later *bhikkhus*. The *Saddharmaratanāvaliya, Pūjāvaliya, Bōdhivaṃsaya, Saddharmālankāraya, Saddharmaratanākaraya, Sārārtha Sangrahaya, Milinda Prasñaya* and *Sri Saddharmāvavāda Sangrahaya* were all written by *bhikkhus*[10A]. It is not surprising, therefore, that such works were composed with the sole aim of religious edification, and that the subject matter was drawn almost exclusively from the Buddhist Pāli canon. Hence, lay themes and subjects (except where themes such as sexual relationships were already included in the Pāli sources) were inevitably excluded from literary treatment. Thus classical Sinhalese narrative prose was circumscribed fairly strictly in theme and scope, and ran along the same undiversified conventional groove for nearly seven centuries of its development. The uniformity of theme and subject matter also naturally resulted in a uniformity of style and technique, as will be shown below.

Another important aspect of classical Sinhalese narrative prose is its derivative character. Under the then-prevailing concept of literature, writers were not expected to exercise their inventive faculties; rather, it was their faculties of translation, adaptation, selection and organisation which were most often

9. Rather, the 'listener', for all the classical Sinhalese prose works were meant to be recited and listened to, rather than to be read, as will be described later in this paper.

10. For example, of the prose works, *Pūjāvaliya*, the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*, the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, the *Dhātuvansaya*, the *Sinhala Bōdhi Vansaya*, the *Nikāya Sangrahaya*, the *Kuvēni Asna* the *Milinda Prasnaya*, the *Sārārtha Sangrahaya*, the *Sri Saddharmāvavāda Sangrahaya*, and the *Narēnda Charitāvalokanapradipikāva*, the last composed as late as 1834) were composed, translated or adapted by Buddhist *bhikkhus*. Many of the Jātakas in the *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya* were also translated by *bhikkhus*.

10A. The earliest datable prose work, the *Dampiyā Atuvā Gātapadaya*, however, was authored by a layman.

called into play. The sources of the Buddhist stories being limited, we witness the re-telling in translation of the same body of stories in different anthologies and collections of stories by different author-compilers. The different versions thus most often vary only in style and extent of descriptive detail. The entire *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya* is a translation,[11] while *Amāvatura*,[12] *Butsaraṇa*,[13] *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*,[14] *Pūjāvaliya*,[15] *Saddharmālankāraya*,[16] and *Saddharmaratnākaraya*[17] are all (though not translations of single Pāli works), collections of stories selected and translated from Pali sources.

Almost all the classical works of Sinhalese prose were conceived of by the authors themselves as compendiums of Buddhist doctrine (including lives of the Buddha, histories of the Sangha or stories of sacred relics); this was the only concept of literature (at least in prose) current in Sri Lanka from the early beginnings of literary activity throughout its existence for nearly eight centuries of composition. The *Nikāya Sangrahaya*, a chronicle of the Buddhist church in Sri Lanka, refers to the large body of Sinhalese and Pāli literary works as 'Dharma Vyākhyāna' ("compilations or compendiums of the doctrine"), meant not for an ordinary reading public as we now know it but for "pious or devoted men." Moreover, the authors of these works themselves referred to their compositions as compendiums of religion meant specifically for dissemination among (and the consumption of), "virtuous or pious men." Quite clearly, therefore, the functions of literature and, naturally, of the writer, during classical times were almost completely different from their functions at the present day; this is a very important fact that has to be always borne in mind when a revaluation and re-assessment of classical Sinhalese prose literature is attempted.

The author of the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*, Dharmasena thero, for instance, declares that his composition is meant for "those who, although lacking in wisdom, possess the intention of doing good, and achieving salvation (Nirvāna) by learning the doctrine and engaging in meritorious actions."[18] The author of the *Pūjāvaliya* likewise describes his work as a 'religious compilation' meant to be read by "pious persons familiar with the Sinhalese language, and written with the express purpose of inspiring religious faith and devotion which

11. Of the Pāli *Jātakaṭṭhakatha*.
12. Velivitiye Sorata thero traces every story in *Amāvatura* to its Pali source. See *Amāvatura*, Ed. W. Sorata, 1948, p. 192. On Gurulugomi's sources in the *Amāvatura*, see also, Kulasuriya, *op. cit.*, p. 139.
13. The sources of each respective chapter are indicated at the beginning of each chapter in the *Butsarana*, Ed. Labugama Lankananda thero, pp. 25-32. See also, Kulasuriya, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-170.
14. The *Saddharmaratanāvaliya* comprises stories adapted from the Pali *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*. See Kulasuriya, op. cit., pp. 74-75.
15. "He takes all his subject matter from the Pali *suttas* and their commentaries...(and also) made use of some matter from Sanskrit sources." (C. E. Godakumbura, Sinhalese Literature, Colombo, 1955, p. 64).
16. The stories in the *Saddharmālankāraya* are taken principally from the Pali *Rasavāhini* and other now untraceable sources.
17. On the sources of the *Saddharmaratanākaraya*, see Sannasgala, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
18. *Saddhammaratanāvaliya*, p. 2.

will enable them to attain the three-fold bliss."[19] The *Saddharmālankāraya* [20] and the *Sarvajnagunālankāraya*[21] are referred to by their respective authors as "Religious Treatises" (Dharmavyākhyāna), while the *Sri Saddharmavavāda Sangrahaya*, the *Upāsaka Janālankāraya* and the *Saddharmaratanākaraya* are in the same manner characterised as 'Religious Treatises' ('Dharmavyākhyāna') by their respective authors.

The titles of the prose works themselves are a further index to their character as compilations of the Buddhist doctrine; most of the titles of the prose classics are compounds prefixed by the morphemes *sad-dharma*, (i. e., 'true doctrine') as in *Dharmapradipikava*, *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*, *Saddharmālankāraya*, *Saddharmaratanākaraya*, *Sri Saddharmāvavāda Sangrahaya*, and *Saddharma Sārārtha Sangrahaya*.

The fact that classical Sinhalese literature (at least the prose literature, with which we are concerned) was meant *to be read out aloud* by a single reciter or preacher (a bhikkhu, or sometimes a lay devotee, an *upāsaka*) and to be listened to by a huge concourse of lay devotees gathered in the *banamaduva* (preaching-hall) of a Buddhist *vihāra* lent the classical literature most of its significant thematic and stylistic characteristics. Exhortations to the *listening* public or "audience", (as opposed to the modern *reading* public) to "listen without distraction" are common in most classical works of Sinhalese prose, leaving no doubt about the fact that these works were meant for *collective aural comprehension* rather than for silent, private reading. The author of the *Daham Saraṇa*, for instance, wishes his work "to be *listened to* with veneration by virtuous men who have a deep faith in the Triple Gem."[22] "We intend to describe the numerous virtues of the Lord Buddha in a religious treatise entitled the Pūjāvaliya; it should be listened to with rapt attention by the virtuous," states the author of the *Pujāvaliya*.[23] The author of the *Thūpavaṃsaya*, too, indicates that contemporary literary works were composed for oral recitation and collective consumption when he requests his audience to listen to his work "with attention, without distraction, and with the ears bent in my direction."[24] Similar references to a *listening public* or *audience* are found in the *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya*,[25] *Elu Attanagalu Vaṃsaya*,[26] and the *Vimāna Vastu Prakaraṇaya*[27] (the last mentioned work was composed in the late eighteenth century).

The incantatory rhythm characteristic of the bulk of classical Sinhalese prose, the rhythmic balance and cadences of the sentences, the use of the well-balanced period permitting incantatory recitation, the emphasis on alliteration and assonance

19. *Pūjāvaliya*, p. 12.
20. *Saddharmālankāraya*, p. 32.
21. *Sarvajnagunālankāraraya*, p. 9.
22. *Daham Saraṇa*, p. 92.
23. *Pūjāvaliya*, p. 15.
24. *Thūpavamsaya*, p. 1.
25. *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya*, p. 1.
26. *Elu Attanagalu Vansaya*, p. 2.
27. *Vimāna Vastu Prakaranaya*, p. 4.

and, finally, the development of a "rhythmic prose" (called the *Vrttagandhi* style or "prose having the fragrance of metre" when taken to its extreme), and the partiality towards the use of bombastic and high-sounding Sanskritic words and compounds—all these features of classical Sinhalese prose style are traceable to the fact that these works were meant to be *heard* with the ear and not to be *read* with the eye.

Two of the important factors which influenced the course of development of Sinhalese narrative prose were the Buddhist attitudes (1) towards women and sexual relationships, and (2) towards the creation and the reading of works of fiction. The typical majority attitude towards the female sex was stated authoritatively and categorically in Gurulugōmi's *Dharmapradīpikāva* where women are referred to as "bonds that bind man to earthly life, dragging him down to purgatory and away from ultimate salvation."[28] Not only do women act as the "bonds or shackles" that bind the male; they also "lead men to death, using their five-fold weapons of beauty", etc.; women are described variously as 'thieves' 'deadly intoxicants,' 'two-tongued serpents' and 'mirages'.[29] Gurulugōmi concludes with an exhortation to the male never to trust nor to have any relationship with the female sex, who should be "spurned like deadly gall or boiling oil."[30] Finally, the beauteous form of the female is likened to a veritable "mass of human excreta, personified and walking on two legs," ("මෙ ස්ත්‍රී රූපයක් නොවෙයි, මළසිරුරු අැවිදුනා අශුචි රාශියකැ යි")[31] an image that was to be employed again and again by later writers with additional embellishments.

It should be noted, however, that not all writers of classical Sinhalese narrative prose adopted at all times an exclusive and uncompromising attitude of disapproval towards the female sex. The morally edifying qualities of women were sometimes eulogised as in some of the stories in the *Jataka Book* and in the collection of Buddhist legends known in Pali as the *Dhammapadattha-kathā*. The latter collection was incorporated into Sinhalese literature, with some minor modifications and additions, as the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*. Two other instances in classical Sinhalese literature where women are treated with approbation for their upright moral qualities are: the story of the Buddha's chief female benefactor, Visākhā; and the incident where King Pasēnadi who came to the Buddha bewailing the fact that his queen Kosala-Mallika had given birth to a daughter, is consoled by the Buddha with the rejoinder, "A female offspring, O King, may prove even nobler than a male."[31A]

In spite of such attitudes of disapproval towards women, bewever, classical Sinhalese authors were not averse to the recitation of tales dealing with sexual matters; indeed,, the *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya* contains several stories dealing with the theme of sexual relationships, some even clearly bordering on the obscene

28. *Dharmapradīpikāva*, p. 169.
29. *Ibid.*, p.170-71.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 182. See also *Daham Sarana*, pp. 237-38, *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*, pp. 231-33, and *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya*, pp. 452, 1287.

31A. I am indebted to Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya for the references in this paragraph.

(e. g., the Nalini Jātakaya). But all such tales are presented in such a manner as to deprecate such relationships, not to glorify or to exalt them, to emphasise the weaknesses and frailty of character of womenfolk, and to extol the superiority of the single, secluded monastic life of the recluse, as opposed to the 'mirage' of wedded bliss. The authors are particularly harsh on sexual liaisons contracted outside wedlock (and especially inter-caste relationships), as in the story of Patāchārā. This traditional attitude of the early Sinhalese prose writers was an important contributory factor for the slow development of a lay literature based on personal relationships (especially sexual relationships) in Sinhalese. One of the chief characteristics of modern (i. e. post-nineteenth century) Sinhalese narrative prose was the establishment of a secular literature showing a liberal, enlightened attitude of the "western" type towards the female sex, permitting the creation of fiction based on normal sexual relationships. The modern attitude towards the female is especially marked in the novels of Piyadāsa Sirisēna, M. C. F. Perēra, and above all of Alutgamagē Simon de Silva whose *Meena* (1905) and *Apē Āgama* (1910) read in part like impassioned pleas for the emancipation of women.

The other important factor that tended to restrict the development of a healthy secular prose literature during the classical period was the Buddhist attitude towards fiction and drama. The *Dambadeni Katikāvata* [32] explicitly prohibits to Buddhist *bhikkhus* the learning and the teaching of " the debased sciences such as poetry and drama" ("කාව්‍ය නාටකාදී ගර්හිත විද්‍යා"); the comtemporary attitude towards iimaginative prose fiction (in contradistinction to the recitation of Buddhist stories), too, was not far different, as will be made clear by the references which follow. Gurulugōmi, the first important writer of Sinhalese narrative prose, refers to current Sanskrit epics such as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* as "useless forms of story telling" (" භාරත රාමායණාදී නිරර්ථක කථා මෑති "),[33] the author of the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*, launches a violent onslaught upon the Sanskrit epics on the ground that they are of "no utilitarian value" and exhorts the pious to eschew such writings in favour of 'religious stories' [34]; the *Bōdhivaṇsaya* condemns "stories such as those dealing with the royalty which are an obstacle to the attainment of heavenly bliss and *Nirvānā*." [35] The great Sanskrit epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* appear to have been selected for specific condemnation from the earliest times, therefore, indicating that these epics were perhaps popular among learned circles in Sri Lanka from very early times. Without doubt, this condemnatory attitude towards 'non-utilitarian' works of fiction hindered the development of the writing of non-religious imaginative fiction in Sinhalese throughout the centuries; indeed, this attitude persisted until the beginning of the twentieth century, for the Sinhalese pundits were quick to take up cudgels against the late nineteenth

32. The *Dambadeni Katikāvata* was a code of discipline or compendium of the rules of conduct governing the behaviour of Buddhist *bhikkhus*.

33. *Amāvatura*, p. 29.

34. *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*, pp. 589-90.

35. *Bōdhivaṃsaya*, p. 103.

century translations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Arabian Nights*[36] in the 1880s and 1890s on the ground that they were non-utilitarian and irreligious. Thus, almost from its inception, Sinhalese narrative prose was composed with a single (i.e., religious) objective in view—viz., to help the devotee to attain *Nirvāna* by following the Buddha's doctrine. The greater part of classical prose was thus a religious or devotional literature; writers were not expected (nor encouraged) to invent stories expressive of their individual, idosyncratic attitudes to life, nor even to relate stories purely for their entertainment value. A religious theme and a moralistic attitude remained the *sine qua non* of classical Sinhalese prose narrative throughout its existence and development. The moral of the story was its *raison d' etre*; moreover, this moral was driven home as frequently and as assiduously as possible, sometimes *ad nauseam*, often at the beginning of the story or at its end, or both. The author of the *Daham Saraṇa*, for example, prefaces each story with the moral it is intended to convey: "The story of King Mahākappina will be related in order to demonstrate how religious doctrine brings prosperity to human beings."[37] More often, the moral is put into the mouth of the principal character, who in most cases happens to be the Buddha or the *Bodhisatva* (as in the *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya*); the author of the *Saddharamālankāraya* even obtrudes in his own person to address and to exhort his listeners after his chief character (the Buddha) had already pointed out the moral of the story.[38]

The Styles and Narrative Techniques of Classical Sinhalese Prose Narrative

Under the circumstances outlined above, development in classical Sinhalese narrative prose was largely restricted to diction, style, and certain other limited aspects of narrative technique. In diction, a survey of the entire body of classical Sinhalese narrative prose indicates that writers moved from the pure Elu (Hela) style to a highly Sanskritic style between the ninth and twelfth centuries, and, back to an intermediate, 'mixed' or synthetic style by the thirteenth century, this last mixed style being the diction which became the staple of an overwhelming proportion of the classical prose works. Indeed, this mixed style has remained the chief medium of narrative prose up to the present day, with certain relatively minor modifications. The two other styles mentioned—the Hela style and the Sanskritic style—were not entirely superseded, however, for they too continued to be used (though sporadically) in almost every work, for purposes of variety or with the intention of displayiug the writers' stylistic virtuosity.

(*a*) *The Pure Sinhala (Hela) Style*

The earliest extant portions of Sinhalese narrative prose (e.g. those from *Dhampiyā Atuvā Gāṭapadaya* and *Jātaka Atuvā Gāṭapadaya* already quoted) are characterised by a diction in which there is a preponderance of Hela (native

36. For details regarding the deprecatory attitudes adopted by Sinhalese literary men towards the translations of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Arabian Nights* during the late 19th century, see Sarathchandra Wickramasuriya, *Sinhala Navakathāvaṭa Maga Pādima*, Sarasavi Printers, Kandy, 1970, pp. 123-25.
37. *Daham Saraṇa*, p. 203.
38. *Saddharmālankāraya*, pp. 146-47.

Sinhalese) words as compared to the number of Sankrit *tatsama* words (i. e., loan words in their original form). Sinhalese poetry from its known beginnings to the end of the eighteenth century (indeed, one may justifiably assert, to the present day) has been characterised by the use of an exclusive Hela vocabulary. Sinhalese prose, too, appears to have shared this feature of diction up to about the twelfth century, as an analysis of the extracts referred to above, and of the prose style of such non-literary writings like the *Sikhavalañaa*, *Sikhavalañda Vinisa* and the contemporary inscriptions indicate.

The narrative portions of Gurulugomi's *Dharmapradīpikāva* (the earliest extant examples of extended prose narrative in the language) indicate the currency of two (or perhaps all three) types of diction mentioned earlier around the twelfth century. The first of these, the Hela style, appears to have been, nevertheless, rapidly falling into disuse (being retained thereafter only in the composition of poetry principally). The longest (and one of the earliest) pieces of sustained narrative in the Hela style now extant is the story of Sulukaliñgu in the *Dharmapradīpikāva*.[39] The following is a representative extract from the story:[40]

එකල්හි වනචන් යුවරජ මලු සුඹුලුව දැක "මෙ නවයෝනෙහි සිටි ළදරියක අන්තමැ"යි වසත් නල පහස් ලද නහඹ ගද ගජක්හු සෙ හර්ෂයෙන් උත්කර්ෂ වැ "ගොස් බැලුව මැනැවැ" යි උඩු ගහට යන සෙ කොමළ සුරත් පලු දෙලෙහි දිවි ලලාපියන් පියන්ගෙ පියබදහි ඉසුරු විදු කෙළනා වෙහෙල් මියුලහන නහමමින්, ලෙළ ලියගළහොය ළහි මොනර කිළින් මෑද කෙකා රැවින් ගගා නටන මත් මොනරගණා බලමින් බමර ගිගුමෙන් ගුමගත් සුපුල් ලියලැහැබට වදිමින් විසිතුරු කෙසුරුමල් දෙලෙන් ගැවැසිගත් සුදු සිනිදු මෙළෙක් වැලිපිටු මඩිමින්, භාවභාවයෙන් ලලිත වරහනන් බදු නිලුපුල් රුක්හි සුපුල්මල් නහමමින්, සදුන්පලු ලෙළවු සල්සළල මල්රොන් මුඩු දිවගදබර මදාරාරජ ඉදුහු දිවකිනුරු වෙණ රැව් බදු සහහුම බමරකැල අලළමින් බැසැ තුනුවහ ළහවැ යහදෙන හිමවිපවන් පහස්ලැබෙමින් ගොස් රජකුමරිය අඹ රුක්හි හිඳැ මියුරු සරයෙන් කියන ගී අසා රුක්මුලට එළඹැ නිල්වලා ගැබහි විදුලි යහවියෙන් සුනිල්දල ගැබහි දිස්නා දුරිය දැකැ ලොමුදෙහෙන් උදම්වී.

එවිහු සුනිල් යුවල නුවන් බිහුහු ඇය වුවන් පියුම් දැකැ ඇසිපිය පියා පහරා යහදසුන් මී බොත්. එකල්හි සුළු කළිහු කුමර "මෙ දෙව් අසරක හොත්? නා කිනුරු ගදබ සිදඹුවක හොත්?" යන සිතින් "සොඳුර, තො කවරහි?" යි පිළිවිත්. එසඳ රජ කුමරි බමර පිය රැව් බදු සිනිදු මියුරු තෙපුලෙන් "මිනිසක් මු හිමි" යු. එ අසා යුවරජ "සපු පැහැසිව්ය, තී අඹුන් මිනිසක බැවින් ගසින් බස" වී.

මෙසෙ නොයෙක් සෙ බැණැ ගසින් බහා නොගත හී "කියග සොඳුර මහබඹ තෙමෙහෙ සඳින් සොමි ගෙනැ රන් ගලින් පහන් පැහැ උකහා ගෙනැ වනවිලින් මත්හස් යුවළක් ගෙනැ තුන් රත් පියුමක් දැරැ එයින් එකක් කබා දෙකක් හිරාගෙන සිනිදු සුනිල් මහනෙල්මල් දෙකක් ගෙනැ ළහොපල්ලෙහි මෙළෙකක් ගෙනැ ළහෙල්මැල්ලෙහි සිහිලස් ගෙනැ සැහැසී හනා වනා බමරබර පුල් ලෙළ ලියක්හි එව නී මවමින් ළය කිසෙ ගල කෙළෙ හොත්?" යි කී.

The most striking stylistic characteristics of this passage are: its use of a vocabulary consisting almost exclusively of Hela words; the use, especially in the first paragraph, of the long periodic sentence as the backbone of the narrative;

39. *Dharmapradīpikāva*, pp. 351–59.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 354–55.

the use of contemporary poetic (especially conventional Sanskritic) simile, metaphor and imagery and sound-effects such as alliteration and assonance; and the persistent rhythmic cadence of the prose, especially in the descriptive portions. The overwhelming proportion of the vocabulary employed here comprises either native Hela words or fully naturalised Hela derivatives of Pali and Sanskrit words. In the whole passage there are only three Sanskrit words in their original form; of these, two (හර්ෂයෙන් උත්කර්ෂ වැ) are probably used with the deliberate intention of producing an alliterative sound effect. This 'poetical' vocabulary, as well as the typically 'poetic' sentiments expressed, are strongly reminiscent of the Sanskrit and Sinhalese *Mahākāvyas* (epic poems) such as the *Kavsilumina*. The conventional imagery of the *mahākāvya* appears in සුනිල් යුවල නුවන් බිඳුනු ඇය වුවන් පියුම් දැකැ ඇසිපිය පියා පහරා යහදසුන් මී බොත් and බමර පිය රඳී බදු සිනිදු මියුරැ තෙපුලෙන් and above all in the extended imagery embodied in the last paragraph.[41] The descriptive portion of paragraph one is rhythmic prose, akin to a kind of *vers libre*, and may be separated into rhyming rhythmic units or "lines", the number of *mātrās* (feet) of each line however not remaining constant; or it may be described as prose having internal rhyme, the rhyming series of verb forms නහමමින්, බලමින්, වදිමින්, මඩිමින්, නහමමින්. අලළමින්, ලැබෙමින්, setting off the individual units, the musical effect being enhanced by other rhyming words ending with nasal consonants as in the words වනවන්, හර්ෂයෙන්, පියන් පියන්,කිළින්, රැවින්, ගිගුෂමන්, මල්දෙලෙන්, භාවිභාවයෙන්, වරහනන්, සඳුන් රොන්, සහගුම්.The passage is also marked by the use of assonance and alliteration (e. g., පියන් පියන්සෙ, පිය බඳ හි, ලෙළ ලිය ගළ හොයළහි, බමර ගිගුමෙන් ගුම ගත්, සඳුන් පලලෙළ වූ සල්සලළමල් රොන් මිඩු, දිව ගඳබර මඳරා රජ ඉදුහු දිව කිදුරැ වෙණ රඳී බඳුසහගුම් බමර කැල අලලමින් බැසැ කුනුවහ ළඟ වැ, බමර බර පුල් ලෙළ ලියෙක්හි.

Also notable is the exploitation of the "half-nasal" phonemes / *ñg, ñd, ñd* and *mb*/, to convey the impression of the humming of bees, an effect which suffuses the whole passage of description. The highly elaborate development of the sophisticated poetic conceit of Brahma's creatio ı of the heroine and the sophisticated use of metaphor and simile all indicate the influence of earlier and contemporary Sanskrit and Sinhalese poetics. This is a highly sophisticated and deliberate attempt at the writing of poetic prose, a veritable *tour de force* in Sinhalese prose narrative, one which was sometimes imitated later, but hardly ever surpassed. Only a few passages in Vidyachakravarti's contemporaneous work *Butsaraṇa*[42] may be said to have come close to the virtuosity of Gurulugomi's sustained effort in *Sulukaliñgudāvata* (the Story of King Sulu Kaliñgu).

41. Cf. Välivitiye Soraia Thero's comparison of a phrase in the story of Sulukalingu and its parallel in *Kavsilumina*, and Medauyangoda Vimalakitti thero's comparison of a passage from the story of Sulukalinu and a *soloka* from Kalidasa's *Subhāshita Ratna Bhāndāgāraya* in the respective editions of the *Dharmapradīpikāva*.

42. Cf. the passage which begins "සදත්වැ අවදහයක් මතැත් කැල සිටිවරා" (Chaddanta Jātakaya) in the *Butsaraṇa*, pp. 17, 18.

(*b*) *The Sanskritic Style.*

The pure Hela style described above is limited to parts of *Dharmapradipikāva* and *Butvaraṇa* among the more important Sinhalese prose classics, and it probably looks back to an earlier period of the language. On the other hand, both Gurulugomi and Vidyāchakravarti go to the opposite extreme (especially in portions descriptive of the bodily features or the actions of the Buddha); here, the word stock utilised is almost exclusively Sanskritic, consisting of a preponderance of Sanskrit words in their "raw" or original form together with long Sanskritic compounds. With this highly Sanskritic vocabulary goes the over-long, multi-clausal sentence structure containing a large number of non-finite verb forms. A typical example of the highly Sanskritic style follows:

එකල්හි බුදුහු සම්ප්‍රාප්ත පර්ෂදට අනුරූප ප්‍රාතිහාර්‍යයෙන් ගොස් ධර්ම සභායෙහි ප්‍රඥප්ත වර බුද්ධාසනයෙහි වැඩ හිඳ අෂ්ටාංග සමූපෙත නානානයනිපිණ වූ අනෙකාධ්‍යාශය සමුත්ථාන වූ අර්ථව්‍යඤ්ජනසම්පන්නවූ විවිධ ප්‍රාතිහාර්‍යයුක්ත වූ ධර්මාර්ථ දෙශනා ප්‍රතිවෙධ ගම්භීර වූ සර්වසත්වයන් විසින් ස්වභාෂානුරූප කොටැ ලක්ෂණීය ස්වභාව ඇති වචනයෙන් ධර්මදෙශනා කොටැ අනෙක දිව්‍ය මනුෂ්‍යයන් මාර්ගඵලයට පමුණුවා කල් බලා සමූ දෙත්.

Dharmapradipikāva, p. 59.

Here, almost all the words, except the 'function' words[43] like විසින් 'by' and verb forms like ගොස්, බලා and දෙත් are Sanskrit words in their unmodified form. This style while being bombastic and high-sounding may, because of the frequent recurrence of the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit, sound impressive and convey an impression of elegance, polish, erudition and dignity; however, it is pretentious, artificial and extremely inappropriate for the narration of a simple story. The more talented writers like Gurulugomi appear to have sensed this, for the latter used this style only in portions referring to the actions or utterances of the Buddha, expressly with the purpose of conveying his (the writer's) feelings of adoration and the impression of grandeur and faith which he thought befitted narrative involving the Buddha, which in turn justified the deployment of a "grand" style, reminiscent of Milton's English prose (and verse) style.

Long, sustained passages in this "grand", highly Sanskritic style are rare in Gurulugōmi; in lesser and later writers, however, the Sanskritic style was increasingly (and often indiscriminately) used, and often degenerated into mere verbosity and concatenations of exotic consonantal sounds.

(*c*) *The 'Mixed' Style*

The greater part of the writings of both Gurulugōmi and Vidyāchakravarti, as of all the major classical writers who succeeded them, are composed neither in the Hela style nor in the Sanskritic style in their developed or extreme form. Gurulugomi, in narrative portions such as the one reproduced below (the story of Mahalē Viduriñdunāvo) evolves an intermediate or mixed style, characterised by a mixed vocabulary in which is found a generous admixture of Sanskrit words (in their unassimilated or raw form), on a foundation of native Sinhalese

43. For a discussion of 'Function words', see C. C. Fries, *The Structure of English*, New York, 1952, pp. 87–109.

words. This style is free from extremely long compounds (whether Elu or Sanskritic in character). The style is 'mixed' not only in vocabulary, but also in respect of the sentence structures employed; there are short mono-clausal sentences, occasionally interspersed with longer multi-clausal sentences of fairly extensive length, the final result being a pleasing variety in sentence structures which precludes both the monotonous rhythm of style (b) as well as the artificial 'poetic' cadences of movement of style (a):

මෙරට මහබෝ පිහිටි හවුරුදු සියක් ඉකුත් කල්හි ලක්දිව මහලෙ විදුරිදුනාවෝ නම් කෙනෙක් වූහු. ඔහු මහබෝ වැඳ දා වඳනට තුඹරුප් යන්නාහු උයන්වලැ සිවුරු පෙරෙවි ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ කෙනෙකුන් මෙවුන් සෙවුනා දක "අප කුල දෙවියන්ගෙ වරදක් දුටුමහ, ඔවුන් කෙරෙහි කළ අප්‍රසාදයෙන් අපායභාග් වමහ, හෙ අප ඇස් ඇත්තෙන් කෙරුණැයැ" යි ඇස් පුරා වැලි එවගෙන මිරිකා දෙඇස් නසාපිහ. පරිජනයෝ අවුදු වැලැප වැහැස ගෙට ගෙන ගියහ. ඔවුන්ගෙ ශෘනයහි අධිෂ්ඨිත රාක්ෂසයෙක් ඔවුන් දුඃඛ වේදනායෙන් අභිභූතවස දක "ඔවුන් කළ කම් උන්ට යැ, කොප මෙදුක් වැදගත් සෙ කුමටයැ?" යි කීය. "එ තට කිවාහු කවරහ?" යි කීහ. "මම්මැ දත්මි" යි කීහ. එතැන සිට තමන්ගෙ ගෙහි වසන රාක්ෂසයා බව දැන "යා මෙහි නොවසා" යි දහැවියහ. හෙ "මෙ මහා පුරුෂයාගෙ ගුණ තුන් ලෙවහි පහළ කළ මැනැවැ" යි පැන අඹ මළුවයහි සිට තුන් යලක් කාලොද්සොෂණය කෙළෙ. එසද සියලු ලක්දිව් තෙලෙහි නයින් හා දෙවියෝ අවුදු රස්වූහ.

Dharmapradipikāva, pp. 418–19.

Here we find Gurulugomi attempting a synthesis of the two styles (a) and) (b), and moving towards (c), the mixed 'synthetic' style which produced an all-purpose, effective, and flexible prose, ideal for rapid narrative of incident and episode.[44] The sentences in the above passage are tightly-wrought and variegated in rhythm. The short sentence structures create a sense of rapid movement, while the entire paragraph is unified by the skilful use of pronominal connectives (**ඔහු, ඔවුන්, ඔවුන්, එතැන සිට, හෙ, එසද**) which bind the separate short sentences syntactically into a paragraphic unit, and also help to underline the successive stages of the story. The incorporation of the interchanges, too, exhibits reasonable skill on the part of the writer: Gurulugomi does not here follow the traditional technique of incorporating the dialogue in a long synoptic periodic sentence; instead, he attempts to separate the utterance of each speaker from that of the other (s), thus giving greater weight and emphasis to each utterance. The eschewal of deliberate poetic embellishment and the simplicity, naturalness, and directness of the prose mark this style as being less self-conscious and artificial than both styles (a) and (b).

The subsequent history of Sinhalese narrative prose style from the twelfth century upto the end of the eighteenth is in fact a record of the development, vicissitudes, refinements, degeneration and mixtures of the three styles already described—i.e., the pure Hela, the Sanskritic, and the Mixed, the third style in itself really being an intermediate one possessing and combining the better qualities of the first two.

44. Cf. e. g., Martin Wickramasinghe, *Landmarks of Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1948 (Second revised edition, 1963), p. 56.

The earliest work of *extended narration* in prose,[45] Gurulugōmi's *Amāvatura*, provided the prototype with regard to narrative structure that was to be followed by later writers. In structure, it initiated the tradition of compiling collections of separate stories all illustrating a single theme. Gurulugōmi selected as his theme the Pali phrase *purisa damma sārathi* describing one of the great qualities of the Buddha; all the stories in the *Amāvatura* illustrate this quality of the Buddha. The same structure was followed by the author of the *Bustaraṇa*, the *Pūjāvaliya*, and the *Sārārtha Sangrahaya*, each of which is organised on identical structural principles. In style, too, the *Amāvatura* provided a prototype, for it marks the (now extant) beginnings of the transition from the Hela style to the Mixed or synthetic, with a mixed Elu-Sanskritic vocabulary, as well as a liberal variety of sentence structures long and short. The style is marked by the absence of the long Sanskritic-type compounds characteristic of the style of *Sulukaliñgudavata*; nor is any deliberate attempt made to exploit sound effects (like assonance, alliteration and rhyming), or to establish poetic cadences and rhythmic patterns. Yet, the style carries with it a characteristic prose rhythm, achieved through the balancing and variation of lengths of clauses, phrases and the skilful intermixture of short sentences with those of medium length. However, the synthesization is still very close to the pure Hela style, with a very slight mix of the Sanskritic element. In subsequent works, however, the transition was completed, and the style moved closer to the middle of the continuum or 'cline' between the pure Hela and the pure Sanskritic styles. It was in this later-perfected "mixed" style that all the most important Sinhalese prose classics (like the *Butsaraṇa*, the *Daham Saraṇa*, the *Saddhammaratanāvaliya*, the *Pūjāvaliya*, the *Pansiya Panas Jatakaya*, the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*) were composed. Of course, this mixed style took on a variety of aspects depending on the learning, virtuosity, interests, and imaginative powers of the individual writers, and approached closer and closer to greater simplicity as time went on.

Working within the limitations and conventions of theme and subject matter described earlier, however, the classical writers of Sinhalese narrative prose display a fairly wide variety of styles and narrative techniques. The *Amāvatura* of Gurulugomi, with which Sinhalese *literary* prose is considered to have begun,[46] is written in a variation of the pure Hela style already described; the main difference lies in the absence of the literary ornamentation and the conscious rhythmic patterning that characterised the style of the *Sulukaliñgudāvata*. It is a terse, vigorous and straight-forward style, ideal for plain, simple, rapid-moving narration, almost completely bare of literary embellishment. Vidyāchakravarti, Gurulugōmi's contemporary and author of *Butsaraṇa*, on the other hand, employs a style which is more verbose, containing a larger proportion of emotive words and a considerable amount of 'poetic' embellishment such as simile, metaphor, imagery, and an

45. As indicated earlier, relatively short narrative pieces are found in earlier works, especially in Gurulugōmi's own *Dharmapradīpikāva*, and even in some of the exegetical and commentarial works.

46. The prose of the exegetical works has been excluded as being primarily non-literary in intention.

incantatory rhythm. Of the two styles, that used by Gurulugōmi is more suitable for plain narration and summarisation, while that of Vidyāchakravati is more appropriate for the expression of emotional feeling, vivid description, and the creation of a particular atmosphere or mood; from the point of view of a *listening* public (audience), there is little doubt that the latter style would have been much more popular and effective than the former, for it possessed two features of a successful and effective *pulpit prose:* rhythmical patterning and emotional heightening. Thus while Gurulugōmi brought the pure narrational aspect of narrative prose to maturity and perfection, Vidyāchakravarti sought to develod the other, equally important, aspect of narrative prose—the dramatisation of a moving scene or incident, and the recreation of heightened emotion, mood or atmosphere through the use of emotionally-charged words. Both aspects, of course, had to be developed for the creation of a successful narrative prose style, for while "pure narrative. . . .is the backbone of all kinds of narrative," [47] "scene" or dramatisation of events is a condition to which narrative seems always to aspire, [48] and is a *sine qua non* of novelistic art. Nor is the "pure narrative" aspect to be despised, for "the writing of such pure narrative of external events is not so easy as it seems; because, although we may know, in a sense, all the events that are going to happen in our story right up to the end, it is not only the events themselves but the pace at which they move that will make or mar the story." [49] Gurulugōmi is at his best when making a quick sketch of the background of a story, or in introducing a character economically, with a few quick strokes of the brush:

අතීතයෙහි බරණැස් නුවර සතළිස් කෙළක් ධන ඇති සිටක්හුගේ දිට්ඨමඞ්ගලිකා නම් එකම දුවක් වූව. යහපත. පැහැපත. රූපත. හෝ රූප සම්පත්තීන් කුල සම්පත්තීන් සම්පන්න වන බැවින් බොහෝ දෙනා විසින් පතන ලදු. යමෙක් යමෙක් ඇය කැමති වේද, ඕ ඔහු දැක ඔහුගේ ජන්මයෙහි හෝ අක් පා ආදියෑ හෝ දොස් දක්වා "උහු කෙරෙහි කවුරු වෙසෙකි? ඔහු තෙරපියව" යි තෙරපියවා "මෙසේ වූවක්හු දිටිමි. දිය ගෙණෙව ඇස් දෝනටය" යි දිය ගෙන්වාගෙණ ඇස් දොවී. එසින් හෝ දිට්ඨමඞ්ගලිකා නම් වූව.

Amāvatura, pp. 40-41.

The characteristic brevity of Gurulugōmi's style is indicated by his use of just three words in place of three complete sentences: (යහපත. පැහැපත. රූපත.); this syntactic device also lends a distinctive individual stylistic touch to the passage. The style is extremely economical and terse, containing very little decorative or descriptive detail, and conveying swiftly the information essential for the reader to follow the story with intelligence and eagerness, and thus quite functional here. Unfortunately, however, Gurulugōmi is equally laconic and reticent, too tight-fisted with words, details and emotions when presenting a scene of crucial significance in his narrative, such as the dramatic confrontation between Lord Buddha and the fierce, drunken elephant, Nālāgiri. This is how the elephant in his murderous stampede towards the Buddha is described:

47. A. King and M. Ketley. *The Control of Language*, Bombay, 1939, p. 181.
48. Robert Liddell, *Some Principles of Fiction*, London, 1953, p. 55.
49. King and Ketley, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

ඇතුද්, බුදන් එන්නන් දැකැ, මිනිසුන් උත්ත්‍රාස කරවමින් ගෙ විදහමින්. ගැල් සුන් සුන් කෙරෙමින්, සොඩ ඔසවාගෙණ කන්වැල් හුවාගෙණ, පර්‍වතයක් සෙයින් බුදුන් කරා දිවී.

