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ROMAN COINS OF SRI LANKA: SOME OBSERVATIONS

Recent discussions on Greek and Roman contacts with ancient Sri Lanka have on the whole tended to emphasize the significance of archaeological material in preference to foreign literary sources. The latter, it is urged, is fragmentary and lacks precision and reliability, not being based on first-hand evidence. Moreover, they often repeat what was said by their hallowed predecessors without taking count of recent or contemporary information. Archaeology, on the other hand, is claimed to provide precise and reliable evidence which has been gaining in significance with the most recent findings.[1]

It must, however, be pointed out that the foreign literary sources, poor and fragmentary though they may be, are readily accessible, for the most part in scholarly editions and authoritative translations, for those wishing to examine them. Archaeological evidence, on the other hand, though subjected to tremendous publicity, has on the whole not always been systematically reported or adequately published; and is thus not easily within the reach of serious students and discerning scholars.

This is especially the case with regard to Roman coins from Sri Lanka. Our knowledge of this subject derives mainly from the reports of J. Still and H.W. Codrington, both of whom wrote very early in the present century.[2] But there are no

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1. This was the prevalent view, for instance, at the international conference on "Sri Lanka and the Silk Route by Sea" held in Colombo 12 th-14th December, 1990.

2. J. Still: "Roman Coins Found in Ceylon", *JRAS CB* 19, (1907), p. 161-190; idem, *Catalogue of Coins exhibited in the Colombo Museum*. Colombo, (1908), p. 13-26; H.W. Codrington: *Ceylon Coins and Currency, Memoirs of the Colombo Museum*, Series A, no. 3, Colombo, (1924), ch. IV , p. 31-50 and Supplement 249-50. For references, cf. H.A.I. Goonetileke: "A Bibliography of Ceylon Coins and Currency", *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, VI. 2, (1963), p. 496-499,187 ff. For discussions, cf. E.H. Warmington: *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, (1928), p. 20-125; M.G. Raschke, "New studies in Roman commerce with the East", in Aufstieg *und Niedergang der romischen Welt*, II, 9. 2, Berlin, (1978), 604 ff. esp. 665 ff. passim; P.J. Turner: *Roman Coins from India*, London, (1989), p. 20 and 90-91; D.W. Mac Dowall: "Finds of Roman Coins in South Asia: Problems of Interpretation", *Ancient Ceylon* no. 9, (1990), p. 49-64, esp. 60 ff.; O.Bopearachchi: "An Unknown Indo-Roman Coin Hoard from Sri Lanka", Palma II: *Commemoration Volume of the Classical Association of Ceylon Golden Jubilee (1935 - 1985)*, (1985), p. 81-87; idem, "Some observations on Roman Coins found in recent Excavations at Sigiriya", *Ancient Ceylon* no. 8, (1990), p. 20-37; idem, "Le commerce maritime entre Rome et

comprehensive records of Roman coins found since the publication of Codrinton's book, which first appeared in 1924; and even in this work the information is lamentably inadequate: nothing is said concerning the find-spots of early Imperial coins in general and of silver coins in particular. The recent work of R. Walburg is in German, and is not easily accessible;[3] and the publication of Bopearachchi's forthcoming study is eagerly awaited.[4]

S. Paranavitana has mentioned several copper coins, Roman or Indo-Roman, found at excavations in Anuradhapura, but practically all of them are said to be too corroded to permit identification.[5] A find of 2828 Roman coins was reported from Debaraveva in the Magampattu; but the details of 276 identified coins have not been published.[6] The coin hoard found at Galvehera, Kosgoda in 1952 has been published

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Sri Lanka d'apres les donnees numismatiques", *Revue des etudes Anciennes*, (1992), p. 107-121; idem, "La circulation des monnaies d'origine etrangere dans l'antique Sri Lanka", *Res Orientales V*, (1993), p. 63-87; idem, "Seafaring in the Indian Ocean: Archaeological Evidence from Sri Lanka", International Seminar on "Techno-Archaeological Perspectives of Seafaring in the Indian Ocean (4th century B.C. to 15th century AD), New Delhi, NISTADS, 28 February -3 March 1994 (in print), (1994); idem, "Recent discoveries of ancient foreign coins, hitherto unknown in Sri Lankan context", *Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume, Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995*, Colombo, (1995), p. 127-139, pl. I & II.

3. R. Walburg: "Antike Munzen aus Sri Lanka / Ceylon, Studien zu Fundmunzen der Antike", *Studien zu Fundmunzen der Antike*, ed by M.R. Alfoldi, vol. 3, Berlin, (1985). I wish to express my thanks to O. Bopearachchi for his valuable assistance in consulting this work.

