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Buddhism in Modern Times[1]

ONE of the most eminent of Buddhist scholars, La Vallée Poussin, once remarked that the study of Buddhism is only fifty years old, and yet it is paved with dogmas. Many of these dogmas we shall be able to avoid by confining ourselves, as far as possible, to what I am proposing to speak about: Buddhism in modern times. But it will be necessary to look back a little at the history where these dogmas abound.

What Buddhism was at the beginning has been variously judged. All agree that in the fifth or sixth century B.C. a great teacher began to preach a new way of life resting on the truths that he had discovered. But some scholars hold that the original teaching was something very different from what we find now, though they do not agree as to what it was. Only two facts are clear: one that these theories all contradict one another, and that the investigators agree that the supposed primitive teaching no longer exists. What we have to deal with is Buddhism as the Buddhists know it, and as it exists at the present day.

Another way in which Buddhism is very variously estimated is its value as a religion. I am not proposing to speak of the validity of its religious doctrines in comparison with other religious systems. I will quote the words of the Russian scholar Otto Rosenberg:

> 'Buddhism has long ago attracted general attention as the only one among the systems of world-religions which, in its influence extending over peoples of the most varied races and the most varied stages of culture, can be compared with Christianity and Islam. All the more astonishing are the different estimates that can be found of Buddhism. Buddhism is a force for which some feel extreme aversion; others welcome it with the greatest sympathy. Sometimes Buddhism is held up as an example of senseless idolatry, entirely undeserving the name of religion, or again as an example of a religion very close to Christianity, or even as a religion that can be combined with modern science as the religion of the future'.

1. Lecture delivered before the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society, December 6, 1944. Published by kind permission of the Society.

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Without passing any general judgment on Buddhism we can first ask what is its attitude to other religions at the present day, and what kind of people they are who revere the name of Buddha.

There are several points to be noted in its attitude to other forms of belief. Buddhism claims to be a universal religion. It claims to replace all other religions except so far as it can assimilate their principles. But there is a fact more fundamental than Buddhism itself ; that is, that it started from special Indian beliefs, which it took for granted. The chief of these were the belief in transmigration and the doctrine of the retribution of actions. These are not doctrines which the early Buddhists would think it necessary to put among their articles of belief—they were already taken for granted as a commonly accepted view of life by most Indian religions.

The doctrine of the retribution of actions or *karma* is in principle the same as the teaching that whatsoever a man doeth that shall he also reap, but when this teaching was combined with the belief in an endless succession of lives it became all-embracing. It made it possible to give an explanation of all misfortunes. A man's unexplained unhappiness in this life must be due to misdeed in a past existence, and he will reap the fruit of all his present actions either in this or some future life, unless he can break the chain of his continued rebirths. That is also what the rival Indian systems mostly taught. But Buddhism taught what it held to be the true way of breaking the chain.

These two doctrines seem to me to give Buddhism as well as other Indian systems a quite peculiar position. Buddhism is separated from Hinduism not only by its new teaching about the way of escape, but also by the doctrine of caste. Hinduism is not merely a religion ; it is also a social structure. It includes a belief in the divinely ordered structure of society, and this is an essential part of Hindu religion.

Buddhism was far from neglecting the importance of caste. It was only within the Order of monks that caste became extinguished, but it never made caste an obstacle to the winning of release. At the moment the question of caste does not concern us, for Buddhism at the present day is mostly held by peoples who have never come within the framework of caste.

Buddhism claims to be a universal religion, and it makes this claim more distinct by basing it on the teaching of a unique person. Other religions do the same kind of thing in a way that makes compromise impossible. When a religion claims to be universal, it is a case of either—or. No universal religion can sink its teaching in that of another without admitting its own superfluity, and Buddhism least of all is likely to cancel its first principle, which says: I go to the Buddha as a refuge.

One feature Buddhism has in common with other religions, perhaps all the higher religions ; that is, it is mystical. The highest truth is known and

grasped, not by any reasoning process, but by intuition. But the knowledge gained by intuition cannot be expressed in terms of this world. That is why the mystics are unable to tell us anything of their experiences except in symbolical language, and that is why the Buddhist has nothing positive to say about the highest state which he aims at ; and which he calls Nirvāṇa. It is something to be experienced, but it is inexpressible.

Apart from these purely religious questions there are points of contact and parallel modes of thought shared by Buddhism with the thought of the West. Buddhism, like other Indian religions, is also a philosophy—that is, it hold views about the nature of the world and the place of the individual in it, as well as religious doctrines which tell men how to act for their own welfare in the face of these surroundings. Just as in Christianity the key-word is salvation, so in Buddhism it is release.

We speak of Northern and Southern Buddhism. These terms were invented under a misapprehension, for both forms originated in much the same region of India. But the earlier form was transplanted to Ceylon, and from there it spread to Burma and as far as Indo-China, so that with its disappearance in India it has become Southern Buddhism. The other great division spread at a later period to China and Japan, and can well be called Northern Buddhism.

The differences between the two are fairly well known. The Northern, calling itself Mahāyāna, 'the great career', made additions to the earlier teaching. It holds that every individual may form, and ought to form, the resolve to become a Buddha. There is nothing in this contradictory to the earlier teaching. Buddha himself started ages ago as an ordinary man, and gradually through birth after birth realised his aim by his own efforts. While he was so striving he was a Bodhisattva, and he is recognised as such by all schools.

The other chief feature of Mahāyāna is that it developed a new theory of reality, the theory that everything that we perceive is unreal. This was a great step philosophically, and it arrived at conclusions which were often strange to earlier Buddhism. But it was not set forth in opposition to the earlier teaching. The old teaching in fact lent itself to this development. All the old Scriptures were retained, though they had sometimes to be interpreted in special ways. One way in which this was done was by introducing the doctrine of two truths—everyday truth and truth in the highest sense. The consequence was that on the level of everyday truth Mahāyāna could accept all the older teaching. But I shall have more to say of this when we come to China and Japan.

We find evidence for this Mahāyāna movement from about the Christian era, but the development must have begun earlier. This was in the system

of teaching in the monastic establishments. There was a body of Scripture consisting of two parts, the discipline (*Vinaya*) and the doctrine (*Dhamma*). These became fixed, but still the discipline allowed of expansion when additional cases had to be decided. In the Dhamma also questions of interpretation arose, and these were discussed in the monastic places of instruction. Such discussion was known as *Abhidhamma*, further *Dhamma* or special *Dhamma*. The original *Dhamma* of the Scriptures was left untouched, but the practice of discussion led to the composition of further works. These now form the third part of the Canon, the *Abhidhamma*. But this name still kept its wider meaning of discussion of the Dhamma, and works of this kind are still composed.

Abhidhamma also widened the scope of its inquiries, and came to be a philosophy in the sense of an inquiry into all branches of human experience. This divides into an inquiry into the nature of the world outside us—that is, cosmology—and the world within, the nature of the self, what we call psychology.

What I have to say now may appear rather technical, but it is necessary if we are to approach the line of thought in which an educated Buddhist, whether of Ceylon or Japan, looks at the question.

What does the world consist of ? We can leave aside the question of its origin, for this, both to Buddhist and Hindu was a conception taken for granted. It was the view that the universe passes repeatedly through a stage of evolution into a more static stage, and then gradually into a state of decay or devolution until after a stage of rest the evolution begins again. In this view the chief difference made by the Buddhists was to exclude from discussion the question whether this process ever had an absolute beginning. But the nature of the world that we actually experience was a matter for examination and analysis. We are familiar with European theories. Ancient science was content to say that the outer world consists of four elements, mixed up in different proportions, which produce everything that we see or experience. Modern science tells us of elements in a different sense, and groups them all under matter and motion. The Buddhists did not start from these abstractions. They did not even have a word for matter in general. They looked at the world and saw that it consisted of a number of things—the word for thing is *dhamma* or *dharma*, the same word as the word for 'doctrine', but quite distinct in meaning. It has an important place in Abhidhamma, and also in Mahāyāna theory. The business of the student of Abhidhamma was to classify these 'things'. The first great division that they made was of things outside us, everything that we perceive with the five senses; and things within us, our ideas and all our mental experiences. These mental phenomena are for the Buddhist also things, and their classification is what we call psychology.

The Buddhists had several ways of classifying them. One is according to the different senses, visible things perceived by the eye and so on. But each sense can only perceive the objects for which it is fitted. The eye has no perception of sounds or tastes. But there is one sense which can take account of all classes of consciousness. This is the mind, and accordingly Buddhism speaks of six senses. These six senses make up the conscious life of the individual. This life along with the unconscious processes of the body goes on in a continuous stream. It is always changing, but it is never broken, even between two births, for it is held that by means of special training a person can remember his previous births. The whole of this teaching is thus a system of psychology much as we understand it, but it is not psychology for its own sake. Its analysis of the elements of the mental life forms a refutation of the ātman-theory, and it is all part of the training for going on the path to Nirvāṇa. Consequently it is interested in describing the states of mind attained as the disciple rises higher and higher in stages of contemplation.

Psychology is the science of the soul, the *psyche*. You are aware of the view that Buddhism denies the existence of the soul. When that is stated in English it is merely one of the dogmas that we have to avoid. If, when we speak of the soul, we mean the totality of an individual's consciousness with all its ideas, thoughts, volitions, feelings, memories, and so on, then Buddhism does not deny the soul. What it denies is the Hindu theory of the soul or ātman, the theory that behind all these changing states of consciousness there is some permanent entity, the ātman, which passes unchanged from birth to birth. That is what Buddhism denies, but it is equally emphatic in holding that the group of mental states of the individual is continuous. What a man is now is continuous not only with what he was as a child, but with what he was in every previous existence. That is why a man is responsible for what he may have done in births a million years ago if the karma has not ripened, and this will continue up to Nirvāṇa. What happens then? Will he be annihilated? Here we have another dogma. Nirvāṇa has been translated annihilation. But Buddhism expressly denies that Nirvāṇa means the annihilation of the individual.

There is another classification of things, covering both internal and external—that is, into compound things and uncompounded. The compound are ordinary things, which are always changing and passing into something else. The uncompounded are Nirvāṇa and, as some schools say, space. For Buddhism believes not only in constant change, but also in an absolutely real, something absolutely unchangeable. This is the state reached by the emancipated person. Nothing is said about its nature, for the only one who can do that is the one who has attained it.

All these questions are naturally matters only for the educated and for those who are directly aiming at the goal, but they are still studied not only

in Southern Buddhism but also in the schools of China and Japan. In the popular teaching they are not prominent. The ordinary man is not directly concerned with Nirvāṇa. He knows that while he is living an ordinary life and enjoying the pleasures of the world he is not going to win the final goal; but he believes that if he leads a good life his next existence will be a happy one. Consequently the popular teaching and preaching is concentrated on those parts of the Scripture that teach practical morality. The Buddhists of Ceylon have periodical meetings for lay people, which correspond somewhat to our preaching of sermons, and a favourite work in use is the *Jātaka*. This is a work that consists of tales of the Buddha's previous existences. Some are Hindu fables adapted to Buddhist morality, and serve the same purpose as our parables. They teach many virtues, but the great lesson of all is expressed in a verse which is found in several parts of the Scriptures:

> The deeds of mortals perish not
> Even in a hundred million ages;
> When the fulness of time has come,
> Then do the deeds of men bear fruit.

The most popular Jātakas are long stories of the romantic adventures of the Buddha in his existence as a king or a sage or a king's minister. A favourite one is the tale of Vessantara, the prince who reached the perfection of the virtue of almsgiving. Both in Burma and Ceylon it has been turned into a play. Captain Forbes, speaking of the Burmese performances, said that it attracted audiences ready to spend the night in hearing of the trials of the prince and the devotion of his wife. Captain Forbes also said that he had seen men moved to tears by a good representation of the play, and he describes a performance by children in a village of about 200 houses:

> 'The eldest performer was about fourteen, the daughter of the head-man, a slight, pretty girl . . . They were regularly trained by an old man as stage manager . . . The little company used to perform this piece capitally, but the acting of the little maid of fourteen in the part of the princess could not be surpassed, she seemed to have lost herself in her part '.

Another favourite Jātaka tells the story of Mahosadha, who was the future Buddha in his life as the skilful minister of a king. It has a curious interest from the fact that it includes an incident which is found in the First Book of Kings, the well-known Judgment of Solomon. Mahosadha, before he became minister, had to decide nineteen difficult problems. On one occasion two women were disputing about the possession of a child. He drew a line, and said that the one who could pull it over the line should have the child. Naturally, as soon as the child began to cry the real mother let go. The Jātakas have always been popular means of instruction, for we find them represented on Buddhist monuments as early as the third century B.C.

The most completely Buddhist country at the present day appears to be Thailand. It is a country which is not easy to view from within, but there is a very objectively written book by an American author Kenneth Elmer Wells, which came out a few years ago.[2] He does not deal with the studies of the monks, but he gives a detailed picture of their activities among the people, the many feasts and ceremonies, and the organisation of the Church. One peculiar feature is that it has adopted a hierarchical system. Older Buddhism recognised no rank except seniority of age, and each community was independent in its own parish. But in Thailand what Dr. Wells calls an episcopal form of government has been established. There is a supreme head, whom he calls a patriarch, and next in rank four members of the clergy, who might be termed Archbishops. These together form a Supreme Council. The whole country is divided into seventy-five provinces. In describing the life of the people he says:

> 'A Thai child moves in a Buddhist milieu from birth . . . When little more than a month old he may be taken to a bhikkhu to have his birth-hair shaved from his head and a benedictory service performed. When the child is six or seven he may go to a school within the temple ground. The monks will enable him to make merit daily by his presenting them with food, they will give him moral and religious instruction, invoke the blessing of good fortune upon him on birthdays or at house-warmings, assist at his wedding, and above all conduct the necessary funeral rites when death enters his home. From Buddhism he derives his metaphysics, his conception of the world, heaven, hell, the nature and end of man, his idea of karma or the working of the moral law, and his belief in metempsychosis and Nirvāṇa. If what he wants is purely a philosophy of life—Buddhism is that; if he wants a religion—Buddhism is that, a religion with prayers, austerities, devotional exercises and communal worship'.

Although Thailand appears to be the most orthodox of Buddhist countries, there is one interesting feature brought to light by Dr. Wells, and that is a tendency to rationalism. Magical rites and formulas have always existed in Buddhism, and they are used at the present day in Thailand. One is the *Āṭānāṭiya sutta*, a charm for obtaining the goodwill of evil-disposed spirits. King Chulalongkorn reproved both the believers in spirits and the sceptics by insisting that the essential matter in the sutta was the worship of Buddha.

His successor, King Vajiravudh, even rationalised the life of Buddha. He said:

> 'I do not believe that it was possible for King Suddhodana or anyone else to have prevented Gotama from knowing the laws of nature

2. *Thai Buddhism, its Rites and Activities*, Bangkok, 1939.

regarding old age, sickness, and death. He knew Brahmanism, and it deals with sickness, old age, and death, so he was not ignorant of these'.

When rationalism begins in a religion it usually leads not to reform but to scepticism. It is too early to say what direction Buddhism will take.

If we turn to Northern Buddhism we find no tendency to rationalism there. This form of Buddhism in China, Korea, Japan, Tibet and Mongolia is well known as Mahāyāna. For its interpretation of the ordinary facts of experience it accepted the teachings of Abhidhamma, but it went beyond the Abhidhamma position (as expounded in Sarvāstivādin works) by holding that everyone ought to become a Buddha, and also by developing a new theory of reality. It shared with the other schools the ordinary theory of reality, the view that what is perceived consists of a world of things or objects all in constant change. But this reality is only transient existence. It has no *svabhāva*. Behind all this is an absolute reality, reality in the highest sense, and hence all perceptible changing things are said to be void or empty of reality.

This teaching has been called nihilism. I will not try to argue the point here, but I will only say that the word *śūnyatā*, 'void' or 'voidness', does not mean nihilism, and that a system which at the same time asserts an absolute reality can hardly be called nihilistic. This reality is called *tathatā*, 'suchness'; it is indescribable, and it can only be said that it is *tathā* 'so' or 'such'. This reality is so absolute that nothing else can be called real in the same sense. Spinoza had the same thought when he said that God is the Cause whose essence involves existence—that is, it is a kind of existence which cannot even be imagined to be non-existent.

But Mahāyāna doctrine was not introduced into China and Japan in the form of a philosophical principle. The Chinese had a philosophy of their own, but it did not amalgamate with Buddhism. The new teaching came rather as a revelation. This was so even with the metaphysical side of the teaching. It did not present itself as a solution to the problems already existing in the native philosophy, but gave an outlook on aspects of experience that were quite new to the Chinese. From the fourth to the seventh century Chinese travellers visited India and Ceylon, and brought back all they could find. In the fifth century Fa Hian visited both India and Ceylon and returned with books and images. A century later two other travellers brought back one hundred and seventy volumes of Mahāyāna sūtras, and in the seventh century Hiuen Tsiang returned with one hundred and twenty sūtras and so many other works that twenty-two horses were required to carry them.

It was on the basis of these works that schools were founded. Some particular sūtra was taken, which formed the basis of the teaching of each school. There are four important schools, which were afterwards introduced into Japan, and I shall refer to them by the Japanese form of their names.

The Tendai school has as its chief sūtra the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, 'the Lotus of the Good Doctrine'. This teaches that all men are destined to become Buddhas, and it contains little reference to metaphysical teaching. But it shows a remarkable development in its teaching about the nature of a Buddha. It tells how, when a disciple asked how the Buddha can have taught so many individuals in the space of forty years, Buddha explained that he has always existed. He merely makes a show of being born and teaching the doctrine. The reason is (though it is not expounded in the sūtra) because Buddha and all other Buddhas are only manifestations of one ultimate reality, this reality being tathatā. Buddhism has here become a system very like Vedānta. In fact it uses the same word *māyā* to describe the illusory world, behind which is the reality which the Vedantins call Brahman and the Mahayanists Suchness.

But the new teaching came to the Chinese in a number of sūtras which appeared to teach no consistent doctrine. They tried to sort it out, and decided that the early sūtras were meant for simple minds, who could not comprehend the higher doctrine, and they seized on the latest sūtras with their gorgeous descriptions and mystifying revelations. It suited the type of mind that delights in the marvellous, and this can be seen in Mr. D. T. Suzuki's description of the sūtra called *Buddhāvataṃsaka*, 'the Adornments of the Buddha', the Scripture of the Kegon sect. He says of it:

> 'To my mind no religious literature in the world can ever approach the grandeur of conception, the depths of feeling and the gigantic scale of composition, as attained in this sūtra. It is the eternal fountain of life from which no religious mind will turn back athirst or only partially satisfied'.

These are the words of a religious spirit that feels a joy in contemplating a marvellous vision and finding an escape from the harsh realities of life. But there is nothing of the solid thinking whereby the Indian Buddhists built up a consistent system.

Another school also looked for practical means of escape but in a quite different way. This was the Zen school, which made contemplation their chief occupation. Zen is a corruption of Skt. *dhyāna*, but it had little to do with the Indian practice of meditation. It is said to have been introduced from India to China by Bodhidharma, but it was so modified that Suzuki calls it 'a native product of the Chinese mind'. It flourishes in Japan, and is said to have greatly influenced the military class, the Samurai.

The most popular of all schools, however, is the Pure Land school. One Japanese scholar has calculated that at least half the number of Buddhists in Japan accept its teaching. The school which is specially devoted to it is Jōdō, the Pure Land school, it has two sūtras, *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, which describe the Happy Land Sukhāvati, where the Buddha Amitābha is supreme.