Amāvatura, p. 140

The extremely general, non-particularised and synoptic manner in which the description is presented, makes the description quite lifeless and undramatic, even anti-climactic, whereas this confrontation between Nalagiri and the Buddha is the dramatic climax towards which the entire narrative has been building up. In complete contrast is the manner in which Vidyāchakravarti presents the same incident, perhaps going to the other extreme in over-dramatising the scene. The latter author is not satisfied with *summarising* the event, but in *re-creating* it in all its fearful detail with all the literary and rhetorical power at his command—simile, metaphor, imagery, rhythm and appropriate sound effects. The passage parallel to that from the *Amāvatura* quoted earlier runs as follows in Vidyāchakravarti's *Butsaraṇa*:

එකෙණෙහි මුහුදු දියකඳ දවාගෙනැ වඩබා මුඛයෙන් පිටත්වැ ගිය අව්චියෙහි ගිනිකඳක් සෙ රළුවූ මතැත් තෙමේ සොඩ හකුළුවාගෙන මහ පොළොව යදඬෙන් ගැසූ සණ්යාවක් සෙ අනුරාව දෙවමින්, ගිගිරු හඬින් මුළු නුවර අසනිපාතයක්සෙ තතුනුවමින්, කෝපයෙන් පය ඇදලූ කෙණෙහිමැ මකුළු හුයක් කඩන්නාසෙ බැඳලූ යදම බිඳ සුණු විසුණු කෙරෙමින්, නෙළුඹු දැලියක් උපුරන්නාසෙ බැඳලූ තඹය පෙරළී සිට ඇනැ තුතු කෙරෙමින්, සිටී ඇත්හල පැහැරී ධූලී කෙරෙමින්, බිඳපූ තඹය හකුළුවා දළ හස්සෙහි තබා ගෙනැ, තමාගෙ සේයට ඇනලූ ඇන්මෙන් මහ පොළොව දුදුරු කොට දළ ඇවිළැගත් පසින් භයඩිකරවැ, නීය අක් පහරින් මහ පොළොව කැණැ, එපස් ඉන පිටට ඉස්මින්, දිවැ ලුහුබඳවා අල්වා පලාපු මිනී දළගෙහි අවුණාගණිමින්, ලෙහෙයන් රැදී ගිය මුහුණින්, ලෙහෙයෙන් රැදී ගිය දෙදළින් ගොන් මීවුන් ලුහුබඳවාගෙන ඇනැ පළමින්, ඔවුන්ගෙ අතුණුබහනින් වෙළී ගිය දළින් බැළබැළවන් ඇස් පියවමින්, කොපයෙන් සොඩ කටලා ගෙනැ හිස සලා ඉගුරමින්, දොරටු අටලූ-පවුරු-පදනම් ඇණැ හෙළා සුණු විසුණු කෙරෙමින් අවුත් වීථියට වැද ගියෙයැ.

Butsaraṇa, pp. 79–80.

Vidyāchakravarti dramatises fully the most tense scene, the climax, of his narrative; for this, he uses the resources of the language to a much greater extent than Gurulugōmi did when facing the same situation—the few Sanskrit words used here are functionally expressive, the aspirated consonants of Sanskrit being harnessed appropriately to recreate the fearful aspects of the scene, which is full of heavy, fearful sounds expressive of the havoc and destruction wreaked all around the Buddha by the wrathful elephant Nālāgiri. The use of the single, rhythmic, fast-and-smooth-flowing multi-clausal sentence also conveys successfully the breathless, exciting pace at which the events succeed one another. Unfortunately, however, Vidyāchakravarti's lead in adding the emotional and dramatic element to a narrative, of recreating the drama of a scene, was not developed much further by his successors, for whom detailed description, the Sanskritic words, and sound-effects became ends in themselves, without much regard for propriety.

Dharmasēna thero, the author of the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*, diversified the art of narrative prose further, by using a racy, colloquial, speech-based style, characterised by the use of homely, day-to-day folk idiom and imagery drawn

from the rural Sinhalese village and farm. The following is characteristic of the over-all colloquial style of the work:

රජ්ජුරුවෝ මසු දහසක් දෙවාලූය. ඌ ඒ හැරගෙන දුක්පස් සැටියට දුවනියන් කෙලෙසීගිය මාලු කඩක් භදවාලා උන් හැරගෙන නික්ම මඟී බදුව බැළයන් හිඳින විටියට ගොසින් එක් ගෙයකට වැද "අපි දෙපුතු මවු ගමනිමහ. එක් දෙදවසක් මේ ගෙයි රදාපියමහ" යි කිවුය. "මේ ගෙයි මිනිසුන් බොහොව. මෙතැන අවසර නැත. තෙල කුමහසොෂකයන්ගේ ගෙය උන් තමන් පමණක් හෙයින් අවසර ඇත. ඔබ ගිය මැනවැ" යි කිවුය.

ආදිකොටම එතැනට යාම තමන් සිතා ආ කටයුත්තට නොනිසි හෙයින් නොගිය බව මුත් යායුතු එතැනටම හෙයින් ඉගසින් "ස්වාමිනි, අපි මඟී දුප්පත් කෙනොකුමහ. එක් දෙදවසක් මෙතැන රදපියමහ" යි කියා උන් බැරියයි කීවත් "අද එක දවසක් රදපියා උදසන යමහ" යි කියාලා එදවස් රදාගෙන, දෙවන දවස් උන් තමන්ගේ මෙහෙවර යන්නවුන්ට "සාල් සුහෙක් ඇත්නම් දුන මැනව නිකම් හිදිනා ගමනේ දවාලට බත් පිස තබා ලමහ" යි බත් පිසීම පිට ලාලා එදවසුන් රදන්ට සිතූහ. කුමහසෝෂකයෝ වස්තුව එළි බසිනි යන හයින් එසේ නොකැමැත්තෝ "මෙතෙක් මට පිසන්නෝ අනික් කෙනෙක්ද? මම ම පිසගෙන කමි" යි කිවුය. උන් එසේ කීවත් හූරුතුඩ සීවැල්තුඩ තුබුවාසේ රජගෙයකත් වැඩිගත් හෙයින් නොඑක් ලෙසින් කියා ගිවිස්වාගෙන උන් අන් දෙය නොඅල්වාම තබාලා වලන් විකුණන තෙනින් කුඹල් වළඳකුත් අංගාතියට යවා කැකුළු සාලකුත් ගෙන්වාගෙන රජගෙයිදි පිසන ලෙසටම සුදුසුවක් කොට බත් ද ඉති පත් කඩ ලාලා මාළු දෙකක් තුනක් ද පිසලා වල සිට ආ බැළයාණන්ට බත ලාලූය. බත් කාලා කෑ බහින්ම ආදි වෙගය නැතිව අදහස මොළොක් වූ කලට "ස්වාමිනි, ගමන් ඇවිද මිරිකී ගියමහ. එක් දෙදවසක් දෙපුතු මවු කැටිව කපු කැටලා මෝල් කොටාලාත් පය සතපාගන්නා කැමැත්තමහ" යි කිවුය.

Saddharmaratanāvaliya, pp. 257–258.

What is especially noticeable here is the further simplification of the broad Hela style by incorporating in it some of the characteristic features of the contemporary folk vocabulary, idiom, and turns of speech. While the finite verb forms remain unchanged, (in comparison with the earlier 'mixed' prose style), the non-finite verb forms have undergone a significant change from their previous *written* morphological form to the actual *spoken* forms by the addition of the absolutive verb form ලා which is exclusively used in colloquial speech even at the present day (e. g., භදවාලා, කියාලා, තබාලා, පිසලා, කාලා, කැටලා, කොටාලා).

Many idiomatic expressions and turns of phrase hitherto not admitted into the language of literature are also used, and give a surprisingly racy freshness to the style: e. g., කෙලෙසීගිය මාලුකඩක්, බැළයන් හිඳිනා විටියට ගොසින්, සාල් සුහෙක්, නිකම් හිඳිනා ගමනේ, බත් පිසීම් පිට ලාලා, වස්තුව එළිබසිනී යන හයින්, වලන් විකුණන තෙනින්, කැකුළු සාලකුත් ගෙන්වාගෙන, බත්ද ඉති පත්කඩ ලාලා, මාලු දෙකක් තුනක් ද පිසලා, බත් කාලා, කපු කැටලා, මෝල් කොටාලා, etc. Phrases such as හූරු තුඩ සීවැල්තුඩ තුබුවාසේ, බත ලාලූය, අදහස මොළොක්වූ කලට, ඇවිද මිරිකී ගියමහ, පය සතපාගන්නා කැමැත්තමහ, again, indicate a figurative use of language implying Dharmasena thero's interests in language and prose style as a literary craftsman. The bringing together of the ordinary day-to-day life of the people and literature is also effected through the author's use of simile and metaphor from the life of the agricultural folk community; this use of simile and imagery gives

a freshness and vividness to the narrative that Sinhalese prose never possessed before, with the exotic classical simile and imagery so far in literary vogue:

(i) කන්ට එන බල්ලන්ට අසුරු ගසා සාද කරවන්නාසේ යාද, සාමීවි ලෙස කථා කොටලා (p. 69)

(ii) සියල් සිරුරෙහි ඇට තළා පයියක පුරා ලූ සාල් මෙන් බිඳ සුණු කොට පියා (p. 701)

(iii) එක් මුල්ලකට පළා ගොසින් කුණු කා ගොසින් කළුව තුබූ සක් පිඹිනට කට තබා ගත්තවුන් මෙන් මුවටී කට තබා ගෙන රා බී පියා මුවටී දමා පියා (p. 729)

(iv) කොතැන ඇසුවත් බල්ලන් පයක් ඔසවා ගන්නා සේ (p. 807)

(v) යම්සේ තරුදියෙන් කිරන කෙනෙක් බරව තුබූ භාගයෙන් හැර අඩුව තුබූ භාගයෙහි අතින් ලා බර සරි කෙරෙත් ද (p. 934)

(vi) ජරාව දිරා ගොසින් මාලුවූ, දකැත්තෙක දුකී වැනිර ගියාසේ දත් වැගිර ගියාවූ (p. 421)

Dharmasena thero's sophistication regarding the use of language is evident also from the metaphorical, concise, emotive language (almost poetic in its metaphorical conciseness) that he uses; a few typical examples are as follows: දිය කැ කුඹුර, ගසත් කණු පමණෙක්ව සිදුරුව ගොසින් සුළං පහළ කල හඬහඬා සිටී, කිලුටු අදහස්, කෙළෙස් කුඩු මැටි නැග නොදී, මකුණන්ට බත්ව, නුවණ දළ බැඳිණ, දුක් මුහුද. Consider, also, the freshness of the imagery, the vividness and particularity of detail in the two following short descriptive accounts dealing with (i) an old woman, and (ii) the appearance of the decrepit, decayed body of a diseased monk:

(i) එක් සිය විසි ඇවිරිදි වූ දත් වැගිර ගියාවූ, හිස නියද කෝටුවක් සේ විලිස්ස ගියාවූ ඇහ සම් වැරැලි ගෙන තිබෙන්නාවූ තල කැළලින් ගැවසී ගත් සිරුරු ඇති ගොණැයි වකක් සේ වක ගසාගෙන සිටිනා කෙනෙකුන් (p. 578)

(ii) සියල් සිරුර වෙයන් කැ පරඩල් පතක් මෙන් සිදුරු විසිදුරු විය..... ..... හඳනා පොරෝනා සිවුරු පුයා හා ලෙහෙයෙන් වැකී පුස්කා ගිය පැණි කැවුම් සේ විය. (p. 335)

Even these two short descriptions are an index to Dharmasena thero's keenness of observation and his fine sensibility and sensitivity, which give birth to descriptions that dramatically and vividly recreate a scene or a person. The narrative prose of the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya* is also marked by the enrichment of the vocabulary of Sinhalese narrative prose by the influx of a large number of homely words from folk speech, as well as many loan words, especially from Tamil: කුලප්පම් කළෙය, නස්පතෙක්, පැලිකම් දක්වා, අට්ටාල් බලෑත්, ආලොහලයක්, ආලිස්සම්කොට, මුසුප්පු මුසුප්පුව and also by a characteristic type of word-play which often adds a tinge of wit, humour or irony to the story, such as the reference to a *bhikku* as පිළිවෙතින් සීන් වුවත්, මසින් ලෙයින් මහත්ව ඉසත් බඩත් මහත් හෙයින් ථුල්ලතිස්ස තෙරුන් වහන්සේ යයි ප්‍රසිද්ධව මට සිලුටු වූ සීන් සිවුරු වැළඳ පියා..... (p. 93)

The high-water mark of classical Sinhalese narrative prose is probably reached around the 14th century, in some of the stories in the *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya*, especially its longest single story, the *Ummagga Jātakaya*. This work marks the culmination of the development of the mixed prose style that has been traced through Gurulugomi, Vidyachakravarti and Dharmasena thero; this style shows a synthesis of the best features of the styles of all its great classical predecessors. The *Ummagga Jātakaya* has been termed the "most popular prose classic of our Sinhalese literature";[50] according to Martin Wickramasinghe, in no other Sinhalese prose work is "such a degree of verisimilitude and conscious art and a vividness of characterisation achieved," [51] as in the *Ummagga Jātakaya*. The following representative excerpt embodies most of the characteristics of the prose style of the *Ummagga Jātakaya*:

බොධිසත්වයන්වහන්සේ ඒ ශිය බමුණා හා කථාවට ආරම්භ දක්වූ සේකැ. ළහ සිටියාහු, "ස්වාමිනි, ඉතා සූක්ෂ්මවූ තෙලක් වළඳන ලද්දේ වේද? එබැවින් මේ දුෂ්ටවූ බ්‍රාහ්මණයා හා කථාවෙන් ප්‍රයෝජන කිම් ද?"යි කියා නැවතුන. කේවට්ටයා බෝධිසත්වයන්වහන්සේ සමීපයෙහි හිඳිනා ආසනයක්වත් වැහිරුගෙන සිටිනා ආධාරයක්වත් බෝධිසත්වයන්වහන්සේගෙන් මිහිරි කථා මාත්‍රයක්වත් නොලදින්, වැසි සමයයෙහි ගව්ර පිරි ගොවුදකට වන් ගොන් මාල්ලකු සේ, බොල් ගොම ඇඟිලි අසුවලින් පලව පලවා මිරි මිරියේ ඒ පය ලලා මිරිකමින් සිටියේයැ. ඒ සිටියාවූ බමුණා මූණ බලා එකෙක් තමාගේ නුවන කසාලීය; එකෙක් තමාගේ බැම උඩ නහා ලීයැ; එකෙක් තමාගේ වැලමිට කසාලීය, බමුණු ඔවුන්ගේ මේ ක්‍රියාව දකැ ඉඟිකරුවැ ඇත් මැත් බලන්නේ "පණ්ඩිතයෙනි, අපි යමහ",යි කියා අනෙකකු විසින්, "කොල අරිවූ බමුණ, නොදොඩයි කියදිත් දොඩදොඩා මැ සිටිනෙහි ද? දැන් තොපගේ ඇට බැට තලා පියමහ" යි කී කල්හි, භයින් ත්‍රස්ත වැ නැවැතැ පිටිපස්ස බැලීයැ. ඉක්බිති එසේ බැලූ බමුණාට එකෙක් හුණ පත්තෙන් පිටට පහරක් ගැසියැ. එකෙක්, "යෙයිද? නොයෙයිදැ?"යි කියා කර අල්ලා ගෙනැ දමියැ; එකෙක් දිවමින් ගොස් පිටි දෙමැද අතුල් පහරක් ගැසියැ. ඒ තෙමේ දිවියකු කටින් ගැලවුණු මුව මාල්ලකු මෙන් භයින් තැති ගෙනැ වෙවුල වෙවුලා දිවන්නේ දුකසේ ගොස් රජ ගෙට පැමිණියේයැ.

(pp. 98-99)

This is narrative prose of a high artistic order, one which exploits the resources of the language to a high degree, economical, and at the same time highly effective and adequate for the writer's purpose at hand. The scene is not merely described, but dramatised vividly in all its ironic humour, through the realistic presentation of even the slight movements of the characters. The effect created, indicated clearly by the over-all easy-flowing rhythmic organization of the passage, is one of consummate control of the narrative; sentence, clause and phrase structure are not conventionally patterned, but expressive; descriptive detail and imagery help to bring the scene to life (compare, for instance, the vividness of ගොම ඇඟිලි අසුවලින් පලව පලවා මිරිමිරියේ ඒ පයින් ඒ පය මිරිකමින් සිටියේයැ where the words මිරිමිරියේ and මිරිකමින් convey the actual actions referred to expressively). Linguistic devices such as repetition and reduplication (e. g., පලව පලවා, මිරිමිරියේ ඒ පයින් ඒ පය ලලා, වෙවුල වෙවුලා, දොඩ දොඩා), compound words with assonance

50. C. H. B. Reynolds (Ed.), *An Anthology of Sinhalese Literature Upto 1815*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1970, p. 219.
51. Martin Wickramasinghe, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

(ඇත් මැත් බලන්නේ, ඇට බැට තලා) are used not for decorative effect but to convey the author's attitude towards the character of the foolish Kevaṭṭa: වැසි සමයයෙහි ගවර පිරි ගොවුදකට වත් ගොන් මාල්ලකුසේ, දිවියකු කටින් ගැලවුණු මුව මාල්ලකු මෙන්. Sentences are of varying length and grammatical complexity, finely adjusted to the speed of movement of the narration of events; for example, where rapidly occurring physical events are described, short, balanced, repetitive sentence structures are employed, thus enacting the rapidity of the movement of the action (e. g., in ...එකෙක් තමාගේ නුවන කසාලීය; එකෙක් තමාගේ බැම උඩ නහාලීය; එකෙක් තමාගේ වැලමිට කසාලීය and එකෙක් හුණපත්තෙන් පිටට පහරක් ගැසීය. එකෙක් "යෙයිද? නොයෙයිදැ"යි කියා කර අල්ලා ගෙනැ දැමීය; එකෙක් දිවමින් ගොස් පිටි දෙමැද අතුල් පහරක් ගැසීයැ.

In vocabulary, an almost perfect 'mix' of the Hela and Sanskrit words has been reached, for the Sanskrit words are larger in proportion here than in the prose of Gurulugōmi, Vidyāchakravarti, or Dharmasēna thero. This is an example of the 'mixed' style at its best and most effective, a perfect vehicle for the narration of stories and tales.

From the point of view of narrative structure, too, the *Ummagga Jātakaya* is a landmark in Sinhalese classical prose, for it is here and in a few other Jataka stories such as the *Vessantara Jātakaya* and the *Kusa Jātakaya* that Sinhalese authors attempted the narration of stories of novel length. The *Ummagga Jātakaya* is the longest single story in classical Sinhalese prose, and therefore the work that comes closest to the length and structure of a novel in the western sense. Most other prose works were collections of stories, each constituent story being rarely developed in detail or in terms of dramatised scene, and too short in scope to permit the development of an intricate plot and characters, the dramatic representation of individual episode, the detailed description of background, and even the representation of interchange of direct dialogue in a realistic manner. In the dramatisation of individual scene, the author of the *Ummagga Jātakaya* is triumphantly successful, especially in the following episodes: the meeting between Kēvaṭṭa and Mahausadha (pp. 86–90); the story of Gōlakāla (pp. 14–16); the story illustrative of the wisdom of Queen Talathā (pp. 80–81), and the dismantling of Queen Talathā's house by Mahausadha's men (pp. 114–116).

Thus the narrative prose of the *Ummagga Jātakaya* is the natural development of the prose style of the *Saddhramaratanāvaliya*, and also the zenith of the evolution of classical Sinhalese prose—in development of plot, characterisation, vivid description and presentation of dialogue. The characterisation of king Vēdēha, who is represented satirically as the typical dim-witted eastern monarch surrounded by a host of equally foolish Purōhita Brāhmins (advisers) is plausible to a high degree; none of the main characters (not even the Bōdhisattva, Mahausadha himself), moreover, is portrayed as a 'perfect' or 'flat' [52] character;

52. For the distinction between 'flat' and 'round' characters in fiction, see E. M. Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*, 1927 (revised edition, 1953), London, Chapter 4.

Mahausadha, too, on certain occasions displays traits of cruelty and villainy, and the foolish advisers like Sēnaka and Pukkusa at times display redeeming human qualities of character such as humility and weakness. Each character, moreover, is recognizably individual. The high degree of verisimilitude achieved through the inclusion of realistic detail, the vividness of the characterisation, and the use of a variety of styles in keeping with the differing requirements at different stages of the story—all these make the *Ummagga Jātakaya* perhaps the only work that comes close to a modern novel not only in length and plot structure, but also in style and other aspects of narrative technique.

The *Pansiya Panas Jātakaya*, a collection of stories varying in length from the *Ummagga Jātakaya* (dealt with immediately above, and of novel length) to extremely short synopses or story-outlines, also marks a stage of further simplification of the language of narrative prose. The approximation of the prose to popular speech, which was a notable feature of the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya* is carried further in the *Jātaka Book*; as Martin Wickramasinghe remarks, its language is "a fair compromise between the language of Gurulugōmi and the spoken language of the time... To some extent it ignored the usage of the earlier writers, and attempted, even at the expense of grammatical conformity, to be intelligible to the masses...The result was that they (i. e., the *Jātakas*) introduced into Sinhalese a narrative style that was hardly ever excelled in our literature till modern times."[53] The following passage is representative of the narrative prose style employed in many of the stories in this vast collection of stories (though not of all, for the entire work being a translation by diverse hands, displays a vast spectrum of individual styles, some of average or even mediocre quality) :

මාණවිකා තොමෝ.....ස්වාමීනි මම නුඹවහන්සේ වීණා ගායනා කරණ කල්හි නටනු කැමැත්තෙමි කිව. යහපත සොඳුර නටවයි කියා බමුණා වීණා ගායණා කරන්ට පටන් ගත්තේය. එකල මාණවිකා කියන්නී නුඹවහන්සේ බලා හින්දදී නටන්නට ලජ්ජා ඇත්තෙමි එසේ හෙයින් නුඹවහන්සේගේ මූණ කඩකින් වසා බැඳ නටමි කිව. එබස් ඇසූ බමුණා ඉදින් තෙපි ලජ්ජාවවු නම් එසේ කරවයි කීය. එකෙණෙහි මාණවිකා සණුවූ වස්ත්‍රයක් ගෙන ඒ බමුණාගේ දෑස් දෙක වසා මුහුණ බැන්දීය. බමුණු කඩින් මුහුණ බඳවා ගෙන වීණා ගායනා කරන්ට පටන්ගත. ඒ මාණවිකා තොමෝ මද ඇසිල්ලක් නටා පියා කියන්නී ස්වාමීනි මම නුඹවහන්සේගේ හිසට එක් විටක් ඇනපියන්නා කැමැත්තෙමි කිව. ස්ත්‍රිය කෙරෙහි ලොල්වූ බමුණා කිසි කාරණයක් නොදැන පැහැර පියයි කීය. එකෙණෙහි මාණවිකා ධූතියාට ඉඟි කළාහුය. ධූතිතෙමේ සෙමෙන් සෙමෙන් අවුත් බමුණාගේ පිටිපස්සෙහි සිට ඉස වැලමිටින් ඇන්නේය එකෙණෙහි ඇස් පිට පලා යන්නාක් මෙන් විය. හිස ගැටක් පැන නැංගේය. ඒ බමුණා වේදනාවෙන් පීඩිතව තිගේ අත මෙසේ ගෙණෙවයි කීය. මාණවිකා තමාගේ අත ඔසවා බමුණාගේ අත මත්තෙහි තිබුය. බමුණා කියන්නේ තිගේ අත මොළොක පහර වූ කලී ඉතාම තදයයි කීය. ධූතියා බමුණාට ඇන දියා සැඟවුණේය. මාණවිකා ඔහු සැඟවී ගිය කල්හි බමුණා මුහුණින් වස්ත්‍රය මුදා හෙළා තෙල් ගෙණවුත් හිස ගැට නැඟි තෙන හා මැඩ සන්තර්පණය කළාය. බමුණා ගෙන් බැහැර ගිය කල්හි නැවත ඒ පරිවාරිකා ස්ත්‍රී ධූතියා පැස ලා ගෙන් පිටත් කළාය. ඉක්බිත්තෙන් ඒ ධූතියා රජ්ජුරුවන් සමීපයට ගොස් ඒ සියලු පවත් කීයේය.

Andhabhūta Jātakaya

53. Martin Wickramasinghe, *op., cit.*, pp. 125–26.

The feature which immediately distinguishes this narrative style from the styles of the earlier classical prose works is the extreme simplicity of the sentence structures. Most of the sentences in the above extract are simple sentence structures (i. e., mono-clausal sentences, e. g., එකෙණෙහි මාණවිකා ධූතියාට ඉඟි කළාහුය; හිස ගැටක් පැණ නැංගේය; or sentences with a single principal clause and a single subordinate clause such as ධූතියා බමුණාට ඇනපියා සැඟවුණේය; ඉක්බිත්තෙන් ඒ ධූතියා රජ්ජුරුවන් සමීපයට ගොස් ඒ සියලු පවත් කීයේය). Indeed, in such passages as the above we meet with the simplest narrative prose style (used up to the fourteenth century) from the point of view of complexity of sentence structure. Next, the 'modern' verb forms characteristic of the narrative prose of the late nineteenth century and twentieth century also make their appearance in this style, cf. e. g., the verb forms like පටන්ගත්තේය, කීය, ඇන්තේය, විය, පැනනැංගේය, කළාය, පිටත් කළාය, කීයේය which bear the favourite morphological forms of the respective verbs even at the present day (i. e. post-1980). Finally, the 'mixed' character of thc vocabulary persists (again, as it has done to the present day). However, the style is still transitional, for many of the classical (even archaic) features of the earlier prose styles are still retained, like the use of the classical verb forms like කිව (modern කිවාය), බැන්දිය (බැන්දය), පටන් ගත (පටන්ගත්තේය), ඉඟි කළාහුය (කළාය), තිබුය (තැබුවාය); the marking of the subject-noun with the morpheme තෙමේ / තොමෝ (මාණවිකා තොමෝ), the use of the obsolete pronoun තී, the introduction of direct speech with the phrase කියන්නේ (masculine) and කියන්නී (feminine), and verb forms typical of earlier classics (especially the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*) like නටාපිය, ඇන පියන්නා, ඇනපියා, පැහැර පියයි and the use of such "classical" particles as ඉදින්, වුකලි.

Thus the prose style of the *Jātaka Book* marks the beginnings of the transition from the classical to the specifically and recognizably 'modern' style of prose in sentence structure, grammar, and vocabulary. It looks back to the classical prose in respect of certain features, (as shown above) while at the same time it contains many stylistic features which anticipate modern Sinhalese narrative prose.

The *Saddharmālankāraya* [54] maintains the same simple, popular style characterised by short sentence structures and more or less 'modern' verb forms, together with the same approximation to the style of common, day-to-day speech; in subject matter, this work contains a number of stories with a specifically Sri Lankan background. The following is a typical extract:

මෙම ලංකාද්වීපයෙහි අනුරාධපුර නුවරට පශ්චිම දිග් භාගයෙහි මල්වැස්සා නමිවූ විහාරයෙක් විය. ඒ විහාරය සමීපයෙහි දෙව නම් ගම අමාත්‍යයෙක් ඉසුරුමත්ව වෙසෙයි. දවසෙක් ඒ අමාත්‍යයා ඒ ඒ තැන ඇවිද තමා වසන ගමට පෙරළා ඇවිත් සයින් විඩාව තමාගේ මිනිසුන් කැඳවා බත් අනුභවයට උන්නේය. එකෙණෙහි සයින් විඩා වූ බල්ලෙක් ආහාර ගන්ධය ආඝ්‍රාණය කොට වෙවුල වෙවුලා ඇවිත් ඔහු ඉදිරියෙහි සිටියේය. අමාත්‍යයාගේ කුඩා කොල්ලෙක් දඬුකඩක් ඇරගෙන බල්ලාට ගසා ලුහුබඳවන්නට ආය. ඒ දැක අමාත්‍යයා

54. For details regarding the contents and authorship of the *Saddharmālankāraya*, see Godakumbura, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–93, and Sannasgala, *op. cit.*, pp. 227–231.

බල්ලාගේ බැගෑපත්කම් දැක කරුණා උපදවා නොගසවයි වළකා නොයෙක් ලෙස මුසුකොට බත් පිඬක් අනා බල්ලාට තිබීය. එකල බලු බත් අනුභවකොට සතුටුව නකුට සලමින් සාදර දක්වා මුහුණ බලබලා සිටියේය.

Saddharmālankāraya, p. 620.

Here the style has in fact moved even closer than before to the modern style of prose narrative, for even the vestiges of the classical style which persisted in the *Jātaka Book* have now disappeared.

The evolution of a popular 'common' style, ideal for the oral narration of stories meant for a collective, unsophisticated audience traced above, however, did not proceed in a straight line; for, as indicated earlier, Sinhalese narrative prose from its inception flowed in three (often separately identifiable) streams—the Hela, the Sanskritic, and the Mixed—of which the more fruitful ('mixed') style has been traced here in considerable detail from its use in the *Dharmapradīpikāva* to its use in the *Jātaka Book* and the *Saddharmālankāraya*. Of the other two styles the Hela style reached its highest known stylistic level early, in the *Sulukaliñgu-dāvata*, and declined rapidly thereafter, although it was employed sporadically in short passages in most later works (i. e., in later works it was employed as an occasional, and never as the staple medium). The Sanskritic style died a slower death, for it too was not only utilised sporadically and occasionally in most classical prose works after the twelfth century, but also as the predominant style in several works (especially in conjunction with the pulpit *bhakti* style marked by exotic 'poetic' imagery and the amorphous open-ended sentence which gave rise to an incantatory rhythmic prose of monotonous regularity). These features are well exemplified in the early parts of *Daham Saraṇa*, in the opening of the *Ummagga Jātaka* itself, in some of the stories of the *Jātaka Book*, as well as in most parts of the *Daladā Pūjāvaliya*, the *Bōdhivansaya*, the *Elu Attanagalu Vansaya*, the *Saddharmaratanakaraya*, the *Rājaratnākaraya*, and the *Sārārtha Saṅgrahaya*. The majority of these works were probably anterior in date of composition to the *Jātaka Book* and the *Saddharmālankāraya*. The following passage is taken from the *Daham Saraṇa* (13th century):

එක් සමයෙක්හි මධුර ගුමු ගුමාරව මුබර මධුකර නිකර නිරන්තරවූ ප්‍රවල ප්‍රවාල ජාලාදන්තරවූ තරුණ සහකාරඩිකුරාසවාද වපල කොකිල කුලයා විසින් කරන ලද කුහකුහාරවයෙන් මනොහරවූ ශීතවිජායායෙහි හොත්තාවූ තරුණාරුණ හරිණ ගණයා විසින් කරන ලද රොමන්ථයෙන් මන්ථරවූ මන්දමාරුතාන්දෙලිතවූ නවලතා වනිතාවන්ගේ පල්ලාඩිකුරාභිඝාතඝයන් සන්තුෂ්ටවැ ගත්තාවූ තරුණ පුෂ්පාඩිකුර නැමැති රෝමාඩිකුර ඇති ජායාදමයෙන් හොබනාවූ සන්තරාරඹධවූ සිද්ධවිද්‍යාධරයන්ගේ සංගීත ප්‍රසඩග ඇති ... සුදුවූ වැලිතලා ඇති .....

(p. 56)

Here the entire passage except a few 'function' or 'structure' words and the verb forms (like විසින්, කරණ ලද. විසින්, ගත්තාවූ, හොබනාවූ, නැමැති,) are Sanskrit words in their original form; indeed, the passage looks very much like one taken bodily out of a book originally composed in Sanskrit, and cannot be

understood easily even by the most learned of Sinhalese scholars without a glossary or *sanna*. The sentence structure, too, is Sanskritic, as are the "poetic" imagery and other figures of speech. Words are used less for their semantic values than as counters in a pattern of complicated sound-effects involving assonance and alliteration (e.g., මධුර ඉඹු ගුම්බව්, මුඛර මධුකර නිකර නිරන්තර; රොමන්ථයෙන් මන්ථරවූ; තරුණ පුෂ්පාඩකුර නැමැති රොමාඩකුර), the rhythm is monotonous and soporifically incantatory, parts of sentences being balanced by the separation of clauses using the non-finite verb form වූ. Indeed, the passage is an exercise in complicated sound-effects, containing little sense if any, and originality, only displaying the author's knowledge of Sanskrit (not of Sinhalese).

The degeneration of prose style into mere word-play was not confined to Sanskritised prose; it had its counterparts in both 'mixed' and 'pure Hela' as well; the following specimen of alliterative prose is from the *Dalada Sirita* (1325 A.D.) which initiated a type of metrical-alliterative prose, a new rhythmic prose termed *vrttagandhi* style. Here it is the pure Hela words which predominate, although Sanskrit words are pressed into service to fulfil the needs of rhythm and assonance towards the end:

.....නවමාලිකා මල්ලිකා යුථිකා වීථිකා ජාතිකා සෙඵාලිකා වාලිකා ලතිකාකලාප විලොකනීය වූ, නන් ඔුවන් විලිමුවහ් කෙවිල්ලන් සිවින් යුත්, උදළ පුවළ පුලින තෙලෙ කෙළත ළඳ බොළඳ සිදහනන් මන දහ කළ, අමින් මින් සරසැ සරසැ සරු සරු සරන රවින බමන බමර තිසර රැවින් සැදුම් ලත්, සෘතු මද විලම්බිනී විලසිත නිතම්බිනී විවිධ රස ලම්බිනී විකසිත කදම්බිනී පරිවෘත කාදම්බිනී මධුපකුල චුම්බිනී ලුම්බිනී වනොද්‍යානයෙහි මාතෘ ගර්භයෙන් ප්‍රසූත වැ ....

(*Daladā Sirita*, pp. 3-4)

This passsage is part of a description of the garden of Lumbini where the Buddha was born. The description is once again highly conventional, the author being again interested in creating as intricate a rhythmical, assonantal and alliterative pattern as possible, which rhetorical principle overrides all other considerations, including that of conveying meaning. The final product is not good descriptive prose but mere verbiage; even musically, the rhythm is monotonous; semantically, most of the words are superfluous. The stringing together of alliterative words inevitably led to the lengthening of the sentence structures to unmanageable lengths. This metrical-alliterative style was restricted to passages of description in *Daladā Sirita*, but in the two later works *Kuvēni Asna* (c. A. D. 1420) and *Sihabā Asna* the entire narrative including passages of dialogue are written in the *Vrttagandhi* style, e.g.,

(1) සුසුම් ලා යකින්නී නෙක් කදුළු ඉසින්නී මෙලෙස සිට කියන්නී

(2) සිංහ පුරවර සොඳා රජ ඉසුරු විද ඉඳා කරන නොපනක් සඳා

(3) නැව් නඟා හළ සඳා ලක්දිවට බැස එද නුඟ සෙවන වන මැදා

(4) තනිව උන් සඳ රද බත් බුලත් දී සොඳා මවා විමනක් සොඳා

(*Kuveni Asna*, p. 4)

This type of prose comes close to verse written without line-division, for here we find an alliterative prose passage which may be analysed into four rhymed triplets arranged in succession (numbered 1–4 above); indeed, this rhyme scheme is maintained throughout the greater part of the book. The same type of metrical prose approximating to verse written without formal line-division or stanzaic division is found in the *Sihabā Asna.*

Thus the history of classical Sinhalese prose shows the gradual fall into disuse and the degeneration of the Hela and the Sanskritised styles, and the persistence and gradual refinement of the "mixed" style. The period of approximately two centuries (1200-1400 A. D) spanning the composition of the *Amāvatura* (12th or 13th century) and that of the *Saddharmaratnakaraya* (1417) was the golden age of Sinhalese narrative prose; this period marked the use of a variety of styles, both linguistic and narrative, and the rise to pre-eminence of the speech based simple style with sentences of moderate length, composed in a mixed vocabulary of pure Hela and Sanskrit words.

In form, most of the classical prose works were collections of religious stories, most of them related in summary or synoptic form; the selection of dramatic episodes and their detailed treatment in dramatic terms was attempted only sporadically, as in the *Butsarana* and the *Ummagga Jātakaya* but was not carried to any great lengths by later writers. The technique of representing direct speech too followed a conventional pattern; direct speech, whenever included in the narrative, was normally interspersed within the framework of a narrative sentence, and rarely or never appeared in dramatic form as in modern novels. Moreover, dialogue was always stylised, and rendered not in the realistic spoken form, but in literary, grammatical form. Characterisation was minimal, as was to be expected considering the synoptic scale of most narratives; perhaps the only memorable achievement in this respect is found in the *Ummagga Jātakaya.* Similarly, classical Sinhalese prose paid little attention to the detailed description or representation of the thoughts and emotions of the participants in the stories related.

The Decline of Classical Sinhalese Narrative Prose

The tendency towards Sanskritisation, the use of conventional imagery, the development of metrical prose with excessive attention to rhythmic and alliterative sound-effects and the drying up of the literary imagination signalled by increased imitativeness—all these are symptomatic of the decline and degeneration of classical prose in the late fifteenth, the sixteenth, and the seventeenth centuries. The prose works of this period are marked not only by the almost complete drying up of the imaginative faculties of writers but also by a lack of touch with the standard grammatical rules and conventions as used by the classical writers. The decline in scholarship, creativity, and the loss of contact with the classical tradition is reflected in the emergence, during the Kandyan period (1706–1805) of a new type of dialectal colloquial narrative style. The lack of internal political stability in the Island, and the persecution of the

Buddhist *bhikkus* (who had until the sixteenth century been the custodians and creators of Sinhalese literature) after the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 appear to have put an effective stop to all literary enterprise in Sinhalese.