4. According to personal communication, Bopearachchi has been able to examine about 50 000 coins discovered, as hoards or in excavations, after the publication of Walburg's work. Except for the Kalutara find of around 800 imitations, they were mostly authentic Roman coins, mainly third brass of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., with mint marks including those of Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople and Antioch. For instance, out of the 8 000 coins procured by the Dept. of Archaeology, Colombo, from a total of 30 000 from Godavaya, all but four coins are genuine. The same is true of other hoards such as those from Pidurangala and Panduvasnuvara.

5. S. Paranavitana: *Excavations in the Citadel of Anuradhapura*, Colombo, (1936), p. 9, 21 and 31-32.

6. S. Paranavitana: "Roman Coins", *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report*, (1950), p. G. 32.

by Walburg.[7] It consisted of 141 Indo-Roman imitations and one genuine Roman coin. A collection with a similar structure (115 Indo-Roman imitations and one genuine Roman coin of Valentinian I, Valens and Gratian belonging to A.D. 367-375) which appeared in the London market in 1978 and supposed to have been found in Sri Lanka, has been published by Bopearachchi.[8] This scholar has also catalogued and commented on the Roman coins found during the excavations at Sigiriya (see below) conducted under the Cultural Triangle Project during the 1982 and 1983 campaigns.[9] He has also published a good number of rare and exceptional Roman coins in two private collections and the ones found in the Jetavanarama excavations.[10] Damayanti Gunasekara has described the Roman coins in the Leslie de Saram collection at the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.[11] The latter collection consists of later Roman coins and Indo Roman imitations. The emperors represented include Constantine (five coins) Honorius (five coins) Arcadius (four coins) Valentinian (three coins), Constance (two coins), Gratian (one coin) and Theodosius I or II (one coin). The mint marks include those of Constantinople, Antioch, Cyzicus and Nicomedia. Out of a find of 1600 coins in the Rekava Girawapattu in 1957, 1581 coins were identified as Roman.[12] Other coin finds (such as a large one from Godavaya, an ancient port in southern Sri Lanka) are often mentioned in discussions, talks, the popular press and media, but details are not readily available.[13] In the circumstances, all one can undertake is to observe the main features

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7. S. Paranavitana: "A Hoard of Indo-Roman Brass Coins Found at Galvehera, Kosgoda", *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report.*, (1952); R. Walburg, op. cit., p. 193-195.

8. O. Bopearachchi: In *Palma II*, (1985).

9. O. Bopearachchi: In *Ancient Ceylon*, (1990), p. 20-37.

10. O. Bopearachchi: In "Recent discoveries of ancient foreign coins", (1995). Dr. Bopearachchi is now preparing an exhaustive catalogue of all the coins found in the excavations at Jetavanarama conducted under the Cutural Triangle Project.

11. D. Gunasekara: "The Roman Coin Hoard Exhibited at the Peradeniya University Archaeological Museum: the Lesllie de Seram Collection" *Perspectives In Archaeology: Lilananda Prematilleke Festschrift Dept. of Archaeology*, University of Peradeniya, (1990), p. 101-105.

12. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 77-90.

13. Dr. O. Bopearachchi has very kindly supplied me with the following list of coins found either since the publication of Walburg's book or not recorded in his publication:

revealed by this imperfect and incomplete evidence and to draw conclusions which can only be provisional and tentative.

I

In discussing finds of Roman coins from Sri Lanka, it has been customary to compare them with the more extensive finds from southern India.[14] This is not at all surprising in view of geographical proximity and long-standing relations. What is interesting however is the realization that, while there is a certain similarity in the finds of Roman bronze coins of the fourth century and beyond, finds of earlier periods show hardly any resemblance.