This means that the historical Buddha is put on one side. He appears in the sūtras as describing the Happy Land and its dwellers, but all devotion is directed to the Buddha of this land, Amitābha, or as the Japanese call him, Amida, the Buddha of Infinite Light. He does not even exist in this universe, for the theory is that there can be only one Buddha at a time. Otherwise it would imply that he cannot do all his work completely. But as there are hundreds of thousands of millions of universes, there can be innumerable Buddhas not only in succession, but at the same time in different universes. The universe of Amitābha is at the west of this universe.

In the sūtra Buddha—that is, the historical Buddha—gives Ānanda a list of eighty-one Buddhas, the last of whom was the Buddha Lokeśvararāja. This Buddha told one of his disciples of the glories of all these Buddhas, and the disciple formed the idea of combining all the excellences of these eighty-one Buddhas into one Buddha-realm, and then made the vow to become Buddha of this realm. This disciple is now the Buddha Amitābha, and his universe is the Happy Land, to which all may go who devoutly repeat the name of Amitābha.

It is sometimes said that Amitābha-worship is a complete departure from the original teaching. That is merely a dogma of non-Buddhists. It does not substitute residence in heaven for the attaining of Nirvāṇa. It may be that many Japanese who repeat the name of Amida do not look beyond the hope of reaching the bliss of the Happy Land, but this is not the teaching of the school. The end in all schools is the attainment of Nirvāṇa, and Amitābha makes the way easier. Those who reach the Happy Land become Bodhisattvas, and go on without hindrances until they reach the goal by becoming Buddhas.

All this is Buddha-worship, but there is another aspect of Mahāyāna which in India itself has had a great influence on the religion of lay people. This is the theory of the Bodhisattvas. When a Bodhisattva has completed his course, he has amassed a great store of merit, which he can bestow on others. Hence the layman came to revere some particular Bodhisattva, from whom he might expect great blessings in this life. One of the most popular is Avalokiteśvara, who in China became transformed into a woman, and appears as the goddess of mercy, Kwan yin, or as the Japanese call her, Kwan non.

There are other schools besides these, some of which originated in Japan, but they can scarcely be said to set forth any important principle. Some of them are really based on the old Japanese beliefs in magic and shamanism. They have received a Buddhistic colouring through their gods being identified with Bodhisattvas.

But all this is popular Buddhism. Behind these beliefs of the people a study of the fundamental doctrines goes on in the colleges of Japan. It

begins, as in older Buddhism, with the subject of Abhidharma, and this is Abhidharma as interpreted by the Sarvāstivādin schools. It could be easily adopted by the Mahayanists, for the facts of experience had to be dealt with, even though they were no longer facts but only a series of illusions. This scholastic Buddhism has also developed in another way. For some years it has been the custom of Japanese students to come to India and Europe, where they can study the methods of Western scholars. They have also developed the systematic investigation of the history of the subject, and have published important Sanskrit and Chinese texts.

To express any general verdict on Buddhism in China and Japan would not be becoming for one who has not lived among the people, but these words of a Catholic missionary who has long been resident in China seem to be of great weight:

> 'The physiognomy of ancient China has certainly changed since it became a republic: that is a visible fact. But what of its ideas? Well, it is also a fact that beneath the American "feelings" with which certain of the young people have sprinkled it . . . it is a fact, I say, that fundamentally the Chinese people still think as they thought for milleniums since their remote origin. Confucius is no longer the author studied by scholars; he is more, for he is recognised as the moralist, the economist, the politician of China. Taoism, which had fallen to the level of a despised and dreaded superstition, is now considered by certain scholars to be the real national philosophy. Buddhism, whose good old legends once only raised a smile, is rising again in China, as it has risen in Japan, under a Mahayanist or Amidist form, winning minds by the loftiness of its idealism, and winning hearts by the sweetness of its charity'.[3]

Here we have the two sides of Buddhism, the philosophical and the religious. The philosophical side was never absent, for the religious aim was the attainment of knowledge, but it was always directed to knowledge held to be advantageous to progress on the Noble Way. That was so even in the case of the most extreme metaphysical developments, and the teaching about the End has always remained the same.

We can see how Buddhism in various parts of the world is now flourishing with renewed life, but I cannot see that it has ever come into contact with modern thought—and by modern thought I mean Western thought. In its religious aspect it is opposed to any form of Western religion. It admits much of the ethical value of the teaching of other religions, but it replies, *that* is what we have already learnt from our own Master. These are some of the aspects which in a small degree I have tried to express.

E. J. THOMAS

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3. Pére L. Wieger, S. J. *Textes philosophiques, Confuciisme, Taoïsme, Buddhisme* 1930.

The Foundation of the University of Ceylon

(*Continued from page* 162)

III. The Battle of the Sites, 1923-27

In the documents so far quoted, there was only one reference to controversy. It was made by Mr. Marrs in his letter of February 8, 1923, to the Colonial Secretary, and is quoted *ante* page 159. There was in fact a section of opinion, small but vocal, which disapproved of a University in Colombo. It was led by Mr. D. R. Wijewardena, a member of a well-known family who had been educated at Cambridge and called to the English Bar. He had returned to Ceylon, purchased a small and declining newspaper, and had gradually built up the company now known as the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon, Ltd., though more popularly as 'Lake House', from the name of the building which stands on the side of the Beira Lake. The company owned two influential newspapers, the *Ceylon Daily News* and the *Ceylon Observer.* The present writer knew the late Mr. Wijewardene quite well in his later years (i.e. from 1941 to his death in 1949) and he would say of him that every scheme which he prepared or supported was thoroughly thought out and inspired by the purest of motives. He had been educated to the liberal tradition in England and founded the *Ceylon Daily News* on the model of the *Daily News* of London. He was a fervent nationalist and, even as a student, he had helped to organise the agitation for greater constitutional reform. He was in fact a very capable organiser and a most persuasive and persistent controversialist, though his weapons were the press and the private conversation, not the public speech. He deliberately avoided the limelight and was rarely mentioned even in his own newspapers, but this anonymity, and the firmness with which he stated his views, led to a considerable personal unpopularity, which he seemed not to mind in the least.

To trace the development of the Battle of the Sites would require much study of and quotation from the Lake House newspapers. The most sustained effort was in a series of articles later reprinted under the title 'Shall Ceylon have a Shoddy University ?' The title was taken from a statement alleged to have been made by Lord Milner, when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the effect that, though he did not wish to speak disparagingly of the universities of India, he hoped that Ceylon would not have a 'shoddy university' but a real university, in the best sense of the word. These articles were published in 1921 and were directed against the Thurstan Road site. 'Will the mouse produce the mountain ?' It would be no better off than the Indian universities which were 'factories turning out myriads of anaemic

graduates ': they ' kill the body as well as the soul '. The university was to have 18½ acres : ' We propose to perform in Ceylon the miracle of a university in a cabbage patch '. Ceylon has always aimed high. It always wanted a residential university on the best models. ' Better miss a lion than hit a jackal ', said the Tamil poet. The suggestion was made that the university might find a suitable home somewhere near Peradeniya. A 100 acres would be needed, and the land should be in close proximity to the river, the Botanical Gardens and the Experimental Station (presumably Gannoruwa).

> ' The natural features of such a situation would be admirable. The climate is good and no misgivings need be entertained as regards health. The rural surroundings will give the serenity and calmness essential for a happy and healthy student life. There will be scope for extensive playing fields and, if necessary, golf links may be laid out on a side of the Peradeniya racecourse. The river provides good bathing and possibly good boating too. Altogether the physical side of education in a university situated at Peradeniya would be ideal.
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> The intellectual advantages are no less attractive. Those who woo the muses cannot find a more congenial spot to do so. But what is of greater urgency in a purely agricultural colony like ours, is that the best talent should be diverted to the land. The opportunities for agricultural education, in a University at Peradeniya would be unequalled. There are the finest Botanical gardens in the East, an adequate experimental station, well equipped research laboratories, estates of tea, rubber and cocoa, vast areas of paddy fields and the rural atmosphere of the place—a combination, unsurpassed in any other country in the East. There are also the Crown reserves at Peradeniya, affording fine scope for a first-rate education in forestry '.

Some of the advantages claimed for Peradeniya were over-stated, and we now know that to build a university on 100 acres would be to ' perform the miracle of a university in a cabbage patch '. On the other hand, some of the advantages were under-stated. Though Mr. Wijewardene's papers stated the case for the fully residential university and he probably had ' the backs ' of Cambridge in his mind, they did not make enough of the physical beauty of Peradeniya and the influence which it could exercise on the broadening mind.

The thesis of the articles was fully supported by Dr. S. C. Paul, who said that 600 acres were available in Peradeniya. 200 acres could be acquired in Peradeniya for the price of 3 acres in Thurstan Road. The university must be planned by a great expert like Sir Patrick Geddes. The colleges could be put up by the missionary societies. Twenty lakhs would be enough to launch such a scheme, and the lands and buildings in Thurstan Road were worth twenty-five lakhs.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, too, was interviewed by the *Ceylon Daily News*. He thought the Thurstan Road scheme to be a 'poor makeshift and only to be tolerated as a beginning'. He favoured the plan of moving into the country, and wanted a residential university. With a backward glance at Sir Edward Denham, whom he did not specifically mention, he said that 'when a man who was not an educationalist tried to hustle, the results were, of necessity, deplorable'. It should be said, however, that until his death in 1924 Sir Ponnambalam was the most active member of the University College Council and did much to make the College's early years a success.

Another supporter was Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka. He thought that the Thurstan Road site would be found, in course of time, to be utterly inadequate and unsuitable. The scheme suffered from narrowness of view and a deplorable lack of imagination. The university should be established outside Colombo and two or three hundred acres ought to be acquired. If land was available in Peradeniya he was in favour of putting the university there. Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne and Principal A. G. Fraser of Trinity also favoured removal outside Colombo.

All these persons became members of the University College Council, which in due course accepted the Buller's Road site, though only Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam was a member of the sub-committee which inspected that site. It should be emphasised, however, that questions of this character cannot be settled in the abstract. The problem in 1923-24 was not to create an ideal university but to get the best that was practicable in the circumstances. It is much easier to criticise a decision a generation later than to take the decision at the time. In 1923 there was a small University College in being in Thurstan Road. It became practicable to move it to a much larger and better site in Buller's Road and to secure Rs. 4,500,000. If Sir Ponnambalam still believed—and on this there is no evidence—that it was better to build in Peradeniya, his problem was whether to accept this immediately practicable scheme or whether to oppose the Government and to support a scheme which might (and in fact did) involve ten or fifteen years of controversy, and meanwhile no university. It is easy now to say that Mr. Wijewardena was almost right; it is much less easy to say that a practical politician, or even a university administrator, ought to have supported Mr. Wijewardena and opposed the Government. A university on 95 acres in Buller's Road was better than a score of universities on paper.

The Battle of the Sites must have turned into an armed truce from 1923 to 1926, for there is no record of it in the University files. When Mr. Marrs left for England in February, 1926, for his first leave, he had (as he thought) secured the approval of the Government to the allocation of the Buller's Road site and obtained from the Legislative Council a vote of Rs. 3,000,000, with a

promise of Rs. 1,500,000 more. He had in his luggage a copy of the recommendations of the Academic Committee on degree courses, and a draft Constitution which he had prepared at the request of a sub-committee of the University College Council, both of which he proposed to submit to the Committee appointed by the University of Oxford to advise the Ceylon Government. The University College was in a flourishing condition with a staff of eight professors and twelve lecturers, and a student body of 256.

The reason for reopening the site question was apparently the arrival of Sir Hugh Clifford, who had assumed duties as Governor. The first step was a memorandum, ascribed to Mr. D. R. Wijewardena and Dr. S. C. Paul. The ascription seems to be accurate, for when Professor Leigh-Smith, as Acting Principal of the University College, asked for a copy it was sent to him by the Colonial Secretary as having been sent to the Governor by Mr. Wijewardena and Dr. Paul. It was discussed at a meeting of the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council on the 23rd April, 1926, when the question of a new site for Queen's House—which had been condemned by the Public Works Department—was under consideration. According to the explanation given afterwards by Sir James Peiris,[20] Mr. Francis Molamure ' very innocently ' asked whether a Memorandum signed by a ' prominent educationalist ' had been forwarded to the Government in which it was suggested that the Buller's Road site be abandoned and 25 acres appropriated for a new Queen's House. Mr. E. W. Perera then suggested that 20 acres should be taken for a Queen's House and the remainder sold. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka suggested that a Committee be appointed to look into the question of the university site. The Colonial Secretary then said that the Government would address the Finance Committee on the subject at the next meeting.

After giving a somewhat tendentious history of the adoption of the Buller's Road scheme, the memorandum said that the site was ' only partially suited for building purposes ' and more land had been sought. Even if this contingency had not arisen, ' many people ' would fear that the Colony was committing an irretrievable mistake in spending enormous sums for a university in Colombo, where the cost of building land was prohibitive and the land available for building was strictly limited.

A definite scheme was submitted. The assets available were the value of College House, the value of the Buller's Road site, the Rs. 3,000,000 already voted, and any further demands before the Finance Committee, e.g. for hostels. Not all the Buller's Road site should be sold, however, for 25 acres would be reserved for a new Queen's House. With the assets an estate of 1,000 acres could be purchased some 10 or 12 miles from Colombo. Of these 1,000 acres,

20. *Buller's Road Site for the University*, ed. P. de S. Kularatne, 1927, p. 5.

250 acres would be used for buildings and the other 750 acres given on twenty-five-year building leases. This scheme would bring a revenue and even contribute to endowments. Such a site might be found in Angulana, though the possibility of a site near Kandy was not excluded.

The result of this memorandum and of discussions in the Finance Committee was that Sir Hugh Clifford summoned a Conference of the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council on May 31, 1926. The Governor was either very ignorant or he feigned ignorance of the Buller's Road scheme; he referred to the matters which had not been decided and did not mention all the hard work which Mr. Marrs and the Council had put in. 'Up to the present moment there has been a great deal of talk about buildings, wild guesses about expenditure, generous gestures on your part about setting aside certain large sums of money to meet expenses but had at no time before you any detailed estimate of expenditure, capital or recurrent'. He wanted the Unofficial Members especially to decide what sort of university it was to be, the general scheme on which it was to be founded, and the manner in which it was to be carried on.

Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan immediately played into the Governor's hands by saying that it was never the intention to convert the University College into a university. It was to be the model College, but there were to be other Colleges in different parts of the Island. What is more, he criticised Mr. Marrs for 'trying to confine all education to the University College'. Colombo was 'saturated with sensualism, materialism and atheism and holds ideas which are even revolutionary': many parents would not dare to send their children there. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka said that Sir Ramanathan had 'revived a somewhat ancient trouble'. His views were not shared by all the members, who thought that the University College would merge itself into the University. It was to be a teaching and residential University. On the question of site he observed 'It is perfectly true that the University College Council accepted the offer of Government of the Buller's Road site for the reason that it was better than the site previously offered, but I always held the opinion—and some others held the same opinion—that it would be the greatest pity to establish the University in the city of Colombo'. Mr. D. S. Senanayake put the matter in a nutshell. 'We assumed that the site was to be in Buller's Road. I do not mean that we should stick to that site for ever. I am in favour of going out of Colombo, but I feel that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. Before we part with one site we should be given another'.

As soon as he saw the Minutes of this Conference, Professor Leigh-Smith asked for an interview with the Colonial Secretary and requested permission to send in a memorandum setting out the work of the University College

Council from 1920 to 1926. A copy was also sent to Mr. Marrs, who sent the draft Ordinance and Statutes and a rough Estimate of the recurrent cost of the University.

In consequence of a further discussion in the Finance Committee, Sir Hugh Clifford on June 20, 1926, appointed a Committee 'to consider the question of a site for the proposed Ceylon University and to submit a report thereon'. The members were Mr. Justice M. T. Akbar, Mr. Francis Molamure, Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Mr. Hermann A. Loos, and Mr. W. E. Wait. They submitted a report on November 19, 1926, and it was published as *Sessional Paper No. V* of 1927. Mr. Marrs, who had returned from leave in November, 1926 and had been invited to comment on the Report, submitted such comments on January 13, 1927, and they were published as *Sessional Paper No. IX* of 1927.

The Committee felt that no report could be made on the question of site until the question of the type of the university had been considered; and this involved, in their opinion, consideration of the question whether a university was necessary at all.

Having examined the history of the matter, the Committee concluded as follows:—

'It will be seen from the above history that certain facts stand out clearly, viz.:—

(1) That the Government stands pledged to establish a University in Ceylon.

(2) That in the opinion of many the University should be a teaching and residential university of the unitary type.

(3) It was assumed as a matter of course by everyone that the University should be established in Colombo.

(4) The Government and the Legislative Council accepted the Buller's Road site as a suitable site on the assurance of a sub-Committee of the University College Council, and even on March 20, 1924, when Sir Cecil Clementi proposed the resolution for the allocation of a sum of Rs. 3,000,000 for the University Building and Equipment Fund, he referred to a contour plan which was then being prepared. This and the memorandum of Mr. Thornhill . . . show that when the site was selected by Mr. Marrs and the sub-Committee of the University College Council, they had not asked for a detailed expert report from the Public Works Department, and that they only had a plan showing the area and its acreage.

(5) That the whole responsibility for a preliminary decision on the many points arising out of the establishment of a University has been

put somewhat unfairly, we think, on Mr. Marrs, and that Mr. Marrs always consulted the University College Council. Thus, Mr. Marrs, with the help of the University College Council, was expected to choose the site of the University, design the buildings, estimate the cost of the buildings, draw up degree courses, choose the site for hostels, decide on the policy with regard to the management of these hostels, work up the recurrent expenditure, and actually draft the constitution of the University. We cannot but admire the energy which Mr. Marrs has brought to bear on the many questions which he was thus obliged to face. As he himself says, on certain points, 'the task has been formidable, and the work slow'. It was bound to be.

(6) Even with the progress he has made—

(*a*) The scheme for the entrance and degree courses has not been considered by the University College Council or the Government.

(*b*) The draft constitution has been prepared as a rough draft, which might be useful as a basis for discussion. This has not yet been considered by the University College Council or the Government.

(*c*) The estimate by the Principal of the University College of the nett annually recurrent cost of the University is admitted to be only a rough one, and that the calculation "must in all cases be approximate". This has not been revised by the University College Council or the Government. The number of professors and lecturers for the medical, legal, and agricultural courses seems to be inadequate, and the various authorities presiding over these departments have not been consulted. Some of the items under the estimates of receipts, e.g. tuition fees for the B.A. course, would appear to require careful revision. The estimates do not provide for the payment of pensions to the staff nor for their residence.

(*d*) The question of hostels has not been decided—where they are to be put up, at whose cost, and how they are to be managed. The estimated annual cost of maintenance does not provide for the salaries of wardens, tutors, and assistant tutors.

(*e*) Nothing has been settled yet as regards the actual buildings themselves, their architectural designs, the materials of which they are to be built, and the true cost.

(*f*) As regards the Buller's Road site, as we shall see later, the extent to which the marshy land on the site itself should be reclaimed and whether the swamp on two sides of the site should be treated at all are left in the air '.

This statement appears to be true in detail and yet to give a false impression. The more modern technique is to appoint an expert Commission—and there were no such experts in Ceylon—to report on the questions of principle and, when those questions have been accepted by the Government, to leave a properly constituted local committee, aided and advised by a university administrator, to work out the details. That practice was not followed in Ceylon, and Mr. Marrs had to work out both principles and details in consultation with an advisory Council. Whether the process could have been expedited is a question which cannot be answered by an *ex post facto* investigation. Mr. Marrs read this section of the Report as a criticism of himself; the present writer reads it as a criticism of the procedure followed by a series of Governors.