It was only at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a religious and literary renaissance was initiated by Välivita Saranankara thero, that an attempt was made to revive the classical tradition of Sinhalese prose once more. Saranankara thero himself composed the *Sārārtha Sangrahaya* (1718), a work modelled, thematically as well as structurally, on the classical works the *Amāvatura*, the *Butsaraṇa* and the *Pūjavaliya*, explicating one of the epithets (*Buddhō*) employed in describing the Buddha. The *Sārārtha Sangrahaya*, however, does not stand comparison with the earlier classics, for the narrative element in the book is very slight, the doctrinal exposition bulking large, making of the work an almost unreadable religious and metaphysical treatise. Moreover, the only portion of pure narrative prose in the book (the Story of Manikāra Kulupaga thero) has been taken over bodily, almost word for word, from the *Saddharmaratanāvaliya*.[55]

The prose works composed by Saranankara thero's pupils, the *Sri Saddharmavavāda Sangraha* (1773) of Tibbotuvāva Sri Siddhārtha Buddharakkhita thero, the *Milinda Prasnaya* (1775) of Heenatikumbure Sumangala thero, and several translations of Pāli books such as the *Vimāna Vastu Prakaraṇaya* (1770), the *Sarvajnagunālankāraya* (c. 1775) and the *Upasakajanālankaraya* (1801) do not show any significant carrying forward of the classical prose tradition. The revivalist efforts of Saranankara thero and his pupils, indeed, do not appear to have borne much fruit in the literary field beyond rekindling an interest in the classical prose works and generally providing a foundation for the resuscitation of oriental learning and culture. Saranankara thero should therefore be judged as a revivalist rather than as an original contributor to creative writing; nevertheless, he played a key role in the history of Sinhalese literature, for the origins of the late 19th century revival of Sinhalese letters could, in the ultimate analysis, be traced to the movement that he initiated.[56]

Apart from these scholarly revivalist works, the Kandyan period is marked by the appearance of a body of prose radically different in both theme and style from the classics. These works were strictly utilitarian and historical in nature—the *Rājāvaliya*, the *Rakkhanga Sandesaya*, the *Syāma Varnanāva* and the *Sangharāja Sādhuchariyāva*. The first is a near-contemporary historical chronicle, a history of Sinhalese kings; the second and the third are works of Buddhist ecclesiastical history, while the last is a biography of Välivita Saranankara thero. They are all composed not in the standard literary Sinhalese grammar of the classics, but in a highly colloquial style, and contain a considerable number of Portuguese and Dutch loanwords; often, they are written in the contemporary dialect of the Kandyan provinces, many of the dialectal words and expressions being unintelligible to those tutored only in the classical prose works:

55. Cf., for example, *Saddharmaratanavaliya*, pp. 677–79 and *Sārārtha-Sangrahaya*, pp. 374–76.
56. For a short account of the literary revival initiated by Välivita Saranankara thero, see E. R. Sarathchandra, *The Sinhalese Novel*, Colombo, 1950, pp. 40–43.

එතකොට සෙනවිරත් මුදලි පහඩ කෙළ කෙළ උන්නේය, සතුරන් ආ බව දැන සෙනවිරත් මුදලි කඩුව පලිහ ගෙන කොටන්ඩ වත් විට සෙනෙවිරත් මුදලිගේ වාඩි කුලප්පුව සෙනවිරත් මුදලි තුවාලව දෙමටගොඩ වත්තට දුවගෙන ඇවිත් රාජසිංහ රජ්ජුරුවන්ට වැද වැටී සිට කඩිනමට ආ පස්සට වඩින්ට කියා වික්‍රමසිංහ මුදලින්ගේ වාඩි මැදින් සතුරන් ආ බවත් වික්‍රමසිංහ මුදලි උදව්වුනු බවත් තමාට තුවාල උනු බවත් සැළකරපු විට රාජසිංහ රජ්ජුරුවෝ පස්සට වාංගුව වෙරළුවෙකොට මෙගොඩට ඇවිදින් වාඩිමට්ටු පඩුත්තුව ගෙන සිටින වෙලාවට යටකී කොනප්පු බණ්ඩාරට කොළඹ ඉඳලා සල්ලප්පු බණ්ඩාරට කෙටූ වරදට ධම්පාල රජ්ජුරුවෝ ප්‍රතිකාල් කප්පිත්තාවරුන් හා නඩු බලා ඒ වරදට කොනප්පු බණ්ඩාරව ගෝවෙට ඇරියාහ.

Rājāvaliya, p. 65.

The writer here eschews Sanskrit words altogether; at the same time, he avoids the pure Hela words used in the Hela style, employing instead Sinhala words used in colloquial speech and a number of loan words, chiefly from Tamil and Dutch (e. g ; වාඩි කුලප්පුව, වාංගුව, වාඩිමට්ටු, පඩුත්තුව). The words කොටන්ඩ, ඇවිත්, වඩින්ට, කරපු විට, ඇවිදින්, ඉඳලා are typical of illiterate speech in a raw non-stylised form; such words had never been admitted into literary prose before. The structure of the second sentence is typical of the formlessness of impromptu, colloquial narration, the beginning of the sentence and the grammatical subject being forgotten by the time the end is reached, resulting in several phrases and clauses suspended in the air. The *-ṭa* suffix in the verb forms කොටන්ට and වඩින්ට mark them as belonging to the Kandyan spoken dialect, the standard *spoken* forms being කොටන්න and වඩින්න respectively, and the standard *literary* forms, කොටන්නට or කෙටීමට and වඩින්නට.

The same type of amorphous sentence structure and the use of a dialectal vocabulary characterise the *Rakkhanga Sandēsaya*, the *Syāma Varṇanāva* and the *Sangharāja Sādhuchariyāva*. A passage from the *Rakkhanga Sandēsaya* follows:

මේ දවස රක්කංග දෙසයට හම්බෘන් කප්පර ගෙනියන ගඩිගාවේ මෝදර කඩවරාවේ කප්පර සිනි ඵලා ඵදවස එහි පොරොත්තුව සිටලා මීට දෙවෙනි ඉරිදු අපෙන් ඊට යුතු දෙතුන් දෙනෙකු ගොඩ බස්සවමින් මහාරාජෝත්තමයන්වහන්සේගේ වැඩ සිටිනා වගත් මහා සංඝයාවහන්සේ වැඩ සිටිනා වගත් ආරංචි උල්පට්ටුකර කියාගන ආ තැනේදී මීට තුන්වෙනි අඟහරුවාදා ගංගාවේ "කප්පර" පිටත්කරගෙන ගොහින් සිනි ඵලා තුන් දවසක් එහිම පොරොත්තුව සිටින තැනේදී එම රක්කංග දේශෙ මහාරාජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්සේට සැල කල තැනේදී පනිවුඩ වෙලා "ඌමරාවු" කියන නිලමක්කාර කෙනෙක් අප හිටිනා කප්පරට ඇවිදින් කථාකර කියාගත් වග මේ කප්පර කොයි රට සිට ගෙනාවාද? කාගේ කප්පරක්ද? කියා අහපු තැනේදී.....ඕලන්දක්කාර ගොල්ලගේ නැවේ පිටත්කර එවන්ට කාරණා කුමක්දයි ඇසූ තැනේදී... මේ ඕලන්දක්කාර ගොල්ලට වැඩියෙන් උතුම් වූ මහ වාසලට විස්වාසකාරයෝ නැද්ද කියා ආහුවාය. ලොකාග්‍ර වූ උතුම් අපගේ දෙවස්වාමී දරුවානන් වහන්සේගේ මහවාසලට ඒකාන්ත පසුව දුග්ගැන සිටින නිසා ඕලන්දක්කාර ගොල්ල විස්වාස නම්බුව ගැන වදලාය කියා අප විසින් කිවවාය.

(1707)

Here, within the long paragraph, there is no sentence-division at all, clause follows clause just as in rapid colloquial narration, connected by the dialectal connective form තැනේදී ("when", "while"), producing an untidy, amorphous and monotonous piece of prose. The interchange of dialogue, too, is incorporated within the

narrative sentence using the same paratactic technique of linking co-ordinate clauses by කැනේදී and (for dialogue) (කියාගත්) වග. Even the semblance of standard Sinhalese verbal inflexion has now been thrown overboard; the complex 'literary' grammar, in which subject-verb concord, and differences of number, gender and tense are expressed through different inflexional suffixes has here been replaced by a "simplified" system in which the verb form has a single morphological form in all contexts without regard to the from of the subject (this again is typical of colloquial speech). The verbal forms used here (ඇහුවාය, කිව්වාය) are formed by the simple expedient of adding the predicativizing suffix -ya to the forms of the verbs as used in ordinary conversation (ඇහුවා, කිව්වා). The same grammatico-stylistic features characterise the prose narrative of the *Syama Varṇanava* (1750) and the *Sangharaja Sadhuchariyava*: confused, non-standard grammar, the use of a colloquial (often Kandyan dialectal) diction, and the employment of inordinately long, sprawling, spineless sentence structures in which clauses are tagged on mechanically and paratactically by using non-finite verb forms or connectors like කැනේදී ("when", "while").

The *Sangharaja Sadhuchariyava* (c. 1780) is composed in the same dialectal, amorphous and paratactic style; the process of "simplifying" the grammar (especially the elimination of the complex systems of tense, gender, and subject-verb concord) has now become a fixed characteristic of the prose:

ඒ සංඝරාජ සාමිදරුවොත් රටත් පසුබට නොසිතා නැවතත් සැලකර සිට වැල්ලාවේ ගලදොඹුවේ දුලිවෙල බෝතලේ ඕගඩපල යන මේ කී සිල්වත් තැන් ගිහි පිළි හඳවා පළමුවෙනි ගමනේ ගොහින් ගැලවී ආ දෙරණගම මුහන්දිරම් රාලත් මීදෙනියේ මුහන්දිරම් රාලත් විල්බාගෙදර රාලත් බෙහෙත් පඩුරු සහ අසුන්පත් ආදිය දී දෙවෙනි වරේ යැවූ නැව සියමයට ගියාම දෙරණගම රාල එහිදීම මුලාසි වුනාය සෙසු අයත් එහිදීත් සමහරු එන අතරතුරේ මුහුදේදීත් මුලාසිව විල්බාගෙදර මුහන්දිරම් රාල පමණක් ඉතිරිව ලඬකාවට ආවාය. ඒ එන ප්‍රස්තාවට මෙලක වැඩසිටිය විජයරාජසිංහ මහාරාජොත්තමයාණෝ ශ්‍රී බුඩ වර්ෂයෙන් දෙදස් දෙසිය අනූවන්නෙහිදී ලඬකා රාජ්‍ය ශ්‍රියට පැමිණ වැඩසිටිනවාය.

(p. 26)

Again, all sense of the grammatical structure of sentences is lost, for in the first sentence, it is not the ostensible grammatical subject (in nominative form) with which the sentence begins (සංඝරාජ සාමිදරුවෝ) but the noun විල්බාගෙදර මුහන්දිරම් රාල placed nearest the finite verb මුලාසි වුනාය which agrees semantically with it which results in semantic confusion due to the trailing in vacuity of the preceding clauses of the sentence.

Sinhalese prose narrative appears to have reached its lowest ebb in the fifty years between the *Sangharāja Sādhuchariyāva* and the *Narēndra Charitāvalokana Pradipikāva* (1834). It is also around the same period that the Dutch translations of the Bible were printed.[57] The Dutch translations of the New Testament (1780),

57. For a detailed account of the various Dutch translations of the Bible and the prose style used in them, see the present writer's paper, "The Sinhalese Printing Press: Its Beginnings and Early Development," in *Senarath Paranavitana Commemoration Volume*, Ed. P. L. Prematilaka, K. Indrapala and J. E. Van Lohuizen De Leeuw, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1978, pp. 283-300.

too, share the stylistic features of the works such as the *Rājāvāliya* and the *Sangharāja Sādhuchariyāva*. Throughout this half-century (1780–1830), no works of *literary* narrative prose worth mention appear to have been composed at all; Sinhalese prose seems to have been employed during this interregnum purely as a vehicle of administrative and historical record. Among the prose works written at this time are found a number of registers of administrative boundaries and historical records termed *Kadayim* and *Vitti* books[58] such as the *Vanni Vistaraya*, *Madurāpuren Ā Vittiya*, *Yāpahu Vistaraya* and *Kurunägal Vistaraya*. These books of records, too, are composed in the dialectal colloquial non-standard style described above, a style which may for purposes of reference be designated the "Kandyan colloquial" style. The following is a representative extract, from the *Vanni Vittiya:*

ඒ බණ්ඩාරගේ පුත්‍රයා මවලුවාවේ ඒකනායක මුදියන්සේ හා ඒ දෝනියන්ද උල්පොතේ හේරත් බණ්ඩාරගේ පුතා ලොකුරාලට දුන්නාය. ඒ අයගේ මලයා වන කුඩාරාලට උඩ-කැන්දවලින් මඟුලක් ගෙනාවාය. ඒ මහගේට දස එකඩමසින් සම්පූර්ණව කැන්දවලට වඳන්ඩ ඇරලා ඇවිත් උල්පොතේ සිටින වෙලාවට කුඩාරාල නැසීගියාය. ඉන් පසුව කැන්දවලට ඇරලාපු එතනා වැදූ අප්පුහාමි ඇවිත් උල්පොතේ ලොකු පියානෝ ලහ ලොකු මහත්වී සිටින වෙලාවට රාසිංහ දෙවරජානන්වහන්සේ සිංහලේ වර්ණනය කරණ විට පරංගිකාරයින්ගේ හේවාකම් උනුකැනෝදින් හේවාකමට යන්ට ගිරාගම දිසාවට ගියාය.

The survey of the evolution of Sinhalese narrative prose in the present essay[59] indicates that classical Sinhalese narrative prose developed gradually in scope and style between the 12th and 14th centuries, and reached its zenith as a simple, effective and flexible medium of narration in the *Jātaka book* (especially the *Ummagga Jātakaya*), but that it declined rapidly after the fifteenth century with the arrival of the Portuguese in the early 16th century, and thereafter continued its downward trend until the end of the 18th century. With the administrative unification of the Island under the British in 1815, literary activity commenced once more; but the discontinuity remained, for in the early 19th century the composition of narrative prose was undertaken not by Buddhist bhikkhus as it had been the practice earlier, or even by lay Oriental scholars, but by non-native Christian missionaries primarily for purposes of proselytisation. These missionaries had little or no knowledge of the ancient Sinhalese classical prose works; the available contemporary prose works, written, as we have already seen, in the decadent "Kandyan colloquial" style, such as the *Rājāvaliya*, the *Sangharājā Sādhuchariyāva*, and the Dutch translations of the Bible were the only—and therefore to the missionaries the best—models to be followed in the composition of religious tracts and the translations of the Bible.[60]

Sarathchandra Wickramasuriya.

58. For more information regarding *kadayim* and *vitti* books, see Sannasgala, *op. cit.*, pp. 707–720; Godakumbuara, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–34.

59. The following are the editions of the classical prose works utilised for the present study. All page references in the paper are to these editions:
Amāvatura, Ed. Välivitiye Sorata thero, Colombo, 1948.
Butsarana, Ed. Välivitiye Sorata thero, Abhaya Prakasakayo, Colombo, 1966.
Daham Sarana, Ed. Pandita Kirielle Gnanavimala thero, Colombo, 1955.

Daladā Sirita, Ed. Välivitiye Sorata thero, M. D. Gunasena and Co. Ltd, Colombo, 1961.
Dharmapradīpikāva, Ed. Medauyangoda Vimalakitti thero and Kadavedduve Sumangala thero, Ratna Prakasakayo, Colombo, n. d.
Dhātuvaṁsaya Ed. Dambagasaare Sri Sumedhankara thero, third edition, Colombo, 1930.
Elu Attanagalu Vamsaya, Ed. Galagama Pandita Saranankara thero, Colombo, 1953.
Kuveni Asna, Ed. D. W. Aryavansa thero, Colombo, 1912.
Milinda Prasnaya, Colombo, 1877.
Pansiya Panas Jātakaya, Vols. I and II, Ed. G. F. Munasinghe and D. W. Siriwardena, Colombo, n. d.
Pūjāvaliya, Ed. Valane Dhammananda Nayaka thero, Colombo, 1928.
Saddharmālankāraya. Ed. Pandita Kirielle Gnanavimala thero, Colombo, 1954.
Saddharmaratanākaraya, Ed. K. Sugunasara thero, Colombo, 1923.
Saddharmaratanāvaliya, Sahitya Pracharaka Samagama, Colombo, 1951.
Sārārtha Sangrahaya, Ed. Kirielle Gnanavimala thero, M. D. Gunasena and Co. Ltd. Colombo, 1956.
Sarvagnagunālankāraya, Ed. R. de S. P. Wickramasinghe Mudlivar, Colombo, 1914.
Sinhala Bōdhi Vaṃsaya, Ed. Baddegama Dharmaratana Nayaka thero, second edition, Weligama, 1929.
Sinhala Upāsaka Janālankaraya, Ed. D. P. R. Samaranayaka, M D. Gunasena and Co. Ltd. Colombo, 1961.
Sri Saddharmavavada Sangrahaya, Ed. Pandita Veragoda Amaramoli thero, Ratnakara Publshers, Colombo, 1956.
Thūpavansaya, Ed. Devundara Vachissara thero, Colombo, 1933.
Ummagga Jatakaya, Ed. Batuvantudave, Colombo, 1921.
Vimana Vastu Prakaranaya, Ed. Telvatte Mahanaga Seelananda thero, Colombo, 1901.

60. The author wishes to thank Professors A. S. Kulasuriya and P. B. Meegaskumbura for their valuable comments on this paper.

Kingship in Sri Lanka: A. D. 1070-1270

The Dhammic Conception, Divinity of Kingship and the Heroic Ideal

An outstanding feature of the Sinhalese monarchy is its almost unbroken continuity lasting for nearly two thousand years and its close connexions with Buddhist institutions. No dynastic state has ever had such a continuity and stability in the neighbouring Indian subcontinent from where the culture and political ideas of the ancient Sinhalese were mostly derived. Nor could any of the kingdoms in some of the countries of South-East Asia - Burma, Thailand Cambodia and Vietnam - where Buddhism exerted a profound influence, lay claim to such a long continuity and historical experience. The long and unbroken continuity and stability in the political and cultural tradition of the Sinhalese kingdom(s) was partly the result of the protection, provided by the island's insularity, the island's manageable territorial dimensions and the physiographic features which permited control over a major part of it from a single dynastic centre before the thirteenth century. Another contributory factor was probably the absence of social classes able to challenge dynastic authority.

The development of ideas and ideals relating to kingship in Sri Lanka was inspired considerably by Indian influences. The diffusion of Indian ideas and cultural tradition in Sri Lanka followed a pattern similar to the one in the countries of South-East Asia. The striking feature in the diffusion of Indian culture in these countries was the central role played by local rulers and the religieux - Hindu Brahmans and Buddhist monks - thoroughly trained in the Indian intellectual, religious and cultural tradition. The indigenous rulers took the lead in assimilating elements of the Indian tradition while the religieux functioned as the principal agents in the transmission of the Indian cultural tradition to lands outside India.

The indigenous rulers in Sri Lanka and the South East Asian countries soon discovered that Indian literature and tradition provided ideas of kingship, forms of court ceremonial and a model of governmental apparatus which could be employed in consolidating their authority over their respective societies. The introduction of Indian ideas and technology in combination with other factors helped to promote the rise and development of kingdoms. Tribal chiefdoms were gradually transformed into dynastic states which soon undertook constructional, organizational and acquisitive activities according to their manpower and material resources.

Traditional Sinhalese history holds that the formal ceremonies relating to the legitimation of royal authority and Buddhism were first introduced into the island from Mauryan India in the reign of Tissa, the Sri Lankan contemporary of the great Indian Emperor Asoka.[1] It is significant that the local ruler adopted

1 *Mahavāmsā* (MV) translated into English by Wilhelm Geiger, Colombo, 1960, XI: 27-42

the epithet *Devānāmpiya*, 'beloved of the gods' in imitation of the Indian ruler. This practice was continued by Tissa's successors for generations.[2] Another major event which is a landmark in Sinhalese history was the introduction of Buddhism in the same reign, by a mission headed by Mahinda reported to be a son of Asoka. The mission was enthusiastically received and Tissa and his court came under its influence and soon became adherents of Buddhism. Subsequently, the 'great monastery' or the Mahāvihāra was established at a site within the royal park and it became the principal centre in spearheading the Buddhist movement with royal support and patronage.

From Anurādhapura which soon developed as the principal centre of royal power as well as of Buddhist intellectual, artistic and missionary activity Buddhism gradually spread throughout the island exerting a dominant and pervasive influence. The mesolithic and megalithic peoples settled in different parts of the island soon thoroughly assimilated the Indo-Āryan cultural tradition transmitted by Buddhism and Prākrit which was the medium of Buddhist literary expression. The spread of Buddhism was also accompanied by the introduction of the art of writing into the island and the Brahmi script of the Asokan type came to be used widely. These developments had the effect of welding together the various communities living in the island as a homogeneous and identifiable composite proto-Sinhalese society.

The close connection between Buddhism and Sinhalese national identity and that between Buddhism and the Sinhalese monarchy may partially explain some of the characteristic features of the Sinhalese state and society. From the time of its introduction into the island Buddhism had exerted a profound influence on the institution of kingship and this influence was continuous and effective until the monarchy was abolished in 1815 after the British conquest of the Kandyan Kingdom. Its influence was felt mainly through two forms of early Buddhist literature — the canonical texts and the Jātaka stories which became an inseparable part of the Buddhist heritage in the island.

The influence exerted by Buddhism on the ideals of kingship were, however, predominant only until the end of the Anurādhapura period which was terminated by the Cōḷa conquest around A. D. 993. During the Polonnaruwa period which intervened between the restoration of the Sinhalese monarchy under Vijayabāhu I (1070-1110) and Māgha's conquest of Polonnaruwa in 1215 the ideals of kingship underwent a remarkable transformation owing to political and societal developments within the island and the impact of foreign influences. This period had certain distinctive features. It was, perhaps, then that traditional society and culture in Sri Lanka dependent on agriculture based on monumental irrigation works was

2 The epithet *Devanapiya* was used in connexion with the rulers of Anuradhapura until the reign of Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga. See Tilak Hettiarachchy, *History of Kingship in Ceylon* Colombo, 1972, pp. 47-50.

at the peak of its development. It witnessed the development of monarchical power on an unprecedented scale. In its constructional, organizational and acquisitive activities the state displayed a greater efficiency and competence than in earlier times. The development of such state power was inspired by ideals outside the mainstream of influences that had until this time determined the growth of ideas and ideals relating to kingship in the island. Besides, there was also a need to broaden the conceptual basis of monarchical authority in the light of societal changes that were taking shape. These developments have now to be considered.

The Polonnaruwa period was one during which the island had close political, commercial and cultural contacts with the outside world. Of particular importance were those with the Tamil kingdoms and Kalinga in India and with Burma, Cambodia and the Malay peninsula in South-East Asia. South Indian influences which were continuous from early times were felt intensively after the Cōḷa conquest. Cōḷa influences on Sinhalese kingship, as will be seen were significant. During the period of Cōḷa rule over the northern part of the island the Sinhalese royalty whose authority was restricted to the southern - most part of the island had forged links with the Pāṇḍyas, one of the two major Tamil dynasties In India. The dynastic connexions between these two royal families culminated in two Pāṇḍya princes ruling in Rohana for brief periods during the mid-eleventh century.[3] Later, a sister of Vijayabāhu, Mittā, was married to a Pāṇḍya prince and their descendants held authority over most of the island for two generations.[4] The dynastic connexions with the Pāṇḍyas had the effect of strengthening the Tamil (and Hindu) influence at the Sinhalese court. South Indian influences were also felt through Tamil officials employed at court and through the mercantile associations of Tamil origin and the military establishments.[5]

Another source of strong influence on kingship was Kalinga with the rulers of which the Sinhalese court had dynastic alliances from the tenth century onwards. There was a strong Kalinga element at the court during the whole of this period. The chief qneen of Vijayabāhu, Tilokasundarī, was a princess from Kalinga in India. The two successors of Vijayabāhu at Polonnaruwa, Vikramabāhu (1112-1132) and Gajabāhu II (1132-1153) were identified with the Kalinga faction at court. Most of the successors of Parākramabāhu were also of Kalinga origin. The presence of Kalinga princes and princesses and courtiers at Polonnaruwa seems to have strengthened Hindu influences on court life and ideas of kingship.

3 Two Tamil rulers, Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Parākama Pāṇḍya exercised authority over Rohana for brief periods during the eleventh century,' *Cūlavaṃsa* (CV), 56 : 11-16.

4. The offspring of Mittā and her Pāṇḍya consort were the three princes, Māṇābharaṇa, Kit Siri Megha and Siri Vallabha, who divided among themselves, the principalities of Dakkhinadesa and Rohana. Parākramabāhu I was the son of Manābharaṇa.

5. S. Pathmanathan, *The Kingdom of Jaffna*, pt. I, Colombo, 1978, pp. 66-80.

Apart from the ideas assimilated from contemporary Indian states through a variety of sources the Sinhalese court was influenced also by a variety of forms of Indian literature on politics, warfare and administration outside the Buddhist tradition. It is only when we come to the Polonnaruwa period that the Pāli chronicle mentions such texts in relation to kingshlp and court life. The same chronicle credits Parākramabāhu I with having mastered the work of Kauṭilya, and the *Yuddhārṇava* – a text dealing with military science.[6] Besides, the long account of Parākramabāhu as recorded in the Pāli chronicle bears clear traces of the influence of Kauṭilya's masterly work. The details relating to espionage as found in the *Cūlavaṃsa* and the *Arthasāstra* are so similar that it cannot be the result of any accidental coincidence.[7] It presupposes a familiarity with Kauṭilya's treatise on the part of the author of the *Cūlavaṃsa*. Moreover, P. E. Fernando argues that the ideas of kingshiɒ and administrative institutions depicted in the inscriptions of Nissaṃkamalla bear unmistakable traces of the influence of the *Arthasāstra*. These inscriptions refer to the *Kaṇṭaka sodhanā* and the *Dharmādhikaraṇam* which recall the names of two judicial tribunals mentioned in the *Arthasāstra*.[8] The first of these names occurs in an identical form in the Indian treatise while *Dharmādhikaraṇam* which occurs also in inscriptions of some medieval Indian dynasties and the dharmasāstra texts could be a modifed form of *dharmasthāya* mentioued in the *Arthasātra*.[9] It is of some significance that these names are mentioned in Sinhalese inscriptions for the first time in the reign of Nissamkamalla. It would appear that these names were introduced into the island in the twelfth century and were applied to judicial institutions that were already in existence. The use of the honorific expression *Swāmin* in connexion with names of kings and princes in the inscriptions of the twelfth century may also be considered as an instance of a practice that was adopted as a result of the influence of the *Arthasāstra*.[10]

Another major Indian treatise referred to in the Pāli chronicle in relation to the rulers of this period is the *Manu Smṛti*. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Manu's work was held in high esteem as an authority in politics, law and government. It was undoubtedly one of the texts consulted by the rulers of Sri Lanka, Vijayabāhu II (1186–1187) and Parākrama Pāṇḍya (1212–J215) are said to have ruled in accordance with the Laws of Manu.[11] Another ruler, Parākramabāhu II (1236–1271) is described in the Pāli chronicle as one who was well versed in the ordinances of Manu (Manu nīti vicārato).[12] It is remarkable that some of the ideas expressed in the *Mauu Smṛti* are echoed in the Sri Lankan inscriptions of this period. Manu for instance asserts; Even an infant king must not be despised, (from an idea) that he is a (mere) mortal; for he is a great deity in human form.[13] The same idea is conveyed in the Galpota inscription of Nissaṃkamalla which claims that 'though kings appear in human form they are divinities and must therefore be regarded as gods'.[14]

6. *CV*, 70 : 56-57
7. Reference may be made to *Kautilya Arthasastra*, trans. by R. Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1923, pp. 18–24, and *CV*, 66 : 128 158.
8. P. E. E, Fernando, 'Nissamkamalla Asoka hā kautilīya Arthasastraya', *Abhistava Sangrahaya* p. 3.
9. ibid
10. ibid.
11. *CV*, 80 : 9, 53 (12). CV : 83 : 6.
12. *CV*, 83 : 6.
13. Sacred Books of the East, Vol, 25 : *The Laws of Manu*, trans G. Buhler, Oxford, 1886, p. 217
14. *Epigraphia Zeylanica (EZ)*, Vol. II, p. 121.

Royal titles and epithets

The changes brought about in the institution of kingship as a result of the assimilation of ideas and values transmitted by fresh streams of influence are to some extent reflected in the titles, epithets, and names that belonged to the rulers of this period. The two epithets *Mahāparumaka* and *Mahārāja* which were used in the inscriptions of the Anurādhapura period to denote kings were superseded by that of *Cakravartti* during the Polonnaruwa period. The epithet *Mahāparumaka* was dropped altogether and it was never to make its appearance in epigraphic usage after the tenth century. Although the title *Mahārāja* continued to be used in connexion with kings even after the tenth century *Cakravartti* became established as the most often used of royal titles during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Viiayabāhu I (1070–1110), Jayabāhu (1110–1112), Parākrama-bāhu I (1153–1186), Nissaṃkamalla (1187–1196), Sāhasamalla (1200–1202) and Lokeśvara are styled *Cakravartti* in inscriptions.[15] Even Gajabāhu II who did not undergo the ceremony of consecration is described in one of his inscriptions as *aṇasakviti*, 'a *cakravartti* in the exercise of authority.'[16]

The adoption of the royal title *Cakravartti* by the monarchs of Polonnaruwa in preference to the ones that were in vogue in the earlier period deserves careful consideration especially in view of the prevalence of legends concerning the *cakravartti* monarch in the Buddhist tradition and their influence on Sinhalese court ideology. The royal title *cakravartti* does not seem to have an intrinsic connexion with the cakravarttin ideal as there is no reason to believe that the adoption of this title was inspired directly by that ideal. In ancient Buddhist texts the Cakravarttin ideal is expressed in legends and although the ideals of kingship in the ancient Sinhalese kingdom were derived primarily from Buddhist tradition, it is significant that the expression *Cakravartti* was never used as a royal title during the whole period of the Anuradhapura Kingdom. It may therefore be assumed that the initial adoption of this title was due to influences from contemporary neighbouring kingdoms and sources outside the Buddhist tradition.

The expression *Cakravartti* used as a royal title with reference to many medieval Indian kings had a political connotation. It signified the position of supremacy or overlordship occupied by the monarch.[17] It may be appropriate to consider here the observations of K. A. Nilakanta Sastri on the title *Cakravartti* in relation to the Cōḷa king, Rājarāja I (985-1016). He says; 'And as in his reign the Cōḷa Kingdom ceases to be a small state and grows to imperial dimensions, the monarchy undergoes a corresponding transformation, and the king may be said, now to become "Emperor", "Cakravartigal" as he is occasionally

15. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp, 103, 174; Vol. IV, pp. 88, 256; Vol. III, p. 305; Vol. V (3), p. 421 *South Indian Inscriptions* (*SII*), Vol. IV, No. 1396.
16. *EZ*, Vol. V, p 400.
17. Charles Drekmeir, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, Stanford Univesity Press, California, 1962, p. 157.

called by his subjects, though in his official records he is still described only as "udaiyār", and not till much later is the title "Emperor of the three worlds adopted . . . ".[18]

The occurrence of the expression *Cakravartti(kal)* as a royal title in the Tamil inscriptions of South India and Sri Lanka, the earlier occurrence of this expression in Tamil inscriptions than in the Sinhalese inscriptions of Polonnaruwa and the fact that the titlc Cakravartti(kal) had come into vogue in the Cōḷa kingdom earlier than in Sri Lanka are considerations that have to be accorded considerable significance in the context of the close contacts that existed between the Cōḷa and Sinhalese kingdoms. They all suggest that the assumption of the title *Cakravartti* (kal) by the Sinhalese rulers of the Polonnaruwa period in preference to those used in the ninth and tenth centuries was an imitation of the Cōḷa practice. The expression Cakravartti(kal) became established as the commonest royal title in the Cōḷa and Sinhalese kingdoms replacing respectively the titles *Udaiyār* and *Mahāparumaka*. Once the exptession *Tribhuvana* was prefixed to this title in South India the modified form of the title began to permeate epigraphic usage in Sri Lanka. [19]

Another expression which conveyed the same meaning as *Cakravarttikal* was Rājādhirāja, used as a royal epithet of Parākrambāhu I.[20] It was widely used in India as a title signifying imperial status and authority ever since the period of the Kuṣāṇas.[21] It was also used by the western Cālukyas and Cōḷa kings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. One of the Cōḷa kings, Vīrarājendra (1064–1069) had the title Rājādhirāja(n). It was also the consecration name of two Cōḷa monarchs one of whom, Rājadhirāja II (1044–1054), was a contemporary of Parākramabāhu I. [22] It is also significant that the other epithet *Akaḷanka* used by Parākramabāhu I was also one of the many epithets of one of the Cōḷa kings, Kulottunga I (1070–1122).[23] Yet another instance of Cōḷa influence on the

18. K. A. Nilakanta sastri, The *Cōḷas* revised 2nd edition, Madras, p. 448.
19. The title *Tribhuvana Cakravartti* occurs in two Tamil inscriptions from Tirukkōvil both of which are dated in the tenth year of a ruler named Vijayabāhu who may be identified as the fifth ruler of that name. Parākramabāhu VI is also described as Tribhuvana Cakravarttin in the Tamil inscriptions issued by him. S. Pathmanathan, 'The Munnesvaram Tamil Inscription of Parākramabāhu VI, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, (JRASCB)* New Series, Vol. XVIII, pp. 59-60; A. Velupillai, *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions (CTI)*, pt. II, Peradeniya, 1972, pp. 56-67; K. Indrapala, Epigraphia Tamilica, Pt. I, Jaffna, 1971 pp. 29-31;
20. Parākramabāhu is described as Rajādhirāja in his Sangamuva Vihara inscription. *EZ*, Vol. II, pp. 273-4.
21. *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II; *The Age of Imperial Unity;* ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, Third Impression, 1960. pp 140, 347; Vol. III : *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 2ud impression, 1962, p. 359.
22. The praśasti of Vīrarājendra claims that he assumed the the titles Rājairāja and Rājādhirāja on his return to the Cōḷa capital after the conclusion of his successful campaigns against the Chālukyas and their allies. See T. V. Satāsiva Paṇṭārattār, *Pirkālaccolar Carittiram*, Annamalai University, 1949, p. 268.
23. The *Kalinkattupparaṇi* testifies that *Akaḷankan* was one of the many epithets of Kulottunga I. *The Nikāya Sangrahaya* asserts that *Akalaṅka* was one of the many titles of Parakramabahu after which he named some of the monuments he had constructed. *Kalinkattupparani*, ed P. Palanivel Pillai, Madras, 1965, p. 88, V. 218, *Nikāya Sangrahaya*; trans C M. Fernando, revised and ed. by Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana, Colombo, 1908, p 21.

Sinhalese monarchy was the adoption of the honorific expsession deva (r) in place of that of *Vat himi* which was used as a suffix in the names of almost all kings mentioned in inscriptions of the late Anurādhapura period. The honorific expression deva (r) is suffixed to the names of rulers in all Tamil inscriptions and in most of the Sinhalese inscriptions of this period.[24]

Another departure from tradition made by the Sinhalese royalty during this period was in respect of personal names. The kings of the Anuradhapura period mostly had such names as *Upatissa*, Aggabodhi, Samghatissa, Moggallāna, Mahinda and Kassapa which were closely associated with the Buddhist tradition and the assumption of such names suggests that the rulers of that period were inspired by ideals rooted in the Buddhist tradition. But, none of the kings of the Polonnaruwa period had a name with special Buddhist significance. Vijayabāhu, Jayabāhu, Vikramabāhu, Vīrabāhu, Gajabāhu, Parākramabāhu and Nissamkaṃalla are all names which emphasise the heroic quality. The fashion of conferring such names on princes either at birth or on consecration as kings may perhaps suggest the inlfuence of the heroic ideal.[25]

The conception of the divinity of kingship was another one which attracted the Sinhalese court during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The assimilation of ideas associated with this conception was facilitated by the familiarity with Indian texts on politics and administration and through a knowledge of ideas which prevaailed in other contemporary societies. Thus, it was as a consequence of the combined effect of the three conceptions, the dhammic conception rooted in Buddhist idealism, the heroic ideal depicted in the *Arthasastra* and the epic tradition and the conception of the divinity of kingship as expressed in the *dharmasastra* literature that the ideology of state-power developed in Sri Lanka during the two centuries that followed the period of Cōḷa rule.

The dhammic conception

Of the three conceptions of state power which inspired the development of kingship during this period, the dhammic conception had a long history and was a legacy of the Anuradhapura period. Its origins could be traced from the Pāli canonical texts and the Jātakas. The scope and content of this conception was extended and enriched by Asokan idealism and subsequently by that of the Mahāyāna. The conception of Dhamma is fundamental in the early Buddhist theory of kingship developed in the Buddhist canonical texts. It is expressed mainly in the accounts of the *Dhammiko Dhammarāja*, the righteous monarch, and the *Cakkavartti* or 'World Conqueror'. Although these accounts have been examined and commented upon by Rahula, Gokhale, Tambiah and other scholars the most important extracts of these accounts may be considered here as they are relevant to our main theme.[26]

24. Vijayabāhudeva(r) and Manābharana deva(r) are some of the noteworthy examples. S. Pathmanathan, 'The Tamil Inscription from Hingurakdamana', *The Vidyodaya* Vol. 5 ,Nos 1-2, 1976 - 1976, pp 56-61
25. Some of the contemporary Pāṇḍya kings had names beginning with the expressions Vikrama, Parakrama and Vīra which presumably suggested that the heroic ideal was cherished by them.
26. Rahula, W., History of Buddhism in Ceylon, Colombo, 1956, p. 66; Bal Krishna G, Gokhale, 'Dhamma as a Political Concept in Early Buddhism', Journal of Indian History, Vol. 46, pt. 2, 1968, p. 258; S. J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp. 33-53.

The *Anguttara nikāya* for instance records:

"Monks, the rajāh, who rolls the wheel (of state)
a Dhamma man, a Dhamma rajāh, rolls
on indeed no unroyal wheel".

"And when he had thus spoken, a certain monk said
to the exalted one:

"But who, lord is the rajāh of the rajāh, the
roller of the wheel, the Dhamma man, the
Dhamma rajāh?"

"It is Dhamma, monk" said the exalted one.