Codrington has recorded eight Republican silver coins (denarii) from Sri Lanka. We do not know where they were found and whether they were found individually or in a hoard. They range in date from 144 to 49 B.C. This contrasts sharply with the situation in southern India, where the rarity of Republican denarii is a marked feature. Sewell knew of fifteen Republican denarii from the whole of India, but of these only two very worn specimens were from south India. They came from the hoard from

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Roman Coins Found in Sri Lanka

2042 (hoard)	Baragama, Borahinda (1985-86)
320 (hoard)	Kuliyapitiya (1986)
500 (one or two hoards)	Panduvasnuvara (1986 ?)
20000 ? (hoard)	Hungama (1990 ?)
30000 to 50000 (hoard)	Godavaya (1987 or 1988)
2000 (hoards and stray finds)	Sigiriya (from 1985)
50 (stray finds)	Jetavanarama excavations, - Anuradhapura (from 1982)
40 (stray finds)	Abhayagiriya (excavations), - Anuradhapura (from 1982)
20 (stray finds)	citadel (excavations), Anuradhapura - (from 1988-90)
200 (one or two hoards)	Negombo (1989 ?)
1500 (several hoards)	Kalutara (1987-1994)
25000 (hoard)	Pidurangala (1986 ?)
2000 (hoards and stray finds)	Ridiyagama (1985-1994).

14. R. Sewell: "Roman Coins Found in India", *J.R.A.S.*, (1904), p. 591-637; S.Bolin: *State and Currency in the Roman Empire up to 300 A.D.*, Stockholm, (1958), p. 73; C. Rodewald: *Money in the Age of Tiberius*, Manchester University Press, (1976), p. 47-51 n. 389; P.J. Turner: op. cit., p. 6, 14, 18.

Kalakkinar in the Coimbatore district and belonged to 50 and 39 B.C. respectively.[15] Although, as late as the Flavian times, the greater part of Roman coins in circulation outside India appears to have consisted of Republican denarii, they do not appear to have found their way to southern India, despite the now widely accepted possibility that Roman trade with this area may have existed from as early as the beginning of the empire. Thus the occurrence of so many Republican denarii in Sri Lanka cannot be explained in terms of Roman commerce with south India at this early date.

Mac Dowall is of the opinion that these Republican denarii, like those of India, will only have reached South Asia in the first half of the second century A.D.[16] As he points out, large quantities of denarii were issued during the last two centuries of the Republic, and remained in circulation inside the empire until the second century A.D. In hoards from within the empire buried in Flavian times (A.D. 70-96) Republican denarii constitute on average 64. Concerning the Republican denarii found in India Mac Dowall observes that they "could have been exported from Rome at any time during the period when they continued to circulate in the West i.e. from the time of their issue up to the middle of the second century A.D.". According to Mac Dowall, "finds of Republican denarii provide no evidence for early trade links unless it can be demonstrated that they were exported at a particular time."[17] Unfortunately, no such evidence is available for the Republican coins from Sri Lanka.

The same impression is given by the Imperial coins of the first three centuries A.D. In Sri Lanka the silver denarii, though few in number, spread quite evenly throughout the period. Codrington mentions fourteen silver coins: Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) (two specimens), Domitian (81-96), Hadrian (117-8), Lucius Verus (161-169), Marcus Aurelius (161-180), Faustina the Younger (d. 175) (two coins), Commodus (180-193), Geta (211-217), Julia Domna (d. 217), Julia Mammea (d. 235), and two Antoniani of Philip the Elder (244-249). Still cites Sir Alexander Johnston to the effect that at Mantai

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15. Turner also refers to the Iyyal hoard (whose Roman coins covered a long period from Republican times to Trajan) and the so-called Laccadive hoard, which include Republican coins, as well as to other Republican coins in the Madras Government Museum, and expresses the view that the presence of these coins "may support the possibility that coins began to arrive in India rather earlier than the Julio-Claudian hoards, which are well attested in large numbers, suggest." In Turner's opinion these coins "from a small body of numismatic evidence for pre-Augustan trade with south India." Turner however admits that the evidence is really too limited for any constructive speculation. Mac Dowall has challenged Turner's view (see below).

16. D.W. Mac Dowall: *op. cit.*, p. 60

17. D.W. Mac Dowall: "The Export of Roman Republican Denarii to South Asia", *Ancient Ceylon* no. 8, (1990), p. 63.

a great number of Roman coins, particularly of the Antonines have been found.[18] There remains no detailed record of them. There are no records of any aurei or gold coins from this period. However Sri Lanka provides no parallel to the contemporary south Indian hoards of well preserved full weight gold coins, or of silver coins with their two preferred types of Augustus and Tiberius.[19]

The structure of later coin hoards from southern India demonstrates that, of the Roman coins issued after Nero's debasement of the denarius in A.D. 64, the aurei were preferred in the Roman-Indian trade to the virtual exclusion of the denarii.[20] Raschke is however of the opinion that the preference for aurei was the result of the two preferred types of denarii of Augustus and Tiberius beginning to be in short supply, and had nothing to do with Nero's debasement.[21] However that may be, in Sri Lanka, where no aurei whatsoever have been reported, twelve of the fourteen recorded silver coins are post-Neronian. This is admittedly a small number; but their presence on the island contrasts remarkably with their scarcity in the wider geographical area of southern India.[22]