The Committee had no difficulty in deciding that Ceylon needed a university. Nor had it great difficulty in deciding that it should be unitary and residential. The Buller's Road site was then considered and rejected. It would not enable the university to teach Agriculture, ' the only enterprise in which the Island is interested, and will ever be interested '. Separation from the Colombo Museum would not matter because duplicate zoological specimens could be obtained. The Museum Library would be a loss but students would ordinarily require ' only a limited library '. Law and Medicine would create no difficulty because the clinical and court work would be done in Colombo. Colombo was unhealthy and very soon a university in Buller's Road would be surrounded by the city on all sides. The site was inadequate because only 50 acres was above the 10-feet contour, and it would be necessary to fill in 31 acres at a cost of Rs. 500,000. Besides, residential accommodation was provided only for 180 students. A revised scheme would require 223 acres in addition to the 95 acres and would be too costly.

A site at Ratmalana (i.e. Angulana) was quickly rejected and Peradeniya almost as quickly. Though it had advantages which were enumerated, the cost of site-work would be heavy and the central portion was liable to floods. Something could be said for the site if the racecourse and golf-links were included. Even then there were objections, detailed by the architects. Finally, the Committee approved of the Uyanwatte site in the Dumbara Valley, which was ' suitable in every respect '. Land was cheap. ' With comparatively little cost the water service and electric lighting scheme can be extended to it from Kandy. The land there is on a high level and it is undulating. It is healthy and set amidst magnificent scenery, and there is plenty of flat land

there for playing fields '. The whole area was 1,100 acres, but if the whole were acquired many villagers would have to be dispossessed. Blocks 1, 2 and 3, comprising 253 acres, should be acquired. If additional land were required, Blocks 4, 5 and 6 could be added, to give a total acreage of 400. As a final recommendation the Committee added that ' the hospital, the law courts, and the colleges and schools in Kandy will be accessible to the medical, legal and teaching students of the University '.

Mr. Marrs, in his ' comments ' agreed that the University should be unitary and pointed out that the problem was simply to convert an existing University College into a University. In respect of site and buildings, the promoters of the University scheme had underestimated the need. He admitted, too, that ' if the University is to be completely residential and is to house every soul, from the Vice-Chancellor to the last cooly, the Buller's Road site of 94 acres is probably inadequate '. But he suggested that there would be general agreement with the opinion of the Sadler Commission that it was not necessary to make the University completely residential, and he quoted the practice in Oxford and Cambridge. He concurred with Lord Chalmers' view about removal to Kandy ; he thought the proposal for a residential university to be too expensive to merit serious consideration and to be intrinsically undesirable. Ceylon would be well advised to follow the modern universities of the British Empire. He asked if it was seriously proposed to direct the majority of University students to agricultural science : what was wanted was pre-university training in agriculture, not university training. The scheme proposed by the Site Committee would postpone the creation of a university. It would be ' a veritable lay monastery of colossal proportions '. Large engineering operations would have to be undertaken before there could be buildings. ' Kandy must be left to judge the Committee's statement that with comparatively little cost the water service can be extended from Kandy, with its implication that there is sufficient water in Kandy to spare for a University town '. No estimate of cost had been made, and Mr. Marrs predicted that it would be Rs. 12,000,000.

Sir Hugh Clifford said that he found Mr. Marrs' arguments in support of the establishment of the University in the near neighbourhood of Colombo more convincing than those of the gentlemen who did not share his view : but that did not in the least persuade him that Government acted otherwise than prudently in allowing the question at issue to be thrashed out, before they committed themselves to the adoption of the Buller's Road site.

Twenty years later there can be no doubt that the Buller's Road site was inadequate and that in time the University would have found itself hemmed in on an inadequate site by urban and suburban development. Not only in England but also elsewhere urban sites have been found unsatisfactory even

for non-residential universities. In his memorandum for the Site Committee one of the professors pointed to Australian and New Zealand experience, and especially to the examples of Sydney and Melbourne. There are in fact no finer examples of urban universities, on sites which everybody now recognizes to be quite inadequate, utterly swamped by urban development. Of New Zealand the present writer cannot speak, but Western Australia has moved out, Queensland is moving out, and Tasmania has acquired a new site, though an urban one. Even Adelaide will soon be in difficulties, and it has no hostels actually on the site.

Twenty years' experience, too, has altered opinion on the subject of residence ; indeed, it was altering in 1927, though this change of ideas would have been unknown in Ceylon until the Report of the University Grants Committee in 1930 was received. The old idea of a residential university was that it was an expensive luxury for wealthy students, and this idea is reflected in much of the controversy of the Battle of the Sites. The newer universities of England were established to bring ' useful knowledge ' to the poorer student, who could live at home, travel by tram to his urban university, attend lectures, have a bun and a cup of tea in the refectory, attend more lectures or work in laboratories, and go home to ' work ' in front of the kitchen fire. There is no doubt at all that these ' civic universities ' did excellent work, and there is no need to suggest that a University in Buller's Road—or even in Thurstan Road—would be a bad University. But instruction in ' useful knowledge ' was not the only, or even the main, purpose of a university, and in the early years of the present century the ' civic universities ' found it necessary and desirable not only to erect expensive Union buildings, but also to purchase playing fields in the suburbs, to convert large houses into hostels, and even to erect Halls of Residence in the suburbs. It was admitted that all these ought to be on the ' campus ', but none of them had room.

Owing to the war of 1914-18, the rapid development of university education for poorer students, which was implicit in the reform of secondary education under the Education Act of 1902, was delayed. The first step, under the Education Act of 1918, was to provide scholarships and maintenance grants for poor students. Some of them went to Oxford and Cambridge and received the best education that England could provide ; the rest took trams to the ' civic universities ', where ' useful knowledge ' could easily be imparted but where education could be obtained only under difficulties. The greater the deficiencies of home education, the narrower the circumstances of the ' red-brick ' secondary school, the more important it was that at the university level the best education should be given—education which consisted not merely in acquiring ' useful knowledge ' or degrees but in physical, mental and moral development of a type not easily available in a non-residential

university. It was, of course, impossible to convert a non-residential into a residential university; all that could be done was to make increased provision for Halls of Residence and other student facilities; and the University Grants Committee which distributed public funds laid increased emphasis on this need in their successive quinquennial reports. The newest universities and most of the newest university colleges—at Bristol, Reading, Exeter, Southampton and Stoke—are mainly residential and in fact more residential than Oxford and Cambridge, though it must be remembered that Cambridge is still a 'university town' and that both in Oxford and in Cambridge a student is a member of a College or non-collegiate organization.

The Colonial Office had no policy on university education until 1945, and in fact it was the sad experience of Ceylon which gave rise to a policy. Through the Asquith Commission (1945), the Carr-Saunders Commission (1947) and the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, it found that academic opinion was unanimous in favour of universities which were autonomous, unitary and residential; and such universities are being established in Malaya, the West Indies, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, the Sudan and East Africa.

We must beware of assessing the Report of the University Site Committee and Mr. Marrs' comments by means of experience which was not available in 1927. Nowhere was the case for a residential university properly put, simply because it was not fully understood: and some of the arguments used on both sides will not bear scrutiny. On the one hand the Site Committee placed too much emphasis on agriculture (which ought to be taught, though the number of students will always be few), minimised the problem of the Medical Faculty, and perhaps underemphasised the value of a non-residential university. On the other hand Mr. Marrs and the professors overemphasised the advantages and underemphasised the disadvantages of Colombo and did not appreciate the real case for a residential university in Ceylon conditions. Professor Suntharalingam in particular produced a case for a non-residential university in Colombo, based on the poverty of the students, which was almost a perfect case for a residential university outside Colombo.

The Report of the Site Committee and Mr. Marrs' comments necessarily aroused controversy. The only unofficial document in the University files is a report of a meeting held in Bonjean Hall on June 16, 1927.[21] Sir James Peiris presided, and among those on the platform were the Right Rev. Carpentier-Garnier (Bishop of Colombo), Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Sir Marcus Fernando, Mr. T. B. Jayah (Principal of Zahira College), Mr. C. H. Z. Fernando, Mr. A. Mahadeva, Mr. I. X. Pereira, Mr. G. A. Wille, the Very

21. Edited by Mr. P. de S. Kularatne.

Rev. Father M. J. LeGoc (Rector of St. Joseph's College), Gate Mudaliyar A. E. Rajapakse, the Very Rev. Father M. Y. Le Jeune, the Venerable F. L. Beven (Archdeacon of Jaffna), the Rev. Kenneth McPherson (Warden of St. Thomas' College), Mr. P. de S. Kularatne (Principal of Ananda College), Mr. Donald Obeyesekere and Dr. V. R. Schokman (President of the Burgher Recreation Club). As the names suggest, the purpose of the meeting was to support the Buller's Road site.

Sir James Peiris, after a review of the history of the question, said that but for the fact that there was a change in the Government the agitation would never have been started and but for the open sympathy shown by the Governor (Sir Hugh Clifford) and his lieutenant (Mr. Mark Young) it would have died a natural death. The appointment of the Akbar Committee was recommended at a meeting at which 19 out of 37 Unofficial Members were present, and 16 members voted in favour. The Site Committee contained Messrs. Molamure and Jayatilaka, who were in favour of removing the University from Colombo. Why the others were appointed Sir James did not know. He then criticised the Committee's Report. The Buller's Road site could be worked for many years to come. A cost of less than Rs. 2,000,000 would give a very splendid site, what the Committee had called an ideal site. No better site could be desired. Sir Marcus Fernando, who moved the main resolution, said that the Buller's Road site was ready for building at once : any other site would require an indefinite postponement. He emphasised the advantages of Colombo in respect of Medicine, Law and Engineering. He claimed that the Dumbara Valley was malarious. The villages around were ' notorious for the presence of women of very loose morals '. It was also the driest place in the whole Kandy District. Discussions about the deficiency of the Kandy water supply had gone on for 20 years without a solution (25 years later they are still going on!) The cost in Buller's Road would be Rs. 4,500,000 ; in Dumbara it would be Rs. 10,000,000. If the London examinations continued the students would stay in Colombo for their degrees and none would go to Dumbara except a very few for Honours degrees. Mr. A. Mahadeva seconded and the Rev. A. E. Restarick supported. Mr. T. B. Jayah moved that a committee be appointed to take such steps as might be expedient to further the objects of the meeting. The Very Rev. Father M. J. LeGoc seconded and the Venerable F. L. Beven supported.

After the Report of the Site Committee was published, alternative sites in the Dumbara Valley were suggested and examined, reports on them being published in *Sessional Paper XXVIII* of 1927. The first was the Mawilmada site on the right bank of the river, within the Kandy municipal area, and

opposite the Uyanwatta site. It contained only 100 acres and was occupied by 60 houses and so the proposal was dropped. The other was the Aruppola site, also on the right bank. Three schemes were suggested, that prepared by the architects being No. 1; but it contained 102 houses; and the scheme eventually favoured was scheme 3, which contained 223 acres. It was this scheme which was usually known in subsequent discussions as the Aruppola site.

The problem came up to the Legislative Council and was debated on October 27 and 28 and November 3, 1927. The first proposal put to the vote was one by the Colonial Secretary that the whole question be placed before the Governor (Sir Herbert Stanley) in order that a complete scheme be formulated and a Government motion put down. It was lost by 23 votes to 19, all the officials (except the Officer Commanding the Troops) and the nominated members voting in the minority. The next motion was that before allotting a site the Council should consider whether a University should be established at all: and this motion (technically an amendment) was rejected by 37 votes to 4, three Europeans and Mr. C. E. Victor Corea being the minority. The debate was continued on November 4, 10, 11 and 25, and December 1 and 2. On the last of these dates an amendment by Mr. E. R. Tambimuttu, that the Buller's Road site should be allotted, was put to the vote and lost by 30 votes to 16, those in the minority being Sir James Peiris, Mr. N. H. M. Abdul Cader, Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, Mr. E. R. Tambimuttu, Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, Mr. K. Balasingham, Mr. A. Canagaratnam, Mr. C. E. Victor Corea, Mr. C. H. Z. Fernando, Mr. T. B. Jayah, Mr. H. M. Macan Markar, Mr. A. Mahadeva, Mr. I. X. Pereira, Mr. M. M. Subramaniam, Mr. G. A. H. Wille, and Mr. W. A. de Silva. The officials voted in the majority. On December 15 Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan's motion confirming the action of the Government in allotting the Buller's Road site was lost by 26 votes to 15, the minority being the same except for Mr. Tambimuttu.

On February 16, 1928, Mr. M. T. Akbar moved (*a*) that the University be unitary and residential, (*b*) that it be built on the Aruppola site, and (*c*) that a Commission be appointed to work out the details. Numerous amendments were moved, and the debate continued on February 17 and March 1. On the latter date there were six divisions, the votes being 19 to 13, 13 to 29, 6 to 34, 11 to 30, 11 to 31 and 12 to 29. On March 2 there was an amendment in favour of a Kalutara site, moved by Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara, but defeated by 29 votes to 9. The Council came back to the substantive motion on March 8 and continued on March 9, when voting took place. The motion for a unitary and residential University was carried by 38 votes to 5, Messrs. E. R. Tambimuttu, K. Balasingham, A. Canagaratnam, S. Rajaratnam and M. M. Subramaniam being in the minority. The motion for Aruppola was carried by 23

votes to 18, and the motion for a Commission was carried by 25 votes to 16, the division on the crucial site question was as follows:

Ayes—23	Noes—18
M. T. Akbar, K.C.	Sir James Peiris
F. J. Smith	W. W. Woods, C.M.G.
F. A. Stockdale, C.B.E.	N. H. M. Abdul Cader
W. Duraiswamy	Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, K.C., C.M.G.
D. H. Kotalawala	E. R. Tambimuttu
E. W. Perera	C. W. W. Kannangara
A. C. G. Wijeyekoon	K. Balasingham
N. J. Martin	A. Canagaratnam
D. B. Jayatilaka	C. E. Victor Corea
O. E. Madawela	C. H. Z. Fernando
A. F. Molamure	T. B. Jayah
F. A. Obeyesekere	H. M. Macan Markar
S. Rajaratnam	A. Mahadeva
D. S. Senanayake	I. X. Pereira
V. S. de S. Wikramanayake	M. M. Subramaniam
P. B. Rambukwella	G. A. H. Wille
T. M. Saba Ratnam	H. B. Lees
T. L. Villiers	
K. Natesa Aiyer	
W. E. Wait	
L. Macrae	
S. Obeyesekere	
M. J. Cary	

The Commission was duly appointed with Sir Walter Buchanan-Riddell as Chairman. From the majority were Messrs. Akbar, Wijeyekoon, Molamure, Jayatilaka and Villiers. From the minority were Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and Messrs. Balasingham, Jayah and Wille. Two other members from the Legislative Council were Sir Marcus Fernando and Mr. W. A. de Silva, who had favoured Buller's Road. There were six officials, including Mr. Marrs, Sir Stewart Schneider (Puisne Justice), the Very Rev. Father LeGoc, the Rev. J. M. Campbell, and Drs. Paul and Nell. The Commission reported on January, 1929 (*Sessional Paper IV* of 1929). A draft Constitution was included in the Report and formed the basis for a Bill which was read a second time in 1930, but proceeded no further.

In 1931 the Donoughmore Constitution came into operation. This complicated the problem, for the very odd system invented by the Donoughmore Commission placed the responsibility for university education in a committee of seven members who, so far as can be judged, rarely agreed.

What is more the responsibility for planning and erecting a university rested with the Executive Committee of Communications and Works, which rarely (if ever) agreed with the Executive Committee of Education. The acquisition of land for a university was the responsibility of the Executive Committee of Local Administration while the responsibility for medical education was vested in the Executive Committee of Health. When at a later stage the problem of enlarging the Peradeniya site came under discussion, it was found to be a matter for the Executive Committee of Agriculture and Lands. Strangely enough, the Executive Committees of Home Affairs and Labour, Commerce and Industry seem not to have been concerned. In any case, though, no money could be obtained without the sanction of the Board of Ministers, of which Sir Baron Jayatilaka was vice-chairman.

The growth of the University College did not wait for constitutional changes. On the 17th July, 1931 Mr. Marrs drew attention to the problem of accommodation. After explaining the deficiencies he said that it would be unreasonable to erect new buildings in Colombo if there was a prospect of the University being built in Kandy. He considered the settlement of the University question to be a matter of urgency. The Minister for Education replied that it would be necessary to initiate legislation over again, and he asked for a memorandum on the proposed Ordinance. Mr. Marrs, in his memorandum of the 10th August, said it would be possible to pass the Ordinance and then await an improvement in the financial situation. It was unlikely that in present conditions—the depression of 1931—more than the Rs. 4,000,000 (including accumulated interest) of the University Building and Equipment Fund would be forthcoming. He therefore set out five possibilities :—

(1) to accept the Dumbara decision and wait for improved financial conditions ;

(2) to revert to the Buller's Road proposal, modifying the Commission's scheme to suit the available funds ;

(3) to bring the University into being in Thurstan Road and adding buildings in Buller's Road ;

(4) to use some of the income of the Fund for recurrent expenditure ; and

(5) to abandon the University project for the time being and to concentrate attention on the needs of the University College.

He asked for a decision of the Executive Committee.

The deepening depression, followed by the great malaria epidemic, must have delayed further action. There is nothing more about the University project in the University College files until 1934, except a curious document, dated February 21, 1933, from the Registrar of the Ceylon Medical College. It said that the Medical College Council was anxious to press for the early

establishment of the university, since the status of the medical qualification would be greatly improved and funds urgently required for building and equipment could be released. The Council considered it 'technically impossible' to teach any part of the medical course elsewhere than in Colombo. The Council would be glad to hear the views of the University College Council, since it considered concerted action by the two Councils desirable. The Council wished to urge :

'(1) that Ceylon wants a University.

(2) Rs. 4,500,000 available in University fund.

(3) This is more than sufficient to set up a University in Colombo but is quite insufficient to set up a University in Kandy.

(4) There will never be enough money for the Kandy scheme.

(5) If the present fund is not utilised soon, the Government will raid it to make up deficits in revenue'.

It was a strange document to emanate from a Council, consisting mainly of Government servants, presided over by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, and responsible to the Executive Committee of Health. Mr. Marrs showed it to the Minister for Education informally and then sent it formally with a suggestion that it be considered by the Executive Committee in connection with his memorandum of August 27, 1931. While willing that part of the University Building and Equipment Fund should be utilised for the Medical College, he considered that the University College had stronger claims. But the use of moneys from the Fund should not precede a definite decision on the University project. The Minister's reply was that the letter need not be discussed by the University College Council, since the Executive Committee was discussing the establishment of the University. We hear nothing more of the University project until September 1, 1934, when the Battle of the Sites restarted in the Executive Committee itself. Mr. Marrs was asked to report on the estimated capital cost and recurrent expenditure on the Kandy site and the Buller's Road site respectively. After consulting the Director of Public Works, he reported on September 27. He assumed that the University in Buller's Road would be fully residential but that there would not be 'the same formidable provision' of staff quarters. The number of students in the University College had risen from 315 in 1928-29 to 450 in 1934-35 and an extra Hall of Residence was required. It had to be decided whether the Buller's Road site was adequate and whether to acquire more land or to use the Thurstan Road land. Finally, he assumed an all-round reduction of 10 per cent. in cost, and the deletion of the Faculty of Engineering and the Anatomy and Physiology buildings. The result was to reduce the cost of the Kandy scheme from Rs. 10,586,000 to Rs. 8,917,000, while the Buller's Road

cost would be Rs. 6,771,000, not including the cost of more land. If the Thurstan Road buildings were used, however, the cost would be Rs. 5,126,000; and if the partially residential scheme assumed before 1926 was put into operation the cost would be Rs. 2,947,000.