"Herein monk, the rajāh, the wheel roller,
the Dhamma man, the Dhamma rajāh, relies
just on Dhamma, esteems Dhamma, with Dhamma
as his standard, with Dhamma as his banner,
with Dhamma as his mandate, he sets
a Dhamma watch and ward for folk within his
realm'"[27]

The Dhammic conception is forumlated more elaborately in the *Cakkavatti Sihanada sutta* which records:

'Long, long ago, brethren, there was a
sovereign overlord named
a righteous king ruling in righteousness,
lord of the four quarters of the earth,
conqueror, the protector of his people,
possessor of the seven precious things,
to wit, the Wheel, the Elephant,
the Horse, the Gem, the Woman, the House-
father, the Counsellor . . . He lived in
supremacy over this earth to its ocean
bounds, having conquered it, not by
scourge, not by the sword, but by
righteousness".

'. . . but what sire is this Aryan duty
of a wheel turning monarch'?

'This, dear son, that thou, leaning on
the Norm (the Law of truth and righteousness)
honouring, respecting and revering it,
doing homage to it, hallowing it, being thyself

27. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, p. 40.

a norm-bearer, a norm signal, having thy norm
as thy master, shouldst provide the right watch,
ward, and protection for thine own
folk, for the army, for the nobles, for
vassals, for brāhmaṇas, and householders,
for town and country-dwellers, for the
religious world, and for beasts and birds.
Throughout thy kingdom let no
wrongdoing prevail."[28]

Dhamma is, therefore, an all encompassing norm having manifold aspects. As cosmic law it regulates the world and was conceived as a mystic force, external, inexorable and inescapable existing in its own right. It regulated the conduct of kings and their subjects and the forces of nature. The king and his government were subject to the laws of Dhamma which could have cosmic retributive effects on unjust rulers and governments responsible for tyranny and misrule. [29] Dharma as cosmic law was the source of the code of kingship embodying righteousness (dhamma). [30] Dhamma was the very essence and goal of kingship. It was indeed its ordinating and legitimising process. According to this conception of kingship, the king was the instrument of Dhamma and consequently kingship came to be looked upon as a supra-normal institution beyond the control of mere human agencies and rational forces. Kingship as an institution embodying and exemplifying Dhamma maintains the harmony and equilibrium between the cosmic forces and the socio-political order.

In this conception power was to be united to virtue and wisdom and warfare and military conquests were replaced with virtue and morality as the goals of action. Merit derived from ethical conduct rather than heroism was to be the supreme quality of leadership. The concept of "victory" which is of the utmost importance in the traditional Indian theory of kingship is given a new definition. A Cakravartti's dominions are established not by the scourge nor by the sword but by righteousness. In protecting his people the king had to appear in the guise of a benevolent patron and beneficent savior than as a mighty warrior as is evident from the new definition of the Rājā as one who increases the happiness and welfare of the people through Dhamma (*dhammena pare rañjati'ti* rājā).[31] In the Indian tradition in which constitutional checks to royal authority were unknown the notion that the ruler was subordinate to *dharma* was of utmost importance for averting tyranny and abuse of authority. It may be relevant to recall here the remarks of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy who observes:

---

28. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, Vol. IV: Dialogues of the Buddha, part III, Rhys Davids, London, 1921, pp. 60-62.
29. Bal Krishna, G. Gokhale, 'Dhamma as a Political Concept in Early Buddhism' *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 46, pt. 2, 1968, p. 256.
30. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, p. 40.
31. Bal Krishna, G. Gokhale, 'Dhamma as a Political Concept in Early Buddhism', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 46, pt. 2, 1968, p. 255.

> 'The normal Oriental monarchy is really a theocracy, in which the king's position is that of an executive who may do only what ought to be done and is a servant of justice (dharma) of which he is not himself the author.'[32]

The emphasis on dharma in relation to kingship in the Buddhist texts is almost unique in the whole range of Indian literary tradition.

That the principal ideas and beliefs associated with the Dhammic conception had been incorporated into the corpus of the Sinhalese tradition is clearly illustrated by the Butsaraṇa, a twelfth century Sinhalese text. It asserts :

> 'The prosperity or the disasters of the world are caused by the righteousness or wickedness of kings. When kings are righteous; the gods who are their protectors and all others become righteous. The sun and the moon move in their fixed courses when kings act according to righteous conduct. Just like the life-forces which protect all forms that have arisen due to the laws of *karma*, the protection of all beings is dependent on kings . . . '[33]

The assimilation and adaption of the ideas of kingship as expressed in canonical and other early Buddhist literature led to the distinctive configuration of the conception of the Bodhisattva king developed in the Sinhalese tradition and passed on to Pagan and thenceforth to the other Theravada polities of South-East Asia. This development was partly inspired by Mahayanist influences felt in the island from the beginnings of the historical period. In Sri Lanka Theravada Buddhism assimilated ideas of bodhisattva to kingship while discarding the doctrinal aspects of Mahayanism. While incorporating into the conception of the *bodhisattva* king the ethical and moral values associated with conceptions of the *Dhammarāja* and the Cakkravartti monarch as found in early Buddhist thought the Sinhalese tradition seems to have ignored the images associated with the *Cakkavartti* monarchs at least until the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It would appear, as asserted by R. A. L. H. Gunawardana that the contradiction between a warrior king and the Buddhist canonical ideal of kingship had in fact been mediated in the conception of the Bodhisattva king.[34] Such a view

32. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *The Bugbear of Literacy*, Perennial Books Ltd., Bedfront, Middlesex, 1979, p. 132, N. 8.
33. University of Ceylon History of Ceylon (UCHC), Vol. I, pt. II, Colombo, 1960, pp. 532-533.
34. R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, 'The Kinsmen of the Buddha: Myth as a Political Charter in the Ancient and Early Medieval Kingdoms of Sri Lanka', *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka;* ed. Bardwell L. Smith, Chambersburg, 1978, p. 100.

implies that the canonical ideal of kingship had been considerably modified in the Sinhalese tradition. In a sense the Bodhisattva king combined the qualities of the *Dhammiko Dhammarāja* and the Buddha and in the Sinhalese tradition came to be regarded as the custodian of " society" (loka) and Buddhism (sāsana).

Dhamma which was the basis of his charisma could be secured by the king only through virtue and morality. Early Buddhist literature mentions four sets of values or norms of conduct by the observance of which a ruler could acquire the charismatic qualities of a dhammic king. They are 'the ten royal virtues' (dasarājadhamma), the ten meritorious actions (dasapinkiriyavat), the four heartwinning qualities (cattāri sangha vatthūni) and the avoidance of wrongful conduct caused by the four kinds of error.[35] Alms giving (dāna), moral observances (sīla), liberality (pariccāga), straightforwardness (ajjava)' gentleness (maddava), self-restraint (tapo), non-anger (akkodha), forbearance (khanti) and non-obstuction (avirodhana), are the ten royal virtues.[36]

The ten meritorious actions, another set of virtues which the kings were enjoined to observe in their daily-life are alms-giving (dāna), morality (sīla), meditation (bhāvanā), sharing one's own merit with others (pindīma), sharing other's merit (pin anumōdanā), attending to one's duties (vatā vat kirīma), honouring those worthy of honour (pīdīya yuttan pidīma), preaching the doctrine (bana kirīma), listening to the doctrine (bana äsīma), and right views.[37] The four kinds of error that have to be avoided are desire (chanda), malice (dosa), fear (bhaya) and delusion (moha). Charity, kindly speech (peyya vajja), beneficent action (atthacariya) and equanimity are mentioned as the four heartwinning qualities.[38]

In the Sinhalese tradition these sets of values were incorporated into the conception of the Bodhisattva king and were regarded as a basis of the ideal kingship and court morality. The ten meritorious acts enjoined on a dhammmic king made it obligatory on his part that he be a devout Buddhist. Once the Dhammic ideal was adapted by the Sinhalese royalty the king had necessarily to be a Buddhist and by the tenth century the conception that the king should not only be a Buddhist but was indeed a *bodhisattva* became well establshed as is attested by the Jetavanarama Sanskrit inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972). This inscription in fact asserts that none but *bodhisattvas* may be kings of Lanka and adds that this assurance was given by the Omniscient Buddha.[39]

The king, however, could not become a *bodhisattva* by the mere fact of being a ruler. The qualities of a *bodhisattva* could be achieved by a king only by conforming to the Dasarājadhamma and similar norms of conduct. The Sinhalese rulers, therefore, often took care to mention in their inscriptions that they

35. Balkrishna G. Gokhale, 'The Early Buddhist View of the State', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 89 (4), 1969, pp. 736-7.
36. Wilhelm Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times*, ed. Heinz Bechert, Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 133.
37. M. B. Ariyapala, *Society in Medieval Ceylon*, Colombo, (2nd print), 1968, pp. 48-49.
38. ibid. p. 50.
39. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 237.

adhered to the ten royal virtues and similar norms of conduct. Among the rulers of the Polonnarawa period Vijayabāhu I, Nissankamalla and Lilāvati are said in inscriptions, to have ruled in accordance with the *dasarājadhamma.*[40]

The Ambagamuva rock inscription of Vijayabāhu I is unique in that it is the only document of this period which specifically mentions the virtuous qualities which a ruler claims to have possessed. This inscription claims that Vijayabāhu had developed as his own the following qualities: Veneration for the triple gem, hospitable attention to preceptors, homage to the righteous, prosperous condition for the learned, assistance to kinsmen, intimacy towards friends, haughtiness towards foes, compassion for all living beings and wisdom in council.[41] These are in no way identical with the *dasarājadhamma.* Yet they are essentially the avowed ideals of a Buddhist monarchy. Nissaṁkamalla claims that he practised the ten meritorious actions and the four heart-winning qualities as well. The chronicle, however, credits only Vijayabāhu II with all the virtues of a dhammic king. He is said to have ruled in accordance with the ten virtues, practised the four heart-winning qualities and avoided the four wrongful paths.[42]

There is some evidence in inscriptions and literature to show that the kings who lived up to the dhammic ideal were considered prototypes of bodhisattvas and the Buddha and to have attained supernatural power. That the concept of the bodhisattva king was known at least in a germinal form from the third century is evident from the account of Sirisangabodhi as recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa.* Sirisangabodhi who led a life of piety, practised the ten royal virtues and pursued dhammic ways had, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa,* attained the Mahāsattva qualities characteristic of a bodhisattva.[43] Several other kings are credited in the Pāli chronicle with similar attainments. Buddhadāsa (337-365) is said to have led the life of a bodhisattva.[44] Upatissa II (517-604) is credited with having practised the ten *pārāmitas.*[45] Aggadodhi I (571-604) and Sena I (833-853) are said to have aspired to Buddhahood.[46] By the tenth century the concept of a bodhisattva king appeared in a fully developed form and found concrete expression in epigraphic usage

When kings came to be regarded as bodhisattvas certain terms and expressions which had been hitherto reserved for the Buddha and arahants were applied to kings. One such instance as found in a record of Kassapa IV(898-914) is the expression 'having ascended the plateau of the red-stone which is the pleasant and auspicious lion-throne, subdued the enemies with the terrific lion roar of his word (of command).'[47] This expression has been adopted from the Jātaka

40. *EZ,* Vol. I, pp. 180-181, *EZ,* Vol. II, p. 193 A ; *SII,* Vol, IV, 1396.
41. *EZ* Vol. II, No. 35, p. 216.
42. *CV,* 80 : 9, 13-14.
43. *MV,* 36; 90. The *Elu Attanagalu Vamsaya* claims that Siri Saṅgabodhi, the successor of Sanghatissa, was so named because he has taken refuge in the Sangha and the Bodhi tree.
44. *CV.* 37 : 109; R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough,* University of Arizona, 1979, p. 173.
45. *CV.* 37 : 180.
46. *Robe and Plough,* p. 173.
47. *EZ,* Vol. I, p. 223.

literature wherein it is used in connexion with the Buddha. Another such instance is the use of the expression *pirinivi* in referring to the demise of a king. In the Badulla pillar inscription of Udaya IV (946-954), a predecessor of the king is referred to as *Satalosa pirinivi yan vahanse*, 'the lord who entered the parinirvāna in the seventeenth (regnal) year.'[48] Although it is possible, as Paranavitana suggests, that this was the most respectful way the scribe knew of referring to the death of a king,[49] viewed in the light of the unprecedented description of Kassapa IV, as seen earlier, it wold appear that the expression *pirinivi* used in connexion with presumably the same king had a much deeper significance and is analogous to that of *Nirvāṇapada* used in connexion with Suryavarman I in accordance with the Khmer traditions of apotheosis.[50]

There is some evidence to show that an attempt was made in the reign of Mahinda IV (982-1029) to represent the concept of the bodhisattva king in iconographic art. As pointed out by R. A. L. H. Gunawardene, the expression *tamā palangi* has been used in one of his inscriptions to describe a golden image of the Buddha set up by the king at the Buḷ aṭuḷā monastery.[51] As this expression is generally used in Sinhalese texts in the sense of proportion or measure it my be assumed that Mahinda had set up a Buddha image which physically resembled himself or whose physical stature or proportions were similar to his. It was presumably a symbolic representation of the idea that the king was a Buddha or a potential Buddha and this attempt was perhaps inspired by ideas of kingship in some of the countries of South-East Asia where the practice of erecting portrait statues of kings in the form of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, Vishṇu or Siva was widely prevalent. Yet, the attempt of Mahinda IV to introduce in art the symbolism associated with the concept of the bodhisattva king perhaps did not find general acceptance and does not seem to have been followed by any of his successors.

The conception of a bodhisattva king had continued to prevail even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the dhammic ideal associated with it was upheld by the Polonnaruwa court. The successor of Parākramabāhu I, Vijayabāhu II, has been compared to a bodhisattva and described as a model king in the *Mahāvaṃsa*[52] while Vijayabāhu IV (1271-1272) is referred to as a bodhisattva in the same work.[53] In asserting 'I will show myself in my (true) body which is endowed with the benevolent regard and attachment to the qualities of a bodhisattva king who like a parent protects the world and religion,'[54] Nissankamalla

48. *EZ*, Vol, V, p. 87; *Robe and Plough*, p. 174.
49. *EZ* Vol. III, pp. 86-87.
50. G. Coedes, *The Indianized States of South East Asia*, ed. Walter F. Vella, trans. Susan Brown Cowing, Honolulu, 1968, pp. 135-137; *Robe and Plough*, p. 174.
51. *Robe and Plough*, p. 175.
52. 'Manifesting great exertion, he like a wise bodhisattva, everywhere in everyway interested himself in all beings.' *CV*, 80 : 6.
53 *CV*, 88 35.
54. *EZ*, Vol II, No. 29, p. 176.

was claiming that he was a bodhisattva. Besides, he impressed on the minds of his subjects that the appearance of an impartial king should be welcomed as the appearance of the Buddha. Moreover, in his inscriptions he claims to have observed 'the ten royal virtues', 'the four heart-winning qualities' and 'the ten meritorious actions'.[55]

The description of Gajabāhu II as *aṇa sakviti*, 'a cakravartti in the exercise of authority'in one of his inscriptions is of considerable significance. [56] It is reminiscent of the early Buddhist tradition which postulates the twin conception of *aṇa cakka and dhamma cakka* in an attempt to explain the socio-political order. The occurrence of the expression *aṇa sakviti* in this epigraph may perhaps suggest that an attempt was made to provide a conceptual basis to the title cakkavatti and re-interpret it in the context of Buddhist tradition and court ideology. Once the title cakravartti became established as a regular royal title it is possible that imaginative courtiers and religieux sought to connect it with the ideas associated with the concept of *Cakravarttin*, 'World Emperor' developed in Buddhist canonical texts. It is also possible that such a development was inspired by the traditions of the courts of Pagan and Cambodia with which the Sinhalese court had close cultural and commercial connexions. The concept of the bodhisattva king and that of the Cakravartti monarch had been incorporated into the court ideology of the Burmese kings in the eleventh century. For instance, Kyanzitha (1084-1113) who united the kingdoms and principalities of Burma had the title *Tribhuvanāditya dhammaraj* 'the righteous king, the sun of the Three Worlds'.[56A] Besides, in an inscription set up in 1098 upon his visit to Suvarnabhumi, Kyanzitha is described as 'the king of kings', the lord supreme (*paramisvar*), the mighty universal monarch (*bala cakkrawar*) who makes his vehicle the white elephant, the omniscient Bodhisattva, who verily shall be a Buddha and save from misery all living creatures.[57] Such a description presupposes that the Burmese court ideology had assimilated both Buddhist and Hindu ideas and traditions of kingship. The reorganization and reconstitution of Buddhist monastic orders with Burmese support under Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) and the close connexion between the Sinhalese and Burmese Theravada traditions may have resulted in the court ideology of the Polonnaruwa rulers being influenced by that of the Burmese kings. It would also appear that Buddhist scholastic activity during this period resulted in a review, reinforcement and elaboration of the ideas of kingship in the Sinhalese tradition.

The new influences on the ideology of the kings of Polonnaruwa had permeated the historiographic and epigraphic traditions. The rhetoric of kingship reached unprecedented heights in the *Cūlavaṃsa* account of Parākramabāhu and the inscriptions of Nissamkamalla which are almost unique in their form and theme in the whole range of Sinhalese epigraphy. Most of these inscriptions contain long descriptions expoundng the ideals of kingship and extolling the

55. *EZ*, Vol. II, No. 17, pp. 118; No. 28. p. 163.
56. *EZ*, Vol. V, No. 38, p. 398.
56A. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, p. 81.
57. ibid.

qualities of the king. There is a certain parallel betwen some of the ideas of kingship reflected in the inscriptions of Asoka and those of Nissamkamalla as pointed out by P. E. E. Fernando. But it is difficult to concede that Nissamkamalla's courtiers had any familiarity with or even knowledge of Asokan inscriptions and it is impossible that the *Dhamma* expounded by Asoka had any influence on the court of Polonnaruwa, especially in view of the vast chronological gap that separated the two rulers. The only plausible explanation regarding the parallel between the ideas and concepts depicted in the inscriptions of these rulers is that they were derived from a common tradition or source. The early Buddhist ideal of kingship as formulated in the canonical texts was doubtless a common source of inspiration. It may be suggested that an attempt was made in the reign of Nissamkamalla to portray the king in the image of a Cakravarttin monarch. Liberality, benevolence, compassion, a passionate concern for the weaker sections of society, kindness to human and non-human beings, submission of enemy kings without combat, provision of tax relief for subjects, concern for the economic prosperity of the subjects, promotion of dharma and possession of miraculous powers attributed to Nissamkamalla are more or less reminiscent of the qualities and attributes of the *Dhammarāja* and the Cakrvartti monarch of early Buddhist tradition. Once epigraphy became the principal medium of expressing the court ideology in terms of legends relating to the Cakravarttin monarch the literary quality of the inscriptions improved at the expense of their historical value. In them the actual historical personality of the king recedes into the background while the mystic and miraculous characteristics of the ideal king became predominant.

As seen earlier the inscriptions of Nissamkamalla bear clear traces of the ideas associated with the Cakravarttin ideal. It would appear that Nissamkamalla traced his descent from the Kaliṅga Cakravartti portrayed as a Cakravarttin monarch in legends in order to reinforce his claim that he was such a monarch endowed with superhuman and miraculous power. Thus, he emerges as the first ruler in the island to have used in clear terms the Cakravarttin ideal for the comprehensive theory of state power which sought to exalt the person of the king to the position of super-human, divine power. Under him the title *Cakravartti* appears to have become an expression symbolising the majesty, charisma and immanent sacred power of the king.

The notion that the king is a bodhisattva or a Cakravattin monarch presupposes that he possesses mystic and miraculous power. The king should harness all such power for his role as protector and custodian of society (*loka*) and of Buddhism (*sāsana*). Protection involves not only the manitenance of law and order but also the assurance of security from fear for the subjects, famine, disease and natural calamities. There is some evidence from the Pāli chronicle to show that kings who followed dhammic ways were generally believed to have possessed mystic and super-natural power. It is claimed in that work that monsoonal rains came with regularity and the people lived in happiness and contentment during the reign of Sena II who was just and virtuous.[58] Parākrama-

58. *CV*, 51 : 51.

bāhu II was another king in the estimation of the chronicler who with his supernatural powers, could eliminate the evil effects caused by the capricious forces of nature. An unprecedented drought which occurred in his reign resulted in famine all over Lanka and the ruler is said to have brought relief to the poverty-stricken inhabitants by causing rainfall through his miraculous powers and it is further recorded that people attributed the relief thus provided to them to the miraculous and divine powers of the king [59].

The inscriptions of Nissamkamalla credit him with the possession of supernatural powers. The Galpota inscription, for instance, asserts :

> 'His command of personality is made dazzling to the eyes of the world through the fact that at his coronation festival he by a mere frown dispersed the clouds that gathered filling the vault of the firmament. His great majestic power is such that when hunting in the forest a fierce savage she-bear sprang before him with a sharp growl, he laid her whelps dead at his feet. He possesses the powers of a lion king, which (can) extract water from any spot he liked, for (on one occasion) when (travelling) in a waterless desert, there fell a shower of rain from an out-of-season cloud (and) produced an abundant stream. His power of command is such it is not transgressible, for instance, when (once) going to Bāṇa to enjoy sea-ports, a huge venomous snake appeared in front of him, he said to it, "thy approach is unwelcome, be off". The snake stung itself and died on the spot'.[60]

These claims, although of unhistorical and legendary basis, are not totally inconsistent with the belief encouraged by the court and the Buddhist establishments and widely held in society that the monarch was potentially divine. By employing such expressions Nissaṃkamalla was only claiming in extravagant terms and in an uninhibited manner the qualities that were generally associated with a Cakravartti monarch. He was one ruler who endeavoured to propagate the Cakravarttin ideal and encouraged the belief in the concept of a bodhisattva king.

The conception of the monarch's relations with his subjects as a paternal one is one that was closely associated with the Cakravarttin ideal. The Buddha is said to have remarked that even as a father is near and dear unto his sons the *Cakravartti* monarch is beloved of all his subjects. This idea was basic to

59. *CV*, 87 : 10–13.
60. *EZ*, Vol. II, No. 17, p. 116.

Asokan idealism. In one of his edicts the great Indian monarch says : 'All men are my children. Just as in the case of my own children I desire that they may get welfare and happiness in this and the next world so do I desire for all'.[61] The ideal bodhisattva king of the late Anuradhapura period was also supposed to protect his subjects like a father unto his children. Nissamkamalla again goes on record as the only king of the island to have claimed that kings appear as parents of the world.[62]

There is some evidence to show that there was an attempt to adopt partially the symbolism associated with the Cakravarttin ideal. The conch, the white-umbrella, the wheel, the white elephant and tne white horse are supposed to be the most important symbols of a Cakravartti monarch and among these all but the first two are said to be mystic entities which make their appearance on his coronation and remain in his personal possession until the end of his reign. They are are also said to be nvisible to mortal eyes.[63] The conch and the white umbrella have always formed part of the royal insignia and it is extremely doubtful that their use had any connexion with the Cakravarttin ideal. The wheel and the horse were never employed as symbolic representations in courts. The representation of a pair of elephants on the slab on which the Galpota inscription is engraved is of some significance and when considered in the light of the fact that this inscription commences with a Sanskrit verse on *Dharma* tnere is reason to believe that these elephants represent one of the attributes of the cakravartti monarch.

Another mystic symbol of the Cakravartti monarch was the jewel described as bright and beautiful, octagonal in design, well-polished, four cubits in thickness and in circumference like the nave of a cart-wheel. Its brilliance is such that it surpasses all and spreads around for a league on every side.[64] It may be relevant to consider here the significance of the epithet *navaratnabhūpati* which belonged to Vikramabāhu II, the son and successor of Vijayabāhu I.[65] This expression could possibly be interpreted in two ways: it could denote either a king who had his counsellors or officials designated *ratnins* following the Vedic tradition or a king distinguished by the possession of the jewel – one of the mystic symbols associated with the Cakravartti monarch. As there is no evidence to show that the Vedic concept of *ratnins* was ever familiar to the Sinhalese court it is unlikely that the epithet *navaratnabhūpati* had any connotation similar to that associated with the ratnins of Vedic tradition. The alternative interpretation of the term as suggested here would appear to be a more plausible one if we take into consideration the influence exerted by the Cakravartti ideal of kingship during this period. The epithet *Navaratnabhūpati* became common as a

61. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, ed. E, Hultsch, Oxford, 1925. First Separate Rock *edict* – Dhauli.
62. *EZ*, Vol. II, No. 28, p. 163.
63. Balakrishna G. Gokhale, '*Early Buddhist Kingship*', Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1926, p. 19.
64. ibid.
65. *EZ*, Vol. V, pt. 3, p. 407.

royal epithet in a modified form after the fourteenth century. The epithet *navaratnādhipati*, the original significance of which was forgotten and unknown in subsequent centuries, is often mentioned in connection with the monarch in inscriptions and other official documents issued by the courts of Kotte and Kandy. On the whole the Dhammic conception had imparted a high degree of sophistication and culture to the Sinhalese court and had a moderating influence on the king and his government in their relations with their subjects. It cemented further the close alliance between the court and the higher echelons of the Sangha and helped to consolidate their power in the island but it concealed the realities of life and politics.

Divinity of Kingship

While continuing to encourage the cult of the bodhisattva king the rulers of this period incorporated into the court ideology ideas from Hindu political thought which helped to strengthen further the authority of the monarch. Hindu influence on ideas of kingship in Sri Lanka have been recognised and commented upon by some scholars. G. C. Mendis, for instance says:

> "The ideas of kings too changed to some extent during this period . . . According to Nissaṃkamalla an impartial king was like a Buddha, and though kings appeared in human form they were to be regarded as gods, and Nissaṃkamalla's statement clearly shows the strong influence of Hinduism at this time." [66]

Regina Clifford makes the following pertinent observations;

> 'Lanka has also been greatly influenced by Hinduism, which is sustained through the presence of numerous Hindu queens and a large Hindu population. The *Niti* literature of India has also pervaded the Ceylonese courts, especially the *Arthasastra* . . . The latter two influences are of special import. The purpose of the *Arthasastra* is to enumerate efficient means of stabilizing and expanding a kingdom'.[67]

It was during this period that the divinity of kingship found full expression in Sinhalese inscriptions. The conception of the bodhisattva king had as its counterpart in the Hindu tradition the coneption of the divinity of kingship. In India the conception of the divinity of kingship in an embryonic form is as old as the Vedic tradition. The development of this conception, which is endorsed by the *Mahābhārata*, Manu and other authorities in an ambiguous way, was to some extent encouraged by the development of monotheistic religions

66. G. C. Mendis, *The Early History of Ceylon*, Calcutta, 1940, p. 99.
67. Regina T. Clifford, 'The Dhammadipa Tradition of Sri Lanka: Three Models within the Sinhalese Chronicles', *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka*, p. 44.

such as Saivism and Vaishnavism. To Manu and his school this conception had served to reiterate the need for coercive power for the maintenance of a political society. They did not concede to the king a position of infallibility nor did they invest him with omnipotent divinity. They refer to the functional similarity of the king to the gods and this is done metaphorically. The conception was however interpreted loosely to suit court vanity when the Kuṣāṇas and following their example the rulers of other Indian dynastics claimed omnipotent divinity by assuming titles such as *Sarvaloka īsvara, Mahesvara* and *Paramesvara*.[68]

As pointed out by G. C. Mendis and others it was owing to the influence of the Indian treatises such as the *Manu Smrti* with which the Sinhalese court was familiar by this time that expressions describing the functional similarity of the king to the gods came to be included in Sinhalese inscriptions issued by Vijayabāhu I and his successors. The Ambagamuva inscription of Vijayabāhu, for instance, describes the king in the following manner:

> 'He has surpassed the Sun in the majesty inherent in him, Mahesvara (Siva) in prowess, Viṣṇu in haughty spirit, the chief of the gods (Indra) in kingly state, the lord of the riches Kuvera) in inexhaustible wealth, Kitisuru in (bestowing) happiness to living beings, the preceptor of the gods (Bṛhaspati) in the fertility of wisdom, the moon in gentleness, Kandarpa in the richness of his beauty and the Bodhisattva in the fullness of his benevolence'.[69]

The same idea is expressed in connexion with Parākramabāhu I in the Devanagala inscription in almost identical language.[70] The Miṇipe slab inscription uses a slightly different imagery to convey a similar idea in connexion with the general Bhāma, who attained the rank of a local ruler when the Polonnaruwa kingdom had reached an advanced state of decline. It descrtbes him as one who 'is like unto Viṣṇu for Mahalakṣmi, like unto Brahmā for Sarasvati and like unto Sūrya for his pleasing appearance.[71]

The conception of the divinity of kings was not confined only to the epigraphic documents. It was incorporated also into the Sinhalese literary tradition. The *Rasavāhini* echoes the *Manu Smrti* when it asserts : 'Kings conduct themselves on earth as if they were created out of the six divinities, namely, Yama, the sun-god, the moon-god, Mṛtyu (Death), Kuvera (ths God of Wealth) and Agni (the God of fire).[72] It may be recalled here that the Galpota inscription conveys the same idea when it declares that though kings appear in human form, they are divinities and must therefore be regarded as gods'.[73]

68. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 140.
69. *EZ*, Vol. II, No. 35, pp. 215-216.
70. *EZ*, Vol. III, No. 34, pp. 323-4.
71. *EZ*, Vol V, No. 12, p. 161.
72 *UCHC*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 532.
73. *EZ*, Vol. II, No. 117, p. 121.

It is relevant to consider here the description of Vikramabāhu in one of his inscriptions as *rājanārāyaṇa*.[74] It should not be ignored as a mere metaphor purely on account of the eulogistic character of the inscription in which it occurs. The expression could be interpreted in a literal sense as referring to the king as Viṣṇu and this idea had become familiar to many Indian rulers long before the tenth century. The adoption of the terminology expressive of the notion of the divinity of kingship in the inscriptions of other rulers of Polonnaruwa may suggest that the expression *rājanārāyaṇa* used in connexion with Vikramabāhu was intended to convey the same idea in a more developed form. The conception of a saviour was partly derived from the theory of avatāra associated with Vaishnavism and propagated by the later versions of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Purāṇas*. It became the basis of many titles and epithets assumed by some of the medieval Hindu kings. Another epithet, *Saraṇāgata Vajrapañjara*, 'the diamond cage to those seeking refuge' used in connexion with Vikramabāhu in the same inscription would suggest that the expression *rājanārāyaṇa* was intended to convey the idea of the divinity of kingship. The use of this expression was presumably prompted by a Cōla practice as *rājanārāyaṇa* was an epithet of some of the Cōla kings.

The description of Vikramabāhu as *rājanārāyaṇa* was in conformity with the spirit of the times. His position in the Sinhalese dynasty was similar to that of Sūryavarman among the Khmer rulers. He was exceptional among the Sinhalese rulers in his hostility to Buddhism and partiality towards Śaivism.[75] Therefore, he could not have been depicted as a bodhisattva king as Sūryavarman could not be represented as a *Devarāja* like his predecessors who were Śaivites. In respect of both these kings the court ideology had to be expressed in an imagery that projected the vision coloured by their respective predilections. In the case of Vikramabāhu, the traditional conception of the bodhisattva king was replaced by that of the divine monarch while Sūryavarman instead of being depicted as a *devarāja* is depicted as one who attained the state of *nirvāṇa*. As noticed earlier Nissamkamalla was another ruler who sought to propagate the notion of the divinity of kingship.

The greater stress on ideas associated with the divinity of kingship and the conception of the bodhisattva king towards the end of the twelfth century, especially during the reign of Nissamkamalla, seems to have been prompted by the need to reiterate the constant need for coercive authority against a background of unrest and the greater insecurity of the rulers.

The Heroic ideal

Another characteristic feature of kingship in Sri Lanka during this period was the great stress laid on the heroic ideal.. In the earliest Indian literature on politics the king was regarded essentially as a warrior and it was generally conceded that kingship originated on account of military necessity. Protection,

74. *EZ*, V, pt. 3, p. 407.
75. See S. Kiribamune, 'The Royal Consecration in Medieval Sri Lanka: The Problem of Vikramabāhu I and Gajabāhu II', *The Sri Lanka Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, Jan. 1976, (Jaffna), p. 14.

the primary function of kingship, assumes valour and military prowess to be the principal attributes of kings. That the ancient Sinhalese were not unaware of such an idea is suggested, for instance, by the title *Abhaya* assumed by the kings of Anuradhapura since pre-Christian times. It has been suggested that the association of the expression *abhaya* meaning 'fearless' or 'undaunted' with *gāmaṇi* in the names of kings is suggestive of the warlike character of the leadership in early Sri Lanka.[76] The expression *abhaya* (and its variant *apaya*) occurs even in the inscriptions of the Polonnaruwa period in association with *Salāmeka* one of the two alternate titles assumed by the kings of Sri Lanka on their consecration. The heroic ideal, however, was not an over-riding consideration in the development of court ideology in the Anuradhapura kingdom ever since ideas of kingship began to be profoundly influenced by conceptions associated witn *dharma.*

Traditionally, in India, chivalry and martial prowess have been the virtues of the ruling class, the *Kshatriyas* who had political experience. The heroic ideal which has been one of the principal motivating forces in developing the social values of the aristocratic classes was initially concerned mainly with the ideals of 'honour' and 'glory'.[77] This ideal with its stress on energy and action which became devalued when it yielded to the ideal of the wandering ascetic and the bodhisattva was revived and reinterpreted under the influence of the Arthaśāstra school. Consequently heroism came to be regarded as the supreme quality of charismatic leadership and an instrument for strengthening the state and enlarging its resources. It is useful to recall here the observations of Charles Drekmeier who says :

> 'In Vedic times warfare had been the sport of kings, the means of fulfilling the kshatriya duty and attaining glory and honour. The traditional literature on caste function continued to view war as its own justification, a positive good in itself and intrinsic to kshatriya dharma. By the age of empire (and implicit in the *Arthaśastra* of Kautilya), war had ceased to be regarded as an aristocratic pastime having as its main objective military glory, and had come to be conceived as an instrument for strengthening the state and enriching its treasury . . . The kshatriya ideal of honour in battle and the discounting (and even) disparaging of material profit were undoubtedly hindrances to empire-building'.[78]

The heroic ideal depicted in Indian tradition began to permeate the court ideology of the Polonnaruwa period to a considerable extent as it had a particular relevance to the historical circumstances and political needs of the times. The

76. *History of Kingship in Ceylon*, pp. 18-21
77. *Kingship and Community in Early India*, p. 157
78. ibid.

wars against the Cōḷas in the eleventh century and the wars of succession during the first half of the twelfth century between evenly powerful and resourceful contenders required qualities of military organization and leadership of a high order. The dynastic marriages with the royal families of Pāṇḍya, Kalinga and Kanauj had the effect of injecting new blood into the Sinhalese royal family which during this period produced a number of princes remarkable for their qualities of leadership and organization.[79] The princes and princesses who came from the Indian kingdoms and the courtiers and chieftains who accompanied them to the island brought with them ideas of chivalry and kingship which could not have failed to make an impression at the Polonnaruwa court. This impact was further accentuated by the influence of the Cōḷa monarchy which had transformed the heroic ideal almost into a cult.

The impact of the new influences on the ideology of the ruling classes was to some extent reflected in the type of princely education that prevailed during this period. Princes were generally expected to acquire a sound knowledge of matters concerning politics, warfare and religion. The scope of princely education was broadened in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by a systematic study of major Indian works like the *Kautilya Arthasastra*, the *Ramayana* aud the *Manu Smṛti*. This development had the effect of encouraging in the princes a secular approach to problems of politics and government. Such a development has already been perceived by Regina T. Clifford who writes:

> 'The Nīti literature of India has also pervaded the Ceylonese courts, especially the *Arthasastra* . . . The purpose of the *Arthasastra* is to enumerate efficient means of stabilizing and expanding a kingdom. The concern for such virtues as compassionate means is relegated either to a function of propaganda or forsaken entirely until stability and strength are sufffficiently established to entertain such tangential notions. Geiger's translation of the *Cūlavaṃsa* and his *Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times* carefully note the instances when Dhammakitti models particular actions on sections of the *Arthasastra*. The influence of Hindu gods also changes Dhammakitti's model, as is evidenced by the frequent comparisons of kings to Indra. The effect of the *Arthasastra* and Indra is an increased emphasis upon power and courage, and Dhammakitti allows this effect full expression in the figure of Parākramabāhu.'[80]

The study of some Indian texts also focussed the attention of princes on the relevance of the heroic ideal to contemporary situations. That some of the princes of this period were inspired by the heroic ideal is clear from the following passage recorded in the *Cūlavaṃsa* and attributed to Parākramabāhu I:

79. Vijayabāhu I had as his chief queen Tilokasundari, a Kalinga princess. Vikramabāhu who held sway over Rajarata for a period of twenty years after the death of Vijayabāhu was an offspring of this union. Vijayabāhu's sister Mittā was betrothed to a Pāṇḍya prince who had three sons called Manābharana (1), Kitti Siri Megha and Siri Vallabha. Parākramabāhu I and his rival cousin Mānābharana II were patrilineally of Pāṇḍya descent. The second consort of Vijayabāhu was Lilāvati the daughter of Jagatipāla of Ayodhyā who had once ruled over Rohana.

80. *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka*, p. 44.

'I hear of tales as in the *Ummaggajātaka* and others of the deeds done by the bodhisattva in the different stages of his development, the outcome of his heroic nature and of other qualities. I hear in secular stories, in the Rāmāyana, the Bhārata and the like of the courage of Rāma who slew Rāvaṇa and the extraordinary deeds of heroism performed in battle by the five sons of Pāṇḍu, how they slew Duryodhana and the other kings. I hear Itihāsa tales of the wonders worked from of old princes like Dussanta and others in combat with demons. I hear of the great wisdom of Caṇakka, the best of Brahmaṇas who uprooted the kings of the Nanda dynasty. All these deeds though they belong not to our time, have attained among the people up to the present day, the highest renown. When I hear such a happy and incomparable life of those who are able on earth to accomplish extraordinary deeds, then if I of a noble stock, do not that befits the best among noble heroes, my birth will be useless. These were aided alone by favourable conditions of the time, but were they superior to me in insight and other qualities'. [81]

Our claim that the heroic ideal was intrinsic to the ideology of state power during this period is not based merely on the names of rulers almost all of which as seen earlier, emphasize the heroic quality of the monarch. It is supported by the overwhelming evidence from inscriptions, traditional history and the titles and epithets of kings. During this period the Sri Lankan kings assumed many epithets or titles suggesting military prowess and valour. Nissamkamalla for instane had the epithets Vīraraja, 'the heroic king' and *Apratimalla*, 'the unsurpassed warrior'. One of his successors is said to have acquired the title Sāhasamalla on accunt of his 'incomparable heroism'. [83] The assumption of such epithets and titles is reminiscent of the customs prevailing in the Cōla and Cālukya kingdoms in India.