Mac Dowall has demonstrated that, while hoards of gold and silver coins from India are indicative of the volume of trade in bullion and not of the volume of trade with Rome, individual finds of silver and copper coins can provide evidence for trade links unconnected with trade in bullion. They thus constitute "an important but neglected source of evidence for the geographical and chronological pattern of trade contacts with Rome".[23] Codrington's list of single finds from Sri Lanka has been described by Mac Dowall as "If anything more impressive than any list of single finds that has been drawn up for any region of India".[24]

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18. J. Still: in "Roman Coins Found in Ceylon", (1907), p. 170.

19. P.J. Turner: op. cit., p. 20-24.

20. S.Bolin: *op. cit.*, p. 75.

21. M.G. Raschke: *op. cit.*, p. 669.

22. "Roman coins of the second century A.D. are beginning to appear in more significant numbers in Indian contexts." - P.J. Turner: op. cit., p. 27-28. Observing that the second century hoards are smaller and less significant than the first century ones, Turner nevertheless considers them as evidence of a steady but diminished trade over a wide area.

23. D.W. Mac Dowall: In *Ancient Ceylon*, (1990), p. 59.

24. D.W. Mac Dowall: *op. cit.*, p. 60.

With regard to these coins too, we know very little about the circumstances in which they were discovered. The coin of Geta was purchased in Colombo by H.C.P. Bell.[25] Of the two coins of Tiberius, which are of the same type,[26] one seems to have come from a hoard; for it was the only legible coin out of 28 silver pieces which came from a find at Panadura, on the coast south of Colombo, "unearthed by a native while digging a grave".[27] Barrow suggested that the coins may have been part of a collection of some Dutch gentleman curious in such matters. However, it may not altogether be a coincidence that the one legible coin in the find should have been of the type of Tiberius known to have been preferred in southern India, i.e. the Pontifex Maximus type (see below). This coin is said to have weighed about 59 grains, i.e. nearly 3.81 grams. (These coins were struck at 3.85 grams.) Bolin has drawn our attention to the remarkably high weight of Augustan and Tiberian denarii found in south India. Coins of Tiberius found at Karur, for instance, weighed on average 3.76 grams.[28] Could the Panadura find then represent a hoard of the south Indian type which, if not originally destined for the island, might have been brought from south India at some time or other? Walburg cites a coin of Tiberius from the Biddell collection and thinks that it came from south India, where denarii of Augustus and Tiberius have been widely attested.[29] Mac Dowall believes that the coin of Tiberius will probably have been exported from Rome during the Flavian period (A.D. 70-96), as were the Tiberian denarii found in the south Indian hoards.[30] Raschke, however, thinks that "the importation of denarii of Augustus and Tiberius into India is highly unlikely after Nero, because of the shortage of such coins within the Roman empire, and impossible by the late Flavian period".[31]

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25. J. Still: *op. cit.*, p. 172.

26. Most recent writers however recognize only one coin of Tiberius, namely the one from Panadura described below.

27. G. Barrow: *Ceylon Past and Present*, London, (1857), p. 82-5, cited by D. Ferguson: "Roman Coins found in Ceylon", *JRAS (Great Britain & Ireland)*, (1905), p. 156-157.

28. S. Bolin: op. cit., p. 73 thought that coins of the two popular types were exported straight from the mint, representing a sample of the metallically best denarii. But D.W. Mac Dowall: op. cit., p. 55-56 has pointed out that, in the hoards available for study, there is none of the die linkage one should find in a consignment staight from the mint, and that the denarii show substantial loss of weight through wear.

29. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 35.

30. D.W. Mac Dowall: *loc. cit.*

31. M.G. Raschke: *op. cit.*, n. 1485

The rarity of Republican denarii in southern India and the predominance of pre-Neronian gold and silver coins, especially of two fixed types of Augustus and Tiberius respectively,[32] and the frequency of post-Neronian aurei to the virtual exclusion of denarii has been taken as indications that, in their trade with this part of the world, the Romans exported coins of the highest value.[33] It is also widely accepted that this money was received by India as bullion rather than for its currency value. What, then, can we make of the situation in Sri Lanka where, apart from the two Tiberian coins mentioned above, there are no pre-Neronian Imperial coins of high value, and where the only Roman coins of precious metal are the Republican and post-Neronian silver coins which are so rare in the hoards from south India?