The Executive Committee considered the matter on October 25, 1934. The Minister said that the best plan would be to establish the University at once with the present buildings and staff, and to begin erecting buildings on the Dumbara site on a modified plan. The Executive Committee provisionally agreed that—

(1) The Ordinance be drafted to constitute the University College as a University.

(2) The College Council be asked to report whether the present degree courses were adequate, and if not to suggest suitable courses.

(3) Revised plan for buildings at Dumbara be prepared.

For this last purpose a sub-committee consisting of Messrs. A. Ratnayake (chairman), G. R. de Zoysa and H. W. Amarasuriya was appointed. Mr. Ratnayake, as Member for Dumbara, was a supporter of the Dumbara scheme; Mr. Amarasuriya had been a supporter of the Buller's Road scheme.

In a memorandum dated November 22, 1934, Mr. Marrs asked that certain preliminary questions be settled. These were :—

(1) Whether the Commission's scheme should be adhered to;

(2) Whether a five-year grant would be given.

(3) Whether the London examinations were to be withdrawn.

(4) If not, whether the University should forbid its students to take the London examinations;

(5) Whether it would not be advisable to have external examiners.

A later generation may suggest that Mr. Marrs was being unusually difficult, perhaps because he feared that when the University was established in Thurstan Road both the Buller's Road scheme and the Dumbara scheme would be postponed to the Greek Kalends. In 1941 the Bill of 1930 was brought up, debated in the Executive Committee, provided with transitional clauses, and passed. The other questions answered themselves.

On December 3, 1934, Mr. Marrs made a further report after a meeting of the College Council. The Council agreed that the University should be created forthwith and that the scheme of studies accepted by the Commission should be brought into operation. In order to avoid 'renewed dissension and controversy' the Council suggested that the Ordinance of 1930 be introduced with suitable transitional clauses. It was suggested, too, that the Medical

College should be included in the University and that reference be made to the Executive Committee of Health.

The Executive Committee of Education agreed, and in a memorandum dated January 29, 1935, Mr. Marrs suggested the necessary minor alterations and transitional clauses. There was also correspondence about the inclusion of Medicine and Law. The Medical College Council agreed to the inclusion of the Medical College as the Faculty of Medicine, but the Council of Legal Education went back on an earlier decision and decided only to grant exemptions to law graduates.

The sub-committee of the Executive Committee reported on the University scheme at the end of January, 1935. The majority, consisting of Messrs. Ratnayake and G. R. de Zoysa, considered that provision for Engineering, Physiology and Anatomy should be postponed. This would bring the cost down to Rs. 8,414,100, but the sub-committee thought that Rs. 7,500,000 would suffice. It recommended that Rs. 2,500,000 be set aside from the Special Reserve Fund which, with the Rs. 5,000,000 in the University Building and Equipment Fund, would enable a start to be made. Mr. Amarasuriya agreed but reserved the right to reopen the question of the site and said that the needs of the country could be met more cheaply. The Executive Committee postponed the matter until March and in fact never discussed the report at all and meanwhile continued examination of the draft Ordinance. There is no record in the University College files of what took place at the meeting of March 25, 1935, and the next document was a letter from the Chairman of the Kalutara Urban District Council to the Minister, dated November 6, 1935, asking for a detailed report on the sanitary conditions of the Dumbara site. Instead of telling the Chairman to mind his own business, the Minister referred the letter to Mr. Marrs, who said he did not know of any such report and suggested that it was a matter for the Executive Committee. The Minister then replied that no detailed report was available. The Chairman then asked whether any investigations at all had been made by the Government with regard to the health of the site. This, too, was referred to Mr. Marrs, who suggested that a report from the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services be called for. Apparently such a report was requested for it came up in the next State Council. It is, however, difficult to believe that Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara and Mr. Marrs did not engage in this correspondence with their tongues in their cheeks.

This brought the proceedings of the Executive Committee to an end, for the State Council was dissolved and a new Executive Committee appointed. The Minister on May 29, 1936, asked for 20 copies of 11 documents, for

submission to the Executive Committee. A resolution was submitted to State Council on February 10, 1937, in the following form :—

> 'That in the opinion of this Council early steps should be taken for the establishment of a University in Colombo by utilizing the existing site and buildings of the University College and the site south of Buller's Road proposed for the University in 1923 and referred to in *Sessional Paper V* of 1927 as the Buller's Road site'.

There was also a motion by Mr. George E. de Silva 'In the opinion of this Council, a University should be immediately established in Kandy'. On this motion the Executive Committee of Education had simply reported that it was not in agreement. Mr. de Silva claimed priority on the ground that his motion had already been under discussion. Without further debate his motion was put and carried by 30 votes to 18, two members declining to vote. The voting was :—

AYES	NOES
Hon. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka	Hon. C. W. W. Kannangara
Hon. D. S. Senanayake	Mr. H. W. Amarasuriya
Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike	Mr. S. O. Canagaratnam
Hon. G. C. S. Corea	Mr. Susanta de Fonseka
Hon. W. A. de Silva	Mr. H. R. Freeman
Hon. J. L. Kotelawala	Mr. A. E. Goonesinha
Mr. E. W. Abeysundera	Mr. D. P. H. Gunawardena
Mr. B. H. Aluwihare	Mr. T. B. Jayah
Mr. C. Batuwantudawa	Mr. D. P. Jayasuriya
Mr. G. E. de Silva	Mr. A. Mahadeva
Dr. A. P. de Zoysa	Mr. S. Natesan
Mr. Francis de Zoysa, K.C.	Mr. H. F. Parfit
Mr. H. A. Goonesekera	Diwan Bahadur I. X. Pereira
Mr. F. H. Griffith	Dr. N. M. Perera
Mr. D. D. Gunasekera	Mr. A. E. de S. W. S. Rajapakse
Mr. R. S. S. Gunawardena	Mrs. N. Saravanamuttu
Mr. J. H. Ilangatileke	Mr. E. R. Tambimuttu
Mr. A. P. Jayasuriya	Mr. G. A. H. Wille
Mr. R. C. Kotelawala	
Mr. K. R. Natesa Iyer	
Capt. E. A. Nugawela	
Mr. G. C. Rambukpote	
Mr. A. Ratnayake	
Mr. H. L. Ratwatte	

AYES

Mr. S. Samarakkody
Mr. Dudley Senanayake
Mr. R. C. Tennekoon
Mr. S. Vytillingam
Mr. D. Wanigasekera

It will be seen that all the Ministers except the Minister of Education were in favour of Kandy, that two members of the Executive Committee of Education voted for Kandy, and that nearly all the Ceylon Tamils voted for Buller's Road.

On February 25, 1937, the Minister for Education reported to the Board of Ministers the following decisions of the Executive Committee :—

(*a*) to take steps to establish a unitary residential university on the Aruppola site at a cost of Rs. 10,436,000 ;

(*b*) to draw attention to the modified scheme suggested by the sub-committee of 1935 (estimated to cost Rs. 7,500,000 but not considered by the Executive Committee);

(*c*) to ask the Board to release funds for the acquisition of the site ;

(*d*) to instruct the Public Works Department to furnish revised estimates.

The Board at its meeting on March 3, 1937, agreed to place a supplementary estimate before the State Council for the acquisition of the site. Mr. Marrs proceeded to get an estimate of cost. The Ratemahatmaya, Kandy Gravets and Gangawata Korale, produced an estimate of Rs. 569,000, which was placed before the State Council.

Meanwhile the Director of Public Works was investigating the cost of the buildings, obviously with the assistance of the new Minister of Communications and Works, Major J. L. Kotelawala. Reductions were made in almost all items, though a gymnasium, six sports pavilions and a swimming pool were added without explanation. The cost was brought down from Rs. 10,027,000 to Rs. 5,932,000, the cost of the site being excluded. Meanwhile, too, the health conditions of the site were being examined. There was apparently an interim report which is not in the University files, for on June 4, 1937, the Executive Committee decided that, until the full report was received, the questions would be dealt with 'as if the site was not seriously affected by malaria'. On this basis it was decided to purchase the whole area of 340 acres—the original 223 acres of the Aruppola site, Aruppola village and the surrounding lands (31 acres) and the Esparaya-Talwatta section of 86 acres.

On August 20, 1937, however, the full report came from the Ministry of Health. It showed that malaria was endemic in the area, and that Rs. 275,000

would be needed for permanent control measures. The Executive Committee, apparently by a majority of 4 to 3, nevertheless decided to proceed with the acquisition, and asked for a release of Rs. 500,000 on the assumption that the estimate of Rs. 569,000 already made was 'too generous'. The Government Valuer was then asked to value the site, and he placed it at Rs. 640,000! Nevertheless, a vote of Rs. 500,000 was passed by the State Council on a supplementary estimate on December 7, 1937. On January 20, 1938, Mr. Marrs was directed to take steps to acquire the Aruppola site. The Government Agent, Central Province, drew the attention of the Director of Public Works to the fact that at least Rs. 600,000 was necessary and asked if he was prepared to provide the additional amount, if necessary; the Director of Public Works asked the Principal, University College; the Principal, University College, asked the Minister; and the Minister replied, somewhat testily, that it was not understood 'why this question be raised now'. The survey would take at least six months, and then the Government Agent would re-value the lands. It would then be time to ascertain whether additional money would be needed. The Principal, University College, informed the Director of Public Works, who presumably informed the Government Agent.

Perhaps tempers were getting short because the Battle of the Sites was on again. On September 27, 1937, Dr. S. C. Paul and Dr. Andreas Nell submitted a memorandum to the Board of Ministers asking for reconsideration of the Peradeniya site on the following grounds :—

(1) The failure to approve the Peradeniya site in 1927 was due to the unsatisfactory report of the architects, who inspected the site with an urban outlook and a previously conceived notion that two-storeyed and three-storeyed buildings could not be erected in Kandy.

(2) The anti-malarial measures on the Aruppola site would cost three lakhs initially, half lakh annually, and occasionally one and half lakhs for renewal.

(3) The cost of cutting and filling on the Aruppola site would exceed that on the Peradeniya site.

(4) It would be unnecessary to displace villagers from the Peradeniya site, as it would from the Aruppola site.

(5) The Peradeniya site could be enlarged by the acquisition of more estate land, but not the Aruppola site.

(6) The healthy character of the Peradeniya site, its proximity to a main railway station, its rural surroundings and its spacious outlook were ignored by the architects.

(7) The students in Peradeniya would be acquainted with the agricultural activities in their period of study and would retain an interest in agricultural projects.

This memorandum was tabled at the meeting of the Executive Committee of Education on the 15th October, 1937, at the same time as the full medical report on the Aruppola site. It was resolved to ask the Principal to report and to consider the matter at the next meeting. Six days later, Mr. Marrs reported that Peradeniya had obvious advantages over Dumbara. He did not think there would be much difference in cost. He suggested that the Director of Agriculture be consulted whether there was any objection to placing the University in close proximity to the Department's activities. Mr. Edmund Rodrigo, Acting Director of Agriculture, replied with the only touch of humour in the whole correspondence ' The University by reason of its prestige and importance in the eye of the public will probably overshadow the Agricultural Department. This will wound the departmental vanity a little '. Also, the Department would have no room to expand : but these disadvantages would be offset by the advantage of having their men ' breathe the academic scientific air ' of the University. Truth to tell, the Acting Director let the fresh air of the open field into a stuffy and overheated atmosphere.

Meanwhile, the Principal had consulted the Government Agent, Central Province, about the cost of the land and the Chief Architect about the cost of the buildings. Evidently, though, the Battle of the Sites was going on in the Executive Committee, for on December 20, 1937, the Minister informed the Principal that, since the State Council had in effect approved the acquisition of the Dumbara site, the reports requested were not necessary for the present.

So far as the University files show, nothing whatever happened until the meeting of the Executive Committee on May 17, 1938, when a communication from the Board of Ministers about the Peradeniya site was considered. It was resolved by a majority that the possibilities of the Peradeniya site be investigated and that the acquisition proceedings in Dumbara be stayed pending a further communication. Evidently the Member for Dumbara had lost his battle. At this stage, too, the Minister of Communications and Works, Mr. J. L. Kotelawala, was taking a hand. He said that the site referred to by Drs. Paul and Nell was not the same as that discussed in the University Site Report, but was the adjoining one comprising Augusta, Prospect Hill and Mount Pleasant Estates.[22]

He was proposing to inspect both sites with Dr. Nell and would welcome the company of the Minister for Education. Actually, the site referred to in

22. Part of this site has since been acquired for the University. The University would like the whole, if some generous benefactor would present it.

the letter from the two doctors was quite clearly the New Peradeniya Estate—now the main University site—since they discussed the architects' report on it.

A preliminary inspection was made by the Director of Public Works, the Chief Architect, and Drs. Paul and Nell on the 5th June, 1938. As a result, Drs. Paul and Nell withdrew their Augusta proposal but continued to support the New Peradeniya site. A larger party, including the two Ministers, Mr. A. Ratnayake (M.S.C. for Dumbara), the Government Agent, Mr. Marrs, and a collection of other officials, inspected both the New Peradeniya site and the Aruppola site on the 20th June. The New Peradeniya site as now proposed included only the land to the south of the railway. Major Kotelawala's memorandum, drawn up on the 11th July, was strongly in favour of the Peradeniya site. Communications were better; there was more building land; acquisition would be easy because there was single ownership; no villagers would be displaced; expansion was possible; the playing fields were compact and more were available across the river; the site was open and healthy; good water was available in the Hantane range; it was a more beautiful site; and it was close to the School of Agriculture and the Botanical Gardens. It was, in short, so admirable a site that it passes comprehension that the architects had reported against it in 1927.

The Executive Committee of Education was not satisfied with an inspection by the Ministers, and five of them, including the Minister and Mr. Ratnayake, inspected both sites, with Mr. Marrs and Drs. Paul and Nell, on the 21st July. 'Mr. Ratnayake explained to the party that although the Aruppola site did not contain as much flat land suitable for building as the Peradeniya site, the scenic beauty and seclusion of the former presented advantages not offered by the latter'. These reports were considered by the Executive Committee on 4th August.

Strangely enough, the result does not appear in the University files, but meanwhile the process of valuation was going on. That made by the Ratemahatmaya, Kandy Gravets and Gangawata Korale, in June had shown an estimate of Rs. 1,123,325 for the whole estate, including what came to be known as Block B north of the railway, which contained 40 acres and was estimated to cost Rs. 212,000. The Government Valuer in July gave a valuation of Rs. 970,000, including Rs. 250,000 for Block B. On the 17th September Mr. Marrs was instructed to request the Government Agent to enter into negotiations for purchase, excluding Block B, and three days later the acquisition proceedings at Aruppola were stopped. In October the Government Agent offered Rs. 743,270 for Block A, excluding certain lands which did not belong to the estate. The offer was accepted and at the same time Block B—which had been valued at Rs. 250,000,—was offered for Rs. 180,000. This offer, unfortunately, was refused, though Mr. Marrs and the Minister quite

rightly recommended that it be accepted. We have since had to purchase it at a much higher price. The Board of Ministers, having swallowed the camel, strained at the gnat and let the future Government in for a great deal more expenditure.

The Battle of the Sites, which began in 1926, thus ended in October, 1938, subject to a good deal of guerilla warfare which continues even in 1950. Strangely enough, the vote of the State Council which gave the necessary authority was passed in a silence and a unanimity so profound that some of the guerilla troops seem to think it never was passed. It was, however, passed as an amendment to the Appropriation Ordinance on 20th September, 1938.[23]

It may be helpful to list the various sites which came under consideration :

1. Thurstan Road, 18½ acres.
2. Thurstan Road *plus* Royal College, about 35 acres.
3. Lunatic Asylum, Buller's Road, 24 acres.
4. The same, enlarged, 50 acres.
5. Buller's Road (including Infectious Diseases Hospital), 95 acres.
6. The same, enlarged, 223 acres.
7. Ratmalana (opposite Railway Workshops), size unknown.
8. New Peradeniya Estate, including Block B, Racecourse, etc., 470 acres.
9. The same, south of the railway only, 343 acres.
10. Dumbara Valley, left bank, Uyanwatta site, 253 acres.
11. Mawilmada, 100 acres.
12. Aruppola, Scheme 1, 390 acres.
13. The same, Scheme 2, 291 acres.
14. The same, Scheme 3, 223 acres.
15. Kesbewa,[24] size unknown.
16. Kalutara, size unknown.

The fundamental conflict was not over site but over type. The Governors who dealt with the matter were studiously vague until Sir Hugh Clifford came on the scene. All they knew was that a university college could be placed in Thurstan Road without much cost and they used vague phrases about the future. Mr. Marrs and the College Council worked out a complete scheme which assumed that a student who did not live with his parents would spend

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23. cf. *Hansard,* 1938, p. 3280.

24. This site was suggested by a petition presented to the State Council by the Member for Panadura. Mr. Marrs suggested that it might be considered if neither Kandy nor Colombo was thought suitable.

two years in a hostel. It was a perfectly good scheme on their own assumptions and the Buller's Road site was adequate for the purpose at the time, though it would be inadequate today. One may note incidentally that one great advantage of the Battle of the Sites was that it took planning out of the hands of the Public Works Department, for one cannot look at any of the plans, from Buller's Road onwards, without a sense of relief that these plans remained unfulfilled. The Public Works Department at that period was badly bitten by the symmetrical bug and most of the plans look like kapok trees.

What Mr. D. R. Wijewardena wanted was a wholly residential university, though strangely enough he seems never to have made a really good case for it. His wide reading did not give him that case, because in fact it has never been written. Probably even in 1926 an experienced university administrator from the United Kingdom would have written it, and perhaps such a case would have been so convincing that even the professors would have cheered. On the other hand, it is possible that he would not have seen that the needs of Ceylon could not be met by a partially-residential university, for the university college was still drawing students only from the wealthier population of Colombo, Jaffna, Kandy and Galle. As the educational system becomes more democratic and poorer students are admitted it becomes evident that residence is essential. A student from a wealthy home, who has been properly fed and had some cultural background, who has been to a good school and taken an active part in expensive extra-curricula activities, who has been taken about Ceylon and seen things with an observant eye, can do very well in a non-residential university. A poor student of high academic quality—and poor students usually do not get to universities unless they are of that quality—is probably lacking in physique, has had a defective home education because of his poverty, has not been to a good school or taken an active part in out-of-school activities which he could not afford, and generally lacks a foundation on which success as an undergraduate and a graduate can be based. He is excellent raw material and a university can do much for him if it takes him out of his environment and puts him into a Hall of Residence. The student (whether he comes from Colombo or from Jaffna) who lives in a slum or a cheap lodging gets very little in Thurstan Road, except lectures and a degree. In Peradeniya he will stand every chance of getting a belated education. Naturally, steps must be taken to see that he can get to Peradeniya, and strangely enough little was said on this subject except the Site Committee's vague recommendation of 'scholarships'.

Another factor which dominated discussion was cost, not to the student but to the Government. A university is always expensive; and a residential university is the most expensive type. If there were three or four hundred acres of undulating land with adequate water supply and other services, a

residential university might be no more costly than a non-residential university in Buller's Road. Nobody has ever pointed to such a site because, even if it existed, it would be densely occupied by cultivators. All the sites in the hills are expensive because they require much cutting and filling to enable them to bear large buildings. Also, they had to be large sites, for generally buildings could be erected on plateaux and substantial engineering works became necessary.