The heroic quality of the ruler is extolled in the inscriptions of the Polonnaruwa period in an unprecedented manner. Vikramabāhu for instance is described as 'The fierce one in the battle front', *raṇamukha bhairava*, and as 'The dark swan sporting in the lake of warfare', *Samara sarah keḷi kālahamsa*. [84] Among 'the multitude of virtues' which he is said to have possessed heroism and valour are specifically mentioned in the same inscription. While referring to Nissamkamalla his inscriptions use such expressions like 'with his unsurpassed might' 'with the valour of his matchless and uncommon might', he struck terror by the superiority of his own valour', which are all expressive of the heroic ideal. The most forceful description of the heroic qualities of a ruler, is however to be found in the Miṇipe slab inscription. This panegyric which extolls the martial prowess of the general Bhāma who became a local ruler sometime after Kalyāṇavati had been displaced from the throne runs :

81. *CV*, 64 : 41-49.
82. In his inscription this king is described also as 'Simha Vikrama', 'the one who had the prowess of a lion'. *EZ*, Vol. II, No. 14, No. 16, No. 19, p. 126; No. 21, p. 132, No. 27, p. 155.
83. *EZ*, Vol. II, No. 36, p. 227.
84. *EZ*, Vol. V, No. 39, p. 407.

> "Bhāma . . . who is the ornament of the Mālevi family, obtained victory in hundreds of battles in which there were unceasing masses of sparks of fire, engendered by a clash of weapons of Sinhalese soldiers who had eradicated many a māralike soldier Tamil as well as Sinhalese, who had come to battle against him. (He thus) adorned the wide expanse of earth with the blood drawn out of the bodies of enemies as it were a thick cluster of lotuses, and pleased the goddess of heroic splendour (vīra siriya) with the play of the prowess of his arm. (In this manner) Lord Bhāma, the Generalissimo, the conqueror of enemies eradicated the thorns in the entire territory appertaining to him, pacified and resided the rein.' [85]

In this panegyric the fame of Bhāma is extolled beyond measure. Yet, Bhāma was doubtless a general and was presumably one of distinction. It may also be conceded that he fought several campaigns and achieved success. The text of the inscription leaves no doubt about the fact that military success was the basis of his claim of greatness. In his case success in war had also secured political power and authority over a part of the island. The tone and content of the inscription suggest that Bhāma became the ruler of a principality. Yet, he had no claim to royal descent. In his case the conventional norms of legitimation could not be applied Military prowess was the essence of his charisma and heroism and success in war became the basis for the legitimation of his authority over the principality he founded. The panegyric in this case has to be viewed as a charter of legitimation and therein lies its historical importance. The Minipe slab inscirption is unique among Sinhalese inscriptions both on account of its style of expression as well the sentiments it records. It brings out in bold relief the heroic ideal cherished by the ruling classes during this period. The reference to the goddess of heroic splendour in this epigraph is reminiscent of that to *Jayamakal*, the goddess of victory, in the inscriptions of the Cōḷa Rājarāja and his successors and it lends some measure of support to the claim that the assimilation of the heroic ideal into the corpus of ideas on kingship in Sri Lanka resulted from the impact of Cōḷa and other influences.

The influence of the heroic ideal was not confined to the narrow circle of the court. Some of the leading monks of the monastic organization centred at the capital had become familiar with it. It permeates the whole narrative of that part of the *Cūlavaṃsa* which relates to this period. The chronicle although written by celibate monks who had renounced worldly life glorifies war.
Traditional history relating to this period as recorded in the Pāli chronicle is dominated by the accounts of three rulers, Vijayabāhu I, Parākramabāhu I, and Parākramabāhu II who typified the principal achievements of medieval Sinhalese monarchy. Each of these rulers achieved success in their undertakings through war and success is attributed by tradition to their heroic quality. Vijayabāhu is quite appropriately described as a 'hero' in the chronicle but Parākramabāhu I and the second ruler of that name hardly merit such a description. In the case

85. *EZ*, Vol. V, No. 12, p. 165.
86. *CV*, 58 : 59.

of Parākramabāhu I, the chronicle records a number of anecdotes to illustrate his warlike prowess and the author - compilers of the chronicle even surpass the court eulogists in extolling the heroic quality of the ruler. Parākramabāhu, however, was by no means a great warrior.

Glory and honour were not the only goals of the heroic ideal depicted in the Pāli chronicle. It is also used to strengthen the state and its resources. In traditional parlance it meant the unification of the whole island under the authority of a single dynastic centre and this was conceived as a means of promoting the welfare of society and religion (loka-sāsana). The cultural homogeneity of the dominant groups in its society, its modest territorial dimensions and the pre-eminence of its north central plain arising from the development of artificial irrigation works of high density promoted the trend towards the unification of the island under a single dynastic centre from early historical times. The unification of the whole island became the cherished ideal of the Sinhalese monarchy ever since Duṭṭhagamani Abhaya imposed his authority over it. This ideal could be explained simply from the standpoint of economic determinism as being natural for a monarchy that sought to expand the sphere of its authority and enrich its material and human resources. The epithet *Tri Simhaḷādhisvara* assumed by the Sinhalese rulers from the twelfth century onwards was expressive of this ideal and was synonymous with that of Lankesvara meaning 'The sovereign lord of Lanka'.[87]

This ideal acquired a new significance on account of the interpretation given to it by the religieux - the Buddhist Sangha. The elaborate monastic organizations centred at the capital being the principal beneficiaries of the state, the growth and expansion of the state was decidedly to their advantage. The glorification of war and the justification of annexationist and expansionist policies in the Pali chronicle by its author-compilers was motivated more by considerations of material gain than religious piety and this could hardly cause any surprise as the principal monastic organizations controlled a large portion of the best arable land and several types of labour.

The political unification of the whole island was conceived as only a means for 'the protection of society and religion', which in Sri Lankan traditional society was considered to be the supreme goal of the monarchy. Parākramabāhu I, for instance, is reported to have observed, 'If now I soon unite Lanka under one umbrella, I shall perchance be able to raise the order and people'.[88] The protection of society and religion implied that the monarch had to direct and co-ordinate all administrative, judicial and welfare functions within the kingdom. As the custodian of society and religion which were separate yet related, he had to engage himself in activities that were designed to promote the happiness and welfare of the people. He was obliged to protect them against fear, famine, disease and want: In order to promote the welfare and happiness of the people

87. *Tri Simhalādhisvara* is used as a royal title in Sinhalese inscriptions from Queen Lilāvati's reign. *Society in Medieval Ceylon*, 37.
88. *CV.* 69 : 4.

the monarch had to stimulate the processes of economic production. Under agro-hydraulic conditions this could be achieved only by the construction and maintenance of reservoirs, canals and similar irrigation works. The Sinhalese rulers seldom failed to make claims to greatness for their contributions to the development of irrigation works.

The protection and maintenance of the Buddhist establishments was deemed to be the ruler's foremost duty and this had to be done under state auspices. The ruler was ultimately responsible for the enforcement of ecclesiastical laws governing monastic organization. The construction and maintenance of monasteries, Buddhist temples and other institutions connected with religion were the responsibility of the king. The king had to endow such institutions with lands, revenues and many types of labour services due from the people.

As the supreme judicial authority the king had to maintain law and order In the Jātakas the ideal society is depicted as one where everyone could move about freely with their valuables and without fear of being molested by robbers and where people could live in their homes with a sense of security.[89] The ideal kingdom was one that was free of all 'thorns'.[90] The Pāli chronicle and the Sinhalese inscriptions of the late twelfth century use the imagery drawn from the Jātakas in extolling rulers who were believed to have maintained peace and stability within the Kingdom. The material basis of royal power and authority and the one institution through which almost all people in the Kingdom were made to feel the reality of state power-taxation, were seldom explained in local sources. Indeed one cannot expect to find detailed explanations about such matters in sources that seek to extol and glorify authority

S. Pathmanathan

89. Balakrishna G. Gokhale, 'The Early Buddhist View of the State', *JAOS*, Vol. 89, No. 4, 1969, p. 735.
90. ibid.

A Note on Three Old Sinhalese Palm - Leaf Manuscripts

Only a few of the comparatively old Sinhalese palm-leaf manuscripts found today in libraries and other collections in Sri Lanka and abroad can be traced to a period anterior to the middle of the eighteenth century when as a result of the revival of Buddhism in Sri Lanka by the exertions of the Saṅgharāja Väliviṭa Saraṇaṅkara and King Kīrti S'ri Rājasiṃha (A. D. 1747–1782), a large number of copies were made on palm-leaf of texts of books that were essential for the study of Buddhism. Even long before that, on several occasions texts of books that were of particular interest to Buddhists were transcribed on palm-leaf *en masse*, but only a few of these palm-leaf manuscripts have survived upto the present day. One such occasion was the attempt made by King Vijayabāhu III (A. D. 1232–1236) to copy manuscripts of Buddhist texts to make good the destruction of books caused by Māgha and his hordes when they invaded Sri Lanka about the first quarter of the thirteenth century. In view of its relevance to the subject under discussion, the account of the steps taken by King Vijayabāhu to transcribe Buddhist texts as given in the *Mahāvaṃsa* may be quoted in full:

"Now in his faith," says the *Mahāvaṃsa*, "the Sovereign set about rendering helpful service to the Order of the Perfectly Enlightened One. If one asks how (this was done), the account runs thus: Deeply grieved in his heart that on the island of Lanka so many books that dealt with the true doctrine had been destroyed by the alien foe, the Ruler called together laymen endowed with a good memory and with knowledge, pious, well instructed, free from indolence and skilled in quick and fair writing, and along with these many other writers of books and made all these write down in careful fashion the eighty four thousand divisions of the doctrine and made over to them in accordance with the number of divisions the like number of kahāpaṇas." [2]

Some of these manuscripts thus copied prior to the reign of King Kīrti S'rī Rājasiṃha have been found both in Sri Lanka and abroad. Apart from providing the scholar with redactions of valuable texts as existing during these early periods they sometimes provide in the form of colophons and notes scribbled on fly leaves incidental information which is of some value for the understanding of some aspects of literary activity during the period concerned.

One of the first such manuscripts to be noticed in Sri Lanka is a copy of the *Cullavagga*, one of the books forming the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Pāli Canon, now deposited in the Library of the National Museum, Colombo.[3] It was purchased

1. Manuscripts written in Sinhalese characters. The language may be Sinhalese, Pāli or even Sanskrit.
2. *Cūlavaṃsa, being the more recent part of the Mahāvaṃsa*, Part II, edited by Wilhelm Geiger, Vol. II, London, 1927, 81. 40–45.
3. W. A. De Silva, *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts*, Colombo, 1938, No. 2363,

by the National Museum from a relation of the late H. C. P. Bell, the first Archaeological Commissioner of Sri Lanka. This manuscript has been assigned to the reign of King Parākramabāhu II (A. D. 1236–1270) tentatively by the late Professor Paranavitana. His observations on this manuscript are as follows: "This manuscript is written in the characters of the thirteenth century and the colophon at the end in Sinhalese states, in effect, that the manuscript was copied by Sumedha Thera of Beligala when the hierarch Medhaṅkara, under the patronage of King Parākramabāhu, was having religious texts copied so that every monk in the island could be supplied with one. Judging from the script and the names of the Theras mentioned therein, I would tentatively take Parākramabāhu mentioned in the colophon to be the second of that name (1236-1271)."[4]

As will be shown in due course Paranavitana's identification of the king named Parākramabāhu in the colophon of this manuscript as King Parākramabāhu II of Daṁbadeṇiya is, confirmed by a closer examination of the colophon referred to above. As no Sinhalese palm-leaf manuscript of a period earlier than the reign of King Parākramabāhu II has been thus far found in Sri Lanka or elsewhere this manuscript of the Pāli *Cullavagga* would be the oldest extant palm-leaf manuscript written in Sinhalese characters.

It is difficult to distinguish between the script employed in the Polonnaruwa period and that employed in the subsequent Daṁbadeṇiya period in which the manuscript under discussion would have been copied, particularly because of the paucity of documents that can be assigned to the latter period with certainty. One such document is the Anurādhapura Pillar-Inscription of Bhuvanekabāhu Mahapā, son of Vijayabāhu III, who founded the kingdom of Daṁbadeṇiya.[5] The forms of letters appearing in this inscription are generally of a more developed type than those in the inscriptions of the Polonnaruwa period.[6] The letter *ṇa* takes an oblong form horizontally, and the curves that form the letter are less pronounced than those that appear in the letter *ṇa* in the documents of the Polonnaruwa period. The letter *na* appears in two different forms as in the earlier period, one with a quite attenuated loop and the other with a fuller loop which often tends to be triangular. The letter *ma*, generally speaking, takes a more developed form than that to be found in Polonnaruwa documents, with some forms having a full loop at its centre. It is certainly the letter *ra* in the Pillar-Inscription that unmistakably indicates its later date with a triangular 'tadpole' shape. In some forms of this letter the left arm stretches upwards even after coming in contact with its right arm. In Polonnaruwa documents the letter *ra* takes an oblong shape vertically, the upper and the lower ends of the letter being of equal breadth. The same four letters as appearing in the manuscript under discussion when compared with the corresponding letters in the Inscription shows very clearly that the manuscript and the Pillar-Inscription belong to the same period of time, i. e., the 13th century. It has, however, to be

4. *Ceylon Administration Reports*, 1937, Part IV, Colombo, F 21.
5. *Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol.* III, London, 1933, Plate 34.
6. Stone Inscriptions of the Polonnaruwa Period may be consulted in *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. II, London, 1928.

remarked that some letters appearing in the manuscript, particularly the letters *ma* and *ra*, seem to have retained some archaic features not noticed in the Pillar-Inscription.

The general pattern of writing in the manuscript under discussion also indicates that the manuscript is of a later date than any point of time in the Polonnaruwa period.

The king named Parākramabāhu in the manuscript, therefore, cannot be the king of that name who ruled Sri Lanka from Polonnaruwa from A. D. 1153-1186, namely King Parākramabāhu I.

Parākramabāhu III (A. D. 1287-1295) and his successors who were known by the name Parākramabāhu do not conform to the data contained in the colophon of the manuscript, and can be easily ruled out as being qualified to be identified with the ruler mentioned in it. In the reign of Parākamabāhu III the office of *Mahā-sāmi* was held by a Thera named Anomadassī on whom this office appears to have been conferred in the last years of King Parākramabāhu II. Besides other circumstances, the evidence of the script employed in the manuscript under discussion would, without the least doubt, rule out the possibility of any of the successors of Parākramabāhu III, known by the same name from being identified with the king named Parākamabāhu mentioned in the colophon of the manuscript. Thus the only ruler of the name of Parākramabāhu in whose reign this manuscript could have been copied must be King Parākramabāhu II of Dambadeṇiya.

The colophon of the manuscript written in three lines of minute scribbled writing reads as follows:

Text of Colophon

1. කොඳුරුවාවනයේ මේධංකර මහිමි සඞ්ඝමින්වහන්සේ ලංකාධිපති පරාක්‍රමබාහු නරෙන්ද්‍රාපතිශ්‍රයෙන් තෙර මාතෙර ආ සබ්‍රහ්මචාරීන්

2. වහන්සේ සම්‍යදන් කරවා නමකට පොතක් ලියවා ලක්දිවු වැසි සංඝයාවහන්සේට සාංඝික කොටැ ආගමයක් මුළුදු කොටැ මුළුමැනැ පැසි සලකා

3. සම්මනත්‍රාශය කොටැ බෙලිගලැ සුමේධ මහතෙරුන්වහන්සේ ලවා සාංඝික කොටැ ලියවා ලැවූ සුළුවඟැ පාළි පොතයි"

Translation

This is the Pāli book *Suluvaga* that the Venerable Great Lord Medhaṅkara of the Kōṅduruvā forest caused to be transcribed by the Grand Thera Sumedha of Beligala as a gift to the *saṅgha*, after collating a whole *nikāya*, being satisfied (with regard to its accuracy) after consultation (with competent scholars), with the patronage of King Parākramabāhu, the Sovereign of Laṅkā and the participation of fellow-monks living the holy life, such as *Theras* and *Grand Theras*, for the purpose of transcribing (providing) one book for each monk as a gift to the venerable *saṅgha* living in the island of Laṅkā.

7. In the reign of King Parākrambāhu IV there was a *thera* named Medhaṅkara, but he is described as a monk of no particular importance in the *Cūlavaṃsa*, *Cūlavaṃsa*, 90. 86.

This translation is offered on the basis of a general sense of the colophon which consists of one single sentence of a very complex and involved character. Some of the expressions employed in the colophon are also obscure in meaning and have to be explained only tentatively. In the phrase *namak aṭa poṭak liyavā*, 'caused one book to be transcribed for each monk' the word *poṭak* is vague. Possibly it means one of the books of the Pāli Canon which is divided into three departments known as the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, the *Sutta-piṭaka* and the *Abhi-dhamma-piṭaka*. Thus the word *poṭak* probably indicates a book such as the *Dīgha-nikāya* from the *Sutta-piṭaka*. In this instance one of these several books [8] forming the three departments of the Canon appears to have been transcribed to be given to each monk, each book being given as a gift to the whole community of monks and not to an individual monk. A monk who received one of these books would have been expected to study it so that he could become an expert exponent of its contents. The book mentioned in the colophon as having been transcribed is the Pāli work *Cullavagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. [9]

The expression *āgamayak muḷulu koṭā muḷumänä päsi* would indicate the manner in which the original manuscripts were collated before transcription commenced. In the process of collation the particular book of the Canon (*āgamayak*) that had to be transcribed was examined in full in consultation with competent scholars (*sammantraṇaya koṭā*) and every matter arising therefrom given due consideration. The meaning of the word *päsi* which appears to be an intransitive participle is not clear at all.

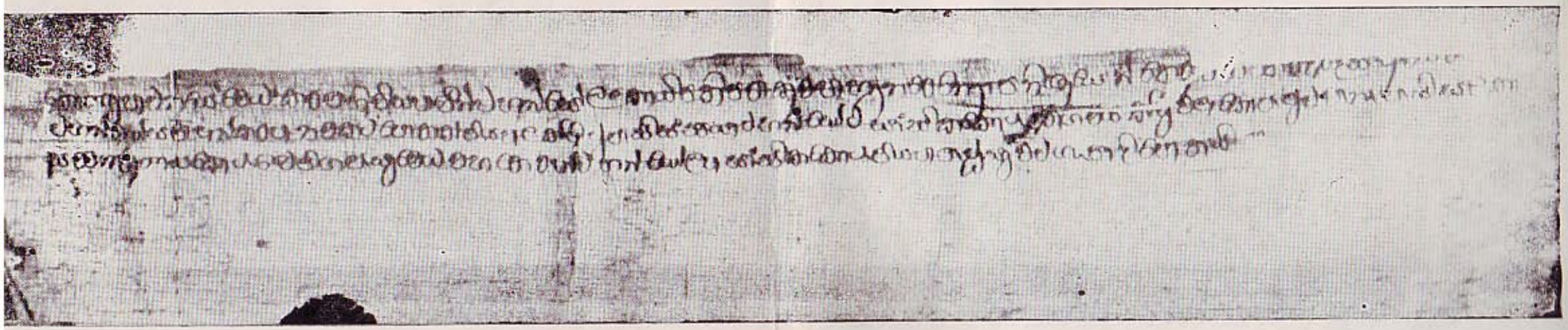
The colophon of the manuscript makes it clear that a *Mahā-svāmi* [10] named Medhaṅkara caused the manuscript under discussion to be transcribed by a Mahāthera named Sumedha of Beligala. It also provides an insight into the precautions taken by those responsible to ensure the accuracy of texts transcribed on palm leaf.

Though more than one scholar has attempted to decipher this colophon no one appears to have succeeded in producing an accurate transliteration of this note which is of some importance as a historical document. The name of the forest where the Mahāsāmi Medhaṅkara resided has been a matter of some uncertainty.

W. A. De Silva has failed to draw attention to this important colophon in his *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts* but has merely stated that it had been acquired by the Colombo Museum after the body of the Catalogue had been printed. [11] Paranavitana, who, as stated above, has made some observations on the colophon, refers to the Mahā-sāmi Medhaṅkara without mentioning the name of the place where he resided. The Reverend Mäda-uyangoḍa Vimalakitti has deciphered the name of the residence of the Venerable Medhaṅkara as '*Konupā-*

8. An account of the works of the Pāli Canon will be found in M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, University of Calcutta, 1933, pp. 1–175. How the books of the three departments of the Pāli Canon were distributed among the monks is not clear at all Probably only one book, whatever it was, was given to a monk, the choice being made according to the individual preference and attainments of the monk concerned.
9. *Suluvaga* is the Sinhalese equivalent of the Pāli *Cullavagga* for which see, Winternitz, Vol II, p. 25.
10. The word used in the colophon is *māhimi-svāmi*. *Māhimi*, Great Lord, is the equivalent of the Pali *mahā-sāmi* (Sanskrit, *mahā-svāmin*).
11. W A. De Silva, p. 381.

PLATE 1

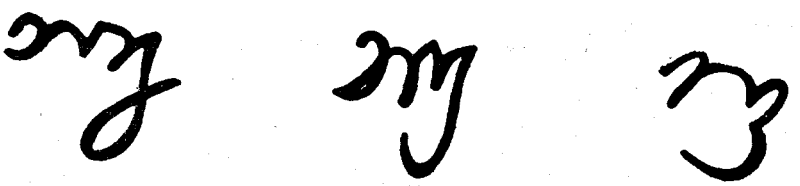


Colophon in the *Cullavagga* Manuscript Courtesy: Department of National Museums

vanaya'. Rohanadeera also has deciphered the name as '*Konupā-vanaya*'.[12] Besides the transliteration of the colophon he has offered is not free from inaccuracies. The letters in the name that seem to have baffled these scholars are the second and the third letter of the first line of the colphon. Both these scholars have taken these two letters as *nu* and *pā* respectively.

Even a mere glance, however, would show that the second letter is much more complex than the simple character *nu*. It consists of what appears to be a loop linked on to an irregular half-loop opening downwards, the right hand-side arm being retraced upwards and the line coming far down vertically to form a large loop and turn right, intersecting the vertical. This complex character is a conjunct consonant combining the letters *n*, *d* and *ru*. The long vertical arm ending in a large loop at its lower end represents the syllable *ru*. A comparison of this letter with the conjunct consonant *ndra* in the word *narendropanisrayen*, in line 1 easily deciphered by the context in which it appears, should confirm the accuracy of this identification. If the medial *e* sign and the medial *ā* sign that combine to give a medial *o* value to the letter are ignored in this letter this letter would be identical with the second letter in the first line of the colophon, without the medial vowel *u*. This letter in the *Cullavagga* colophon may also be compared with the conjunct consonant *ndra* in the word *bhūpālendrān* appearing in line 2 of the Häṭadāgē Portico Slab-Inscription of King Niṣṣaṅkamalla (A. D. 1187-1196).[13] There is no doubt that the letter that has been misread by the scholars mentioned above is the conjunct consonant *ndru.* in the first line of the colophon, see Fig. 1.

Fig. 1.



1 2

1 *ndru* in the first line of the *Cullavagga* MS.
2 *ndra* in the word *narendropanisrayen* in the *Cullavagga* MS.
3 *ndra* in the word *bhūpālendrān* in the Häṭa-dā-gē Portico Slab-Inscription

The third letter is again somewhat confusing, being easily mistaken as *pā*. The first letter is *ko* representing actually *kō*, it being the practice in mediaeval documents for scribes to often omit the sign for (long) *ō*. The name of the place where the Venerable Medhaṅkara resided is *Koṇḍruvā-vanaya* the form *Koṇḍruvā* being an orthographic peculiarity for *Kōṇḍuruvā*.

The identity of the hierarch Kōṇḍuruvā-vanayē Medhaṅkara Māhimi Svāmin-vahansē can perhaps be established without much difficulty. It is almost certain he is the Mahā-sthavira Medhaṅkara residing at Udumbaragiri, described in the *Daṃbadeṇi-katikāvata* as being one of the three Mahātheras under whose nitiative a synod had been held in the reign of King Vijayabāhu III[14] He is also identical with the hierarch Āraṇyaka Medhaṅkara Mahā-svāmi mentioned in

2. Mendis Rohanadeera, *Srī Laṅkāvē Saṅgha Samvidhānaya*, Nugegoda, 1974, p. 5 and footnote 5 on the same page. The text given here differs from that on p. 115 of the same work
13. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, Plate 15, line 2. The same letter *ndra* appears in line 1 of the Galpota Slab-Inscription, *ibid.* Plate, 20, Section B. The letter *ndu* also appears in the same line
14. *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, edited D. B. Jayatilaka, Kälaṇiya, 1955, p. 8.

the *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, as a pupil of the Venerable Buddhavaṃsa Vanaratana of the famous Diṃbulāgala (Udumbaragiri) fraternity,[15] and also as having presided over the synod held in the reign of King Parākramabāhu II(1236–1270).[16]

The Venerable Medhaṅkara was also the author of *Kudusika-sanne*, a Sinhalese commentary on the Pali work *Khuddasikāhā* compiled by a monk named Dhammasiri in the Polonnaruwa period.[17]

It will be noted that when a synod was held in the reign of King Vijayabāhu III (A. D. 1232–1236) the Mahā-sāmi Medhaṅkara of a later day was a *mahā-sthavira*, an office second in rank only to that of *Mahā-sāmi*. The Venerable Medhaṅkara was appointed to the higher rank of *Mahā-sāmi* in the reign of Parākramabāhu II.[18]

The only circumstance that militates against this identification is that Mahā-sāmi Medhaṅkara is described in the colophon as residing in a forest known as Koṅduruvā-vanaya, while the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* in a brief reference to the synod held in the reign of King Vijayabāhu III at Vijayasundarārāma refers to the same monk as *Diṃbulāgalavana vāsi Medhaṅkara Mahā-sthavira*.[19] It will be recalled that when the capital of Sri Lanka was at Polonnaruwa the headquarters of the forest-dwelling monks was on the mountain fastness of Diṃbulāgala or Udumbaragiri. But consequent to the invasion of the country by Māgha when the new capital was set up at Daṃbadeṇiya by Vijayabāhu III, monks who were residing at Diṃbulāgala moved to the new capital and among them was the Mahā-sthavira Medhaṅkara of Diṃbulāgala, described as the leader of the forest-dwelling monks participating in the synod held under the auspices of King Vijayabāhu III.[20]

15. *Nikāya-Saṅgraha*, edited Simon de Silva *et al*, Colombo, 1907, p. 20.
16. *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, pp. 8–9.
17. *Kudusika* with *Sanne*, edited Beruvala Sumedhaṅkara, 1894.
18. *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, p. 13. It is known that the Venerable Medhaṅkara occupied the high office of *mahā-sāmi* when he presided over the synod held in the reign of King Parākramabāhu II, *ibid.* pp. 8–9.
19. *Nikāya-Saṅgraha*, p. 20.
20. Daṃbadeṇi Katikāvata in *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, pp. 7–8. There is no certainty regarding the date of the synod held in the reign of King Vijayabāhu III, because the commencement of the reign of this ruler has not yet been ascertained. Probably what appears to have misled both Codrington and Paranavitana is a statement in the Daṃbadeṇi Katikāvata, where it is said to be stated that for a period of thirty six years after the death of King Parākramabāhu I (A. D. 1153–1186) there had been disorder in the *saṅgha* owing to the absence of a wise and impartial ruler in the country, Daṃbadeṇi Katikāvata in *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, p. 7. It will be seen that in the preamble to the Daṃbadeṇi Katikāvata an attempt has been made to trace the history of Buddhist synods from the time of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇi upto the time of King Parākramabāhu II. In this preamble there seems to be a clear lacuna for it fails to mention the synod held in the reign of King Niśśaṅkamalla (A. D. 1187–1196). Most probably the passage dealing with the synod that resulted in the Hāṭa-dā-gē Inside Wall-Inscription has been left out in the existing copies of the Daṃbadeṇi Katikāvata. Thus, if in the passage *ema maharajāṇan svargastha samvatsarayehi paṭan satis havuruddak ātuḷata* the king referred to is taken as King Niśśaṅkamalla (A. D. 1187–1196) the period of disorder in the *saṅgha* that lasted for thirty six years would cease with the setting up of a new capital at Daṃbadeniya by King Vijayabāhu III about A. D. 1232. Thus there would be no need to assume that there was an interregnum of about ten years between the death of Vijayabāhu III and the accession of his son Parākramabāhu II in A. D. 1236. Nor is there a need to assume that the first *katikāvata* promulgated by Vijayabāhu III was of an informal the throne nature, that it was promulagated before his accession to the throne and that a second *katikāvata* was promulgated after Vijayabāhu's accession to the throne, as Paranavitana has suggested. Forthe views expressed by Codrington and Paranavitana on this chronological discrepancy, see, *History of Ceylon*, ed. H. C. Ray, Colombo, 1960, pp. 616, 617. For the Hāṭa-dā-gē Inside Wall-Inscription, see, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 96, 97.

Reporting the same event the *Asgiriyē Talpata* says that some monks headed by the Mahāsthavira Medhaṅkara, pupil of Buddhavaṃsa Vanaratana and another group of monks led by the Venerable Dīpaṅkara residing at Udumbaragiri moved to Daṁbadeṇiya and to Yāpahuva respectively when the country was invaded by Māgha.[21] What appears to have happened is that after the Venerable Medhaṅkara arrived in Daṁbadeṇiya probably in the reign of King Vijayabāhu III he had decided to remain at Dambadeṇiya in some suitable place so that he could be of service to the ruling king. The place he selected as suitable for his residence according to the colophon was a place called Kōṉduruvā-vanaya, which has to be sought somewhere in the vicinity of Daṁbadeṇiya.

No place by the name of Kōṉdruvā-vanaya can be found in modern maps of Sri Lanka. Three places, however, with the prefix Kōṉduruvā are to be found in the vicinity of Daṁbadeṇiya, namely, Koṉduruvā-vela, 5 km. south west of Daṁbadeṇiya, in Mādapattu Kōralē, Koṉduruvā-poḷa, 11km. north of Daṁbadeṇiya, in Māddekāṭiya Kōralē, and Kōṉduruvā-poḷagedara, 22km. north west of Daṁbadeṇiya in Yaṭikaha Kōralē North, all in the North Western Province of Sri Lanka. The names of these villages would show that Kōṉduruvā-vanaya too was situated somewhere in the vicinity of Daṁbadeṇiya, and it may be possible that one of these villages is identical with the residence of the Venerable Medhaṅkara, the original name of the place undergoing some change in course of time. A place called Koṉduruvākanda is mentioned in the *Mātalē Kaḍa-im Pota*,[22] but it is far removed from Daṁbadeṇiya towards the north and is situated within the limits of the Nuvarakalāviya District. This place, therefore, cannot possibly be identified with Kōṉduruvā-vanaya of the *Cullvagga* manuscript.

The monk Beligala Sumedha Maha-terun-vahanse who is described in the colophon as having transcribed the manuscript is not known from other literary or epigraphic sources. He held the rank of *Maha-tera* (Pāli, *Mahā-thera*), a high ecclesiastical office second only in rank, as pointed out above, to that of *Mahā-sāmi*. In the reign of King Parākramabāhu II there could be only two *Mahā sthaviras* in the whole Island at any given point of time, one to represen the forest dwellers and the other to represent the town dwellers. It was one of these two *Mahā-sthaviras* that would be appointed to the office of *Mahā-sāmi*, whenever this office fell vacant.[23] Beligala is situated in Beligal Kōralē in the Ōtara Pattuva, Kegalle district, at a distance of about 25 km. to the south-east of Daṁbadeṇiya. This inaccessible rock fastness was fortified by King Vijayabāhu III, who brought here from Dambadeṇiya the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha which had been taken to Kotmalē earlier for reasons of security.[24] Prince Bhuvanekabāhu, Vijayabāhu's soṇ, founded on the rock of Beligala a *piriveṇa*, a dwelling place for monks.[25]

21. *Asgiriyē Talpata*, edited Mendis Rohanadeera, 1969, p. 5.
22. *Kaḍa-im-pot Vimarśanaya*, edited H. A. P. Abhayavardhana, Department of Cultural Affairs, 1978, p. 231.
23. Daṁbadeṇi Katikāvata in *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, p. 13. However, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* ther were eight *mahā-sthaviras*, Grand Elders in charge of the eight *āyatanas*, monastic communitits, in the capital, *Mahāvaṃsa*, 84, 17-21. The Daṁbadeṇi Katikāvata on the other hand states that only *sthaviras*, Elders, were appointed as heads of *āyatanas*, *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, p. 13.
24. *Cūlavaṃsa*, 81. 31-37.
25. Ibid. 85. 59-60.

Whether the colophon is a holograph cannot be stated with certainty. The writing in the colophon is very cursive, but is certainly contemporary with the writing in the body of the manuscript.

As a manuscript transcribed in the thirteenth century, this manuscript preserves a recension of the Pāli *Cullavagga* as current at the time. As far as the present writer is aware this manuscript does not appear to have been utilised by any scholar in the preparation of the printed editions of this important Buddhist text, most of which have been printed before 1937 when this manuscript was brought to light.

Another palm-leaf manuscript of about the same date as the manuscript discussed above is deposited in the Library of the University of Peradeniya.

It is a copy of the Pāli *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* of Ācariya Dhammapāla (Accession No. 276985).[26] The codex had been found in a collection of palm-leaf manuscripts belonging to the late Gate Mudliyar W. F. Goonewardene, a well-known scholar, and was presented to the University of Peradeniya by his daughter Mrs. Agnes Jayasuriya about thirty years ago. The codex contains one hundred folios of which a large number has been attacked by white ants. Apart from its value as one of the oldest palm-leaf manuscripts in Sri Lanka, it contains some nteresting but tantalisingly meagre information regarding its early ownership.

I am most grateful to Mr. K. D. Somadasa, formerly Librarian, University of Peradeniya, for bringing this manuscript to my notice.

On the reverse of the first leaf of the manuscript the following words are incised in almost the same script as is found in the body of the same document : විශුඩිමාගීගටීකා සිල මා ෙත

The words are appropriately separated. But the incised characters have not been stained in black, as is the practice, to bring out the letters with clarity.

Slightly below these words appear the following words : කපා(රා)මූ ම සිලවිංස මා ෙත

These words have been written in characters of the same period and style, and probably by the same hand. They also have not been stained in black.

In the centre of the page now marked (5) which is otherwise blank are ncised the following words, the characters being again unstained :

1 – – නි – – මා තෙර(සා)මින්

2 නාරද තෙරසාමින්ට දුන් වී

3 ශුඩිමා(ගීග)ආදි කඩටීකාවයි

It is clear that the separate letters and the word *sīla* appearing in the reverse of the first leaf are abbreviations, which could be interpreted by reference to the page now numbered (5). Then *sīla mā te* would stand for Sīlavaṃsa Mā-tera,

26. *This work has been edited* by Ratmalāne Dhammārāma, Kālaṇiya, 1912.

i.e., Sīlavaṃsa Mahā-thera, the Grand Thera Sīlavaṃsa. *Kapārā mu* certainly stands for Kapārā-mula, the name of a fraternity of monks which had its origin in the latter part of the Anuradhapura period.[27] It is difficult to ascertain the word represented by the letter *ma* appearing after *Kapārā mu* on the reverse of the first leaf. It most probably represents an attempt made inadvertently to write the letter *mā* appearing in its correct place after the word *Sīlavaṃsa*

Before the import of these colophons discussed is reference may perhaps be made to another manuscript, which, on palaeographical grounds can be assigned to the same period as the manuscript of the *Visuddimagga-ṭīkā* described above. This is a copy of the first part of the *Sāratthadīpanī*, a commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*.[28] This manuscript bearing No. Or. 6676 has been presented to the Library of the British Museum by Henry Parker, an irrigation engineer who had served in Sri Lanka in the early part of the present century, or more probably by his wife.[29] The manuscript bears a label which states in Sinhalese *Parkar mahatmayāgē Vinaya ṭikāva*, Mr Parker's *Vinaya Ṭīkā*.[30] Parker had found this manuscript in the Ridī Vihāra in the Kurunegala District some time prior to 1902, when a copy of thls was made under the orders of H. C. P. Bell, the Archaeological Commissioner at the time, to be deposited in the Colombo Museum Library.[31]

On the last page of the manuscript appear the following words written in characters which can also be assigned to the thirteenth century :
සීලවංස තෙරසවාමීන්ගේ විනය ටීකා ආදී කඩයි

Translated the colophon would read : The first part of the Vinaya-ṭīkā of the Venerable Thera Sīlavaṃsa

The writing in the body of this manuscript is of the same period as that in the manuscript of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā*. It follows, therefore, that the Mahā-Thera Sīlavaṃsa of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* and the Sīlavaṃsa Tera-svāmī of the *Sāratthadīpanī* (*Vinaya-ṭīkā*) are one and the same, two eminent *Theras* bearing the same name and living at the same time being a rather unlikely

27. R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough*, University of Arizona Press, 1979, p. 290.
28. For *Sāratthadīpanī* and *Samantapāsādikā*, see, G P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, (reprinted), 1958, p. 192 and pp. 93-95.
29. It would appear that some of the palm-leaf MSS. that Henry Parker collected in Sri Lanka were taken by him to London, perhaps, on his retirement from the Irrigation Department. Later his wife appears to have offered them for sale. This MS. may have been sold or presented to the British Museum by Mrs Parker, *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Roya Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIX, pp, 133 and 143.
30. H. C. P. Bell, Commissioner of Archaeology at the time, who was responsible for securing copies of old palm-leaf MSS. comments on the *Sāratthadīpanī* MS. as follows : "A very old copy of the Vinaya-Ṭīkā obtained by Mr Parker, Irrigation Officer in the North Western Province, and kindly lent for the purpose, is being transcribed for the Oriental Library, Colombo Museum. This rare old manuscript contains 240 leaves of twenty lines, closely written in archaic Sinhalese characters and needs great care in copying. The manuscript probably belongs to the 13th century and is therefore the oldest yet discovered in Ceylon," For these comments. see *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*, 1901, Colombo, 1907, p. 14.
31. W. A. De Silva, No. 15. Transcription of this copy from the MS. now in the British Museum Library was completed in May, 1902.

happening.[32] It will be noted that in the latter manuscript the name of the owner is given as *tera-svāmi*, a position obviously lower in rank than that of a *Mahā-thera* (*Mā tera*),[33] the designation of the owner of the manuscript of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* It would appear that the Venerable Sīlavaṃsa had come into possession of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* only after he had been appointed to the position of *Mahā-thera*. It will also be noted that in thc manuscript of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* an additional ıtem of information is given that the Thera belonged to the monastic fraternity known as *Kapārā mula*.