It may also be mentioned regarding post-Neronian coins in general that in the whole of India Sewell knew of only a few score dating from between A.D. 69 and 217, and about a dozen from between 217 and 364. Turner has observed that Roman coins of the second century A.D. are beginning to appear in more significant numbers in Indian contexts; but the second century hoards are described as "smaller and less significant than the first century ones".[34] By contrast, the Roman silver coins found in Sri Lanka, though few in number, are out of all proportion with regard to the smaller geographical area of the island. Not knowing the circumstances of the finds, however, one cannot draw positive conclusions; but the likelihood is that a substantial quantity of Roman coins did reach the island during the first centuries of the empire. Why is it then that more coins have not turned up? [35]

If we leave aside all considerations of the accidental nature of the finds and the possible reluctance to part with precious metal, we have two explanations from J. Still for the rarity of Roman precious metal finds in Sri Lanka.[36] One is that trade may have been carried on by barter, "as the natives were not used to seeing large quantities of coined money". The second explanation is that gold and silver coins no longer current (as distinct from the silver eldlings which remained in use for a long time) were melted down for making ornaments or for religious dedications, especially in the

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32. The Gaius and Lucius Caesares type of Augustus (R.I.C (2) 206 ff) and the "seated lady" Pontif Maxim type of Tiberius (R.I.C. (2) 25 ff).

33. It has however been pointed out that "the particular Augustan and Tiberian types involved are of no greater fineness than other coins of both emperors.. Cf. MG. Raschke: op. cit., p. 666.

34. P.J. Turner: *op. cit.*, p. 27-28 and 43.

35. (As far as I am aware, no Roman coins of precious metal have turned up in the most recent excavations either.)

36. J. Still: *op. cit.*, p. 155.

troubled times of foreign invasion. Still refers to the rarity of genuine specimens of the Sinhala gold and silver coinage of the 12th and 13th centuries, and suggests that like them their more ancient Roman predecessors might also have been melted down.

Warmington, while accepting Still's explanations as part of the truth, gives another reason which he thinks is the chief explanation for the scarcity in Sri Lanka of coins of the first two centuries of the empire as opposed to their abundance in nearby south India during the same period.[37] According to him, the Greeks were content to find the products of the island in west Indian ports and the marts of the Pandyas and Colas to which they brought money. "When a ruler of Ceylon", he adds, "saw Romans and good Roman money, he was surprised". The incident referred to here is of course the famous one reported by Pliny, to which we shall turn presently. To explain the absence of any indications of direct trade in valuable items between the Roman Empire and Sri Lanka, it has been suggested further that the south Indian kingdoms effectively prevented the Romans from trading directly with the island.[38] This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that the northern parts of the island were invaded and ruled by south Indians several times during its ancient history.

For Turner, the scarcity of early Roman Coins in Sri Lanka is an indication that the circumnavigation of the island was not regular in the first century at the time when the major hoards of coins were reaching the mainland.[39] Turner points out that the areas of India closest to Sri Lanka are not densely filled with hoards either. The large number of fourth and fifth century copper coins shows the new rise of eastern trade "conducted on a much less opulent scale than that of the early Imperial period". Therefore, Turner thinks, "there is little material evidence for Roman trade with Sri Lanka, though the story about the King of Sri Lanka being impressed by the consistent fineness and weight of the denarii suggests that there was some contact, if not direct contact." Turner's conclusion is that "it is difficult to speculate on the nature of Roman contacts with Sri Lanka with so little numismatic evidence, beyond saying that the contacts were presumably of less importance to the Romans than those with the south Indians".[40]

This conclusion has been refuted by Mac Dowall who points out that the export of Roman aurei is not a sort of barometer for measuring trade, but an indication of trade

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37. E.H. Warmington: *op. cit.*, p. 122-123.

38. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 35.

39. P.J. Turner: *op. cit.*, p. 20.

40. P.J. Turner: *op. cit.*, p. 91.

in bullion.[41] (I might also add that the type of metal is no clue to the quality of trade, opulent or otherwise.) He refers to Pliny's statement (VI. 89) that gold and silver were held in high esteem in Sri Lanka and to Ptolemy's statement (VII. 4. 1) that the island has mines of every sort - of gold, silver and other metals. "An island with good supplies of gold and silver", he goes on to say, "does not import further gold and silver bullion in return for whatever it may export. But this does not mean that it did not trade directly or indirectly with Rome and the West".