Actually, none of the sites selected was large enough. The advantage of the New Peradeniya Estate was that more land could be brought in. If the 900 acres of Old Peradeniya Estate—which was bought for the protection of the water supply—and also the Experimental Farm of the School of Agriculture be included, the University will eventually have some 3,000 acres, and it could not do with less. Every time the Public Works Department was asked to plan for a limited number of students. Up to 1938 the number was 500; in 1938 it became 800; and in 1940 it was 1,000. In due course there will no doubt be 3,500, and Peradeniya has been planned—since the creation of the University—on that basis. Very likely university development will not stop there, but when the demand is reaching 3,500 steps must be taken in Thurstan Road to start a second unit.

W. IVOR JENNINGS

Geographical Basis for Ceylon's National Planning[1]

The Needs for Learning

MANY aspects of geographic thought are certainly as old as primitive man, yet the development of geography into a practical and utilitarian discipline is very new to the world. It is the present century that has witnessed the establishment of the great many University Chairs of Geography in various parts of the world, in direct response to the growing needs of modern man for a greater knowledge of his physical and human surroundings—in a world of increasing international complexities.

The ever increasing interdependence of peoples and nations throughout the world today, makes an understanding and appreciation of the causes of such interdependence an inescapable obligation of every thinking person, whatever be his national faith or place of residence. In the past, as well as the present, much of man's recurring troubles, and even his major wars, have stemmed from his many ignorances of the fundamental geographic facts of the world in which he lives. And these have all too often been relatively simple geographic ignorances—ignorances of other peoples 'ways of life' and modes of livelihood, ignorances of the problems imposed upon a segment of humanity by a capricious nature in the form of unfriendly terrain or climate, ignorances of the multiple problems imposed by disease, or even ignorances of the handicaps which man has brought upon his own unsuspecting head by bringing too many people into a region of too little natural resources. But the 'great geographic ignorance' of all time concerns the most fundamental of all facts relating to man himself—that is the ignorance of 'who is hungry in the world' and 'how might such suffering be alleviated'. In the past, little has been known of such conditions beyond the narrow horizons of the hunger regions themselves, and consequently, there has been equally little concern in the world. But today, the people of the world are awakening to the urgent need to know and learn—to know and understand the basic facts of Earth and Man.

In direct response to this universal awakening, Modern Geography is rapidly developing and adapting itself to this pressing need of modern man, in his quest of a fuller knowledge of the complex nature of the physical world in which he lives, and certainly a fuller and more intimate knowledge of the various peoples who are his modern world neighbours.

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1. This article was prepared as an inaugural address at the University of Ceylon, but circumstances in 1950-51 prevented its presentation as such.

The Work of Geography

It is through Modern Geography that man synthesizes the many separate components of the intricately composed physical and cultural landscape of the world—in order to study them as a composite whole, not as separate and independently compartmented subjects. Geography recognizes the sum total of 'nature and man' and can discern therefrom the grosser maladjustments which mankind has blunderingly produced between his own works and the underlying realities of nature; and Geography attempts to devise solutions for at least the partial alleviation of such maladjustments. The geographer approaches the study of socio-economic life from the angle of the underlying physical realities: such as place, location, land, climate, soils, and minerals; from these foundations the study pushes upwards toward the cultural superstructure which is composed of man and his maze of confusing accomplishments.

The major contribution, then, of geography to society, is to bring together for composite consideration the seemingly compartmented yet closely related bodies of fact partly incorporated within many other disciplines: history, economics, sociology, agriculture, political science, geology, geomorphology, meteorology, oceanography, chemistry, physics, and even others. Modern Geography is thought of by many within the profession as a 'point of view' rather than as a 'subject' in the ordinary sense of the term.

It may be said that geographic study is concerned with where and how man lives: with the physical stage upon which he lives, with his material needs and wants, and how he contrives to satisfy his needs and desires through various productions, processings, manufactures, and exchanges. It is a study of the world's landforms and soils, of climatic conditions and vegetation; it is a study of the influences of this physical environment on man's cultural and economic endeavours; and it is a study of the abilities of man to harness and control the physical elements for his own needs.

Modern Geography is, in a sense, the study and understanding of the Earth and Man—a study of how we, and billions of others who have lived before us through the ages, have lived and utilized our earthly heritages, and a study of how we may improve our future lives through a wiser utilization of those earthly heritages. It is the study of you and me, and two billion other bits of humanity, and the bewildering stage upon which we live, and work, and die.

But one must beware of thinking that Geography encompasses a study and knowledge of *everything* about the earth or about man. It may be true that practically every fact in the known world has something directly or remotely to do with Geography, but by no means is every fact and phenomena in the world of real geographical important—the importance of facts

varies greatly in both time and space. At any given time or place those facts are of most importance which affect man, either directly or indirectly, to the greatest degree. Also, the relative 'scale' of a geographic study determines partly what should and will be considered geographic facts. That which is relevant to the geographic study of a small island like Ceylon might be of very little consequence in a world-wide study—the detail pertinent in a Ceylon study might be likened to a portrait painting, while that in a world-wide study to a landscape sketch.

Developments in Nineteenth Century Geography

The romantically descriptive travel-book treatment of early geographic writings was displaced only during the last century, by a systematic classification and organization of the facts of nature and man. This systematic approach led to many lengthy tomes being produced in the nineteenth century, which attempted completely to catalogue and synthesize all the known facts of both the physical and the cultural world. Out of this first systematic approach developed two broad and distinct sub-divisions within geography: (1) a study and classification of the natural features of the earth, which became known as 'physical geography', and (2) a study and classification of the cultural features, including man and his works, which became known as 'human geography'.

These two sub-divisions of the subject became progressively more specialized within themselves, and unfortunately diverged from each other more and more—and as time went on they both diverged farther and farther from the pre-nineteenth century concept that geography concerned itself in some way with 'area and distribution'. In practice, physical geography became increasingly a study of the physical landscape with special emphasis on the natural forces at work in producing such features as the land forms, without much regard to man or his activities. Under somewhat the same influences human geography became primarily a search for 'relationships' between the physical and cultural factors, with an attempt to establish conclusive proof of environmental control over man's activities.

Twentieth Century Regional Geography

Somewhat after the turn of the present century, 'geographic environmentalism' began to wane in popularity—and in recent decades Modern Geography has concerned itself once again with the practical objective of giving 'identity and realism to areas', no two areas in the world being identical. This has been a logical and progressive development. Geographic inquiry is fundamentally concerned with all or some portion of the earth's areal expanse, now recognized as 'geographical regions', within which man and his changing activities have equal importance with, and are inseparable from,

the more static physical features. Regionalism has, since the turn of the century, developed into the principal technique of geographical analysis throughout the world, it is a fortunate development which has made the practical and utilitarian Modern Geography of today possible.

However, it should be emphasised that Modern Geography is not a study of *all* factors which exhibit an areal expression, i.e., phenomena which have a distributional pattern either within the world or within a geographic region, but only of those which are observable materially and either limit man and his activities or result from man's impress on the area. As an example, the study of food production distribution in South and South-East Asia comes well within the field of geographical research; but a study of international trade agreements, *per se*, between Ceylon and Burma would not be involving real geographic factors. However, international trade agreements might well be studied as non-geographic factors, in order to determine and measure their effects on the food production of various countries of South and South-East Asia.

We find then that Modern Geography is organized around the study of geographical regions, within each of which a unified study of all the geographic aspects may be encompassed, *or*, consideration may be arbitrarily limited to certain selected geographic aspects only, within special recognized regional limits. In this capacity geography serves to bring all peoples of the world into closer acquaintenship, to destroy archaic ideas of racial superiorities, and to dispel national prejudices and suspicions—and this largely through acquainting mankind with the world as it is beyond his own narrow horizons. Geographical study helps to build mutual appreciation and respect for other peoples' 'way of life', for the accomplishments and also the problems of other men and other nations. Through a greater knowledge of other peoples, mistrusted 'foreigners' become more nearly respected 'neighbours', and supposed ignorant 'natives' are found to be cultured 'gentlefolk'. Dissemination of knowledge about the world itself and the world's peoples, of those peoples' universal struggle for existence, of the world-wide sameness of their hopes and needs and problems, all foster a better international understanding—and understanding fosters tolerance and co-operation, qualities which the world today can well afford to cultivate.

Subject Specialization

Studies of any nature or scope, which lend themselves to sub-division, give rise to speciality fields within—and geography is no exception. Within the past generation new speciality branches have been born within the broad field of geographic thought. If the speciality emphasises raw material production and manufacturing, then it is economic geography; if international relations and politics, then political geography; if of climate and weather,

then climatology; or if of maps and charts, then cartography. And there are numerous other speciality branches. However, if a study encompasses all of the observable geographic facts within a limited natural and cultural landscape, in all their interlocking relationships, that is regional geography. In the final analysis, therefore, the field of geographic study encompasses the face of the earth and the people thereon, with special reference to regional differentiations.

The Scope of Geographic Research

Within any new field of learning such as Modern Geography, research plays a very important role. The whole world lies within the geographic realm, and so there is much to be done—with so very little, relatively speaking, having been accomplished to the present time. As is true in some other branches of investigation, the geographer must carry out the great bulk of his inventory and research in the 'field', across the length and breadth of the great continents, and in every far off corner and island of the world. No area where man lives, and few which he does not occupy, is too remote or too unsavoury physically to be passed over or ignored. The geographic investigator cannot bring the physical and cultural world into a laboratory—he must go out to it. Consequently, the factors of time, great distances, largeness of area, adversity of climate, and difficulty of accessability all contrive to thwart the geographic researcher in his work. Costs in money and human effort run high and often prove prohibitive to research, with resulting excessive 'spottiness' of pattern and 'inconsistency' of the quality of the geographic knowledge of the world.

The story of the difficulties in geographic field research is not necessarily unique in the broad world of research, it simply repeats the difficulties of many other disciplines—resulting in 'too little and too late' research. As a consequence of this serious handicap the development of new research tools and techniques is very important, research techniques which may extend the scope and speed up the processes of the all important 'real' research.

In response to this serious need for new field research tools and techniques in geography, the writer has experimented over the past half dozen years with the small light airplane for low-altitude geographic field-observation work. And somewhat more recently the ordinary 35 mm. camera has been added as a second field tool for low-altitude personalized aerial photography. Both of these tools are extremely versatile. Neither of the two tools is exactly new to the general field of research, but, the adaptation of the light airplane for observation and the use of the 35 mm. camera for practical aerial photography in geographic investigations and research is new.

On the basis of extensive experiments and full-scale completed 'regional studies', conducted both in mid-latitude areas and later in tropical Ceylon,

it is well proven that the usual regional geographic field inventory-survey can best employ a complementary use of aerial-observation-sketching-photography with some preliminary ground-level control observation. Neither technique is fully complete without the other—aerial work and ground work in geographic field research are definitely complementary, and by no means can one supplant the other.

Ceylon's Opportunities in Geographic Research

Ceylon is a very active participant today in this new twentieth century international development of geographical study. Throughout the Island's secondary school system the fundamental principles of Modern World Geography are being taught, while the more advanced and specialized concepts of Geography are finding their rightful places within the new Geography Department of the University of Ceylon.

Ceylon's close physical proximity to the great Asiatic continent offers Ceylon's geography students an excellent opportunity to study those world important areas of South and South-East Asia objectively and completely. Ceylon's insular position gives sufficient separation from the vast mainland to allow a detached and objective view of both Asia's lands and peoples and the geographical problems which result. Ceylon is, on the other hand, in sufficient proximity to those densely populated South and South-East Asiatic lands to give it a thorough understanding through cultural sameness ; and close enough to readily enable extensive research to be conducted into all the physical, human, and economic phases of continental life. With these special physical advantages, together with the high level enthusiasm for international co-operation exhibited throughout both the University and Governmental circles in Ceylon, there is good reason to believe that the University of Ceylon will produce in short time a department of 'geographic thought' of true international scope and significance.

Most importantly, the geographic knowledge gained through these endeavours will help to fulfill greater opportunities for the people of Ceylon and her neighbours—and to help in at least some small way to alleviate the poverty and sufferings within the region, and to bring an added richness into the lives of all mankind in this great sector of the eastern world.

It is heartening to realize that many leading men and women here and abroad are fired with the high ideal of understanding and helpfulness, they are leaders who give freely of their efforts and material goods in the hope of benefit to the less fortunate. And it is further heartening to realize that many Governments among the free countries of the world are equally as zealous toward the same end. If the simple 'will' to banish misunderstanding, poverty and hunger were sufficient, then these miseries would have long since vanished from the world, but far more than the simple 'will' is needed.

Ceylon's Own Needs in Geographic Research

The tropics present a real challenge to the research geographer. Roads are generally few, broad unbridged rivers as well as broad swamps hinder movement, and broad tropical forests both hinder movement and cut surface visibility to a minimum. The tropical field research man is practically 'lost' on the ground, at least he works against great odds—odds so great that few men have ventured out at all, and even fewer have accomplished much.

Geographically the Tropics are little known today—even surprisingly large parts of Ceylon are geographic 'unknowns'. Why is there no Land Use Map of Ceylon, why no Vegetation Map, why no Soils Map, why no Crop Potential Map, and moreover, why not even a Population Distribution Map of Ceylon? The simple answer to these 'whys' is, a combination of lack of time, lack of finances, and lack of trained geographers—but probably most importantly it is the physical 'difficulty of accomplishment' of the field survey work entailed. Land Use, Soils, etc. are all 'unknown' geographic factors in Ceylon, especially concerning the 'Dry Areas' of the island—and these are all basic fundamental factors which a nation such as Ceylon *must* know before large scale land reclamation and national social planning can be achieved. To plan on any scale, and especially on a national scale, without this basic geographic information is not only administratively clumsy, but actually economically dangerous for the Nation and its People.

The amount of work and expense involved in a 'ground-survey' of Ceylon's Land Use alone would be considerable—so great in fact that even Government has not been able to undertake and underwrite it. But, this all important job can be done with relative speed and economy, expedited through the use of new geographic field techniques discussed above. In fact, this important survey project of Ceylon's Land Use is getting under way this year, through the sponsorship of the University of Ceylon, and under the direction of one of the permanent staff of the University's Geography Department. When completed, within the coming two years, this survey will be of inestimable value to the Government of Ceylon in the formulating of its National Planning policies.

National and International Aspects

The International Geographical Congress has selected Ceylon (an island in Asia) and Bolivia (an interior country in South America) as 'pilot' survey areas in a projected world-wide Land Use Survey scheme, under consideration for several years, and now getting under way. This international project is to be carried out on a uniform classification basis determined through international agreement, by local geographers in each small geographic region or political unit working under conditions fully familiar to them, as in Ceylon

where the work will be completely done by Ceylonese. Other similar world surveys (soils, land forms, population distribution, etc.) will be inaugurated from year to year, to run concurrently with the Land Use Survey—all under the co-ordinating direction of the International Geographical Congress. And it is sincerely hoped that Ceylon will continue in the same progressive way that she is undertaking the first brave step on the Land Use Survey. Because, in Ceylon's own national interest these basic surveys are absolute necessities, and in Ceylon's international interest they are of tremendous value in 'selling' Ceylon to the world. The better a nation knows itself—the better it can sell itself.

Ceylon is fortunate in having been selected as a 'pilot' region for the first of these world-wide surveys. Ceylon is also fortunate in possessing at this opportune moment the 'know how' of geographic field survey techniques, as well as competent local geographers, so the job can be undertaken with full confidence and assurance of completion. But even further than this Ceylon is extremely fortunate in having a world recognized University which is fully alive to both its local and international responsibilities, and which has demonstrated here as frequently before its keenness in giving moral and financial support to worthwhile research in all fields of learning.

Ceylon should be proud of its fine University and the monumental work it is doing in many fields of human knowledge, and it is sincerely hoped that the new Geography Department will continue to take a leading part in making the University of Ceylon a progressive and respected center of learning and research, which the nation and its people so rightfully deserve.

C. Mac FADDEN

Terence's Adelphoi: A Revaluation

THE traditional view of the *Adelphoi* has been that it is Terence's masterpiece. Only one voice has so far been raised to question it, and that somewhat tentatively. Sir Gilbert Norwood[1] wonders whether the *Adelphoi* is fully equal to the *Hecyra*, but having said that, he does not press his case. In fact he awards the palm to it because ' it reveals the author as envisaging a wider problem ' and his final verdict on it is that it is a ' wonderful drama '.[2] In the face of a tradition so strong one may well hesitate to ' step in where angels fear to tread ', but I hesitate still more to accept the tradition without question. While far from denying the many excellences which the play possesses, I find in it flaws of a kind which impair the claim that it is ' wonderful ' and ' magnificent ' drama. The most serious of these flaws is an uncertainty of intention, arising, so it seems to me, from a conflict between the playwright's own predilections and the demands of his audience. I can think of few dramatists who were so ill at ease with their audience as Terence was with his. His prologues which provide ample evidence of this conflict are too well known to require more than passing mention. What is surprising, however, is that critics have not seen evidence of the conflict in the plays themselves. I must here draw attention to a fact of some importance—namely, that the *Adelphoi* was written after the *Hecyra* in which the conflict had reached its most acute and critical phase. For, as Terence himself tells us,[3] this play received a hearing only on its third presentation: on the two previous occasions the audience had walked out on it. It is not difficult to understand why this happened. The *Hecyra* was a play more serious than was suited to the temper of a Roman audience accustomed to the rollicking farces of Plautus. Indeed Plautus has so spoilt the palates even of Classical scholars for ' serious comedy ' that critics have either condemned or overlooked the *Hecyra*—with the single exception of Sir Gilbert Norwood, who regards it as the ' purest example of classical high comedy '.[4] I wouldn't put it very ' high ' at that, but would certainly agree that it was too high for the Roman mob.

However, what concerns me more for the moment is the effect on Terence's subsequent work of the failure of his *Hecyra*. Naturally Terence would not court a second failure as complete. He must either go out of business or, if he did continue, he must attune himself to his audience. This would require

1. *The Art of Terence*, Ch. 7.
2. Ibid.
3. *Hecyra*, Prologues.
4. op. cit., Ch. 6.

either a complete withdrawal from 'serious' drama—such a step was impossible for Terence—or a reconciliation between his own serious interests and the expectations of his audience. A playwright of genius usually succeeds in putting across his ideas in a form palatable to his audience without showing signs of conflict. Terence made the attempt in the *Adelphoi* but did not quite succeed.

An early hint of conflict in the *Adelphoi* will be found in the soliloquy with which Micio opens the play. Micio is presented in this play as a man of the world, a gentleman, possessing a shrewd knowledge of men and things, able to face facts, very tactful in the handling of his adopted son Aeschinus, acting on the principle that boys will be boys and should be allowed to sow their wild oats provided always they are open and frank with their parents. Yet this Micio will be found at the beginning of this play, in the course of an anxious soliloquy over his son's failure to return home the previous evening, expressing the following sentiment :—

> 'And I, what things I imagine from my son's failure to return ! What anxieties torment me ! Perhaps he's caught a chill or had a fall or broken a limb '.[5]

Of course even a man of the world may be worried about a son, but surely not to the extent of being tormented with anxiety in case he's caught a chill or had a fall ? The inconsistency is all the more striking because it is unlike Terence, who was a much more scrupulous artist than Plautus. I can find no satisfactory explanation for this piece of absurdity except a tormenting anxiety on the part of Terence to provide his audience with food for laughter. That this was his intention here is borne out by the lines that immediately precede :

> 'It's better to suffer what an angry wife calls down on your head, or even thinks to herself, when you've gone out somewhere or return home late, than suffer as indulgent parents do '.[6]

The joke about the angry wife is a stock one on the Roman stage. It never palled. And here it leads up to an exaggerated expression of Micio's fears, suggestive of farce.