The Venerable Sīlavaṃsa is not mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* or in any of the other historical narratives of Sri Lanka. There is, however, some evidence to identify the one-time owner of the two manuscripts discussed above with the Venerable Sīlavaṃsa who compiled the *Dhātumañjusā*, a systematically arranged glossary of Pāli roots for the benefit of students of the Pāli language.[34] In the colophon to this work the Venerable Sīlavaṃsa is described as a *yatissara*, a leader among the monks, as *saddhammapaṅkeruharājahaṃso*, a royal goose in the lake of the good Dhamma, and as *āsiṭṭha-dhammaṭṭhiti*, with wishes for the endurance of the Dhamma. He resided, according to the same colophon, on a mountain fastness called Yakkhaddi-leṇa, which can be identified as the rock known as Yak-dessāgala[35] in the present day, situated at a distance of 6 km. to the north of Kurunegala in the North Western Province of Sir Lanka.[36]

The *Dhātumañjusā* is assigned to the reign of King Parākramabāhu IV (A. D. 1302-1326) as a mere surmise,[37] a possible reason being perhaps that Yak-dessā-gala is situated quite close to Kurunegala, the capital of this ruler. Though this mountain fastness is closer to Kurunegala than to Daṃbadeṇiya [38] such a surmise can hardly be justified.

In the colophon appearing in the centre of the reverse of the third leaf, i. e., in the centre of the page, now numbered (5) of the manuscript of the *Visuddhamagga-tīkā* the first word preceding the words *Mā tera* (*sā*)*min* is almost completely effaced, and the only letter that can be made out being probably *ni* or *na*. There appear to have been at least two letters on either side of this letter.

32. See note 23.
33. The office of *Tera* and *Maha-tera* were conferred on deserving monks by the King with the approval of the community of monks, *Katikāvat Saṅgarā*, p. 13.
34. *Kaccāyana-Dhātumañjusā* edited Pandita Devarakkhita, 1872. See also, Malalasekera, p. 237.
35. W. A. De Silva, No. 2085. See also translation of conclusion of *Kaccāyana-Dhātumañjusā*.
36. The rock named Yak-dessā-gala is situated in Megoḍa Kōrale in Vä-uḍavili Hat-pattuva in the Kurunegala District, *Vivaraṇa sahita Nam-pota*, edited Pannila Srī Sārānanda and Ōpāta Śrī Saraṇaṅkara, Agalavatta, 1956, p. 72. See also, F. H. Modder, Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunegala, in *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XI, Colombo 1890, p. 240.
37. Malasekera, p. 237; M, De Z. Wickremasinghe, *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1900, p. xviii.
38. Vihāras came to be built at Kurunegala at the latest in the reign of Parākramabāhu II, and the surrounding hills were also occupied by Buddhist monks probably about the same time, see, *Cūlavaṃsa*, *85*. 62-63.

It is not possible even to hazard a guess as to the name that had been inscribed here. Whoever was the monk whose name had been inscribed here must have been a monk of considerable standing in the country, as he is described as a *Mā tera* (*sā*) *mi*, one of the two monks, as has been shown above, occupying the rank next to that of the *Mahā-sāmi*, the hierarch.

The monk named Nārada, described in the colophon as a *Tera sāmi*, venerable elder, only, would also have been a monk of some importance because appointments to the position of *Tera* (Sanskrit, *sthavira*) were also made by the ruling king. But his name does not appear in any contemporary or other document and has to remain unidentified for the present.

The Venerable Sīlavaṃsa had come into possession of the manuscript of the *Sāratthadīpanī* when he was only a *Sthavira*, while the manuscript of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* had come into his hands later when he had already been appointed to the office of a *Mahā-thera*. The chronological order in which he had been appointed to the two offices of *Tera* and *Maha-tera* does not appear to be reflected in the writing either in the body of the text or in the colophons of the two manuscripts. It is, thus, not possible to suggest which of the two manuscripts is the older even on the not-too-reliable evidence of the hand-writing.

From the hands of the Venerable Sīlavaṃsa the manuscript of the *Visuddhamagga-ṭīkā* had passed into the hands of the monk whose name appearing in the first line of the colophon on the page now numbered (5) has been almost completely effaced. This monk, who was also a *Mahā-sthavira* (*Mā-tera-sāmī*), had given the manuscript, probably as a gift, to another monk named Nārada, who was a *Sthavira* (*Tera*) at the time. It is not possible to ascertain at what points of time these changes in the ownership of this manuscript had taken place, in the present state of our knowledge, though in all likelihood these changes appear to have taken place within a short space of time, judging by the style of writing in the colophons.

It has also to be pointed out that all the foregoing statements have been made on the assumption that the leaves containing the colophons in the manuscript of the *Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā* have remained undisturbed in the same order in which they were originally placed.

It is interesting to note that the manuscript of the *Sāratthadīpanī* was discovered in 1902 by Parker at the well-known and historic Ridi Vihāra[39] in the North Western Province, about 15 km. to the east of Yak-dessāgala. Thus if the identification here presented of the owner of the two palm-leaf manuscripts discussed above, is accepted, it has to be assumed that the manuscript of the *Sāratthadīpanī* had remained in the Kurunegala district for over six hundred years before it was discovered by Parker.

There is yet another palm leaf manuscript, written in Sinhalese characters, that can be assigned to the thirteenth century on the evidence of the hand-

39. W. A. De Silva, No. 15.

writing. It is also a copy of the Pāli *ṭīkā Sāratthadīpanī*, now deposited in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. This manuscript is said to have belonged to the Venerable Toṭagamuvē Śrī Rāhula Sthavira, the celebrated poet and scholar who lived in the reign of King Parākrambāhu VI (A. D. 1412-1467). The writer had the occasion to examine this manuscript some years ago and confirm Cabaton's view that it was transcribed in the thirteenth. century[40] He is, however, unable to say anything more about this valuable document as he has unfortunately misplaced or possibly even totally lost the notes he made thereon.

An attempt has been made in this paper to bring to the notice of interested scholars three of the oldest extant palm-leaf manuscripts written in Sinhalese characters with a brief reference to a fourth, containing the texts of three important Pāli works as current in Sri Lanka in the thirteenth century. Their authenticity and history, as far as the brief colophons on them permit, have also been established with a view to assessing their value as source material for editing these texts so necessary for a study of the development of Buddhist thought in Sri Lanka

P. E. E. Fernando

P. S Since writing this paper I have been able to obtain some most useful information about the old *vihāra* at Kōṉduruvā-poḷa from Mr Luxman Gunawardhana of Hamaṅgalla, near Nārammala, in a letter dated 7th October, 1984. On the basis of this information I am inclined to believe that this Vihāra, which covers an area of about two hectares of land, represents the residence of the Venerable Medhaṅkara, referred to as Kōṉduruvā-vanaya in the manuscript of the *Cullavagga*. According to Mr Gunawardhana the architectural remains scattered about the *vihāra* grounds may be assigned to the 13th century, some of them possibly being of even a still earlier date. I express here my sincere thanks to Mr Luxman Gunnawardhana for sending me a detailed note on the Kōṉduruvā-poḷa Vihāra at my request. P. E. E. F.

40. A. Cabaton, *Catalogue Sommaire Des Manuscrits Sanskrits et Palis de La Bibliotheque Nationale - 2e Fascicule - Manuscrits Palis*, Paris, 1908, No 45. A palm-leaf manuscript written in the Sinhalese language and in Sinhalese characters, and assigned to the 13th century is reported to be in a monastery in Tibet. For particulars of this manuscript, see, R. A. L. H. Gunawardana, 'A Buddhist Manuscript in the Sinhala Language from the Sa-skya Monastery in Tibet', *K. P. Jayaswal Commemoration Volume*, ed. J. S. Jha, K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna, 1981, pp. 199-206.

PANIYAVADANA

Pāṇīyāvadāna is the title of a short palm-leaf manuscript kept in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Written in Newari characters, it has three folia with four lines in a page. Śrījetasiṃha of the Kāyastha caste is the scribe according to the colophon, which gives the date of the manuscript as 429 of the Saṃvat era. As the Nepali savṃat era begins in 880 A. D., the date of this manuscript is 1309 A. D. The manuscript bears the number 4773 and is listed as number 26 by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Shastri in his descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the government collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol I. Buddhist Manuscripts, Calcutta 1917.

On examining this manuscript, I found that the Sanskrit text it contains is the same as that of story No. 43, called Pāṇīya of the Avadānaśataka, a collection of Buddhist tales dated about 100 A. D.[1] The description of a *pretī* seen by Venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana during a sojourn in the world of the dead (*pretaloka*) and the incident of her refusal to give some water to a monk during a previous existence, which led to her birth as a *pretī*, as related by the Buddha, forms the content of this Pāṇīya story, the text of which as printed in the *Avadānaśataka* can be rendered into English as follows:

The Buddha, the Blessed One, was honoured, praised, revered, and worshipped by kings, chief ministers, rich men, townsmen, guild-leaders, merchants, (classes of beings like) the devas, nāgas, yakṣas, asuras, garuḍas, kinnaras and the mahoragas. The Buddha, the Blessed One, known, great in merit, the recipient of robes, alms, beds, seats, requisites for the sick, medicines, and personal belongings, who was worshipped thus by the devas, nāgas, yakṣas, asuras, garuḍas kinnaras, and the mahoragas, resided, together with the community of disciples, at (a place called) Kalandakanivāpa, in (the grove) Veṇuvana near (the city of) Rājagṛha. Then, the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, wandering about (in the world of) the departed, saw a female spirit *(pretī)*, resembling a burnt stump, covered with her own hair, her mouth like the eye of a needle, her belly like a mountain, burning, blazing, bright, turned into a single flame, being melted,[2] oppressed by thirst, experiencing pain, uneasy, severe, harsh, sharp, and unpleasant.

1, ed. J. S. Speyer *(Bibliotheca Buddhica.* III) St. Petersburg 1906-1909: Reprinted Mouton & Co. 'S— Gravenhage 1958. See p. XV for the dating. Yet another manuscript kept in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 4758 II, called Divyānnāvadāna, described by Hara Prasad Shastri in his catalogue, contains the same text as story No. 20 of the Avadānaśataka called Divyabhojanam. The gap in Speyer's edition of the text can be filled with the help of this manuscript, as follows.
nāgasahasrā (nyopanītāni ye buddhapramukhasya bhikṣusamghasya śatasahasrakāni chattrāni dhārayanti. Sacipramukhāni cānekāny apsarāsahasrāṇy upanītāni ye buddhapramukhabhikṣu-samgham mani) vālavyajanena.

2. The text, adopted by Speyer, here, does not contain the phrase *'ārtasvaram rudantīm'* which occurs in the formula repeated in the continuation of the story, where Maudgalyāyana describes the *pretī* he saw to the Buddha. The text followed by Feer, in his French translation of the *Avadāna-śataka* (see note 3 below), appears to have had it.

Rivers and wells in the forests became dry, at her mere glance. When it rained, a shower of sparkling charcoal fell upon her. Seeing her, the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana said, "What evil have you done, because of which you suffer misery like this?" The *pretī* said "I am an evil-doer, O reverend Mahāmaudgalyāyana. Ask the Blessed One about this matter. He will tell you my previous action, which forms the connecting link (with my present state), hearing which other beings here will abstain from evil deeds." Then the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana went to that place where the Blessed One was.

At that time, the Blessed One, coming out from (meditative) seclusion, was expounding the pleasant doctrine, pure like bees' honey, to the four assemblies. The assembly of many hundreds listened to the pleasant doctrine of the Blessed One, their faculties of sense unvacillating. Now then, Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, speak first, speak pleasantly, speak words of welcome, saying, "Come near," preceded by a smile. On that occasion, the Blessed One spoke as follows to venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana, "Come near, Maudgalyāyana. Welcome. Where have you come from now?" Maudgalyāyana said, "I have come, reverend sir, after wandering about (in the world of) the departed. There, I saw a *pretī*, resembling a burnt stump, covered with her own hair, her mouth like the eye of a needle, her belly like a mountain, burning, blazing, bright, turned into a flame, being melted, crying in pain, oppressed by thirst, experiencing pain, uneasy, severe, harsh, sharp, and unpleasant. Wells in the forest became dry, at her mere glance. When it rained, a shower of charcoals fell upon her." The Blessed One said, "That pretī, O Maudgalyāyana, is an evil-doer. Do you wish to hear her previous action, which forms the connecting link (with her present state)?" "Yes, reverend sir." "Then, indeed, Maudgalyāyana, listen well and pay attention to my words. I shall speak.

In the past, O Maudgalyāyana, in times gone beyond, in this very bhadrakalpa (world-age), when the lifetime of men was twenty thousand years, a perfectly enlightened one, Kāśyapa by name, arose in the world, perfected in wisdom and good conduct, one who had attained bliss, world knowing, a supreme charioteer of human beings that need to be tamed, a teacher of gods and men, an enlightened one, a blessed one. He resided near the city of Bārāṇasī, in the deer-park (called) Ṛṣipatana. There, a certain monk was going on a journey. Oppressed by thirst, he went near a well. A certain girl stood there, her water-pot filled. The monk said to her, 'I am suffering from thirst, sister. Give me some water.' (A feeling of) selfishness arose in her. Then, taking her personal belongings, she said to the monk, 'I shall not give you water, even if you die, O monk. My pitcher will be short (of water).' Thereupon that monk went away, suffering from thirst, bereft of hope. Afterwards, that girl died, and being born among the departed (spirits), because of that selfishness which she manifested, cultivated, and practised, she experiences pain like this, uneasy, severe, harsh, sharp, and unpleasant. Therefore, O Maudgalyāyana, it should then be taught thus: 'We shall make a great effort to destroy selfishnes. You should instruct thus, O Maudgalyāyana." Delighted at heart, Venerable Maudgalyāyana and the others, the devas, asuras, garuḍas, kinnaras, mahoragas, and so on rejoiced in the words of the Blessed One.

Léon Feer, who has translated the Avadāna-śataka into French, gives an analysis of two versions of the story given elsewhere in Sanskrit sources,[3] namely the *Ratna-avadāna-mālā*, dated between 400 and 1000 A. D.[4] and the *Dvāviṃśati-avadāna*, which, according to R. L. Turner, is a compilation of Buddhist birth-stories of comparatively late origin, much of which, particularly of the prose portions, was borrowed from the *Avadānaśataka* at a time when the manuscript of that work was already faulty.[5] The story, the fourth in the *Ratna-avadāna-mālā* collection, bearing the title Pretika-avadāna gives more details than the *Avadāna-śataka* version Here, the monk, who was refused water by a young woman, goes back to his retreat, and weeps thinking about the cruel punishment she will bring upon herself because of her misdeed, while the young woman goes home and relates the incident to her husband. He reprimands her sharply, but she retorts, betraying a callousness of heart, best exemplified by her concluding statement that she prefers to give up her life rather than indulge in the practice of giving. Also, true to her word, she never gives anything, and is finally born in hell (*naraka*). It is she whom Maudgalyāyana saw. At this point, the Buddha speaks at length on the virtue of giving, especially the giving of water. Ananda asks the Buddha about the final destiny of the *preti*. He says that she is destined to go from hell to hell. But, at the end of her existence in one of these, she would remember the Three Jewels: the Lord of the worlds will come to her aid, and there will be a change in her condition resulting in her becoming a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva and finally attaining emancipation.

The story is related very briefly in the thirteenth chapter of the *Dvāviṃśati-avadāna*, under the title Pāna-kathā, in the form of a sermon that the Blessed One preaches to Maitreya. Here, a young girl, who had her pitcher full, is approached by eight monks who want water to drink. She refuses them all and is re-born as a *pretī*. However, the greater part of the chapter is devoted to another character, the heroine of the story, namely the daughter of a merchant called Siṃhaketu. Not only does she give water to the eight monks, but also prevails upon her father to give cane-sugar and other sweetmeats. Her good deeds culminate in great honour being paid to the Buddha. As a result of the merit accrued thereby, she is re-born among the 'Trayastriṃśa' gods.

I have not been able to trace any parallels to the Pānīya story in other traditions. Though bearing a similar title, the Pānīya Jātaka (No. 459)) of the Pali Jātaka collection is entirely different in its content. It describes how six persons became Pacceka Buddhas by feeling remorse for sins committed, and by developing supernatural insight. This jātaka derives its title from the first of these persons, a villager of Kāsi, called Pānīya. The sin he committed was that of drinking water from his friend's flask in the field, wishing to save the water in his own.[6]

3. *Avadāna-śataka* traduites du Sanskrit par Léon Feer. Annales du Musée Guimet, tome XVIII Paris 1891, pp 169-171.
4. *Avadānaśataka*, ed. Speyer, op. cit. Preface p. XXXVI
5. R. L. Turner, Notes on the language of the Dāviṃśatyavadānakathā, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1913, p 289.
6. G. P. Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, Vol II London 1938 s. v. Pānīya.

An incident of giving water, rather than refusing, is the theme of the Pānīyadinnavatthu, included in a collection of tales in the Pali text *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*,[7] which in the opinion of its editor is a pre-tenth century work, and an apparent source of another Pali text, *the Rasavāhinī* written by Vedeha thera, attributed to the thirteenth[8] or the first half of the fourteenth century[9]. According to this story, Pānīya is the name of a man, who gave some water to a pregnant woman in distress, whom he met in a boat, while crossing the river Candrabhāgā. The woman helps him in return, later, when he was accused of a robbery that he did not commit. The *Rasavāhinī* includes the story in the section called Nandirājavagga, also under the title Pānīyadinnassa vatthu, while the Sinhala work, Dharmakīrti's *Saddharmālaṃkaraya*, written in the latter half of the fourteenth century,[10] includes it in the Tun Yahalu Vargaya, under the title Pānīya vastuva.

Ratna Handurukande

7. ed. A. P. Buddhadatta, Colombo 1959.
8. C. E. Godakumbure, Sinhalese Literature Colombo 1955, p. 89.
9. G. P. Malalasekera, Pali Literature of Ceylon, London, 1928, p. 162.
10. C. E. Godakumbure, op. cit. p. 93.

Symbolism in the Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads.

General Introduction*

"The Greek word *symbolon* originally meant tallies. Symbolism is within obvious limits, the science of relations, which unite God and his creation, the natural and the supernatural worlds: the science of the harmonies which exist between the different parts of the universe constituting a marvellous whole, each part of which presupposes the other and throws light on the other." [1] When considering symbolism in a religious text it is necessary to consider that the divine may only be manifested in a representative form, for it cannot possibly manifest itself to profane eyes in its own form. This has been confirmed by Mircea Eliade who says that symbols "reveal certain aspects of reality – the deepest aspects – which *defy any other* means of knowledge." [2]

From this we may infer that any representation at all of *Brahman/Ātman*, including the very term *Brahman/Ātman* is a symbol. According to Paul Deussen, the teachers of the Vedanta understood by the term symbol a "definite representation of *Brahman* under some form perceptible by the senses e. g. as name, speech, etc., as *manas* and *ākāśa*, as *āditya* as the fire of digestion or even as *om*..." [3] Alain Daielou considers the representation of Brahman in a somewhat different light and he prefers to conceive of it in terms of a process of knowledge, when he says: "This divinity cannot be grasped or understood, for it begins where understanding fails, yet it can be approached from many sides; any attempt at understanding its nature can merely be called a near approach an *Upa-niṣad*". [4] This is not unlike Mircea Eliade's attitude to symbols.

In this essay an attempt has been made to find some kind of possible systematisation that might be apparent after selecting and qualifying certain symbols, especially by examining the context in which they occur. It is particularly important to consider the contextual representation of a symbol in the *Upaniṣads*, because although it may appear to be the same symbol in its written form, it might in fact be more than one separate entity when seen in different contexts. Here it is necessary to keep in mind, that whilst reading the *Upaniṣads* we are communicating with our source of knowledge through visual symbols in the form of written words, and not necessarily through the prescribed means

---

* The translation of the Upanishads quoted in this article are from S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upanishads*. London, Allen and Unwin, 1953. The following abbreviations have been used in referring to different Upanishads. Ait. – Aitareya Upanishad; Brhad. – Bṛhadāraṇyaka; Chānd.-Chāndogya; Kaus. – Kaushītakī, Māṇḍ. – Māṇḍukya; Muṇḍ-Muṇḍka; Svet.-Śvetasvatara; Taitt. – Taittiriya.

1 Ed. Samvel Macauley Jackson (1911), *The Enclyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge*, Vol. XI p. 199.

2 Mircea Eliade, *Images and Symbols* (1961) p. 83

3 Paul Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, (1906), p. 101.

4 Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism* (1964), p. 5

of meditation, reverence or repetition. Thus one might excuse the lack of uniformity that appears in one particular symbol, for example in the symbol of *Sāman*. The latter may be considered to have a dual aspect Chānd. (I. 7. 1) a fivefold aspect Chānd. (II. 2. 1) and a sevenfold aspect Chānd. (II 10. 1), Furthermore *Sāman* may not be an ultimate symbol of *Brahman*, but rather one aspect of another symbol, which may be a threefold one, where the other two aspects are *Rg* and *Yajus*. Similarly one may consider that *Brahman*, though seemingly a self-sufficient verbal symbol, when taken in a certain context, is in fact incomplete Chānd. (III. 5. 1). Likewise the *gāyatrī* though the name of a metre, need not necessarily be a metre of that name Chānd. (III. 12. 1).

One might attempt to consider certain symbols according to whether they are visual, verbal/audial or eidetic and try and systemise them in this way. Here again however there does not seem to be a specific consistency. Thus the Symbol *puruṣa* may be visual or eidetic, depending on the context, but it is apparently the same *puruṣa*, that is being represented. Here an attempt has been made to represent a certain classification of symbols that partially follows their numerical aspect and partially their functional context within the sphere of practical religion, and we need to consider these two aspects as not necessarily being interdependent, although they may be e. g. Bṛhad, (V. 5. 1-2) "Now what is the true that is the yonder sun. The person who is there in that orb and the person who is here in the right eye, these two rest on each other. Through his rays that one rests in this one; through the vital breaths this on that". Here we may also consider what Alain Danielou has said concerning the Divine "The more insights we can get, the more aspects of the Divine we can perceive." [5]

It is important to keep in mind that a divine symbol must be manifest, within a specific mediation and it attempts to evoke a certain consciousness and thus a change in mental process is necessarily inferred by the term "symbol".

Aum

It would probably be most appropriate to begin with the symbol *aum*, for this is the syllable used for invocations either at the beginning of an entire *Upaniṣad* e. g. Taitt. (I. 1. 1) or at the beginning of a section of an *Upaniṣad* e. g. Chānd. (VI. 1. 1). One may say that as a symbol *aum* deserves special mention because it reappears frequently in several specific and different contexts, unlike other principal symbols, i. e. at the very beginning or end of a passage; in an explanatory capacity where it may have a threefold or fourfold aspect; or purely within the context of practical religion, where it may be the object of contemplation or meditation. In the latter case, *aum* need not be the ultimate symbol but rather a means of meditation, e. g. through meditation on *aum* one may achieve perception of the ultimate symbol eg. Praṣna (V. 5) and Maitrī (VI. 4). The symbol *aum* may also appear without a specifically stated religious purpose or contextual function, which does not seem to be the case

5 Ibid., p. 5.

with other symbols. From amongst the thirteen principal *Upaniṣads* under consideration, it is only in four that *aum* does not appear at the very beginning with the function of invocation, which may be evident or implied. In the beginning of the Muṇḍaka and Śvetāśvatara, where *aum* is not present, one may say that the place of *aum* is taken by *Brahman*, which very significantly is here considered in terms of creation. The two other *Upaniṣads* which omit *aum* as an invocation-the Maitrī and Kauṣitakī Brāhmaṇa *Upaniṣads*, merely mention *Brahman* at the beginning. One may further consider the significance of the symbol *aum*, and its deserving a special place in our work, when taking into account that it was *aum*, "which of all the symbols came to be the most important and fruitful". [6] Furthermore we may see a special significance in this symbol, for its importance may be traced back to the Vedas, and this is acknowledged in the *Upaniṣads* themselves Kaṭha (I. 2. 15).

Aum on its own, or within a meditational context, Muṇḍ (II. 2. 6) might usually be considered an audial symbol. In certain circumstances however one may recognise an eidetic symbol in *aum*, eg. Bṛhad (V. 2. 1): "*Aum* is *Brahman* who is ether, the primeval ether, the ether that blows" Although in some cases, as will be mentioned below, one may see different aspects of this symbol, *aum* should in most cases probably be regarded as a complete symbol "*Aum* is *Brahman*. *Aum* is this all. *Aum*, this verily is compliance.....with *aum* a *Brahamana* begins to recite, may I obtain *Brahman*; thus wishing *Brahman* verily does he obtain." Taitt (I. 8. 1).

In Maitrī (VI. 22), *aum* and *Brahman* alone do not appear to be self-sufficient symbols, and it would perhaps be mistaken to consider these as entireties. Here the word *Brahman*, is unlike the fuller representations we usually encounter, and there are two *Brahmans* to be meditated upon – sound and non-sound – the former only which is *aum*, can reveal the latter. Although this dual interdependance with which we shall meet again, does not justify *aum* as an entirety, – especially as it is the lower *Brahman*, and the higher *Brahman* is considered much greater than the sound, the lower *Brahman* (ie. *aum*). it is noteworthy that the knowledge of the latter is an essential stepping stone for the attainment of the former. The apparent insuffciency of the syllable *aum* here may be contrasted to *aum* in Māṇḍ (I) where it is evidently represented as an ultimate symbol, where time is threefold: "All that is past, present and future, all this only the syllable *aum*. And whatever else there is beyond the threefold time, that too is only the syllable *aum*." This is also similar to Maitrī (VI. 5).

The single symbol *aum* often appears towards the end of a passage, e. g. Chānd (I. 12. 5), or in an invocation e. g. in the Kena, Kaṭha *Upaniṣads* etc. In these contexts it seems to have an almost sanctifying function. One may say that the placing of this important symbol at the very beginning and end of passages or invocations is extremely significant, especially when one considers that the function of a divine symbol is to enhance a change in one's consciousness. The initial *aum* is like an open doorway leading into the divine realm and the *aum* at the end is like a confirmation of the completion of this change in consciousness.

6 Paul Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, (1906), p. 116

The twofold aspect of symbolism – duality

"The experience of the universal Soul is an experience of identity; hence absolute consciousness is spoken of as the Self, the own self of each being". [7] We will see that the dual aspect of symbolism is a primary one for it is an essential aspect because no identity can exist without it, and it is this identity or realisation which is the final goal and leads to a realization of *mokṣa*. Alain Danielou has summed up the importance of the dual aspect most explicitly: "In the unmanifest state there is a perfect balance. Then, all the gods appear as one; there is no perceptible duality, no distinction of a positive and a negative force. As soon as the first tendency towards manifestation appears in the undifferentiated substratum, duality is already present". [8]

As will be seen, the dual aspect may be represented in a most obvious form such as micro/macro-cosm, or a context involving interdependence, or it may be present only implicitly, or even paradoxically. A very clear example of the dual micro/macro cosmic aspect may be seen in Bṛhad, (II. 5. 1), where it is as follows:

Cosmos	*Self*
Person in Earth	Person in Body
,, ,, Water	,, ,, Seed
,, ,, Air	,, ,, Breath
Person in Sun	Person in Eye
,, ,, Moon	,, ,, Mind
	etc.

The dual aspect of Brahman here, exists in a parallel capacity and does not include an all-embracing entity, as, for example, in Bṛhad (I. 1. 1) where we have the symbol of the sacrificial horse.

Another form of the dual aspect in symbols is evident in Bṛhad, (V. 5. 1) and (V. 5 2). This may be seen as one of the more obviously interdependent aspects: "The gods meditated on the real (satiyam) that consists of three syllables-sa-ti-yam. *Sa* is one syllable, *ti* is one syllable and *yam* is one syllable. The first and the last syllables are the truth; in the middle is untruth. This untruth is enclosed on both sides by truth; it partakes of the nature of truth itself. Him who knows this untruth does not injure". This passage emphasises, and confirms the necessity for dual differentiation in the sphere of practical religion – for he who knows *truth*, is not touched by *untruth*. Thus the dual interdependence is two-fold-occurring not only within the verbal symbol *satiyam*, but also in the practice of the mental process of knowledge. This is not unlike the passage in Kauṣ (1. 6). Several other examples of interdependent dual aspects of the symbol are found e. g. in Bṛhad (V. 5. 2), Bṛhad (V. 71).

A good example of the paradoxical arising from the dual aspect of symbols may be seen in Chānd (III. 19. 1). Here is an example of symbolism arising

7 Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism*, (1964), p. 17
8 Ibid, p. 223

from creation. Thus the visual symbol of the sun is *Brahman* and becomes two--sky and earth, or gold and silver. One may see here a case of a symbol arising from a symbol, within the structure of the paradox, for the sun was transformed into an egg and in turn the sun was born of this egg. This is an example which we may say confirms that:

"To illustrate this paradoxical situation attained by the abolition of 'the pairs of opposites', Indian thought, like all archaic thinking makes use of images whose very structure includes contradiction." [9]

From the above, one may conclude that the twofold aspect does not require only one ultimate symbol, but may pertain to several different symbols of *Brahman*. This variation of the context of the twofold aspect is also represented in the sphere of worship, and a dual aspect in the mental process As we have already seen however, certain patterns concerning duality do emerge (such as micro/macrocosmos, paradoxes etc).

Vāyu/Prāṇa as Brahman

The importance of the *vāyu/prāṇa* as an ultimte symbol cannot be exaggerated for, it denotes life as existence, on both the profane level where its significance may be seen in physiological terms, and on the divine level where it is often equated to *Brahman*, or interpreted as having the qualities of *Brahman*. One may say that *vāyu/prāṇa* in all contexts is an eidetic symbol, because most of the others vary, depending on their context or function e. g. *puruṣa* One may see that it is not only in the *Upaniṣads*, but elsewhere too, that "spirit was essentially the life of the body, the life breath, or a kind of life-force which assumed spatial and corporeal form at birth or after conception, and left the dying body again after the final breath." [10] Thus we may understand *prāṇa* to mean both life and breath. Paul Deussen considers *vāyu/prāṇa* to be amongst the most important symbols of Brahman, and uses the different contexts and meanings of this symbol to identify the chronology of the *Upaniaṣds* In Bṛhad (III. 9) all the three hundred and three and three thousand and three gods may be seen in the one God, which is *prāṇa*. In Bṛhad (I 4. 6), we are told that, "The whole (world) is just food and the eater of food.", and thus we see that all existence must in some way partake of food. The link of breath with existence is unmistakeable in Bṛhad (I. 3. 18), where the divinities in order to partake of existence, which is once again seen in terms of food, must first enter breath.

In Praś'na (II. 3), *prāṇa* claims to be the greatest of the powers supporting the body. In Chānd (VI. 7), *prāṇa* is the only one of the sixteen parts of the body that is not cut off when a person remains fasting for fifteen days. In Praś'na (VI. 2-4) we see that the person is made of sixteen parts, and fifteen of them all originate from another which is *prāṇa*, that is created first of all.

9 Mircea Eliade, *Images and Symbols*, (1961), p. 84

10 Carl G. Jung, *Modern man in search of a soul*, (1981), p. 209 Also see p. 209-10 on the relation of breath to soul.

In Bṛhad (I. 5. 21-23), *Prāṇa* is not just seen in the context of sense organs competing, but it also has a cosmological equivalent. In this dual aspect it is so that in both cases breath and air alone remain undying. Here again though not evidently stated, a dual aspect of symbolism with breath and air representing *Brhaman* on the micro/macrocosmic scale is manifested.

One may say that an important representation of *Brahman* as *prāṇa* is in the form of energy, and that in this respect, *prāṇa* is similar to the other main symbols. However, this energy is not necessarily, primarily creative as it is sometimes in the case of *Prajāpati*, but it is seen more in physiological terms.

Prajāpati - The Lord of Progeny.

One may say that there is such a symbol as *Prajāpati*, although this does not mean that every mention of *Prajāpati* can be interpreted as a self-sufficient symbol of *Brahman*, because in certain cases *Prajāpati* is different from *Brahman*. In some contexts one might infer that a symbol of *Brahman* can be seen in *Prajāpati*, even though this is not explicitly stated, and despite the clear indications signifying *Prajāpiti* as an ultimate symbol.

When *Prajāpati* is a source of creation or an ancestor of all beings, we may consider it as a symbol of *Brahman*, though this need not always be the case. Thus in Bṛhad (I. 3. 1), and Chānd (I. 2. 1), we may see *Brahman* in *Prajāpati* who tanscends both good and evil, and is also a source of both, for "There were two classes of the descendants of *Prajāpati*, the gods and the demons." In Bṛhad (I. 4. 1) (which is similar to Aitar. I. 1. 1), we see that "in the beginning the world was only the Self, in the shape of a person", and although it is not explicitly stated in the text of the *Upaniṣad*, Radhakrishnan has pointed out, that the Self or the Person here, may be *Prajāpati* in which case the latter would be a visual symbol of *Brahman*. This may be confirmed in Bṛhad (1. 5. 15), where we are told that the person who knows that *Prajāpati* has sixteen parts can be identified with *Prajāpati*. This elevates *Prajāpati* and equates him to the status of *Brahman* through the mental process of knowledge, because knowledge leading to identification in this case is analogous to the means of identification with *Brahman*.

The importance of the function of knowledge cannot be overlooked in connection with *Prajāpati*, especially when *Prajāpati* is considered the guru who teaches his disciples about Brahman. *Prajāpati* appears as a guru in Maitrī (II.3), (III.2), IV.2) and Chānd (VIII.7.1). One needs to accept that knowledge of *Brahman* does lead to identification with *Brahman*, and that in the above contexts, it is *Prajāpati* who has knowledge of *Brahman*, and thus one may infer that *Prajāpati is Brahman*, whenever he is a teacher of *Brahman*. This is evidently confirmed in Maitrī (II.5) where *Prajāpati* says "Now assuredly that part of him, which is entirely intelligent in every person is the spirit....., *Prajāpati* called *Viṣva*."

In certain cases such as in Bṛhad (V. 3. 1), it is explicitly stated that *Prajāpati is Brahman* which is *hṛdayam*. Here *hṛdayam* is probably an eidetic symbol, for it appears to be partially visual and verbal. In many cases, as already seen, even though the symbol of *Prajāpati* as *Brahman* is only inferred, and not stated, it is important to acknowledge that in several instances there is no symbol of *Brahman* where *Prajāpati* is mentioned. This is vital for our general understanding of symbols in the *Upaniṣads* because it reminds us that it is misleading to take any word as a symbol in every case, merely because it can be interpreted as a symbol in some cases.

In order to attempt a satisfactory comprehension of the term *Prajāpati* it is necessary to consider it in its different contexts, individually, because of the very different meanings this same written word conveys in those different contexts. *Prajāpati* as a word denoting a symbol of Brahman, that probably has more meanings apart from that of *Brahman*, than any other word which represents the Divine.

Puruṣa - The Person

The symbol of the Person may in certain cases be replaced by *Parjāpati* but unlike *Parjāpati*, this symbol is not essentially an existential one, a manifestation of the divine only, or a symbol that functions mainly as a source of all. What does come to one's notice immediately on considering the symbol of the Person is that it is predominantly a visible symbol, sometimes an eidetic one, and never an audial or verbal one. The visual symbols may be seen as mainly two kinds - one denoting the size taken in a space, and the other indicating light. The Person also does occur occasionally in an ontological context, e g when it is connected to food although this occurs seldom, and one may say this aspect is therefore not of great importance. Occasionally one may see that the Person is one of more than several aspects of *Brahman*, although a very necessary and important one: e. g. in Maitrī (VI. 10) where the Person as the enjoyer is one of a dual aspect of *Brahman*, where the other aspect is the enjoyed, which is food. Amongst the visual symbols of the Person, those which are seen in the context of the Sun, or Light, in any way, are the most common.

In Śvetāś, (III.8), the Supreme Person, who envelops the universe is "of sunlike colour", and exists for the sake of knowledge of him who leads to liberation. In Śvetāś (III.12), the Person is the imperishable light", and is described in visual terms, he is "the measure of a thumb." In Muṇḍ (III. 1 - 10), the Person, though described in terms of light, is essentially eidetic, for "He is not grasped by the eye, nor even by speech nor by other sense organs ... but when one's (intellectual) nature is purified by the *light of knowledge*, then alone he by meditation, sees Him who is without parts." Muṇḍ (III. 1. 8). Yet we are told that "When a *seer sees* the creator of golden hue ... he attains supreme equality with the lord." Muṇḍ (III. 1 3), and the 'self within the body, of the *nature of light* and pure, is attainable by *truth*", Muṇḍ, (III. 1. 5) and that

"When thought is purified, the self shines forth." Muṇḍ (III. 1. 9) Here the connection of Person to light basically indicates inner mental purity, which is described in terms of an abstract luminosity, that is opposed to the darkness or ignorance, and this is a different meaning of light to the more concrete one which is noticed in Bṛhad, (II. 3. 2), and Maitrī, (VI. 35).

From the above one sees that the symbol of the person connected to luminosity may be a visual or an eidetic symbol, and that the latter need not be perceptible to the sight, although it is described in terms of visibility. This confirms that a symbol "has a wider 'unconscious' aspect that is never precisely defined or fully explained ... As the mind explores the symbol, it is led to ideas that lie beyond the grasp of reason." [12]

The Threefold Aspect Of Symbolism

The magic of number appears as "a fundamental power in the realm of the spirit and in the structure of the human self-consciousness. It proves itself to be the bond which joins the diverse powers of consciousness into a mesh, which gathers the spheres of sensation, intuition and feeling into a unity. Number thus fulfills the function which the Pythagoreans impute to harmony. It is "a Unity of many mixed elements and an agreement between disagreeing elements." [11]

The threefold aspect of the divine symbol is one that occurs in different forms and contexts, although a certain pattern of specific triads e. g. *Ṛg*, *Sāman*, *Yajus*, or *Bhūh. Bhuvah*, *Svah*, tends to recur and establish a formal continuity which may also be present in other multiple aspects of symbolism (with the necessary additions). Each of the individual unities, within the threefold aspect is as important as the other, and this usually holds true for each unity in other multiple aspects of symbolism too, although there are exceptions. The triad, may possibly be specifically audial, or relate to the three worlds, or to these two as well as other triads. A triad may also be seen in the approach of worship or recognition to Brahman, rather than in the actual symbol itself. In some cases we can see that one unit of the triad representing another symbol, is in other contexts individually, a self sufficient symbol eg. Bṛhad, (V. 14. 2-3) where *Sāman* and *prāṇa* are units in two different triads.