It should be pointed out in this connection that it is not just Roman coins that are rare in Sri Lanka in early times. Very few foreign coins of any nation, including India, were recorded until recent times. Codrington mentions two Greek copper coins, one from Acharnania Leucas (circa 330-250 B.C.) and the other of Seleucus IV (187-175 B.C.). A roughly circular silver coin weighing 3.52 grams and bearing the head of Dionysus is identified by Paul E. Pieris as a Naxos issue of circa 500 B.C.[42] It is not mentioned by Codrington and must therefore be suspect. Two Parthian drachmae are mentioned as well as an Indo-Parthian coin of Azes II (circa A.D. 10). Of three Indian coins found at Vallipuram, one seems an Andhra issue of the second or third century A.D., and the other seems to be Kushan. A late second century Kushan coin of Vasudeva has been identified. A copper coin from Attikuli in the Mannar district bearing a legend in Brahmi characters is dated to the third century A.D.

Osmund Bopearachchi has recently brought to light a certain number of North Indian coins, found in the island, so far unrecorded in the Sri Lankan context. Insisting on the importance of these findings, he says:

> A large number of "Karshapana" found either in hoards or individually in archaeological sites, reflect the first cultural, religious and commercial relationship of Sri Lanka with north India. They may have first entered the circulation during the reign of the Mauryan king Asoka who introduced Buddhism to the island. It is now accepted by many numismatists that no punch-marked coins were issued in India after the decadence of the Mauryan empire. India's earliest coins, were then replaced by issues of the Indo-Greeks followed by the Indo-Scythians, the Indo-Parthians and the Kushans who occupied the north-western provinces of the Mauryan empire. A certain number of coins belonging to these dynasties of different political and cultural origins are now known in Sri Lanka. No doubt, as far as Sri Lanka is concerned, compared to thousands of "Karshapana", these coins issued by the successors of Mauryas, are quite rare. Yet one cannot deny

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41. D.W. Mac Dowall: *op. cit.*, p. 60.

42. P.E. Pieris: "Three Rare Coins", *Spolia Zeylanica VIII* pt. 3, (1912), p. 145; cf. H.A.I. Goonatileke: op. cit., no. 67.

their economic implications".[43]

Among these findings the most remarkable ones are: the Indian standard drachm of Indo-Greek Menander, about ten coins of Soter Megas, a coin of Kanishka II of the Kushan dynasty and a coin of Viradaman (c. 234-239) of the Western Ksatrapas both found in the excavations conducted at Jetavanarama, and a coin of Nahapana restruck by Gautamiputra of the Satavahanas.[44]

If the scarcity of foreign coins were an indication of the absence of foreign trade, it would be hard to reconcile it with the literary evidence, particularly with regard to the second century A.D. For Ptolemy has not only been able to name the main products of the island, but his description even leads us to believe that the entire coast had been circumnavigated. Some of the more southerly ports have Greek names derived through Hellenistic analogy.[45] Moreover, such a conclusion would also conflict with the avowed provenance at some sites in Sri Lanka of Arretine ware and other foreign articles datable to the first century of the Roman empire.[46]

A similar observation has been made regarding the Persian coins of the subsequent period:

> "The paucity of described Sasanian coins from Sri Lanka is surprising when considering the extent of the historical and ceramic evidence of Sasanian Persian Gulf ties. Codrington, however, notes that small Sasanian coins are often included among the Roman fourth-fifth century coins. Furthermore, he comments that a Yazdegird I type (late fourth-early fifth centuries) can be confused with the Roman soldiers-and-standard type may, in fact, be small Indo-Sasanian ones.[47] These two facts imply some strength in the Persian Gulf

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43. O. Bopearachchi: *op. cit.*, p. 127.

44. O. Bopearachchi: *op. cit.*, p. 127-130.

45. D.P.M. Weerakkody: "Some Observations on Ptolemy's Description of Sri Lanka", *Kalyani*, I, 1&2, (1982), p. 31-47.

46. Among recent finds at the Jetavana Vihara at Anuradhapura were Roman, Indian and other foreign coins. Of the two carved carnelian seals, one depicts a Roman head while the other shows a Roman figure. A lion's leg in bronze, about 4 cm in height, is thought to be part of a small stand or tripod of West Asian or Roman origin. Cf. H. Ratnayake: "The Jetavana Treasure", *Sri Lanka and the silk Road of the Sea*, (1990), p. 45-63.