There is a further oddity about this soliloquy which is also suggestive. All the information conveyed in the soliloquy is conveyed much more dramatically in the scene between Micio and his brother Demea which immediately follows. Any modern producer of this play would almost certainly cut from verse 41 to verse 77, leaving out a not very interesting sermon by Micio on the difference between his brother's views and his own on the management

5. Act I, vv. 35 ff.
6. Act I, vv. 28 ff.

of children. Nothing would be lost, since the difference is dramatically presented in the quarrel between Micio and Demea which begins at verse 78. Now, it had not been Terence's habit in his earlier plays to convey information formally when he could do so dramatically. The fact that he does so in this play I would regard as further evidence that Terence was now anxious to accommodate himself to an audience which, as we may infer from the practice of Plautus, required a great deal of coaching.

The impression of uneasiness conveyed so early in the play is confirmed as the action develops. There is a sad inconsistency in the portrayal of Aeschinus' character, which cannot be dismissed as immaterial, because it touches a very important scene. Aeschinus is a young man who, on his first appearance in Act II, in order to help his somewhat spineless brother Ctesipho, has broken violently into the house of the slave-dealer Sannio and abducted the girl with whom his brother was in love. When Sannio follows him protesting vociferously, he has him socked on the jaw.[7] Yet this same Aeschinus in Act IV is overcome by a feeling of diffidence and hesitation hardly consistent with his bravado in Act II. In Act IV Aeschinus is in some difficulty. News of his abduction of a slave girl has reached the ears of his mistress, and he is suspected of having played her false. He stands on her doorstep hesitating to enter and clear himself. Now it would not be unnatural for a young man in such a situation to feel some nervousness, but the nervousness shown by Aeschinus is out of all proportion to the difficulties of his position, which are (1) that he cannot clear himself without exposing his brother Ctesipho's little intrigue ;[8] (2) that he doubts whether he 'll be believed even if he does tell the truth.[9] As for (1) it is difficult to see how his brother would suffer through his confiding the secret to his mistress. The only person who has to be kept in the dark is Ctesipho's father Demea. In the case of (2) his doubts seem stupid in view of his good standing with his mistress and her mother—a point carefully established in Act III, vv. 292 ff.

But apart from the exaggeration of the problem there is exaggeration also of Aeschinus' state of mind :

'What torture to be confronted out of the blue with such a calamity ! I don't know what to do with myself, how to act. *My limbs are paralysed with fear, my mind dazed with apprehension.* Not a single idea that will stay fixed in my head. Confound it how shall I get out of this mess ?'.[10]

Here surely is exaggeration suggestive once again of farce. How is it possible with such language to take Aeschinus seriously ? And yet in view

7. Act II, vv. 172-174.
8. Act IV, vv. 625 ff.
9. Act IV, v. 627.
10. Act IV, vv. 610 ff.

of later developments the scene is one that ought to have been serious. For this scene leads up to the encounter between Micio and Aeschinus[11] in which Micio (who by now knows Aeschinus' secret), pretending not to know about it, gently leads Aeschinus to the point at which he makes a clean breast of everything and is overcome with shame at his failure to reciprocate his father's indulgence and understanding with the frankness that he expected. It is clear that the scene is one of the key scenes in the play, since by it Micio's method of handling a son is justified as against Demea's. It was in fact to provide for this scene between Micio and Aeschinus that Aeschinus was kept hanging on the doorstep until Micio came out of the house that Aeschinus was attempting to enter. The surprising of Aeschinus by Micio at that point is effective and the scene that follows is as excellent as it has usually been considered. But in order to achieve this Terence has had to exaggerate the nature of Aeschinus' difficulty in entering the house, and has queered the pitch for a serious scene by an almost farcical introduction to it.

But there is a still more serious defect. The final act of this play is, to say the least, disconcerting. It is undiluted farce, and therefore inconsistent with the whole tenor of the play up to that point. In the first four and a half acts, Terence traces the conflict between Micio and Demea over their theories of education and the effect of this conflict on the fortunes of two young men. Micio is consistently presented in a much more sympathetic light than Demea, and his theory is justified in its results. For Demea, who rails at his brother for corrupting Aeschinus by his indulgence, is confronted by the rude discovery that Ctesipho, the apple of his eye and the product of his stern discipline, is more rotten than Aeschinus. For what Aeschinus does openly Ctesipho does on the sly, and has not even the spirit to act on his own behalf but must shelter behind a brother and a slave. Besides, though Aeschinus, in spite of his father's indulgence, has witheld his confidence from him on an important matter, he is at least man enough to confess and has the grace to blush. All this is brought out in that excellent scene which I have already referred to in the previous paragraph.[12] In fact that scene could have had no purpose except to establish this point. Now if the play is to be taken seriously it must end on a note harmonious with the position established in the first four and a half acts. Such a conclusion would in fact have been provided at the end of Act V, scene 3, *if Terence had ended the play there.* When all the sins of Aeschinus and Ctesipho have come to light there is a final passage at arms between Micio and the infuriated Demea.[13] It is noticeable that on this occasion Micio does not dismiss Demea's recriminations as scornfully

11. Act IV, vv. 636 ff.

12. Act IV, vv. 636 ff.

13. Act V, vv. 790 ff.

and casually as he did in their previous disputes.[14] Demea is treated seriously as having a right to be aggrieved since, as he sees it, Micio has corrupted not Aeschinus only but Ctesipho too. Consequently Micio is sweetly reasonable in his argument with Demea,[15] and does in the end succeed in persuading Demea that the boys are still sound at heart and that he must make the best of what has happened. Demea consents to ' give himself over to his brother for this one day '[16] and agrees to his son's marriage with the dancing girl, but promises to pack off to the country the next day with his son and his son's wife. In reply to Micio's quip[17] ' mind she don't run away ', Demea, with a spark of his old fire, retorts ' I 'll see to that. And out there, I 'll make sure, what with cooking and grinding, that she 's all smothered in ashes, smoke and flour. Yes, I 'll put her to gather stubble at midday, I 'll make her as black and charred as a charcoal '. And with a little more exchange of badinage the two brothers go in to celebrate the wedding. This would have provided a perfectly natural final curtain. The problems of the young men have been solved, the conflict between Micio and Demea is over. Everyone is happy except Demea, who, however, agrees to call it a day. But then, just at this point, where the action reaches a natural pause,[18] Terence begins another scene which is long enough to constitute another act. Demea, it appears, is suddenly converted to Micio's philosophy of life, and decides to make himself universally loved by imitating his brother's indulgent ways. He begins by being polite to the slaves Syrus and Geta, goes on to heap favours on Aeschinus, urging him to expedite his marriage by pulling down the wall that divides his house from that of his mistress (this is in fact done), and ends up by stampeding the confirmed old bachelor Micio into a marriage with Aeschinus' mother-in-law-to-be, into giving the slave Syrus his freedom and an elderly relation Hegio a gift of an estate. The whole scene is excellent farce in the best Plautine manner, but hopelessly at odds with everything that has preceded. I must confess I cannot see it, as Sir Gilbert Norwood does, as the ' legitimate fruit of the whole play '.[19] I would draw attention to the following points :—

(1) The joints between this scene and the previous one positively creak. At the end of Act V, scene 3, Demea is unconverted. At the beginning of Act V, scene 4, he is converted, though nothing has happened to make such a change probable.

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14. *cf.* vv. 120 ff. and vv. 720 ff.

15. *cf. esp.* vv. 806-835.

16. vv. 838-9.

17. vv. 845 ff.

18. End of Act V, scene 3.

19. op. cit. end of Ch. 7.

(2) There is uncertainty in this scene as to whether Demea is really converted or merely pretends to be converted in order to have Micio hoist with his own petard. Demea's opening soliloquy suggests that Demea is serious. There is genuine bitterness of feeling in it over his unpopularity as compared with Micio's popularity.[20] The purpose of his conversion is explicitly stated in this soliloquy. It is to be loved and valued by his own as Micio is. There is not even a hint at this stage of an intention to 'cut Micio's throat with his own sword', as he later puts it.[21] The first hint of that intention is given only at verse 913, where he chuckles with glee at the thought of how much his generosity is going to cost his brother. The intention is explicitly stated only at verse 958 ('I cut his throat with his own sword') and at the very end of the scene in Demea's lecture to Micio. But the point is that this idea seems to have come to Demea (as I think it came to Terence) in a sudden flash of inspiration as the scene developed, and it superseded the intention with which the scene began. It would seem as though Terence either (*a*) suddenly saw how he could give the audience what they wanted or (*b*) suddenly decided that having written four acts and three-fourths of the fifth with fairly serious intentions, he would now show them in a final one-fourth act how well he could out-Plautus Plautus if he wanted to. He may even have been indulging in indirect satire at the expense of Plautus and his audience.

(3) Micio's behaviour in this final scene is altogether inconsistent with his character as presented consistently in the rest of the play. A man of the world like Micio is hardly likely to marry a wife merely because his brother wanted him to and 'the boy desires it'. It was true he indulged the boy, but that indulgence was presented as part of a reasoned philosophy not as mere weakness of will.

This one scene makes such mockery of the rest of the play that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Terence has turned a somersault for the gratification of an audience which had once walked out on a serious play of his to witness a rope-dancing act.[22] The gradual progression in the *Adelphoi* from early hesitation between pleasing the audience and pleasing himself to this final cataclysmic surrender to the audience is highly suggestive.

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20. *cf. esp.* vv. 865 ff.

21. v. 958.

22. See *Hecyra*, 1st prologue.

Society and Ideology in Ceylon during a 'Time of Troubles', 1795-1850. (2)

THE RISE OF ECONOMIC INDIVIDUALISM

'No economic order can be brought into existence so long as the corresponding human type does not also emerge'.

(KARL MANNHEIM)

WHEN Sir Henry Maine, in a classic phrase, suggested that 'the movement of the *progressive* societies has hitherto been a movement *from status to contract*', he was adverting to that momentous historical process by which individual obligation took the place of group-sanctions as the organizing principle of dynamic or 'progressive' societies.[1] Certain societies were clearly more 'progressive' than others in this sense, and among the least 'progressive' were the static communities of the Eternal East. Social organization and social philosophy bewray this 'progress', and the processes of social change which characterize a Time of Troubles are seldom intelligible unless society and ideology are regarded as correlated variables. An exposition of two 'ideal types' of social order is a necessary methodological prerequisite for an analysis of the interactions between society and ideology in Ceylon during the period under review.[2]

In a society governed by what Tonnies distinguishes as *gemeinschaft* social relations, the individual is conscious of himself only through some general category such as the family, the community, the tribe, or the guild.[3] In these sociocentric communities, 'individualism' is but imperfectly developed; in extreme cases even natural events are normatively interpreted through the medium of the principle of retribution, and every misfortune experienced (e.g. flood, drought, famine, and disease) is regarded as the

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1. Maine: *Ancient Law* (1861, Oxford, 1931 ed.) Maine's own criteria of 'progress' are uncertain. (cf. C. K. Allen's Introduction).

2. An *ideal type* has no ethical connotation: it is a conceptually pure type of social behaviour. Empirical instances diverge from or approximate to this *ideal type*. (cf. Max Weber: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Tr. T. Parsons, London, 1947, p. 81).

3. In Europe this *gemeinschaft* spirit (*volksgeist*) is enshrined in conceptions of society of writers like Johannes Althusius. (cf. Gierke: *Natural Law and the Theory of Society*, 1500-1800. Tr. E. Barker, Cambridge, 1950 ed.) Gierke himself seems to pose the crucial dilemma: 'Organism or mechanism—which will you take?' (vide p. 52 etc.).

consequence of a violation of a social norm.[4] This ubiquitous group-spirit is well exemplified in the Indian village community in which the life-conduct and life-chances of the individual are determined by a complex web of social regulations and primary affective ties. These village-communities, hemmed in on all sides by tradition and superstition, 'subjugated man to external circumstances instead of elevating man into the sovereign of circumstances, and transformed a self-developing social state into a never-changing natural destiny'.[5] Institutional control of social and economic life imposes upon the individual comparatively rigid rules of conduct in all spheres of social life.[6]

'The primordial thing, however, which is owned by human *gemeinschaften*, is the land', says Tonnies. The will to possess what is permanent and hereditary is itself a reflection of the will for preservation, and with the homestead and the cultivated field, the domicile becomes permanently fixed.[7] Hence Marx's pointed reference to 'that barbarian egotism which, concentrating on some miserable patch of land, had quietly witnessed the ruin of empires'.[8] In our own case, the British found that 'all the great and petty Headmen keep it as an ancient custom not to sell any of their lands to other castes, nor even to alienate them out of their families, however they may be burthened with debts, and it is a further custom with them to hypothecate their lands

4. H. Kelsen: *Society and Nature. A Sociological Inquiry* (London, 1946), cites an instance of sociocentric anthropomorphism in Ceylon, his authority being Robert Percival's *Account of Ceylon* (1803). Likewise Pareto: *The Mind and Society* (Tr. A. Livingston, London, 1935, Vol. I, p. 96) designates this type of mentality 'non-logocial' and cites among his examples of non-logical behaviour the everyday beliefs of the Ceylon villager who places immense emphasis on the *nakata* and other astrological conceptions. Pareto's authorities are Deschamps and H. C. P. Bell.

5. Marx: *The British Rule in India* (1853), cp. *Capital* (Tr. E. Untermann, Chicago, 1909, Vol. 3, p. 932, et seq.).

6. cf. Sir J. B. Phear: *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon* (London, 1880); H. Baden Powell: *The Indian Village Community* (London, 1896); R. Mukerjee: Caste and Social Change in India. (*American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII/3, 1937).

7. F. Tonnies: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft.* (Tr. C. P. Loomis, N.Y., 1940, pp. 209, 57-58).

8. Marx, loc. cit. Cp. K. S. Shelvankar: *The Problem of India* (London, 1940, p. 29): 'In parts of Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces, fields the size of a tennis court are common; in other areas too there are ludicrously small plots, some so small that it is scarcely possible to turn the bullocks round in ploughing'. In Ceylon too the average holding is 'ludicrously small', ancestral lands being divided and subdivided through inheritance until an individual's share may be 1/120th part of a coconut tree! (C.O. 416/2). Increasing population has made the pressure on land still greater, the average holding being one-fourth of an acre, and units of 1/138th part of an acre being known (cf. Sir Ivor Jennings: *The Economy of Ceylon*, Oxford, 1948, p. 30).

for these debts '.[9] The village community was indeed the immutable basis of social organization in the Eternal East: it was also the solid foundation of Oriental despotism.

The emergence of an individualized 'free' man, regulated on the one hand by the impersonal imperatives of an industrial society, and on the other by an inner, personal 'conscience', was a comparatively recent phenomenon whose advent was fraught with momentous psychological transformations.[10] The crucial distinction between this latter *gesellschaft* social mechanism and the earlier *gemeinschaft* feudal community hinges on the general use of money and credit in the modern age, in contrast to the barter economy of feudal communities rooted to the land. In our own times money has so become part of our everyday lives that it is not easy to imagine the mental transformation which its acceptance necessitates. Money 'disappears' in use, it 'circulates' with a greater or lesser velocity, in comparison to land which is permanent in use. 'Currency', 'credit', and 'capital' presuppose still more abstract habits of thought. It marks a great advance in thinking when land is reckoned as a special kind of 'capital'.[11]

A concomitant of the abstract conceptions of currency, credit, and capital, is the idea of 'accumulation'. In a barter economy rooted in *gemeinschaft* conceptions of the permanence of land; the so-called 'acquisitive instinct' is far less evident than in a society dominated by money. For accumulation of 'capital' is an indispensable condition of the industrial system which we call 'capitalism'. If all ideas of thrift and parsimony were thrown to the winds, and men abandon themselves to an orgy of hedonistic gratification of their every desire, industrial production and 'capitalism' will be at an end. The capitalist does indeed share with the miser the passion for wealth. 'But that which in the miser is a mere idiosyncrasy, is, in the capitalist, the effect of the social mechanism, of which he is but one of the wheels'.[12] Men must postpone present satisfactions if 'capitalism' is to flourish. Money itself fortifies the philosophy of thrift and parsimony. For, as Lord Keynes has said, 'money in its significant attributes is, above all, a subtle device for linking

9. Sir Alexander Johnston: *Ceylon Native Laws and Customs*, 1832. (C.O. 54/123) cf. also the Report of the Agent of Saffragam, October 13th, 1829: 'Scarcely an instance is known of a Kandyan selling his lands, such proceedings being regarded as disgraceful'. (C.O. 416/2).

10. 'The notion and analysis of Conscience is hardly older than 1700.' (Lord Acton in a letter to Creighton, April 9th, 1887). '"Conscience" is a slave driver, put into man by himself. It drives him to act according to wishes and aims which he *believes* to be his own, while they are actually the internalization of external social demands.' (E. Fromm: *The Fear of Freedom*, London, 1942, p. 84).

11. cf. Tonnies, op. cit., p. 98.

12. Marx: *Capital* (Engels-Moore-Aveling Edition, London, 1889), p. 603.

the present to the future'.[13] It encourages foresight, business acumen, rational calculation, and acquisitiveness. Thrift was a cardinal principle of Wealth according to the Classical Economists; it was a virtue inculcated by the Protestant Ethic, and with the development of what Sombart terms 'the capitalist spirit' (*geist*), was practically fetished.[14] It is not surprising that Mandeville's heretical *Fable of the Bees*[15] was convicted as a nuisance by the Grand Jury of Middlesex in 1723, since it contained the wicked doctrine that

> 'Bare Virtue can't make Nations live
> In Splendour. They that would revive
> A Golden Age, must be as free
> For Acorns as for Honesty'.

But such heresy could scarcely stem a deep-seated propensity to which human beings had been conditioned through several generations. Money eventually became the symbol of freedom, power, self-respect, and happiness. We have become so accustomed to living in a business civilization that it is difficult for us to visualise the deep-seated psychological adjustments that such life-conditions demand. It is only through an examination of the mechanisms of adjustment to industrial conditions in crucial historical periods that we can properly appreciate the dynamic psychological foundations of social action. And it is with such a Time of Troubles in Ceylon that we are now concerned.

The greatest impediment to the rise of 'capitalism' in Ceylon was, of course, the absence of the individualistic character-type. Several administrators of the early British period pointed repeatedly to the 'Native character, his natural apathy and indifference about increasing his cultivation beyond what yields him sufficient to answer his immediate purposes'.[16] As the Commissioner of Revenue, Robert Boyd pointed out, one fatal obstacle to schemes for the improvement of the Island was the want of Capital, there being few 'wealthy Natives' here in comparison to India: 'I believe it to be an indisputable fact that there is scarcely a cultivator in this Island who possesses more than his agricultural tools and cattle . . . We must acknowledge the inferiority of this delightful, but comparatively unproductive Island, to those emporiums of Commerce in the East' (e.g., Bengal and Madras).[17] Thus

13. Keynes : *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*. (London, 1936), p. 294.

14. cf. Max Weber : *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. (Tr. T. Parsons, London, 1930, Chapter V).

15. cf. B. Mandeville : *The Fable of the Bees*, (ed. F. B. Kaye, Oxford, 1924).