Apart from *aum*, which may individually be a complete symbol or may represent the threefold aspect of a symbol e. g. Praṣna (V. 6), the most commonly found audial threefold aspect is *bhūh*, *bhuvah* and *svah*. In Bṛhad, (V. 5. 3-4), this triad is an audial equivalent of the ultimate visual symbol of the Person. and this is a unifying force, for it, like the Person, forms the unity within the dual aspect of *Brahman*. (In this case it is the person in the *orb* and the person in the *right eye*). Here the triad exists in the functional capacity of knowledge, which is unlike Chānd (II. 23. 2), where it is represented as a creative force emanating from the brooding of *Prajāpati*, and this eventually results in the

11 Carl G. Jung, *Man and his Symbols*, (1979), p. 21
12 Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, (1953) Vol II p. 151

emergence of the audial symbol of *aum*. In this case too, as above, the triad is not the most important symbol, and here its significance lies in its link in the creation of the ultimate symbol, which is *aum*. Firstly, *Prajāpati* broods on the worlds, (presumably three), from this emerges the three Vedas, then *Bhūh, bhuvah, svah* and by his continued brooding, *aum* emerges. This is the final symbol, for "Verily, the syllable *Aum* is all this, yea, the syllable *Aum* is all this" Chānd (II. 23. 3).

One can see that it is necessary to consider threefold approaches of revering the ultimate symbol as a possible threefold aspect of symbolism, if one considers that in certain passages these approaches are specifically mentioned as a trinity, and the worship of the divine in this threefold form can lead to the identification of *Brahman*, just as much as the recognition of a specific symbol or symbols, leads to the identification of *Brahman*.

A threefold aspect functioning as a means of approaching Brahman might be seen in Muṇḍ (II. 2. 4). Here the audial *aum* is a bow, the self is the arrow, and *Brahman* is the target.

We may say that the threefold aspect of symbolism is the simplest form of the multiple aspects of symbolism which are to be found in the *Upaniṣads* we are concerned with, and not the dual aspect of symbolism as may be supposed because this latter aspect can inevitably include paradox and contradiction, which the multiple aspect of symbolism does not.

Luminous Symbols

The luminous aspects of symbols which contribute to the manifestation of *Brahman*, (who is referred to as the maker of light) Maitrī (VII. 2) or his description, are most frequently present in the forms of the sun, moon, lightning, fire and in a more abstract form - in light. The light symbol of *Brahman* is perhaps one in which the paradoxical nature of symbols is most evident. Light is not necessarily a visible symbol, and is often an eidetic one, or a specifically audial one eg. Chānd (I. 5. 1), "The *udgītha* is the yonder sun and the *Aum*, for (the sun) is continually sounding *Aum*."

The Sun

In Bṛhad. (II. 3. 2), the visible symbol of the sun is shown as one aspect of a duality representing the formed *Brahman*, and the *formless Brahman* is a primary eidetic symbol - "the person in the region of the sun." In both cases the visibility of the secondary symbol, the sun, is an important factor, and this emphasis on visibility is stressed in the twofold representations of *Brahman* analogous to the above, where in the reference to the self, the symbols are the eye and the person in the right eye.

In Chānd, (I. 5. 1), the Sun is specifically audial, for, it sounds *aum* - this is unlike Chānd, (II, 9. 1), where seven different audial symbols represent the sevenfold *Sāman* by means of the sun's position at seven different times of day.

Here the sun is probably a visible secondary symbol. (Its visibility changes with the time of day, in the same way that the seven audial aspects of the *Sāman* change). This does appear to be paradoxical, especially in the context of practical religion, for the *Sāman* is revered especially because it remains the same; "one should meditate on the sevenfold *Sāman* in the sun. He is *Sāman* because he is always the same." The movement of the sun in Chānd, (II. 9 1) is comparable to Maitrī. (VI 14), where "Food verily is the source of this whole (world) and time of food, and the Sun is the source of time," and Time is described in terms of the movement of the Sun.

An unusual eidetic symbol of the sun is manifested in the form a sixfold cosmic sun which incorporates several elements into each of the six unities. Maitrī, (VII. 1.–VII. 6). This may be visual, for it is given spatial dimensions (it arises in six directions) but there are indications, that it is more likely to be an eidetic symbol, for it is also "without beginning or end, unmeasured, unlimited, not to be moved by another, independent, without any marks (signs), formless..."

Light

A luminous symbol of Brahman that is more abstract than the sun, appears as light, for this may not pertain to any one concrete entity or it may be the light from sun, moon, lightning, the self or merely light, on its own Maitrī, (VII 11). Light in the thirteen *Upaniṣads* is not necessarily mental, or pertaining to knowledge. In Bṛhad, (II. 3. 6), the form of the person, which is a symbol with a dual aspect of Brahman is partially described in terms of light, and knowledge is "like a sudden flash of lightning". In Bṛhad, (IV. 3. 9) the light of man is the Self and remains when all other lights have gone out. Here light is not necessarily visual, although it is described in terms of visuality, for it is luminous. In Bṛhad, (IV 3. 11), the self (as elsewhere), is the *golden* person and the lonely swan. Here this is probably an eidetic symbol as in Bṛhad, (V 6), where "This person who consists of mind is of the nature of light". This as an eidetic symbol is not unlike "the light which is here within the person" in Chānd, (III. 13. 7), and which is light that: "One should meditate on ... that has been seen and *heard*."

Fire

Fire, of the three main luminous symbols mentioned so far, is the one that occurs least often as a main primary or secondary symbol. It usually occurs in the context of the sacrificial fire, and symbolic aspects may emerge from this, or its function in the sacrifice may be the main factor justifying its importance as a central symbol.

In Bṛhad, (I. 4. 6), "The whole world is just food and the eater of food. *Soma* is food and fire is the eater of food." Here fire is one of a twofold aspect of the phenomenal world and also a mediating force between *Brahman* and the world.

In Bṛhad, (V. 9. 1), the fire as a microcosm, is confirmed as being the same as the universal fire and thus establishes a micro/macrocosmic relationship This relationship is dealt with and expanded in Maitrī, (VI. 34). Here the three fires represent the three worlds and all of them together combine and then can be equated to the digestive fire which is then to be recognised, praised and meditated upon by means of the digestive fire which is worshipped in the form of a sacrificial fire.

A certain importance may be given to the frequency of mention of a specific luminous symbol, or its symbolical aspect, but this need not be the only criterion for judging the significance of that symbol. Although there is little on lightning and fire as symbols, when they are mentioned, they are of prime importance - e. g. in Praś'na (IV. 3), where *Brahman* is described in terms of the "fires" and fire is connected to the very important symbol of breath. Furthermore, it is necessary to keep in mind that a luminous symbol must not always be a visual one, and may be eidetic or verbal, and as far as it is possible for the profane mind to understand the concept of the divine symbol, one may say that the luminous symbols, partly because of their occasionally invisible nature, and especially because of their otherwise imperceptible nature, which is greatly stressed in some passages, are perhaps one of the best examples of the paradox that symbols necessitate.

Multiple Aspects Of Symbols

Apart from the twofold and threefold aspects of symbols that have already been considered, the other multiple aspects of symbolism mainly include fourfold, fivefold, sixfold and sevenfold aspects, and the inadequate or progressive definitions of Brahman which need not specifically be of a certain number. Space does not permit an analysis of each of these types of multiple symbols. Of these multiple aspects, the fivefold aspects, and the progressive definitions of *Brahman* appear to be those most frequently mentioned in the thirteen principal *Upaniṣads*.

In Maitrī (II. 6), the fivefold aspect is represented in the form of five breaths, all of which play a vital part in the functioning of the body, although they are not important for worship or meditation. The five breaths here are the most essential part of *Prajāpati*'s creative energy, for it is these which activate her offspring. Here one may say that *Prajāpati* is the ultimate symbol, and worship or meditation is of little or inferior value. (Meditation does allow *Prajāpati* to create offspring, but they are all lifeless without the five breaths).

The multiple aspects pertaining to symbols are important when considering their frequent representation and the occasional mention of specific numerical categories, which may be termed as sacred numbers. The mention of different numerical divisions used to represent the divine enhances one's understanding of the ultimate symbol for "He is one, becomes threefold, fivefold sevenfold and also ninefold. Then again he is called elevenfold, also a hundred and elevenfold and also twenty thousandfold" Chānd, (VII. 26. 2). Furthermore, the variety

of numerical aspects of the ultimate symbol enables us to apprehend a diversity of means of approach to the divine which as already seen, is of great importance.

Conclusion

This attempt at understanding symbols in the *Upaniṣads* is by no means a complete interpretation of all symbols that are present in the thirteen principal *Upaniṣads*, although the endeavour has been made as far as possible, to incorporate those symbols which may be considered the most important, as far as they may be included into any pattern of symbolic form in these texts. The *Trimūrti* aspect has not been commented on, partly because it is prominent only in one *Upaniṣad*, and is not consistently found in the others. Certain symbols eg. the World Tree have also not been referred to, as it is not one of the most frequently occurring symbols that may allow us to include it into a specific systematisation.

The aspect of energy which is connected to most of the important symbols in one way or another has only been touched on, in the sections on *Prajāpati* and *Vāyu/Prāna*, and this aspect has perhaps not been emphasised enough, considering its importance in connection to other symbols. Energy exists mainly in the form of the creative dynamism of *Prajāpati*, but also in the life giving value of Food, Breath, Wind and Light – eg. in Taitt. (III. 7. 1), Maitrī (VI. 11) and (VI. 37), Prasna (I. 14), Kauṣ. (II. 14), (III. 2–4) and (IV. 20). There has also been little consideration of the different time and space dimensions in which symbols may be represented and they have been systematised without reference to this.

Here it has been necessary to follow the text closely and consider as many as possible of the most prominent symbols, and the aspects of symbols individually, as this is probably the most accurate means of understanding and interpreting these symbols. One needs to keep in mind the song of the Immortal Gander,[13] which is analogous to the sound of inhalation *ham* and exhalation *sa* of the Indian Yogi: "Hamsa, *ham – sa*," it sings, but at the same time, "*sa-ham*". *Sa* means "I"; the lesson is, "This am I". This stresses the universality of the divine symbol and its eternal presence in the individual, despite the latter's perishable nature.

Nirmala S. Salgado

13 Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, (1974), pp 49–50

The Dramatist at the Crossroads: A Survey of Sinhala Drama Since 1950.

Sinhala Drama, its short history notwithstanding, has passed through a series of interesting phases. It is a wellknown fact that there has been no continuous dramatic tradition in Sri Lanka unlike in such Asian countries as India, China and Japan, According to Martin Wickramasinghe there is evidence to support the existence of a tradition of poetic drama (Kavi Nāḍagam) in the 13th century. [1] Sarachchandra points out the prevalence of some dramatic elements in various folk dances and rituals of the Sinhalese.[2] Subsequently a number of other writers have discussed the emergence of an indigenous dramatic tradition called *Nāḍagam* during the 19th centutry which was later replaced by a more elaborate and popular form called *Nurti*.[3] *Nurti* plays are also known as *Tower Hall Plays* which were in existence till the 1940 s and lost their popularity with the emergence of a type of social drama referred to as *Jayamānna Nātya*. Theatrical experiments undertaken by drama societies in the university too might have been responsible for the decline of these early dramatic traditions of Sri Lanka.

Having seen the interest and response of the Sinhala audience, drama societies in the Ceylon university began to introduce realistic plays on the Western model. Under the enthusiastic guidance of Professor Ludowyk, a society called *Ranga Sabha* produced *Kapuvā Kapoti* (Gogol's Marriage) in 1945. Interest in the theatre in the university may be seen by the fact that a Sinhala Drama Circle hae been formed. *Ibe Vedā* and *Mudalālige Peraliya* were produced in 1937 by this society. In *Kapuvā Kapoti* (1945) a style based on the spoken idiom was successfully used in dialogues. This simple style devoid of grammatical mistakes and other corrupt usages which were a common feature in the earlier Sinhala plays can be taken as a major factor for the success of this play. Among the other positive features of this play, high standard of acting, depiction of character, dramatic structure and the novelty of the theme can be observed. In the introduction to *Maname* Sarchchandra states that the production of *Kapuvā Kapoti* set an example for Sinhala theatre-goers to recognize the proper structure in a good play. He further observes that Sinhala writers as well as spectators drew considerable inspiration from this play.

Another noteworthy event in the early years of the naturalistic Sinhala Drama was the prodution of *Vedahaṭana* (1953) with the assistance of a visiting Austrian director named Jubal. During his stay at the university of Ceylon, he first produced a few plays in English which were acclaimed as highly

1. Wickramasinghe, Martin *Sinhala Nātyaya hā Sandakinduruva*, Colombo, 1970
2. Sarachchandra, E. R. *Maname*, Introduction, Colombo, 1956.
3. Sarachchandra, E. R Introductions to *Maname and Sinhabahu*. Dissanayake, Wimal. *John de Silva hā Sinhala Nātyaya*. Kariyawasam, Tissa. *Sinhala Natyaye Vikāsanaya*, 1867-1911 Colombo, 1979. Hapuaarachchi, V. *Sinhala Nātya Itihāsaya* 1860-1911, Colombo 1981.

successful[5]. Sarachchandra further notes that although many enthusiasts such as Ludowyk and Jubal were keen in improving the quality of acting and introducing new stage techniques the university failed in providing them with necessary facilities. Jubal's main concern was to convince actors about the importance of training and discipline. The local spectators realized for the first time the significance of the director's role in a play when they saw *Vedahaṭana*. This was an adaptation of *Le Malade Imaginaire* by Moliere. The following comments by Sarachchandra on this production may be considered relevant to the contemporary Sinhala theatre as well.

"In my view, the major defect in the production of *Vedahaṭana* lies in the method they adopted to introduce Moliére to the Sinhala stage. We know that their purpose was genuine. However, *Vedahaṭana* failed as it was not adapted to suit our society. We could learn a good lesson from Jubal's experiments in the Sinhala stage-when we consider the present social condition in our country, it must be borne in mind that any attempt at staging Western plays in their original form is doomed to failure. In translating such works we must try to adapt them as much as possibie to suit our society and culture. Every aspect, including the portrayal of character, situations as well as dialogue should be changed." [6]. While adapting such plays as *The Marriage* and *The Government Inspector* into Sinhala, Sarachchandra has obviously tried to put these ideas into practice. As a result, *Kapuvā Kapoti* (The Marriage) turned out to be a perennialy enjoyable and exemplary work. From this time until today, the production of foreign plays, both Eastern and Western has become a prominent aspect in the Sinhala theatre. Some dramatists have translated and produced classical Sanskrit plays such as *Shakuntala* by Kalidasa and *Ratnāvali* by King Sri Harsha, while some others have chosen works from famous European and American playwrights. During the 50s some masters like Shakespeare, Moliere Gogol and Chekov were the favourites on the Sinhala stage. But the dramatists after this period paid more attention to such playwrights as Ibsen, Lorca, Brecht, Beckett, Genet, Ionesco, Strindberg, Williams, Camus and Satre.

During the 50s there emerged a number of experimental plays by university drama circles under the direction of Sarachachandra. *Hängi Horā* (1949) (Oscar Wilde's The *Importance of Being Ernest*), *Valahā* (The Bear by Chekhov) and *Mangul Prastava* (*The Manager*) (1950), three one act plays, *Bahina Kalāva* (On the wane (1951) and *Vandinna Giya Devale* (The Temple of worship) (1955) two original pieces by Sarachchandra himself. In 1952, he wrote and produced another important play viz, *Pabhāvati* in which he tried to follow some of the techniques found in classical Sanskrit drama and Sinhala Nāḍagam plays. Thus Sarachchandra becomes the first Sinhala dramatist who concentrated on building up a new Sinhala dramatic tradition drawing inspiration from various local and foreign dramatic traditions. During the 50s, the dominant feature in the Sinhala theatre was the production of comedies. Serious theatre-lovers were disappointed

5. Sarachchcandra, E. R. *Nātya Gaveshana*, Colombo, 1967, p. 120
6. Sarachchandra, E. R. ibid, p. 126.

with monotonous comic scenes on the stage. Having realized this as a major drawback, Sarachchandra began to learn from classical oriental dramatic traditions in order to produce serious plays with sentiments other than humour.[7] As a result of these studies he was able to create such masterpieces as *Maname* (1956) and *Sinhabāhu* (1961) which remain landmarks in modern Sinhala theatre.

However, there were a number of amateur dramatists who tried to imitate Sarachchandra by using Jataka stories to present variety shows with song and dance in the name of drama. The plethora of these imitative plays was rejected by the spectators as they were mere presentations of Jataka stories without new interpretation.[8] But there were some other young enthusiasts, most of whom were trained by Sarachchandra, who were looking for new avenues for the development of the Sinhala drama. They began to look for the latest trends and developments in the Western theatre. Thus during the 60s we can see the production of some highly successful adaptations.

By far the most successful one among these adaptations was Henry Jayasena's *Hunuvataye Katāva* (1967) based on Bertolt Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*. Gunasena Galappatti's *Mūdu Puttu* (1962) adapted from Lorca's *Yerma* is also considered to be a noteworthy experiment. In both these prodution a mixed style of realistic and non-realistic techniques has been employed creating an impressive dramatic effect. Our spectators are familiar with the theme of *Hunuvataye Katave* while the theme in *Mūdu Puttu* incorporates an eternal and universal problem in married life.

In the 1960s a trend towards the resurgence of realistic plays was created by some enthusiasts who were doubtful of the strength and effectiveness of the 'stylized' or 'non-realistic' form introduced by Sarachchandra. Thus an attempt was made once again to be influenced by the contemporary European and American theatre.[9] Henry Jayasena is one of the most significant Sinhala dramatists to emerge in the post-Maname era. He has produced a number of popular plays, originals as well as adaptations, in both the realistic and stylized modes. He also enjoys a high recognition as a talented actor. In his first production, *Junelaya* (The Window) (1961), while dealing with a contemporary theme on urban life, he employed a lively and poetic language which is amply tempered with humour. In *Kuveni* (A legendary queen) (1963) which is still shown occasionally, an attempt was made to look at the age old Kuveni legend from a new perspective. In this play Jayasena employs an interesting combination of traditional and modern stage techniques. Here he tries to present the 'Yaksa' queen Kuveni, who was ungratefully expelled from the palace by Vijaya, founder of the Sinhala race according to the Mahavamsa, as an eternal symbol

7. Sarachchandra, E. R. The Sinhalese Folk Drama,
8. See, Ratnapala de Silva, y. *Nūtana Sinhala Nātya*, 1965.
9. Stylized Mode: This word is used here for the dramatic style introduced into the Sinhala stage by Sarachchandra through *Maname* in 1956. Classical dramatic style is referred to as 'Shailigata Sampradaya' in Sinhala. As there is no other suitable term in English we too prefer to use the term 'Stylized mode.'

of the plight and sufferings of woman. Jayasena's next attempt, *Tavat Udäsanak* (Another Morning) (1964) represents facets of village life. This play centres on the life of a poor boy and his pet calf. The rhythms and patterns of the simple life of villagers are portrayed through day-today happenings in a typical Sinhala village. The ordinary Sinhala villager despite his frequent quarrels over trifles with his neighbours, bears no lasting grudge. Although villagers are related, they are sometimes compelled to deceive each other or take revenge due to poverty and ignorance. These ideas are expressed in *Tavat Udäsanak* by means of song and dance based on folk songs and dances. The following ideas expressed by. Jayasena show why he decibed to create a play of this type:

> "The stylized or poetic drama became very popular lately in our country. However, by experience, I have realized that the majority of the spectators did not grasp the meaning of the lyrics in these plays as they are written in a classical and high-flown style. As a result of this, it was only a few learned spectators who were able to understand the true meaning of these plays..... I am of the opinion that today's plays should provide enjoyment not only to those in Colombo, but also to those in the villages. We may not be able to achieve this goal only with stylized plays written in high-flown style and those discussing problems in city life." [10]

At the time when Jayasena expressed these ideas, only Sarachchandra and a few others had written and produced plays using a "high-flown" style Although this language was classical and high-flown to some extent, these. 'stylized plays were enjoyed equally by both the educated and the uneducated. Further there is no evidence to say that the ordinary spectator ever complained about the language because he was accustomed to the *Nädagam* and *Nurti* plays in which songs were written in a similar style. However, the attempt by Jayasena and some other young playwrights of the time to develop an independent tradition is praiseworthy as a number of critics had pointed out the difficulty in dealing with the problems of modern society through classical styles alone. *Manaranjana Väda Varjana* (Fascinating Strikes) (1966), *Apaṭa Pute Mangak Näte* (Son, We Have No Way Out) (1964), are two of the original plays by Jayasena in which he deals with current social problems. The themes in these plays were not agreeable to some critics who assess art from a political point of view. *Apaṭa Pute Mangak Näte*, which ends with the death of the young student was attacked as a reactionary piece as it does not culminate in a way indicating the victory of the revolution.

As we have mentioned above, the dominant feature of the Sinhala stage during the 60 s was translation and adaptation of well-known foriegn plays. Henry Jayasena's *Ahas Māliga* (1966) was adapted from Tennessee Williams' *The Glass Menagerie*. This production showed Jayasena's familiarity with modern stage-craft and his ability to use common speech in dialogues effectively. The following ideas of Ariya Rajakaruna on *Ahas Māliga* can be considered as making a fair assessmnet:

10. Jayasena, Henry. *Tavat Uädsanak*. 1964. Introduction.

"This production proved the dramatist's ability in capturing the attention of the audience by means of some techniques of the realistic form . . . . The lyrical touch found in the original play has been lost to some extent in this adaptation,. However, the producer's attempt to create a pensive mood similar to that in the original play has been successful." [11]

Jayasena made a major break-through in the modern Sinhala theatre by producing *Hunuvataye Katāva* (1967) which is a translation of Brecht's *The Cauacsian Chalk Circle.* This play had an immediate success judging by the large crowds it draws and the number of times it has been shown. Even today, it is often shown in packed halls in many parts of the island. At the time of its production the new methods of acting, costumes and setting were highly attractive features for the Sinhala audience. The spectators were able to follow the story narrated through songs. The story in *Hunuvataye Katāve* is similar to a famous one in Buddhist literature. Jayasena has made a praiseworthy attempt to understand and employ the Brechtian theatrical concepts. A play using these concepts and techniques was a new experience for the Sinhala audience. In addition, the socialist touch in the theme must have contributed to its popularity with young spectators. A number of publications on the subject of plays and concepts of Brecht has emerged in Sinhala since the production of this play. [12]

After the great success of *Hunuvaṭaye Katāva*, Jayasena has translated and produced the following plays: *Makarā* (1972), (The Dragon by Schwarz Jewgeni) *Diriya Mava Saha Āge Daruvo* (1973) (Mother Courage by Bertolt Brecht) Despite, the fact that these were commendable attempts at developing the Sinhala theatre, none of them proved to be successful or popular. In recent times, like many other Sinhala playwrights and producers, Jayasena too seems to have given up creating new plays. The general inflation in the country has affected not only play production but also other types of artistic ventures such as publication of literary works.

Sugatapala de Silva is another noteworthy contemporary dramatist who concentrates mainly on the realistic style. *Ape Kaṭṭiya*, a drama group in Colombo has sponsored the productions of Sugatapala de Silva who has proved himself to

11. Rajakaruna, Ariya,. *Vartamāna Sinhala Nātyaya* – 1967. p. 19
12. Some articles and other publications on Brecht in Sinhala:
1. Bertolt Brecht-by Henry Jayasena, (introduction to *Hunuwataye Katava*) Colombo 1968. i-viipp.
2. Bertolt Brecht-by Reggie Siriwardhana, ibid. viii-xi pp.
3. Introduction to *Diriya Mava* by Henri Jayasena Colombo, 1972. iii-viii pp.
4. A short analysis of Brecht's theatrical concepts-by Wimal Dissanayaka, *Rūpana*, Vol, i, Kandy 1969.
5. Bertolt Brecht's revolution in the theatre Henry Jayasena ibid, 13-17 pp.
6. Bertolt Brecht and the Sinhala Theatre-by Jayantha Dhanapala *Rūpana*, July/Aug, 1972 Nugegoda. 36-39 pp.
7. Two western Dramatists in Modern Sinhala Theatre-by Michael Fernando, *Sammantrana Lipi*, Vol. i. 1975. Peradeniya University 55-68 pp.
8. *Hunuvaṭaye Katāva saha Bertolt Brecht.* Sunanda Mahendra, 1978
9. Atapattu, R. B. "*Bertol Brechtge Ranga Sankalpaya Saha Hunuvaṭaye Katava*" Kandy, 1980.

be a talented and resourceful dramatist with a few creations since the 1960) s. Among his plays, *Bodin Kārayo* (The Boarders) (1962), *Taṭṭu Geval* (Upstair Houses) (1964) and *Dunna Dunu Gamuve* (1972) can be mentioned as originals. While trying to develop a suitable medium for theatre with day-to-day speech he has trained and introduced a number of young actors and actresses. Some of his later plays such as *Helé Nägga Dōn Puta*, (1966) Tennessee Willims' *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*), *Hita Honda Ammaṇḍi* (Brecht's *Good Woman of Setzuan*) and *Harima Baḍu Hayak* (Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author)* are regarded as some of the most effective and influential adaptations. These plays definitely helped broaden the boundaries of the field of experience and subject matter in the Sinhala theatre.

Ăccording to Rajakaruna *Harima Baḍu Hayak* was one of the most important adaptations to be produced in Sinhala after *Kapuva Kapoti*.[13] He further observes that these productions of Silva were not devoid of some defects:

> "……However the subtle ideas found in Pirandelo's play had been ignored in *Harima Baḍu Hayak*. A mere comparison of the two titles alone would substantiate this fact. The Sinhala translator has failed in rendering the original play in its full meaning into Sinhala."[13]

Silva fails to grasp all the subtle meanings of Williams in his adaptation of *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* into Sinhala as *Helē Nägga Don Putā*. The Sinhala title itself is insufficient to convey a serious meaning on the complicated problems of married life suggested by Williams' play. This perfunctory attiude and the lack of proper understanding of the original work are some of the common defects not only of Silva's adaptations but also of a number of other contemporary Sinhala dramatists.

These Sinhala dramatists presenting foreign plays in translations or adaptations always try to work in additional situations and jokes for the sake of laughter. Most of them seem to have the misconception that the more the audience laughs the better the quality of the play. The ordinary spectator anywhere in the world likes to see plays full of suspense and humour. Sinhala dramatists of the recent past were trying to capitalize on this weakness without ever thinking of cultivating better tastes and educating the audiences.

Dunna Dunugamuve (1972) is an original play with comic elements by Sugatapala de Silva which concentrates on the problems of workers in our country and the questionable role played by trade unions. The dialogue in this work is seasoned with the day-to-day speech of the workers and office clichés Silva has made a genuine attempt in this play to expose the plight of the workers and to show how employers resort to mean and crafty methods to corrupt the minds of union members in order to sabotage their struggles. Dialogue in this work too is laced

13. Rajakaruna, Ariya. *Vartamāna Sinhala Nāṭyaya*. p. 8.
i ,, ,, ibid. p. 11
ii See also for a detailed discussion of these adaptations: Ratnapala de Silva, 7. *Nūtana Sinhala Nāeya*, 1969. pp. 85–100.

with suggestive words and witty sayings. Silva proved by this attempt that it is not entirely impossible for Sinhala playwrights to create good original works and also showed his deep understanding of the possibilities of the stage.

Sugatapala de Silva's *Turanga Sanniya* (1975) is a translation of *The Horse* by Julius Hay, a Hungarian playwright. While preserving the spirit of the original, Silva presents a play full of humour depicting some of the eternal frailties of man and the tragic nature of his life. Silva must have chosen *The Horse* for translation due to the relevance of its theme to the current social condition in Sri Lanka. Here the playwright laughs at a common weakness of men, e. g. the indiscriminate imitation of nobility and rulers to solicit their favours.

Among other attempts at producing plays by Silva, a noteworthy production was *Āsala Sanda Avanhala* (1982) which is an adaptation of *Tea House of the August Moon* by John Patrick. After this play which did not prove successful, Silva too has been inactive during the past few years.

Gunasena Galappatti is another producer who was a much talked about theatre enthusiast of the 60 s. His first attempt *Sanda Kinduru* (1957) in which he made use of the style called *Kavi Nāḍagam* (Poetic Drama) was acclaimed as a significant work by such critics as Wickramasinghe.[14] Galappatti's next two productions *Dēvatā Eli* (1963) and *Däsa Nisā* 1964) failed to draw much attention. *Liyatambarā*, is an adaptation by this dramatist which is based on Jean Paul Sartre's *Les Mains Sales*. This production is supposed to be one of the best adaptations to appear in Sinhala during the 60 s.[15]

Mūdu Puttu (1961) another adaptation of a foreign play which Galappatti rendered into Sinhala jointly with Mahagama Sekara is regarded as his most important contribution to the Sinhala theatre. This play is adapted from Garcia Lorca's *Yerma* in which simple spoken idiom is effectively used to discuss intimate problems in marital life. A number of songs written by Mahagama Sekera and music composed by Amaradeva add largely to the meaning and tragic mood of the play. In the lyrics the composer makes lavish use of terms and words connected with the sea as the plot draws on life in a fishing village. *Mūdu Puttu* remained for a long time as one of the few Sinhala plays equally enjoyed by spectators of all types proving once again that it is the non-realistic works which are best suited to Sinhala theatre

At this time there were a number of young dramatists involved in experimental work whose aim was the artistic enrichment of the Sinhala theatre. Colombo was quite active at this time with a variety of plays produced by youthful amateurs. At various places in the city, hundreds of multi-coloured posters advertising new plays or drama festivals were displayed. These posters indicated that at least two or three new plays a month were being produced in

14. Wickramasinghe, Maritn, *Sinhala Nāṭyaya Hā Sandakinduruva.*
15. See for a detailed discussion of *Liyatambarā*, Ratnapala de Silva, Y. - *Nūtana Sinhala Natyaya* 1969, pp. 170 - 184.

Colombo alone. It was vary rarely that any of these plays were recognized as good. But these activities seem to have come to a halt since about 1982. Similar ideas on modern Sinhala theatre have been expressed by a number of other writers too. To quote only one of them:

> "This is an age when theatre proliferates at an incredible rate. Each day brings with it a spate of posters and banners, advertising plays with titles that range from the obscure to the ridiculous. Almost all of them have a brief and unventful run, usually so brief that even the initial sum of money spent on the production cannot be recovered " [16]

A significant dramatist of this time is R. R. Samarakoon who is considered to have contributed to the modern Sinhala theatre with original plays. His themes are current social problems and his own experiences. He wrote his first play *Ledak Näti Ledek* (A sick man without a sickness) in 1956 and after some time wrote and produced *Charita Dekak* (Two Characters) which is about the idiosyncracies of a suspicious husband and his innocent wife. In 1971, he produced *Ahasin Väṭuna Minissu* (Men who fell from the sky) which won four awards at the national drama festival. Samarakoon established himself as a promising dramatist with *Iḍama* (The Plot of Land) which won six awards at the Drama festival in 1975. He was later accepted as a major playwright and producer by both the critics and spectators the with success of *Kelani Pālama* in 1978. Since then this play has been shown more than 400 times in various places in the country.

A short analysis of *Kelani Pālama* would be helpful to indicate the type of plays which were generally acceptable to the Sinhala audience at this time. This play focusses attention on the miserable life of the poor people living in the valley by the Kelaniya bridge. The story develops through a few scenes where these people are seen squatting on the bridge as they were forced to leave their shanties by floods. While they are struggling for survival, we are shown how they love and quarrel like men and women of any class or society. With their inevitable problems created by nature as well as by their individual relationships, they fall victim to the whims and fancies of various government officers and politicians. Through some of his characters in this play Samarakoon makes a ruthless crticism of some government institutions and politicians. Despite his intention to build up a tragic mood, the writer fails to do so due to an abundance of jokes and witticisms. Thus *Kelani Pālama*, which the producer has intended to be a tragedy has instead become a comedy.

Samarakoon, like Sugatapala de Silva and Henry Jayasena possesses a good understanding of the possibilities of the theatre in general and the requirements of the modern Sinhala theatre. Some of his productions including *Kelani Pālama* proved him to be a good craftsman. He too has been lucky to have chosen some of the best actors and actresses in the island for his plays

Subha Saha Yasa (Subha and Yasa) (1974) has been another popular and trend setting production. Simon Navagattegama who wrote and produced this play

16 Sunila Abeysekera, Race in Theatre. *Lanka Guardian.* Vol. 2. No. 19, 1980. Feb.

is recognized as a dramatist interested in modernizing the Sinhala theatre Like *Kelani Pālama* this play which still maintains its former popularity too has been shown hundreds of times. Some critics consider Navagattegama's work to be the most successful original piece to appear in the 70 s. The playwright here gives a new interpretation to the wellknown story of King Yasalālaka and his janitor Subha who later ascended the throne by killing the king. In Navagattegama's play the king is not murdered by Subha, but by his chief minister. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Subha was an ambitious person who made use of a weakness in the make-up of his king. Navagattegama shows Subha to be related to Yasa. While Yasa was talking about the physical resemblence of Subha and himself the latter says as a joke that his father had once been employed in the palace. Through incidents and jokes like these the author expresses scepticism over the faithfulness of women. Subjects of love and sex are found to be running together with the struggle of Subha to overthrow Yasa's regime through lively situations in this play. Yasa is portrayed here not only as a complacent monarch who was fond of jokes but as an intelligent person bored with the routine life in the palace. An implicit criticism of some modern political institutions may be seen in the behaviour of Yasa's ministers. The humorous portrayal of these minsters was so successful that many a later Sinhala dramatist has tried to copy it as an easy means to generate laughter. The dialogue is straightforward, lively and sarcastic. Audiences all over the country still continue to respond to this play.

Ratu Häṭṭa Kāri (The Lady in Red Jacket) is another popular play of the 70s. This play was produced by Lucien Bulatsinhala for the National Drama Festival in 1974. The plot in this play reveals itself in a rather complicated way. Some characters from modern society are mixed with the semi-historical romance of prince Saliya and Asokmala. The spectator might find it difficult to follow a conventional type of story. Still for those who care for a story it may not be impossible to find one. The following ideas of Bandula Jayawardhana, stated in the foreword to the printed script of this play, will throw some light on the new aspects adopted by the author:

> "To achieve an effect of alienation the playwright makes use of symbolism. Today Ratu Hättakāri is the milk maid to the owner of the company. She was Asokamala in the past born to the lowest caste. She will be the supplier of *pasgorasa* to King Kuvera XIV. In any of these births, she is not a vividly drawn person showing any individuality. She symbolizes the suppressed classes suffering eternally. If there are any individual aspects in her character they would only stand for the class which she represents. She possesses the obstinacy of a woman exploited by society and a heart which melts instantly."

As in a number of other contemporary Sinhala plays, in *Ratu Häṭṭa Kāri* too, a number of common methods have been employed to make the audience laugh. The King and his batch of ministers remind us of those in *Suba Saha Yasa*. The two reporters criticize the journalists of our time who stooge politi-

cians with the intention of soliciting personal benefits. *Gurunānse*, a typical role found in traditional Sinhala folk drama, disguises himself as the king, thus incorporating a Brechtian technique aimed at alienation. The spectator is reminded from time to time that it is only the *Gurunānse* who appears before him dressed as a king. The play ends with the message that it is not easy to meet Ratu Hätţa Kāri or the symbol of revolution which is the only hope for the libera tion of the masses. Thus judging by the end, the dramatist has not left a clear indication of his view.

The keen interest of the Sinhala dramatist in the western classical drama was once again shown by the production of *The Merchant of Venice* in Sinhala by Bandula Vitanage (1981). Shakespeare has been an attraction with our drmatists from the early days of Sinhala theatre in the late 19th century. One of the first plays produced in 'Nurti' style had been *Romeo and Juliet*. Vitanage's Sinhala version of *The Merchant of Venice*, despite the unprecedented enormous publicity, proved to be a failure. Most of the spectators of this play complained that the language used by the translator was too difficult for them to understand. The same dramtist translated and produced Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (1982) which too did not prove to be a success.

Contemporary Sinhala dramatists have been successful to some extent in establishing the theatre as a powerful medium of communication as well as of entertainment. It was mainly the young enthusiasts who dominated the theatre in the recent past. Hundreds of new plays were produced every year although most of them were doomed to be short-lived. We can easily agree with the following ideas of Sarachchandra about the present state of Sinhala drama:

> "The genuine traditions of Sinhala theatre are embodied in the work of the younger playwrights and theatre men that has been going on for almost a quarter century without any patronage from the governments or the rich. These theatre men have their roots in the village and were inspired into creative activity by the style of the folk theatre. They have among them playwrights of genius as well as actors of more than ordinary talent They have gathered round them young men interested in the ancillary theatre arts like make up, decor, costumes and theatre music who are making a notewo-rthy contribution in these fields. The fact that they write, produce and put on plays amidst all the hardships they encounter today is in itself evidence of their devotion to theatre and to their spirit of self-sacrifice. They are able to carry on because middle class audiences, in spite of the fact that they face dire economic straits, still support them and flock to see the plays, paying even twenty five rupees for a ticket (a sizable part of their meagre incomes) because they enjoy the plays and gain from them an experience they value." [17]

17. Sarachchandra, E R. Tower Hall: Is it a genuine tradition of Sinhala Theatre? *Lanka Guardian*, Vol, 2. No, 16. 1979 p. 20

It is true that the number of theatre lovers is ever growing and going to the theatre is fast becoming a fashion. But there are some dramatists who fear that this development may be affected by the recently introduced television. However by 1980, many new producers were trying to put on commercially profitable plays. One could easily point out a number of defects typical of these popular plays. The tendency was to produce variety shows in the name of drama. Flashy costumes, songs in catchy tunes, remarks on sex, shouting, clever and witty dialogue and criticisms or remarks on current politics are some of the features common to the popular Sinhala theatre of modern times.