47. H.W. Codrington: *op. cit.*, p. 50.

trade network influences, even despite the Roman coins. The intermixing of small fourth-fifth century Sasanian coins with the Roman ones is suggestive that the Roman ones may have been coming through Syria and in the Persian Gulf networks, rather than through the Red Sea".[48]

By publishing three Sasanian coins of Xusro I (A.D. 531-579) of the year 16, mint AYR, Hormizd IV (A.D. 579-590), of the year 10, mint BBA and of Xusro II (A.D. 591-628), of the year 6 hitherto unknown in Sri Lankan context, Osmund Bopearachchi pointed out that there is much hope to find more specimens of these types in the island.

Moreover we cannot, overlook the fact that indigenous sources for this period from Sri Lanka indicate familiarity with coined money. The Mahavamsa and its commentary refer to large amounts of money spent by kings of the island in the erection of religious edifices as well as in personal remunerations. It is true that the Mahavamsa, though it uses earlier materials, was probably written in the fifth century A.D. at a time when the use of coins was familiar, so that the author may have read into the past the familiar conditions of his own day. It has also been suggested that the sums represent the total cost of the undertaking rather than the actual quantity of money. Perhaps it is not altogether without significance that the first historical reference concerns Elara, the south Indian usurper who ruled northern Sri Lanka for forty years during the second century B.C.[49] Elara's conqueror Dutthagamini is represented as spending large sums of money in religious works. Similar expenditures are attributed in the third and fourth century A.D. to Jetthatissa and Mahasena.[50] The sums mentioned are extremely large, but this may be due to poetic exaggeration. More reliable perhaps are the figures given in inscriptions which have the added merit of being contemporary documents.[51] The earliest are those of Vasabha and Gajabahu (2nd century A.D.)

Accordingly, it is possible to suggest yet another explanation for the disappearance of precious metal coins. There are some grounds for thinking that they were re-exported in some quantity, either in their coined form or, more probably, as metal. This can be deduced from a few hints scattered throughout our literary evidence. It is not only the Pali chronicles that speak of the island's wealth of gold and silver.

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48. M. Prickett: "Sri Lanka's Foreign Trade before A.D. 600: Archaeological Evidence" in *Asian Panorama: Essays in Asian History, Past and Present*, edited by K.M.de Silva, S. Kiribamune and C.R.de Silva. (1990), p. 172.

49. Mahavamsa IX. [Tr. W. Geiger], p. 26.

50. Mahavamsa: xxxvi. p. 124-5, xxxvii. p. 45.

51. H.W. Codrington: op. cit., Appendix D.

Among western authors, the idea goes as far back as Megasthenes, who thought that the gold of Taprobane was more abundant than that of India.[52] Reference has already been made to Pliny's statement that gold and silver were much esteemed on the island. However, it is Ptolemy who expressly mentions gold, silver and other minerals among the products of Taprobane. Perhaps the reference merely stems from association, since the island was known to produce pearls and gems, or concerns gold and silver handled in transit trade. But if, as is generally supposed, Ptolemy's list of products represents what was exported from Taprobane, then it follows that foreign merchants were able to obtain gold and silver there; and melted down coins must have formed at least part of the supply, since the island is not known to have produced these metals in significant quantities.

Apart from the silver coins already mentioned, Sri Lanka also has a few early Imperial coins struck in the less valuable metals. The earliest is a second brass of Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14). There is also a Greek coin of Tiberius from the Roman protectorate of Judea (A.D. 24-25). The others are mainly second or third brass. Among the emperors and empresses represented are Claudius (A.D. 41-54), Hadrian(117-138), Faustina the elder (d. 141), Elagabalus (218-222), Maximus, Maximinus I (235-237), Posthumus (259-267), Tetricus the Elder (268-273), Diocletian (284-305), Maximianus II (Caesar 292-305), Maximinus II (308-313), Maxentius II (306-312) and Licinius (307-324). Some of the latest coins mentioned here were found in the large hoards of fourth-and fifth-century bronze coins discussed later in this paper. The coins of Posthumus and Tetricus the Elder (rulers of the short-lived empire of Gaul) are curious, but difficult to explain. In Codrinton's list these coins are mentioned as "purchased at the Kandy bazaar".

Among these coins of inferior metal, there is an interesting series of Alexandrian tetradrachms of the Ptolemaic standard, mostly struck in billon.[53] The

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52. Pliny VI. 81.