16. Report of W. H. Hooper, September 6th, 1815. (C.O. 416/2).

17. R. Boyd : *Report on Orr's Plan*, September, 1815, (ibid).

Governor North's early attempts to abolish Service Tenures had failed disastrously on account of the utter indifference of the indolent Sinhalese to their own advantages, and owing to their tardy appreciation of the seemingly obvious fact that they could 'better themselves' by labouring for money wages.

But gradually the traditional ethos, based on a primarily collectivist ethos, was undergoing a subtle transformation. Bertolacci, who officiated in various administrative capacities between 1798 and 1814, observed that in his time the use of coin and currency had become general both in the new (Kandyan) territories, and in the Littoral. But he also remarked that either from want of capital or from attachment to ancestral customs, barter was very much resorted to in many transactions, and there were all manner of economic relationships besides the cash-nexus.[18] In 1826, however, Captain de Bussche was able to report that 'a considerable stimulus to the exertions of the natives has been already given by the certainty the cultivator feels, under our dominion, that he who sows will reap'.[19] This notion of the practical man that he who sows will reap, mirrors, as it were, the basic postulates of economic reasoning during the Liberal era. A 'free' market for labour was considered to be the hall-mark of an 'enlightened' social order. Mass-unemployment was never taken into account since it was assumed that, except for 'frictional' unemployment 'between jobs', there could be no 'involuntary' unemployment. In short, in a 'free' labour market, all who desired to work could find employment. Effective demand was never inadequate. Hence the celebrated optimism of the Classical Economists who taught that 'all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds provided we will let well alone'.[20]

The *Rājakāriya* system, odious though it may have been from the point of view of current British ideals of a 'free' labour market, was nevertheless utilised by the government to procure labour compulsorily for public works, in the traditional manner. It was through this convenient device that Governor Barnes was able to procure labourers to open up the coffee plantations. His scheme of constructing roads connecting the once inaccessible Kandyan country to the Coast would never have materialised had it not been for *Rājakāriya*, which enabled him to exact varying sessions of compulsory labour from Natives who held their lands by Service Tenure.[21] Although the

18. A. Bertolacci: *A View of the Agricultural, Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon.* (London, 1817), p. 209.

19. L. de Bussche: *Letters on Ceylon, particularly relative to the Kingdom of Kandy.* (London, 1826).

20. Keynes, op. cit., p. 33.

21. At a meeting of the Chiefs on March 19th, 1815, the Governor said that he trusted that they would perform the established *Rājakāriya* with Zeal and Fidelity. They replied that they were ready to perform all *Rājakāriya*. (Sir J. D'Oyly: *Diary*, Colombo, 1917). In a Regulation of 1818 Governor Brownrigg reaffirmed the legality of *Rājakāriya*. (C.O. 54/71).

Colebrooke Commissioners found that private employers had been able to procure daily paid labourers even in parts of the Island where a regular demand for such labour had not previously existed,[22] the supply of voluntary wage-labourers was severely restricted in the Kandyan country where labour was urgently required for clearing jungles and constructing roads. Governor Barnes concluded that by *Rājakāriya* alone could the government secure the number of labourers required for the projected public works, in a country where few Sinhalese could be induced to enlist in the Pioneer Corps even at the enhanced pay of nine pence per day, when the highest wage paid to voluntary labourers was six pence. He nevertheless entertained the hope that 'when the country becomes wealthy enough to increase the number of foreign labourers, or when the people value money more than indolence, then there will be no necessity for compulsion '.[23]

Monarchism in Traditional Ceylon was ' woven into the very tissue of their institutions '.[24] *Rājakāriya* is therefore unintelligible except in the context of Kingship. The spirit of the macrocosm resided in the King, the preserver of the traditional law. The monarch was enjoined to administer the law justly—' If not, may thy head be split into seven parts ', an early King is admonished. The line which divides the royal and priestly functions has everywhere been a faint one. The secular King of modern times is ' a differentiation of an original genus into two species '.[25] In Ceylon, although deification of Kings may have been incompatible with pure Buddhism, Kingship was never secularized, and the relation of King and Church was very similar to that between English Kings and the Established Church.[26] And there was an underlying continuity of atavistic political ideas despite diverse expressions of these fundamental ideas. Thus Tennent records a survival

22. *Abolition of Rājakāriya*, Goderich to Horton, May 3rd, 1832. (C.O. 55/72). In The Colebrooke Papers, ed. G. C. Mendis, to be published shortly. I am indebted to Dr. Mendis for permitting me to use his manuscript of these valuable documents.

23. Answer to Question 9 of the Colebrooke Commissioners, by Sir Edward Barnes (Ibid).

24. cf. Brownrigg to Bathurst, February 28th, 1817 (C.O. 54/65).

25. A. M. Hocart: *Kings and Councillors. An Essay in the Comparative Anatomy of Human Society*. (Cairo, 1936). Originally the issue is expressed in the naive equation, King = God. In Europe Christianity spiritualised this pagan symbolism of divine Kings. The triumph of the spiritual King came after the break up of the Roman Empire. After A.D. 312 the coronation ceremony of temporal Kings was continued with the addition of a religious service so that the ritual followed the original structure which prevailed when Kings were Gods. The ancient ritual thus survived long after the theoretical interpretation was abandoned. (cf. E. O. James: The Sources of Christian Ritual and its Relation to the Culture Patterns of the Ancient East. In *The Labyrinth*, ed. S. H. Hooke, London, 1935).

26. cf. F. A. Hayley: *Sinhalese Laws and Customs* (Colombo, 1923), p. 533. Many a pious monarch intervened to purge the Church of heresy (cf. *Mahavamsa*, XXXVI, 41).

of the traditional attitude to Church and State when a tithe payable in kind to the government by fishermen was finally abolished in 1840 : the fishermen thereupon voluntarily paid the tax to the Church, in some cases increasing the amount of the tax.[27] 'There are, or were, two institutions which gave prosperity to Ceylon, the Church and the State. If one withdrew, there remained the other', is Hocart's interpretation.[28]

The attitude of Traditional Ceylon to *Rājakāriya* is epitomized in the proverb, 'King's business is greater than God's business'.[29] Faith in future salvation rather than temporal reward motivated popular acquiescence in the system. This attitude is well illustrated in an incident recorded in the *Mahavamsa:* when Dutugemunu announced that 'No work is to be done here without reward', and ordered that work people engaged in building a relic chamber be allotted 'wages' in money and in kind, more than one person had to resort to a ruse in order to elude being paid, and so share in the merit of the work.[30] Merit accrued not only to performers of the primarily religious duties, but also to those who were attentive of the public weal. It is a significant fact that when Gaja Bāhu built a canal, 'as a believer he placed on the height of the causeway a bodhi tree, an image house and a relic shrine'. The canal was part of a scheme of clearing a great wilderness in order to cultivate 'many thousands of day's work' of paddy fields.[31] Clearly, in the definition of 'works of merit', projects such as the provision of food were included along with purely religious undertakings such as the building of relic chambers. The important point was that 'Merit, that a man has thus heaped up with believing heart, careless of insupportable ills of the body, brings to pass hundreds of results which are a mine of happiness; therefore one must do works of merit with believing heart'.[32]

With the deposition of the last King, the rationale of *Rājakāriya* disappeared. King's duty was so long a moral and religious obligation ; now the term *Rājakāriya* was being used in a sense approximating to 'that's my business', or 'mind your own business', its connotation of Duty being obliterated. In the eyes of the people, King's Duty without the King was an anachronism.[33] Even under the Kings, *Rājakāriya* was considered to be

27. Sir E. Tennent : *Ceylon.* (London, 1860, Vol. II, pp. 130-132).

28. Hocart, op. cit., p. 206.

29. රාජකාරිය ලොකුයි දෙවියන්කාරියට (cf. L. de Zoysa : Specimens of Sinhalese Proverbs, *JRASCB*, 1871).

30. *Mahavamsa*, XXVII, 21-23, XXX, 29-37.

31. *Culavamsa*, LXVIII, 21-31.

32. *Mahavamsa*, XXVIII, 44.

33. In the Maritime Provinces the original basis of *Rājakāriya* 'has in great degree been lost sight of and the demand upon the people for service may be considered as a tax upon the person'. (Sir Edward Barnes to the Colebrooke Commissioners, in The Colebrooke Papers).

'oppression' if utilised for unmeritorious purposes.[34] The last King of Kandy was able to employ Temple people to repair the Lake on the plea that construction of tanks was work of piety.[35]

The British administration made use of *Rājakāriya* as a convenient device to exact labour for all manner of economic undertakings such as repairing rest-houses and *tappal* stations, clearing jungle land, and constructing roads and buildings attached to Agents' residences, frequently without payment, some of the labourers being old men and boys not above the age of seven. When the work was not properly executed, an overseer flogged the malingerers. The workers were sometimes kept out for several months at a distance of twenty miles from their homes.[36] Yet Governor Barnes crassly argued that 'looking fairly at compulsory labour, there is generally speaking, nothing hard in it . . . and considering that this is a nation of labourers and that they are not able to provide the pecuniary means to enable Government to introduce foreign labourers for all purposes, I can see nothing unreasonable in their contributing a portion of their manual labour for the public good, particularly as they are paid for their services what is considered the value of labour in the District'.[37] But the social context in which *Rājakāriya* was levied was such that the people were far from willing to labour for purposes which the British administration considered to be the 'public good'. In March-April 1829, for instance, a hundred labourers to be furnished from the Walapana District, were required for public work in Kandy. They refused to serve, and on the Governor's orders the ringleader was tried for 'disobedience of the orders of Government', an attempt to rescue the prisoner having been thwarted by the troops. The Board of Commissioners sentenced the accused to thirty lashes on his back, in addition to imprisonment in the Kandy Jail, and assignment to hard labour for two months. When the prisoner had received sixteen lashes, the people came forward in a body and consented to work for the 'public good'.[38]

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34. cf. the *Mahavamsa*, XXVIII, 4-5, for Dutugemunu's reflections on this 'oppression' D'Oyly records in his Diary (March 5th, 1812), that a Mohandiram, an Aratchy, and a Kankan were reported to have been impaled by the King for releasing people who came on *Rājakāriya*, taking money from them instead. Apart from 'oppression', the reason for the extreme penalty was probably on the ground that such corruption amounted to a desecration of the entire system.

35. Colebrooke's Report on *Rājakāriya*, to Viscount Goderich, March 16th, 1832 (in The Colebrooke Papers, ed. Dr. Mendis).

36. Ibid.

37. Governor Barnes' Answers (ibid). There is an undertone of sarcasm in Barnes' replies to the Colebrooke interrogations, particularly in his references to reformers. 'There are gradations in all societies, and not being, as I said before, a Leveller, I should be sorry to see all distinctions in society destroyed'.

38. Colebrooke on *Rājakāriya* (ibid).

The Colebrooke Commission (1830-1831) had little sympathy for the activities of this 'paternal' government. Imbued with the ideals of Adam Smith and Bentham, the Commissioners endeavoured to ascertain, by means of a comprehensive series of questionnaires circulated to administrative officials and others throughout the Island, whether the economic restrictions of caste, *Rājakāriya*, and state monopolies were really favoured by the people. In spite of repeated statements regarding the apathy and indolence of the Sinhalese, the Commissioners discovered manifestations of a nascent individualism, particularly in some of the petitions they received. 'The children of the Parental Government did not therefore seem to have had any very great affection for the parent, nor to feel perfectly contented to remain under such a parental rule. Besides, under this *patria potestas* the *peculium* which they were allowed to retain out of their hard earnings, was so exceedingly small, and so great a proportion of their means was exacted by way of regular revenue, labour, or extortion, that on this account also they felt in no small degree dissatisfied'.[39] The Commission accordingly recommended the abolition of *Rājakāriya* and its proposals were implemented in 1832 despite the objections of the Ceylon administration. The government cinnamon monopoly was also abolished, and government offices were thrown open to all qualified persons. The significance of these reforms was that the caste system was no longer legally recognised. Formerly, the cinnamon monopoly tied the *Salāgama* people to the appropriate government 'department'. Caste was recognised even in the compilation of lists of eligible jurors. Ordinance No. 9 of 1844 which abolished this stratification of would-be jurymen, was the outcome of a tussle between the 'reformers' and the 'exclusives', the case having been heard by the Courts and the Legislative Council.[40]

The people themselves were becoming increasingly impatient of the irksome restrictions of caste and *Rājakāriya*. An 'enlightened' Sinhalese wrote that he was 'really intoxicated with Joy on hearing that the compulsory labour of the lower class of the natives has been abolished by the present liberal and ever blessed government'.[41] But one of his countrymen ruefully confessed that he could not honestly recommend that administrative and judicial offices be open to the Natives 'until the prejudice of caste is quite done away with, for until then, we cannot place sufficient confidence in ourselves for the proper exercise of judicial authority towards the lower classes'.

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39 *'Law Reform in Ceylon : its History, Progress, and Tendency, by a Member of the Ceylon Junior Civil Service'* (Colombo, 1849). Governor Barnes argued that 'the natives are perfectly content'. He clearly had no idea of the trend of public opinion (cf. his Replies, dated September 10th, 1830, in The Colebrooke Papers).

40. cf. E. W. Perera : *The Jury System in Ceylon ; its Origin and Incidence* (Colombo, 1933).

41. Letter from Don Juan Artesinghe to the *Colombo Journal*, May 2nd, 1832 (C.O. 59/2).

This 'Admirer of British Humanity' was full of praise for the government's efforts 'to make us happy by the advancement of our education as well as our wealth'.[42] Others were more ambitious:

> '... Yet we lack one thing needful to make us quite contented. Are we not excluded from all share in the government, and from all important offices, both judicial and revenue?
>
> 'It would be difficult to surmise the motives which operate against our holding high offices. *Are we too black*? This cannot be considered a fault though (if it be a hindrance to the attainment of our wishes) it is a misfortune. But the wisest of our countrymen has accounted for our colour by asserting that "the sun has looked upon us".[43] Is it because we wear petticoats? Surely this custom can be no impediment among those, whose superior knowledge teaches us to venerate them![44] The adoption of the European costume would not only prove expensive, but to us, cumbersome habiliments, living as we do, in the pleasure garden of the first man. Perhaps it may be argued that we have not yet attained that state of civilization which capacitates us for offices of trust—but how can this be rationally expected, when there is no inducement held out, to incite us to exertion? ...'[45]

The above reference to the cost of European costume, which subsequently came to be regarded the hall-mark of a 'gentleman', indicates that the gentleman-ideal in a business civilization dominated by the cash-nexus, is

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42. *Colombo Journal*, March 17th, 1832 (C.O. 59/1).

43. cp. The Prince of Morocco's apology for his colour:

> 'Mislike me not for my complexion
> The shadow'd livery of the burnish'd sun,
> To whom I am a neighbour near bred ...' etc.

(Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*, II, i).

44. cp. the similar admission of the superiority of European knowledge in a letter from Ram Mohun Roy (1774-1833) to Lord Amherst: 'If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the Schoolmen, which was best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be best calculated to keep this country (India) in darkness ...' (in C. E. Trevelyan: *On the Education of the People of India*, London, 1838).

45. *The Colombo Journal*, February 29th, 1832. The nascent individualism discovered by the Colebrooke Commissioners is evident in these letters to the short-lived government *Journal*, and made the Editors comment that 'the thirst for knowledge has been excited'. (January 18th, 1832). There were even demands from eager students for solutions of mathematical problems. One 'Scribe' wanted to know whether 'stationary' was correctly spelt with an 'e' or an 'a'. Some letters could not be printed owing to their faulty English; others were translated from the vernaculars.

inseparable from the money-ideal. 'Invention is the mother of necessity' is surely as true as its hackneyed obverse, in view of the multiplication of 'artificial wants' which an industrial society entails.

'If life-conditions change, the traditional folkways may produce pain or loss, or fail to produce the same good as formerly', contends Sumner.[46] The unconscious philosophy of the *mores* is thereby undermined, and the traditional sanctions lose their binding force. The 'freedom' of a laissez-faire social order in which labour is converted into a commodity whose worth is measured in terms of objective criteria of efficiency and productivity, is sometimes more attractive than the restrictions imposed by a feudal ethos. In contrast to *gemeinschaft* conceptions of familial support, an individualistic ethos places a premium on self-reliance and self-help. The transition from a collectivist organism to an individualistic mechanism is accompanied by appropriate psychological adjustments, a common reaction being the outward projection of problems of personal adjustment—that is, an externalization of the 'inner' conscience of the individual. A recent study made by Ai-Li S. Chin of letters written by Westernised Chinese adolescents, showed that the sense of anxiety and guilt attendant upon revolt against ancestral and familial authority found its expression in a new attitude to love and marriage which came to be regarded as rights to be earned rather than as rules of conduct imposed by society.[47] Parallel behaviour-patterns are evident in Ceylon in the first half of the nineteenth century, the outward projection of problems of personal adjustment being reflected in the mimetic behaviour of the elite, their eager acceptance of alien values and cultural symbols.

A characteristic feature of the individualistic character-type is its addiction to certain types of sport which mirror the ideology of the larger society.[48] Simmel has explained that 'the more profound, double sense of "social game" is that not only the game is played in a society (as its external medium) but that, with its help, people actually "play" "society"'.[49] Social relationships such as competition, browbeating, and conflict, which are imbued with

46. W. G. Sumner: *Folkways. A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals.* (Boston, 1907) p. 58.

47. Ai-Li S. Chin: Some Problems of Chinese Youth in Transition. (*American Journal of Sociology*, LIV/i, 1948). This is a reaction of self-control; but there is a common reaction of *abandon*, which imbues love and marriage with irrational romanticism. A mystic process known as 'falling in love' becomes the vogue—a reaction against the traditional conception of marriage as an arrangement governed by principles of rational calculation (cf. the interpretation in E. Fromm: *The Fear of Freedom*, London, 1942, pp. 149-150).

48. Veblen: *Absentee Ownership and Business Enterprise in Recent Times* (N.Y., 1923) sees a family likeness in the rules of 'the great American game', Poker, and the rules of real estate business, e.g. 'watchful waiting'.

49. Simmel: *Sociology* (Tr. H. K. Wolff, *Glencoe*, 1950) p. 50.

purposive contents in the real world, lead their own lives in sport, propelled by their own rules.[50] Sports shade off from hostile combat and the bloody duel at one extreme, through skill, to cunning and chicanery. The very fact that a referee or umpire is habitually employed, and detailed rules prescribe the limits of cheating and fair play, demonstrate that dishonest practices are not exceptional. Neo-spartan sports like football and boxing fetish those barbarian predatory traits such as self-reliance and 'toughness'—qualities which, as Veblen rightly pointed out, are characteristic of upper-class adherents of these sports, and lower-class delinquents: the difference is that what are called 'high spirits' in University students become criminal misconduct in the case of lower-class 'toughs'.[51] It is a significant fact that the more violent and brutal of these emulative sports emerged *pari passu* with the rise of individualism in Europe, particularly after the Industrial Revolution. Even a relatively innocuous sport like cricket was still a boorish village 'game' in the early eighteenth century. But that aspect of industrial civilization which made men compare social behaviour with the law of the jungle with its remorseless elbowing, crushing and trampling, found its apotheosis in 'manly' sports like boxing and all-in wrestling. In England, 'outside the prize-ring men and boys were in the habit of settling there differences with their fists', a practice which Trevelyan describes as a national custom of which everyone was proud.[52]

There is clear evidence of a parallel trend in Ceylon, and the rise of individualism is faithfully reflected in the increasing popularity of emulative sports completely unsuited to local climatic conditions. The traditional pastimes of the Sinhalese were *games* in the true sense—the care-free spirit of *play* predominates. These spontaneous acts of self-expression were confined to children, and reflected the 'tame and undemonstrative nature of the national temperament'.[53] The emulative spirit in athletic sports was encouraged

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50. J. Huizinga: *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play-element in Culture* (London, 1949) distinguishes the *game* which is marked by spontaneity and carelessness, and the *sport* which stresses regimentation and systematization, and tends to lose the quality of care-free *play*. Hence the expression 'compulsory games' is a contradiction in terms. Cricket, even in the early nineteenth century, was *played* by gentlemen in top-hats. Professionalism and seriousness atrophied the play-element in the latter half of the century.