Thus as the ordinary reader delights in reading thrillers or detective stories the ordinary theatre-goer prefers to frequent an escapist theatre. Here we can take into consideration the case of *Vessantara* and few other Sinhala plays staged during the past two or three years. In *Vessantara*, Sarachchandra presents a famous Buddhist story in his favourite non-realistic style. Some of the best talents in the Sinhala stage have participated in presenting this play. Although this work is produced in the stylized tradition introduced by Sarachchandra himself it was not appreciated by the ordinary spectator. They found *Vessantara* to be draggy and boring. They were apparently disappointed with the slow tempo of this play, which they hoped to be of the same class as *Maname* and *Sinhabāhu*. Yet another group of spectators are of the opinion that Sarachchandra has not given a new interpretation to the Jataka story. This particular Jataka story has been told in various forms in the classical Buddhist literature in both the Theravada and Mahayana traditions. The most important and moving incident in the story is the giving away of the two children by Vessantara to the Brahmin. The ancient story-teller puts much stress on this scene. Similarly Sarachchandra too treats it with much care and emphasis. Donating one's children as servants could be an unbearable and painful act to any father even if he is a Bodhisatta. The mental conflict while deciding upon such an act is well portrayed in the king's character. Sarachchandra has mainly concentrated on this unique moment in Vessantara's life rather than on giving a new interpretation. Furthermore, the Vessantara Jataka is one of the most beloved stories of the Buddhists which has exerted tremendous influence upon their way of life. Hence a considerably altered Vessantara story would have been destructive to the image of Vessantara, the greatest benefactor of the poor. The ordinary spectator has not been able to look at the play from this perspective. Compared to the earlier works of Sarachchandra which enjoy a growing popularity this is already being regarded a failure.

Before concluding this discussion we can take into consideration a few plays which were accepted as significant attempts in recent times. Ranjit Dharmakirti's *Modara Mola* (The Mill at Mōdara) (1982) Somalata Subasingha's *Vikurti* (The Distorted) (1982) and Douglas Siriwardhana's *Subha Sāndāvak* (Good Evening) (1982) are among these recent productions which have received a quite satisfactory response. Dharmakirti who has been active in the field of drama for a long time may be placed in the same category as Henry Jayasena and Sugatapala de Silva. Some of his earlier plays such as *Mahagedera* (Chekov's

(Cherry Orchard) (1963), *Hiru Näti Lova* (Gorky's Lower Depths) (1975) and *Angārā ganga Gāla Basi* (Arbusov's Angara) (1980) are still remembered as some of the most adventurous and important events in the modern Sinhala stage. *Modera Mola* which has a strong affinity with modern Soviet plays is supposed to be an original. Dharmakirti discusses the new concepts of free economy and the modernization of industries and its consequences in this play. The treatment of the theme and the production of the play clearly show the dramatist's familiarity with stagecraft. As the general tendency in the Sinhala theatre today is towards political drama this theme seems to be appropriate and timely as a reaction against monotony. In *Modera Mola*, the play develops around the life of an urban family whose main source of income is their factory at Modara. As the father is getting old, the young son tries to take the responsibility of running the factory. On the expert advise of an economist he is determined to modernize the factory with the intention of linking it up with a multinational company. While the new improvements are going on, the son fails to win the respect of the employees whereas his old father is still respected and obeyed. The young daughter of the family brings in a socialist flavour into the play. She is an undergraduate reading for a special degree in economics. She quarrels with her capitalist brother and his economic adviser but finally fails her examination. This young economist is supposed to have done something which brought about her failure. Though she fails her examination she does not give up her struggle against injustice. Those who actually fail are her brother and his friend whose dream of getting foreign aid and building up a vast business empire is shattered at the end. The dramatist has tried in this play to expose the consequences of new technology and modernization with special emphasis on how men are replaced by machines and money. Although there are a few defects in this play when we look at it as an original piece we can commend it as a valuable contribution.

Somalatha Subasinghe takes up a more relevant and broad theme about a pathetic phenomenon in the middleclasses in Sri Lanka. Her major concern is the plight of the young in our society with regard to their problems in education and finding employment. The worries and problems of parents too are treated to some extent in order to understand the young better. Young men and women today are trained for competition in such a way from their early years that they have very little freedom to live as normal children. Social, economic and educational conditions are such that children are forced to devote full time to studies. First they regard their goal as entering the university but they soon realize that there too they have to struggle to be selected for faculties such as medical and engineering. The private tution system on which both the parents and children rely so much now is exposed and laughed at in this play. It is also shown as one of the major reasons for the plight of the younger generation. The playwright at times seems to be trying to include too many things which are harmful to the smooth development of the main theme. However she succeeds in analysing some of the major problems the younger generation is facing today. *Vikurti* as a modern play is presented with the help of a large number of young actors and actresses and using some new techniques. Somalata Subasingha's attempt would have been more

enjoyable if she had given it a more professional outlook. She too has proved by this production like a few others before her that it is not difficult for Sinhala dramatists to create original plays if they are really keen.

Douglas Siriwardhana is a new figure in the Sinhala theatre compared with the others discussed in this paper. His adaptation of Sarte's *La Putain Respectueuse* as *Subha Sändävak* could definitely be called a major theatrical undertaking to appear in the early 80s. Although the theme of this play might seem irrelevant in our social context, one could argue that considering the present violence and communal disturbances it is quite relevant. Siriwardhana has so well adapted the original work into Sinhala that we find no difficulty at all in grasping its subtle points. Actors and actresses in the main roles play some difficult parts with necessary understanding. Thus *Subha Sändävak* has proved itself to be one of the few successful adaptations of the early eighties which might however not survive for a long time. Another impressive adaptation of Sartre's play, *Les Mains Sales* as *Vinish haya* by Parakrama Niriella met with the same fate due to no fault in the production.

As the centre of theatrical activities is Colombo, the same producers and groups have been monopolizing the Sinhala dramatic scene in the recent past. Due to this monopoly and the availability of facilities in Colombo, it is very rarely that a major play is produced in the provinces. Among the few rural theatre groups, *Nirmana Sena* which is organized by some theatre lovers at Anuradhapura, may be a challenge and a reaction to this monopoly of Colombo groups. They have successfully staged such plays as *Dunyäge Gītaya* (A play based on a short story by Gorky) and *Parässa* (which re-tells a Sinhala folk-tale) which have won a few awards at drama festivals. There are a few other producers in other parts of the country who stage an occasional play, but these provincial drama groups too, like those in Colombo, seem to be interested in doing foreign plays in Sinhalese rather than attempting to put on original works. Suriyabandara's *Siddhārta* (1982) produced at Kandy, which is adapted from Herman Hesse's famous novel is an example. Another significant new aspect in modern Sinhala drama is the Street Drama Group or the *Vīdi Nātya Kandāyama* organized by Gamini Hattotuvegama. This adventurous drama group which put forward some pre-rehearsed as well as impromptu pieces on current themes have no faith in the conventional theatre techniques. Their aim is to bring the drama and the masses into close contact

Thus the Sinhala theatre of today has reached a vital point in its long march to full maturity. There are some good directors, actors and actresses, musicians and craftsmen who are doing a great service for the development of the Sinhala theatre. There was a threat from the Cinema industry for the development of the theatre and when our theatre men were beginning to face that problem successfully a new threat has emerged with the fast spreading television. Those who own television sets will be reluctant to visit theatres as

17 Sarachchandra E. R. Tower Hall: Is it a genuine tradition of Sinhala Theatre? *Lanka Guardian*, Vol, 2, No. 16. 1979 p. 20.

they can enjoy tele - drama at home, In order to attract audiences to theatres our playwrights will have to think of putting on more and more original works. At the moment there is only a limited number of actors and actresses who act in drama, cinema and also in television shows. If there is a way to confine the talented and popular theatre actors only to that medium it will be helpful to maintain consistent standards in the theatre. For this purpose we need good drama schools in this country as in some other countries such as Germany, England and Russia. Due to lack of welltrained professional actors, as Sarachchandra has several times said, it is difficult to find suitable players for non-realistic plays for which not only the ability to act but also a talent for dancing and singing is essential. For the development of Sinhala theatre drama schools as well as good theatres with proper facilities must be established. Separate departments for drama must be started in the universities of Sri Lanka. To attain these objectives lavish financial support from the government is of utmost importance to encourage new experiments, training of artists as well as productions.

U. P. Meddegama

BOOK REVIEWS

Paññāsa-Jātaka or *Zimmé Paṇṇāsa* (in the Burmese Recension) Vol. II (*Jātakas* 26–50) Edited by Padmanabh S. Jaini. Published by the Pali Text Society, London 1983 pp. xliii 309 – 584 (Pali Text Society Text Series No. 173).

A collection of birth-stories of the Buddha, the *Jātaka*, is included in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* of the Pali Canon. V Fausboll's edition of the *Jātaka* together with its commentary, entitled the *Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, was published by the Pali Text Society, London, in six volumes with an index volume forming the seventh, between the years 1877 and 1897. This was reprinted in 1962-1964. Fausboll's edition of the *Jātaka* contains 547 stories, though the number generally given is 550 in referring to the *Jātaka* collection.

Besides this 'canonical' collection of the *Jātakas*, there are a large number of birth-stories of the Buddha, which have not been included in the Canon. Léon Feer used the term 'extra-canonical' to refer to these, in the article he contributed to the *Journal Asiatique* in 1875 under the title *Etudes Bouddhiques: Les Jātakas*, an English translation of which, made by G. M. Foulkes, has been published by Susil Gupta (India) Private Ltd., in Calcutta in 1963. In his article, Feer gave information about isolated 'extra-canonical' *jātakas*, and one 'extra-canonical' collection, fragments of which written in Cambodian characters, were found at the Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris, among Pali manuscripts from Siam (Thailand). Feer identified the title of this collection as *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, the Fifty Jātakas.'

It is an edition of the Burmese recension of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* which is the subject of our concern here. *Jātakas* 1-25 of this recension, edited by Padmanabh S. Jaini, Professor of Buddhist Studies, University of California, Berkeley, was published by the Pali Text Society, London in 1981 as No. 172 of its Text Series (PJ. I hereafter). The preliminary remarks he made in this volume and the bibliography and the introduction in Vol. II under review here *PJ.* II hereafter) give much information ahout previous studies relevant to the *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, which information can profitably be recapitulated here.

Louis Finot gave a concordance of three recensions of the stories in the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* in his article, "*Recherches sur la littérature laotienne*" published in Paris in 1917, in Vol. XVII of the *Bulletin de L'école Française d' Extreme-Orient* (*BEFEO*). One of these recensions is in Laotian, and the other two, the Cambodian-Thai and the Burmese, are in Pali. Jaini informs us that of three Pali versions of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* originating in Cambodia, Thailand and Burma, the Cambodian and Thai collections seem to draw upon a common source, as the texts of both are almost identical (PJ. I p.v.) *The Paññāsa-Jātaka* was not known to Buddhist tradition outside the countries of Southeast Asia.

For information about the Laotian version of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, Jaini refers us to H. Deydier's publication of 1952 (*PJ.* II. p. xl) which, however, is not listed in the bibliography. The reference here is possibly to Deydier's *Introduction á la connaissance du Laos*, which Jaini mentions elsewhere as giving a brief description of the Laotian version of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (*BSOAS*) Vol. XXIX, 3,1966 p 534 note 8). Venerable Hammalave Saddhatissa gives information about the Laotian version of some of the stories of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* in his contribution on *Pali Literature from Laos* to the Memorial Volume published in honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap (*Studies in Pali and Buddhism* ed A. K. Narain, Delhi, B. R. Publishing Corporation 1979 pp 327-40).

The Pali text of the first twenty-five stories of the Cambodian-Thai recension of the *Paññāsa Jātaka* was published by the *Institut Bouddhique* (Phnom Penh) in five volumes, during the years 1953-1962. Prince Damrong made an abridged Siamese translation of this recension and published it with the original Pali verses in Bangkok in 1926. This translation was published again in 1956, in two volumes, under the title *Pannyāṭ Chudok (Paññāsa-Jātaka)*, by the Fine Arts Department of the National Library, Bangkok (BSOAS XXIX p 535 note 11). This second edition contains 61 stories instead of the traditional 50 found in the Cambodian version. Jaini reports that D. M. Fickle's doctoral dissertation of 1979 *An Historical and Structural Study of the Paññāsa Jātaka* (Microfilms International Ann Arbor, Michigan, publication No. 79-8731) contains long summaries of the Thai stories based on Prince Damrong's translation *PJ.* II. p. xl).

The Burmese recension of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, popularly known as *Zimme Paṇṇāsa* (Chieng Mai Fifty) was edited anonymously and published by the Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon, in 1911. This edition had no introduction, critical apparatus or variant readings. It has long been out of print and only a few copies are said to be found today even in Burma (*BSOAS* XXIX p. 534 note 10; *PJ.* I p.v).

In this context, Jaini's edition of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* is most welcome as the first critical study of the work. Only a few stories of the collection had received the attention of scholars earlier. One of these is the *Samuddaghosa jātaka*, a critical edition and a translation of which, along with an introduction dealing with the manuscript material of the collections and the peculiarities of their language, was published by Mme. G Terral in Paris in *BEFEO* XLVIII, I 1956 pp 249-351, under the title, *Samuddaghosajātaka: conte Palī tiré du Paññāsa jātaka* (*BSOAS* XXIX p. 534 note 8). A translation and an analysis of the *Velāmajātaka* of the collection appeared in 1959 under the name of Terral-Martini G. (*BEFEO* XLIX pp 609-16). The *Sudhanukumārajātaka* of the collection was studied by Jaini in relation to the *Kinnarījātaka* of the *Mahāvastu*, the *Sudhanakumārāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* and some Burmese and Thai theatrical plays based on the story in his article 'The Story of Sudhana and Manoharā: an analysis of the texts and the Borobudur reliefs (*BSOAS* XXIX 3 1966 pp. 533-558). Jaini evaluated the historical importance of another story of the

Paññāsa-Jātaka, viz. the *Vaṭṭaṅgulirājajātaka* in the article, 'On the Buddha Image' which he contributed to the *Jagdish Kashyap Memorial Volume* (ed. A. K. Narain Delhi 1979 pp. 183-188). This *Jātaka* contains a reference to the first image of the Buddha and provides literary evidence lending authenticity for the first time to the oral traditions of the Chinese travellers Fa-Hsien and Hiuen-Tsang pertaining to the existence of a sandal-wood image of the Buddha carved during the Buddha's lifetime. Jaini gives the relevant excerpts from the *jātaka* in his article.

Jaini says that he first became interested in the problem of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* on reading Terral's study of the *Samuddaghosajātaka*. Noting that the Burmese portion of the article was based solely upon the Rangoon edition of 1911, Jaini looked for manuscripts of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* in libraries in Rangoon, Mandalay and Pagan, during a visit to Burma in 1961. Meeting with little success, he learnt from an elderly *Mahāthera*, the chief abbot of Pagan, that the work was considered apocryphal and disapproved of by King Myndon of Mandalay (1853-1878), resulting in only a very few manuscripts of the work being found in the monasteries of Burma. The abbot's information was based on an oral tradition current in his young days. Prince Damrong also refers to this tradition in his preface to the first edition of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* published in 1926. In 1962, Jaini was able to obtain a photocopy of a manuscript dated *Sakaraj* 1169, i.e. 1807 A. D., found in a monastery in Mandalay. This manuscript which was not the basis for the Rangoon edition, provided Jaini with material for a critical edition of the Burmese recension of the *Paññāsa Jātaka*. Using the Rangoon edition as the main text, Jaini gives variant readings from the unpublished Mandalay manuscript in the notes to his carefully edited text of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* (*BSOAS* XXIX pp. 534-5; *PJ*. I pp. v, vi).

Volume I of Jaini's edition of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* contains the Pali text of the following 25 stories, on pages 3-308: *Ādittarājajātaka*; *Tulakapaṇḍitajātaka*; *Sammājīvakumārajātaka*; *Arindamajātaka*; *Sumbhamittajātaka*; *Samuddaghosajātaka*; *Dānacāga* (*Cāgadāna*) *jātaka*: *Dhammikapaṇḍitarājajātaka*: *Siridharamahāseṭṭhijātaka*; *Saṅkhapattarājajātaka*; *Sudhanukumārajātaka*; *Narajīvajātaka*; *Dasapañhāvisajjanajātaka*; *Surūparājajātaka*; *Kambalarājajātaka*; *Gopālakasūlajātaka*; *Siricudāmaṇirājajātaka*; *Aṭṭhaparikkhārajātaka*; *Sirivipulakittirājajātaka*; *Sattadhanujātaka*; *Candakumārajātaka*; *Sadhitarājajātaka*: *Ratanapajjotajātaka*; *Dvesīsahaṃsajātaka* and the *Viriyapaṇḍitajātaka*

The pagination of Volume I is continued in Volume II, which contains the next 25 stories on pages 309-568. The titles of the stories in this volume are: *Vipularājajātaka*; *Mahāpadumajātaka*; *Mahāsūrasenarājajātaka*; *Brahmaghosarājajātaka*; *Setamūsikajātaka*: *Arivachattajātaka*; *Subhaddarājajātaka*; *Bahalaputtajātaka*; *Badhira jātaka*; *Pradīpadānajātaka*; *Velāmajātaka*; *Vaṭṭaṅgulirājajātaka*; *Sirasākumārajātaka*; *Soṇanandarājajātaka*; *Suvaṇṇakumārajātaka*; *Brahmakumārajātaka*; *Sucikatāpasajātaka*; *Akkharalikhitajātaka*; *Vaḍḍhanajātaka*; *Akataññujātaka*; *Dukammarājajātaka*; *Vivādajātaka*; *Siddhisāracakkavattijātaka*; *Sīlajātaka* and *Mahāsudassanajātaka*.

The introduction which precedes the text in *PJ*. II seeks to trace the origin of the stories in the *Paññāsa-jātaka* which remained unknown to the Buddhists

of India and Sri Lanka over a long period of time. Jaini observes that the narrators of the stories had inexhaustible sources to draw from, viz. the *Avadāna* literature in Sanskrit and the *Aṭṭhakathās* in Pali. However, he says that there is no doubt that the *Mahānipāta* section (*Jātaka* Nos 538–547) of the canonical *Jātaka*, which obviously served as the model for the form adopted by the authors of the collection, was the primary source. Stressing the need to identify these sources, none of which are acknowledged by the authors of the stories, in order to establish the historical relationship of the collection to the extant Buddhist literature, Jaini gives a critical analysis of each of the stories in the *Paññāsa-jātaka*. In this analysis, he points out textual similarities between the stories in the collection itself, traces the connection of the stories with the Pali texts and their *Aṭṭhakathās*, and also non-Pali literature; attempts to identify any motifs in the stories which, not usually found in the extant literature, would appear to be the innovations of Southeast Asian Buddhists; and draws attention to places and instances where artistic representations of the stories are found.

Jaini warns the readers against taking the elements of plot he gives in his analysis of the stories as anything approaching total plot summaries, adding the good news that a complete summary of each story prepared by him is being published under the title, *Synopses of the Jātakas of the Zimmé Paṇṇāsa* by the Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley. He gives the further information that the late Miss. I. B Horner worked at the translation of this text until the last days of her life. It is to be hoped that the Pali Text Society will take the initiative in having this translation published, and completed if Miss. Horner had not translated all the stories.

The analysis of the stories in the introduction is followed by a discussion of the place, date, and authorship of the work and the linguistic peculiarities of its language. The traditional claim that the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* originated in Chieng Mai in what is now northern Thailand is indicated by the title of the Burmese recension, *Zimme Paṇṇāsa*. However, as many as twenty stories that are exclusive to the *Zimme Paṇṇāsa* as indicated by the concordance of *Jātakas* given by Finot, may have, in Jaini's opinion, been added in Burma to the original stock. Commenting on the absence in these stories of any allusion to events of historical importance of this area, such as wars, or the arrival of learned monks from Sri Lanka, Jaini points out that there is only one stray reference to *Sīhaḷadīpa* in the *Suvaṇṇakumārajātaka*. The lower limit of the date of the compilation of the Burmese version of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka* is set in the twelfth century A. D. while the upper limit is given as 1589 A. D., a date provided by the oldest manuscript which is in Laotian characters.

The introduction is informative and well-written except for a few odd turns of phrase such as: Sakka.....departs back to heaven (p.xx); The story part in our text takes place... (p.xxii); the story is almost word for word identical with the *Nidānakathā* (p.xxii); The usurper king puts out a bounty for anyone (p.xxiii); This Añcanavatī has imprisoned there many princesses (p.xxv); Day and night he would spend praising the three jewels (p.xxx). I noted the following printing

errors in the introduction: cemetary for cemetery (p.xiv); Sakkha for Sakka (pp xx,xxii), Sāmeṇera for sāmaṇera (p.xxiv); Ummādayantisalā for Ummādayantisālā (p.xxv); yakkhanī for yakkhinī (p.xxv); Ānanada for Ānanda (p xxix). P xl. of the introduction gives the date of a publication of the *Institut Bouddhique* (Phnom Penh) as 1953-61 while its date given in the bibliography is 1953-1962. I am unable to check this. G. Terral's publication of 1956 listed in the bibliography has to be corrected to read as appearing in *BEFEO* XLVIII, I (compare *PJ.* I p. v and *BSOAS* XXIX p. 534 note 8) and not XLIX, I.

The following indexes are given at the end of Vol. II of Jaini's edition of the *Paññāsa-Jātaka.* A. Index of Names (I noted here that the pages we are referred to under the entry Añjanavatī contain in fact the reading Añcanavatī. Añjanavatī occurs in a note on p 250, which page is not listed in the index. 268 is a misprint for 248 in the list of pages under Añjanavatī); B Index of Words, Forms and Spellings peculiar to *Paññāsa Jātaka*; C. Index of Minor Additions; D. Index of Emendations; and E. Index of Variant Readings in the Rangoon Edition and the Mandalay Manuscript. These indexes will be of value, as is hoped by the editor, in studies pertaining to the *Paññasa-Jātaka* and linguistic studies of the Burmese usage of Pali.

In the course of his discussions relating to the *Paññāsa-Jātaka*, Professor Jaini has repeatedly drawn attention to the need for a comparative study of all the known recensions of the text, and a separate study of its language. He has also pointed out its value which extends far beyond the sphere of philology, particularly with reference to the Sanskrit *Avadāna* literature and to various aspects of popular Southeast Asian Buddhism. One must hope that he who has taken such pains in studying the text and is conversant with the problem, will himself undertake these further studies and bring to its culmination the rich contribution he has already made to the study of Buddhist narrative literature, in presenting a two-volume edition of the Burmese recension of the Paññāsa-Jātaka.

Ratna Handurukande

Buddhism and Christianity: Their Inner Affinity,

Antony Fernando, Ecumenical Institute, Colombo, 2nd Edition, 1983, pp. 133

Dr. Antony Fernando's book entitled "Buddhism and Christianity: Their Inner Affinity-1983" aims to make explicit the following: "What I have tried to do here is to treat an aspect of Buddhism that any student of Buddhism has essentially to start with, namely, the thought of the Buddha. This I have tried to do by carefully elaborating the sermon that is accepted by all Buddhist groups as repesenthtive of the Founder's thought, and fundamental to Buddhism in all its forms. That is the sermon of the Four Noble Truths" (p. 2.). It must be noted, however that the author addresses to a very special category of readers, viz., the Christian students. This is evident from his assertion: "A Christian's thought-patterns on religion have been moulded from birth in such a particular way that a book on another religion which fails to take that frame of mind into account, cannot fully answer his need. This book is a little effort to fill that gap" (p. 2: see also p. 130.).

At the outset, Dr. Fernando should be congratulated for attempting this very difficult task, namely, writing a hand-book on Buddhism for use by the Christian students. It is nothing but his sincerity in expression when he pinpoints the difficulty here, namely, "A Christian's thought-patterns on religion have been moulded in such a particular way...etc." Ironically enough, Dr. Fernando does not mention the Graeco-Roman cultural and thinking patterns which are, certainly, at variance with those of the Indian (or Eastern). Whenever the two patterns are compared, the consequence, in the past was misrepresentation and misunderstanding. On the other hand, the Christian in the past was dogmatic, and therefore, (the author believes) blatantly refused to understand the nature of concepts imbibed in non-Christian religions, philosophical and cultural patterns. It is in this context that the author's (a Christian himself) endeavour gets off the ground. A fresh and fruitful bridge-building indeed. But, then, does Dr. Fernando present his case convincingly?

This book consists of eighteen well-written small chapters, an introduction and an epilogue. The absence of an index is felt at once.

The exposition of the concept of 'noble-truth' in the book runs into 14 chapters. The author prefers to bring out the psychological base of these truths as against the conceptual. From this I presume that Dr. Fernando rather closes and not simply discourages all kinds of philosophical discussion of the concept of 'noble truths.' Accordingly, an interesting traffic between the conceptual base and the psychological one comes to a halt. This kind of approach has its own defects, blemishes, fallacies and flaws. Firstly, it blocks conceptual dialogues

leading to a clarification of the conceptual structure, the logical nature of the Dhamma-statements, the conceptual family of the Dhamma, etc. That is, Dr. Fernando has missed a unique opportunity to present an original thesis. May I quote one such important issue. The Buddhist causality or the paṭiccasamuppāda for instance, is not only the central notion in the Buddha's message but also has grown into an extensive thought-process. It is "a philosophy of causality." Issues relating to the logical nature of the causal statements in the Buddha's Dhamma are both appropriate and productive in any talk on Buddhism. But Dr. Fernando does not raise them any where in the book for his Christian students. Why all this "iron curtain" altitude? I have my sincere doubts as to the soundness of the author's methodology here. Admittedly, a Christian student should not refrain from raising such issues, queries, questions, etc. It is nothing but correct on the part of the Christian students to raise them. But then, the Christian student is disappointed here, all the more the teacher of religion.

Now, going back to the psychological base of the noble truths that the author gives expression to, it must be emphasized that it is stimulating, prolific and productive. He very correctly says about 'sorrow' (dukka) in this way: "The senses of the ordinary un-evolved human being are not under the control of reason. And as long as they are not under reason's control, senses tend to run amok in pursuit of the sense-objects" (p. 38). Again: "Because man is blind to the true nature of his 'self,' he behaves emotionally and is greedy after sense-gratification; and the continuance of this greed for sense-gratification makes him fall again and again to anguish-bringing emotional states of existence" (p. 39). By this exposition, the author not only escapes many complex conceptual issues but also brings about further psychological terms which are pertinent to the matter in hand. Some of them are as follows: (a) "a transition from mental childishness to mental maturity" (p. 56); (b) "a self-created self" (p. 61); (c) 'self-mastery" (p. 66); (d) "personality-development" (p. 101); (e) "personality-transformation" (p. 102), etc.

In chapter nine, Dr. Fernando attempts to analyse away the concept of no-soul by way of his fruitful notion of self created self;" ... what the Buddha refers to as 'self' here is the 'emotional self' in its sense-based non-rational form. Such an 'emotional self' exists within the heart of every immature person and governs every one of his actions keeping them all self-centred" (p. 61). This reminds us of the notion of alientation made explicit by Karl Marx, Hegel, Feuerbach, Max Weber, George Simmel, F. Tonnies, etc. The notion, according to these thinkers, reads as follows: "The alientated self of man is no longer his own. The greater this alienation is therefore, the more his real self is diminished. That is the alienated self becomes an object (though it is only an illusion), *assumes* an external existence, but that it exists independently, outside himself, and alien to him. The alienated self stands opposed to the person as an autonomous power. The life which the person has given to the created self sets itself against him as an alien and hostile force." Will the average Christian or the educated Christian, for that matter, accept this? Well, I believe that the

Buddha was the first sublime teacher who understood the dimension of the problem of alienation of man together with its cure. The philosophy of 'noble truth' logically notes both the problem and its solution. Alternatively, the cause of the problem and the eventual removal of the cause. What emerges explicitly from this for the moment is the prescribed procedural guide—the eightfold noble path—that guides one to escape from one's own samsaric existence. To a Christian student or anyone else, the issue is, that which involves *the very nature* of the noble path. This is the juncture where *philosophy* should step in and *religion* should step down. Ironically enough, it has not taken this turn. The resultant is therefore a knotted thinking process which has sent the thinkers to sleep again. From which stems the following:

(1) Some of our Buddhist thinkers were and are deeply involved in translations, compilations, treatise-writing, grammar, etc, and pass them down as Buddhism-proper. You are expected to study dead languages to have a good grasp of the true message of the Buddha!

(2) Some other Buddhist thinkers (rather self-styled 'philosophers'?), writing mostly in English, have brought Buddhism, the Dhamma, so near to Newtonian Physics and Aerodynamics! However, there is marked inattention to Quantum physics!

These inappropriate theoretical gymnastics have nothing to do with the simple, unsophisticated, presenting no difficulty, message of the Buddha. Certainly, these theoretical expositions are wrong pursuits. While Dr. Fernando, a Christian, appears to have cut the Gordian-knot, Buddhist thinkers and self styled would-be-philosophical followers of the Buddha appear to have built up "houses of cards," if I may use Wittgenstein's phrase. The would-be philosophical followers of the Buddha on the other are only faintly aware of philosophical techniques. The resultant is unfortunately, a vacuum. The issues therefore remain confused but it does not mean that the Buddha's message is confused. To assume the Dhamma as complex is simply irritating nonsense. My personal belief is therefore that our Buddhist thinkers must not fail to read this chapter in the book. At this point I must also emphasize that the author does not use any recognized philosophical method but on his own clearly notes the psychological base of the four noble truths; but fails to touch upon the important conceptual base. For his very methodology rules it out.

The main theme that Dr. Fernando introduces finds consistent expression throughout chapters eight to fourteen. Although these ideas are not new, his lucid presentation and the pictorial expressions (pp. 27, 31, 43, 49, 51, 88) give a renewed and fresh way of looking at a thought-process. The Christian student, I presume, will understand the Buddha's message, in brief, with the help of these few chapters than going through cumbersome English, German and Pali volumes on Buddhism. (This does not however mean that all problems about the Buddha's Dhamma are solved or dissolved). Neverthless, it is not incorrect to note that Dr. Fernando's endeavour is only partly successful. The book leaves behind very important nonpsychogical issues. What needs special emphasis here, however,

is the way he handles the notion of nibbāna (nirvana) p. 47, 49, 51, 53-56 100-103, on the wider psycholgical dimension. The idea he wishes to make explicit, namely, "this worldly nature of the nibbāna-state" as against "other-worldly," appears to have gained ground, recently. Contemporary Buddhist thinkers and philosophers have often manipulated "this worldly nature of nibbāna" to avoid speculative metaphysics. Using the same idea within a psychological gambit, Dr. Fernando develops nibbāna as a "transition from mental childishness to mental maturity" (p 56). It is adulthood, no doubt, but we must not forget the Buddha's emphatically noting of nibbāna as attainment of "*aññā*" (liberational knowledge) by way of detachment (Majjhimā nikāya. II 43; Saṃyutta Nikāya. I. 24; Majjhimā Nikāya. III. 29) Therefore, it is but *uniaue* adulthood the Buddha being the pioneer. The perceptual and emotional constitution of man is such that he craves for things, longs for things, begs for things, attaches to sense-objects, etc. That is, in one word: "attachment" ("taṇhā"). Getting rid of it is "detachment" ("nibbāna" or cooling off) which is not a simple deliverance at all. All strata of the Nikāya literature note the morally stringent nature of the attainment of detachment or deliverance from attachment or taṇhā. So the Buddha notes; "Even so monks, is the Parable of the raft, the Dhamma, taught by me for crossing over, not for retaining? You, monks, by understanding the Parable of the raft, should get rid even of right mental objects all the more of wrong ones" (Majjhimā Nikāya. I. 135). That is to say, that the Parable of the raft is the Dhamma taught for crossing over, not for retaining. This crossing over is attained by way of virtue, which is difficult indeed. The Buddha makes explicit a very different kind of productive and prolific ethics whose nature is yet to be examined and made explicit. Our Buddhist thinkers and would-be philosophical followers of the Buddha have forgotten it. I believe that there is traffic between two levels in the Buddha's Ethics, (1) the empirical and (2) the ethical. Proper understanding of the conceptual structure only would make the Buddha's message instantly clear, unique and intuitive. Only then is the "unique adulthood" meaningful and fruitful. Dr. Fernando's work is devoid of such reflections. However, the author would have felt its non-importance for the Christian students. Perhaps "food for thought," for yet another occassion.

The flaw in the author's concept of "adulthood" or "realizing nibbāna" or "humanhood in its ideal form" (p. 55) is further evident from the significant difference that exists between the order of Buddhist monks and that of the Buddhist laity. One can imagine a monk achieving perfect adulthood in this life by following the stringent ethical path of the noble procedural guide. Is it not the case that the laity in general fail in the endeavour *in this life* owing to his mundane commitments in social life? A key way out is a projection of the concept of after-life beyond the grave, primarily in an *ethical* sense. A possible bridge-building between Christianity and Buddhism cracks up here. After all, if there is a differenee, a marked one, there is no point concealng it to any one—a Christian or a religion-teacher or any one else.

Now I shall come to a sound proposal by Dr. Fernando: "After de-mythologizing and de-conceptualizing these doctrines, they can be re-conceptualized in modern

terminology with contemporary images" (p 55). To him, this is a responsibility of the religion-teacher (p 55). But, then, how does the religion-teacher do this? And by which method or technique or conceptual tool? The author fails to give a clear idea as to how to set about the task. I personally believe the de-mythologizing has to be done by way of "*philosphical analysis*" as practised in contemporary English- speaking philosophy. Certainly, this is not possible in Sri Lanka for three obvious reasons: They are as follows:

(1) that the religion-teacher is hardly aware of contemporary philosophy-proper, all the more of philosophical techniques or tools;

(2) that the traditions appear blocking the vision altogether;

(3) overall non-availability of funds for serious academic work.

I do not see how Dr. Fernando's proposal can be put into practice.

Now I shall move on to part II of the book. It is characterized by a brief comparative study of some concepts of Buddhism and of Christianity. There is good consistency in expression, form and content. The psychological theme he introduces in part I find its flowering in part II. It consists of seeming comparisons of the Buddha and Christ as persons on the one hand and on the other some key notions of Christianity and of Buddhism. At this juncture the author's notion of liberation indeed needs special mention. At a glance, the liberation that Dr. Fernando makes explicit appears as a different kind of liberation from the acute psychological ailment, namely, *alienation*. Certainly, he does not mention the word 'alienation' but goes on to say the same thing differently by way of 'the Christianity-language.' This is evident from his following expression: "But there was an illness of the spirit, an ignorance of the spirit, and a poverty of the spirit much more radical and much more damaging. Jealousy, anger, lust, greed, laziness were the internal symptoms of this depraved condition of the spirit..." (p. 100). To him, the Buddha had also referred to the same psychological ailment and prescribed a cure by way of the philosophy of noble truths (p. 100). Apparently this is a seeming comparison only. As emphatically noted by me earlier, the logical expressiveness of the notion of Buddhist after life beyond the grave in *an ethical sense*, characteristically diminishes the comparative picture which is given expression to. I cannot therefore see how the author's bridge-building can be carried through.

Another difficulty that arises is noted by Dr. Fernando himself: "Christ was never concerned about promoting a conceptual knowledge of God, or of creating, in the minds of people a clear mental picture of God's figure. What he promoted exclusively is a behavioural acknowledgement of him" (p. 106). But, then, does not 'Christ' mean "Messiah or Lord's annointed of Jewish prophecy"? Again, Dr. Fernando notes: " Christ here uses the very doctrine of belief in God as a medicine to awaken in man a belief in himself" (p. 122). All these suggest a concept of a saviour (Christian/Jewish) God, though the author wishes to develop a new idea basically away from traditional Christian theological

dogma (pp 106, 107, 124,125) Nevertheless, the "right type" of God-worship (p. 105), the author wishes to develop needs to be argued forcefully, if it is to be treated as a genuine alternative. Needless to add that his argument in this book is novel and stimulating but is substantially weak. The weakness is due to an absence of drawing forth a conceptual structure and all the more of appropriate references to the Biblical literature. The methodological difficulty inherent in the text appears to have created this blind alley.

Now finally, a word on the central notion of "inner affinity" introduced by the author. This appears as the conclusion derived from the major and minor premises assumed in the work: "Anybody who digs deep enough to discover the *why* of the two religions, comes to a place where he will see the two religions bound together by a strong inner affinity" (p. 131). In order to drive home his view Dr. Fernando very appropriately brings forth two famous similes from Christianity and Buddhism:

(1) "The Sabbath is for man and not man for the Sabbath" (p. 132) (Christianity):

(2) The Buddha expressed the same idea when he compared religion to a raft which carried a man from one shore to another. Once the shore is reached, he said, the traveller should not carry the raft on his head" (p. 133) (Buddhism).

Nevertheless he affirms both

(a) that 'what' of a religion is no doubt very important for an understanding of that religion (p. 130), and

(b) that to understand the thought of the founder of a religion fully, one has to discover *why* he taught such a doctrine (p. 130).

Dr. Fernando appears to see an inner affinity between Christianity and Buddhism in respect of "liberationaal inclination," and not in respect of what the Buddha and Jesus Christ taught. Ironically though, even if the former is established, does it mean that the latter follows logically? Very moderately speaking, Dr. Fernando does not show this logical implication. If so, one has to accept a significant difference between Buddhism and Christianity save "liberational inclination."

A. D. P. Kalansuriya

University of Peradeniya.

CONTRIBUTORS

R. A. L. H. GUNAWARDANA
Professor of History, University of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

RAJIVA WIJESINHA
Public Relations Officer of the British Council in Sri Lanka, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

MERLIN PERIS
Professor of Classics, University of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

SARATHCHANDRA WICKREMASURIYA
Associate Professor of English, University of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

S. PATHMANATHAN
Associate Professor of History, University of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

RATNA HANDURUKANDE
Professor of Sanskrit, University of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

NIRMALA S. SALGADO
Research Officer, International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Kynsey Terrace, Colombo 8, Sri Lanka.

U. P. MEDDEGAMA
Senior Lecturer in Sinhalese, University of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

A. D. P. KALANSURIYA
Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Peradeniya, Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.

Printed at Kandy Printers Ltd. 23/3 Dalada Veediya Kandy