51. Boxing, like fencing, was originally an aristocratic pursuit, prominent patrons of the sport being Lord Althorp and the Marquis of Queensbury who was responsible for the celebrated Queensbury Rules (1866). 'Gentleman Jackson', who was champion between 1795-1800, trained aristocrats in the art of 'hitting without getting hit':

> 'And the men unpractised in exchanging knocks
> Must go to Jackson ere they dare to box'. (Byron).

52. G. M. Trevelyan: *English History in the Nineteenth Century and After.* (London, 1939) p. 170.

53. cf. L. Ludovici: The Sports and Games of the Sinhalese. (*JRASCB*, 1873).

by a school organisation which emphasised the importance of the playing field in instilling habits of independence and self-reliance in immature youths, thus giving a barbaric twist to their minds at an early age. At the close of our period, an English traveller, struck by the popularity of cricket in this distant Oriental colony, observed that 'the juvenile Cingalese appear to have imbued a taste for the sport. I saw a party of little copper-coloured urchins engaged in a game of cricket with all the glee and eagerness of English schoolboys'.[54] The 'tame and undemonstrative', national temperament was soon replaced by the barbarian attitude which made 'toughness' a supreme virtue, and an useful asset in the 'battle of life'. The relatively unexciting sport of cricket was subsequently augmented by 'manly' sports like boxing, which depicted the more ruthless social competition for the survival of the strongest, which characterised a business civilization.[55] Such a state of society engendered the paradoxical ideology of 'compulsory individualism' which regards individualistic strife as an inevitable and inescapable consequence of Human Nature, and assumes that social relations will somehow be regulated on lines analogous to the rules of fair-play which govern the playing-field. But whereas a fatality in the boxing ring could be countered with the moral and legal caveat *volenti non fit injuria*, participation in the relentless game of society was compulsory.[56]

Different individuals achieve spiritual maturity in different ways, but arrested spiritual development frequently expresses itself in adult participation in youthful manifestations of ferocity and barbarism, at times merely as on-lookers or abettors.[57] It is often supposed that sports perform the 'healthy' function of keeping adolescents from the mischief to which idle hands are prone. Such a view naively equates physical energy with psychical

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54. R. B. M. Binning: *A Journal of Two Years Travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.* (London, 1857), Vol. I, p. 28.

55. 'Abandoning their own racial excellences, they seek to emulate what passes for the ideal Englishman. In the East this is the sahib, apparently a he-man with an infusion of gentleman. One writhes to her them call each other "good sports", or say that someone played the straight game'. (P. R. Smythe : *A Ceylon Commentary*, London, 1932, pp. 21-22).

56. One escape from society is by means of self-destruction, and Durkheim in his classic study of Suicide has shown that it is a common phenomenon in societies undergoing *anomie*. There has been a progressive increase in the suicide rate in Europe from 1861 onwards, excepting for the war period. (cf. S. Smith: Suicide. *The Practicioner*, 841, 1938). The Ceylon statistics show a parallel trend (cf. the forthcoming study by Dr. N. D. Gunasekera in the *Journal* of the British Medical Association, Ceylon).

57. At Eton 'the noble art of self-defence' was held in high honour. When a bout culminated in the murder of a combatant, the headmaster Dr. Keate, said simply, 'This is regrettable, of course, but I desire above all things that an Eton boy should be ready to return a blow for a blow'. (A. Maurois : *Ariel*, London, 1924).

energy.[58] Freud has argued that substitutive-gratifications such as Art, Science, and Religion perform the vital task of transferring man's grosser 'instincts' into 'higher and finer' channels. For Goethe

> 'He who has Science and has Art,
> Religion, too, has he ;
> Who has not Science, has not Art,
> Let him religious be ! '.

Freud grants that where there is no special disposition in a man which imperatively prescribes the direction of his life-interest, his daily work, particularly if it gives expression to the 'instinct of workmanship', can be an important element in the 'economics of the libido'.[59] But he makes no mention of the role of sport, because the diversion of interest is only transitory, unless sport is so fetished as to occupy an overwhelmingly important part in a man's psychic life. Where the opportunities for higher forms of spiritual expression are few, and where charlatanism and chicanery are at a premium, 'physical culture' occupies an honoured place even in the institutions of higher learning. The result is a one-sided reversion to barbarism and animalism, an accentuation of those ferine proclivities which make for destructiveness, with no corresponding development of the creative faculties.[60] There can be no better evidence of the cultural malaise which we are experiencing than this exaggerated development of the lower forms of instinctual gratification at the expense of the higher.

RALPH PIERIS

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58. cf. C. G. Jung : *On Psychical Energy*. (*Contributions to Analytical Psychology*, London, 1928).

59. Freud : *Civilization and its Discontents*. (Tr. J. Riviere, London, 1930).

60. cf. Veblen : *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (N.Y., 1899, Chapter X) ; also the discussion in R. W. Pickford : The Psychology of the History and Organization of Association Football. (*British Journal of Psychology*, XXXI, 1940). There seems to be a recognition of the role of games in fostering a community spirit, in some quarters (cf. the proposals for a revival of the national games by the Panadura Rural Development Society, *Ceylon Daily News*, August 21st, 1951).

Reviews

Bondo Highlander. By Verrier Elwin. Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. i-xix, 1-290, with 73 Plates and 52 text figures. Rs. 30/-.

Dr. Elwin, author of *The Baiga* and other works, has put the anthropological world in general and India in particular, further into his debt by this penetrating study of Bondo character. This aspect of the Bondo was selected because among these people the individual stands out sharply, and provides the most interesting and important problem. Sufficient, however, is given about (1) the social structure—the important exogamous village unit, the borrowed exogamous patrilineal clan, and the ancient but broken-down exogamous totemistic moieties, (2) the geographical background, (3) the relationship to neighbouring tribes, and (4) about Bondo economic life and self-sufficiency, to enable us to see the individual in his full context.

The Bondo are a democratic, individualistic people, subject neither to chiefs, headmen nor priests. This independent, individualistic trait is learnt from babyhood on, and the learning is often hard. The boys can be little ruffians, and the girls who are visited in special dormitories for the unmarried strongly and successfully resist all advances until betrothed, which is on the basis of love. Marriage in two-thirds of the cases recorded was by a form of capture, though the girls usually consented. In spite, however, of such freedom in marriage choice, Bondo marriage is probably not so happy as the arranged marriages of the nearby Muria. The separation rate is 5 per cent., not high in itself, but higher than the latter, and violent quarrels are frequent ; these arise from several grounds, and are, says Dr. Elwin, the natural result of the nervous tension of love-marriage. Over 7 per cent. of marriages are polygamous, partly the result of the marriage of males with older females. Two-thirds of the marriages show this particular age discrepancy.

The author describes and analyses the religious beliefs and rituals ; the Supreme-Being is a tribal-hero, but ' President of the Immortals '. There are demi-gods who are inflicted on man to keep him in his place and have destroyed his self-confidence. However, there is a priest to carry out the routine duties of sacrifice, which help man to forestall the contingent, but it is the medicine-man who really deals with the latter and preserves morale in cases of sickness, fear and disaster. He is the counterpart of the Australian Aboriginal medicine-man. As in Australia, too, the trouble may be caused by a sorcerer, but the latter is not of great importance. The medicine-man deals with the affliction the sorcerer has caused, and may name him for punishment.

Death, of course, occurs, and except in special cases, cremation is practised but the Bondo eschatological beliefs are confused.

Dr. Elwin is interested in the social and psychological motivation of the individual's behaviour, and in the process and effects of change, especially change resulting from contact. Thus, death is a sign that something has gone wrong, that it is itself a punishment, and more may follow. Perhaps that is related to the fact that the Bondo are a highly inflammable people, ' uninhibited by self-criticism and a sense of responsibility '. With or without alcohol, though especially with some, they will quickly fight and kill—and then ' fall into a sense of apathy ', which leads to their arrest and confession.

Society realises this and tries to overcome the danger ; boys pass through a ceremony of castigation ; the bridegroom is roughly treated ; and women are always on their guard to separate men who are quarrelling. The prohibition of alcohol has been suggested as a

preventive of crime, but Dr. Elwin believes that this would almost certainly cause more evil than good. Not only could illicit distillation occur, but the 'sense of grievance already fostered by restrictions on hunting and axe-cultivation would be deepened'.

This book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of human nature; it is particularly interesting for it takes us beneath the descriptive level to the personalities of a fascinating, yet difficult, people. Finally, it is well-written and profusely illustrated with excellent photographs and line-drawings. Dr. Elwin likes the Bondo, and in spite of their dirty villages, their quarrels and knifings, the reader will probably catch his affection for them.

A. P. ELKIN

Les Inscriptions d'Asoka. By Jules Bloch, pp. 216. Société d'Edition 'Les Belles Lettres', Paris, 1950.

The author in his prefatory note (*avertissement*) makes what appears to be too modest a claim for this excellent volume of the Asokan Inscriptions with a complete French translation and commentary. He states that it is intended merely as a handy edition for 'pédagogique' purposes, for facile reference, and only as an introduction to a critical study of the works of specialists such as Senart, Bühler, Woolner, Lüders and others. He admits, however, that it may also render accessible to historians this most important document, while at the same time warning such students of obscurities and difficulties in the language. Such, in the words of the author himself, is the double object of the work. While it may be granted that the work is primarily intended for *students* both of language and of history, the fact remains that this substantial contribution being an expert study by an acknowledged master of the subject is a most welcome addition to our knowledge of these celebrated documents and, thus, far exceeds in value its ostensible purpose as *apparatus criticus*.

The text is printed in full and the available versions of the Rock Edicts are arranged in systematic order facilitating comparative linguistic study. Then follow in due sequence the separate Kalinga edicts and the diverse inscriptions such as the Queen and the Pillar edicts. Professor Bloch disclaims any pretensions to textual exactitude and says he has merely depended on Hultzsch, his sole aim being to satisfy the student. Thus he has deliberately avoided discussions of unsettled points in readings. But that there is much originality in the scheme of this work is seen from such characteristics as the restoration of the double consonants which the original text never marks.

The translation has been made as close as possible to the original, as is scientifically required in a work like this, making all allowances for the damaged characters in some of the inscriptions. Important terms receive appropriate comments in footnotes. These are as copious as would be permissible in a handy volume of this nature, and combine brilliant linguistic analysis with extremely helpful suggestions of historical and sociological value. Professor Bloch provides a select bibiliography which should guide the student and the scholar to further and more detailed investigations.

The significance of Professor Bloch's contribution to the solution of the historical and linguistic problems connected with these documents is seen to advantage in the two long introductory chapters. The general introduction (pp. 13-42) gives a summary of his views on such important issues as the heritage of Asoka, the Asokan legend, his inscriptions and their contents. To the historian Professor Bloch's authoritative pronouncements on Asoka's religion and allied problems such as the meaning of his *Dhamma* must be of very great significance. His decisive observation that the edicts of Asoka are decrees of Buddhist inspiration (Les édits d'Asoka sont des ordonnances d'inspiration

bouddhique) confirms the finding of Professor Barua (*Asoka and his Inscriptions*) on this crucial topic, and may be considered to go even farther than the latter's opinion in favour of the Buddhist origin of Asoka's *Dhamma* inasmuch as Professor Bloch sees little connection of it with Hindu *Dharma* (pp. 29-32). For Professor Bloch, Asoka was not only converted to Buddhism after the Kalinga war (p. 30) but also became a conscious propagator of the Buddha's *Dhamma* although not so much in the *religious* sphere as the *ethical*. For it was in the name of this *Dhamma* that Asoka created new institutions on the model of existing ones (*dhammayāttā*, etc.) or gave a new interpretation to already existing Buddhist notions such as *dhamma-dāna*, *-mangala*, *-vijaya*, etc. Thus Asoka like the Buddha himself (Vin. III, 307) would deserve the epithet *dhammarājā* (p. 90).

The linguistic introduction (pp. 43-89) deals substantially with the phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary and the orthography of these inscriptions. The latter he divides into two main groups: (1). The eastern group, called by others the Māgadhi group: (2). The western group, of which the Girnar version provides the closest parallel to the Pali of the Ceylon canon. Professor Bloch surmises without being dogmatic that this point of contact (Girnar and Pali) is a veritable landmark indicating that canonical Pali developed in a region neighbouring that of the Girnar inscriptions. There is of course dialectical mixture, probably in part real and in part just due to the influence of the Māgadhī original on the local translators, and still in part to reasons of script. Linguistically the *three* great dialectical regions to be outlined are (1) Central and Eastern (2) North-Western and (3) Western, a distribution which the author shows to fall in with the political divisions of the period. It is significant that the author traces even Asoka's desire to employ the separate dialects of the respective areas for his propagation of the *Dhamma* to the influence of the Buddha's injunction permitting the recording of His *Dhamma* in one's own dialect.

The exhaustive index (pp. 173-216) and the map which appear at the end undoubtedly enhance the great value of this volume as an authentic work of reference. As such it will long remain the indispensable *vade mecum* for every student of these pregnant documents which not only constitute a landmark in the history of Indian civilization but also provide the earliest and the most remarkable evidence in concrete form of the metamorphoses undergone by the Aryan language of India.

O. H. DE A. W. and M. H. F. J.

A Vedic Reader for Students. By A. A. Macdonell, pp. xxxi + 263. Reprinted from plates from the first English edition of 1917 by the Oxford University Press, Madras, 1951. Price Rs. 4/-.

A reprint of this famous *Vedic Reader* was a long felt need in academic circles, and all students of the subject will be grateful to the Publisher for having undertaking it. The work is so well known that a review of its reprint is hardly called for. In spite of the passage of several decades Professor Macdonell's contributions to Vedic studies still retain their original usefulness. This is not merely due to the fact that they were mainly intended for students needing just the basic facts of the subject but in a greater measure to the author's undoubted gift of judicious selection of ideas of permanent value from a mass of data supplied by a host of industrious workers including himself. There is hardly anything in the author's annotations of these hymns that needs revision in the light of later investigations, while his pronouncements on such controversial issues as the age of the *Ṛgveda* can still be regarded as valid hypotheses. Thus, despite the thirty odd years that intervene between its first publication and this reprint, the *Reader* can still

be held to be the *sine qua non* of the equipment of every student of that most ancient of Indo-European literary documents, the *Ṛgveda*.

The printing is quite successful in spite of the use of plates and the general get-up is satisfactory. Students of Vedic are placed under a deep debt of gratitude to the Oxford University Press for this extremely valuable reprint priced, however, as low as possible in this era of inflation.

O. H. DE A. W.

An Introduction to Economics. By V. Y. Kolhatkar and S. V. Kogekar. Macmillan & Co. Rs. 2·12·0.

The authors cover quite competently a wide range of topics which are usually included in a First Year course in Economics. The book is clearly written and explains lucidly some of the more seemingly abstruse notions. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the book for a Ceylon reader is the facility with which the authors illustrate general principles by reference to Indian conditions. The whole of the book is developed with a full awareness of the social implications of economic problems and there are several interesting paragraphs on Indian social institutions. Such a treatment makes Economics not a mere collection of abstract theorems but a live and realistic study.

Regarding the subject-matter, the general impression left on the reviewer is that the authors have been unduly influenced by the definition of Economics of Professor Robbins and the subjective theories of value of Hicks and the Austrians. 'Perfect competition' is referred to but not carefully defined and no mention is made of 'imperfect competition' which is the most common market structure in everyday life. The attempt to include the modern theory of interest has not been successful. After a rejection of the classical theories of the rate of interest for no apparent reason, one is casually told that 'Saving' and 'Investment' are two sides of the same thing. In explaining market demand the authors bring in a strange notion of 'marginal price'. On the whole, one feels that the authors have not succeeded in blending the neoclassical and the 'modern' theories. What has been done is a mere recapitulation of different approaches. The absence of a single diagram or curve in an elementary textbook is surprising and the value of the book is considerably reduced for the want of a subject index.

H. A. DE S. G.

English Literature of the Nineteenth Century. By R. C. Churchill, University Tutorial Press, Oxford University Press, Rs. 5/10/-.

Histories of literature tend to degenerate into dull catalogues, largely because the student of literature has such deplorable notions about the character of history. Most histories of literature—I can think of few exceptions—are unreadable, because the compiler is either an annalist, and that surely is an outmoded conception of history's main function; or a group of compilers have no particular point of view and what comes through in the end is respectable dulness.

Mr. Churchill, writing for the sixth form and university student as well as the general reader, is always readable even though he makes his sacrifices to the conception of 'history which must tell you all'. One wishes he had been bolder in his conception of history, that he had not told us all. Certainly neither university student nor general reader can be edified by those lists which are tribute to the efficiency expected of the historian. Neither the general reader nor the student can make anything useful of the information so listed. Even if they do remember it, and can say who was the author of *The City of*

Dreadful Night and when it was published, what is the value of such information ? It is true that one detects Mr. Churchill's impatience with information of this kind in frequent asides and in his footnotes, but one wishes he had been more courageous and had used his standards of judgement and his fine discrimination to leave out a great deal of padding.

One is the more disappointed at what is included, since Mr. Churchill, in his preface, states quite plainly that it is his intention to provide ' a guide to the complicated literary developments of the century ', and that ' in no period is it more essential that in the nineteenth century to consider literature as a whole '. It is evident that Mr. Churchill has the ability to do this. It seems a pity therefore that in chronicling practically everything—literature is a term sufficiently liberal to include everything written—he is forced sometimes into wandering aimlessly through a maze and leaving an impression of indirection.

Considering literature as a whole would perhaps have been easier if his plan had been different from the chronological. For instance, the development of nineteenth century poetry would have been better presented had that been taken as a subject in itself, the host of minor poets thinned out, and the development illustrated through the discussion of the better known and more important figures. One has the feeling that Mr. Churchill, with all his abilities, sacrifices to history what was meant for literature. As a teacher one would have welcomed a examination of nineteenth century literature as a whole, its connection with nineteenth century life, something on the lines of Dr. Leavis' introductory chapter to *New Bearings in English Poetry* brought within the range of the average sixth former.

That Mr. Churchill could have done this is clear from many things in his book, notably the chapter on ' The Drama and Dickens '. It is a pity he is forced into the frequent comment of little value which his adherence to another method has produced—like that on Shelley's West Wind Ode : 'The last verse of this poem is particularly touching, who we remember that the writer had only a few more years to live ', or the impatience of the comment on Tom Moore's lyrics : ' Unless the succession of charming Irish tenors dies out altogether, Tom Moore's future popularity is far more certain than Shakespeare's'. It is a pity, too, that chronology should have divided up George Eliot and Hopkins into two separate sections of the book.

In spite of all this Mr. Churchill has produced a ' history ' which can be recommended both to the university student and to the general reader. Some of his judgements are questionable—the most ' notorious ' being that of Tennyson's *Locksley Hall.* (It is surprising that its flatulence should have impressed Mr. Churchill as prophecy). But his fund of information, his liveliness of presentation and the soundness of his judgement generally must impress both reader and student.

E. F. C. L.