53. According to M.G. Raschke: op. cit., p. 668 the striking of these coins began under Tiberius. Initially they contained 25% silver, but were steadily debased. Although usually said to have been acceptable only within Egypt, they are in fact found singly and in hoards at a considerable number of cities on the northern limes. The troops stationed in Egypt were at least in part paid in this currency. According to Raschke "The vast majority of all of the coins found in Egypt from the period before A.D. 296, when Diocletian gave Egypt the same coinage as the rest of the empire, was struck at the mint in Alexandria and almost all of the papyri, both Greek and Latin, attest only to the use of Alexandrian tetradrachms." Raschke thinks that these coins arrived in Sri Lanka from Egypt during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. R. Walburg: op. cit., p. 37 however argues that the fact that the three kinds of money (middle bronze, large bronze and tetradrachms) were preserved clearly separate from

emperors include Nero(A.D. 54-68), Vespasian (69-79) (two coins), Hadrian (117-138) (three coins), Lucius Verus (161-169), Commodus 180-193), Aurelian (270-275) (three coins), Probus (276-282), Diocletian (284-305) (four coins) and Maximian (292-305). The coins of Nero and Vespasian were found at Kurunegala, and one of the coins of Aurelian was found in the river at Badulla. Alexandrian billon coins of Hadrian and Trajan have also been found on the west coast of India.[54] Osumund Bopearachchi published in 1995, three more trtradrachms of this series, found in Sri Lanka. All three of them were struck in the mint of Alexandria of Egypt: the first is in the name of Agrippina of the 4th year of Nero (= 57/8 A.D.); the second is of Lucius Verus of the year 7 (=A.D. 166/7) and the third is of Aurelian of the year 6(A.D. 274/5).[55]

Warmington, who doubts the possibility of Roman coins entering the island at this time through direct trade, thinks that these debased tetradrachms were passed on by south Indian Tamil merchants in order to get rid of them.[56] However, most of these coins bear the date of issue, and it is interesting to observe that in the majority of cases these coins come from the early years of each emperor's reign. Thus we have coins from Nero's third year, Vespasian's first year, Hadrian's third and fourth years and the first three years of Diocletian. The coins are too few to permit generalization, but it seems likely that care was taken to introduce as early as possible the coins (and the figure) of a new emperor to their destination in the East.

According to Pliny, it was the integrity of Roman money that first attracted Sri Lanka to diplomatic relations with the Roman empire. The King of the island decided to send an embassy after perceiving that the denarii captured from the Roman ship turned out to be all of the same weight, although their types indicated that they were issued by different persons.

Two inferences follow this: firstly, the coins were seized (captiva pecunia), no doubt in keeping with an ancient right which the state is known to have enjoyed with regard to the cargo of ships wrecked or cast on its territory.[57] We have some literary and epigraphical evidence for this . In the second century B.C. we hear of the King of

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one another indicates that at the beginning of the fourth century they were not universally recognized legal tender.

54. H.W. Codrington: *op. cit.*, p. 231.

55. O. Bopearachchi: In "Recent discoveries ...", (1995), p. 132-3.

56. E.H. Warmington: *loc. cit.*

57. B.J. Perera: "The Foreign Trade and Commerce of Ancient Ceylon" 4 parts, CHJ I Jan. 1952, nos 1 & 2, (1952), p. 109-119, 192-204, no 4 April. 1952, 301-320, July - August 1952, p. 14-22.

Mahagama who, on hearing of the miraculous arrival of a ship laden with precious things, "bade them bring (the precious things) to him",[58] while as late as the 12th century A.D., king Parakramabahu I in his Nainativu Tamil Inscription says: "If merchant vessels are wrecked, a half share shall be taken by the treasury and the other half left to the owner".[59] It is therefore very likely that these coins were similarly confiscated as part of the cargo from the Roman ship.

Secondly, it is clear that the coins were weighed, no doubt because they were destined for the royal treasury. Wheeler and Bolin have suggested that the Roman coins of precious metal exported to the East at this time were intended for use as bullion rather than as currency.[60] But if these coins were taken for their metal value, they would have been weighed in bulk. The fact that their individual weights were taken into account might be taken as an indication that their use as currency was known and appreciated.

It is usual to deduce from this story that up to that time the king of Sri Lanka had never seen the Romans or their money. But Pliny's words do not necessarily carry this implication: It was the variety of the types, contrasted with the uniformity of standard, that impressed him. We know that gold and silver coins exported to India at this time consisted mainly of two well-known types, one each of Augustus and Tiberius. But the freedman's cargo, which was not destined for India, may well have contained denarii of many types, including, perhaps, even coins of the consulate which, outside India, were in use well into Flavian times. The several people who struck them, and whose images were on them, are not specifically designated as emperors. However, the likelihood is that the coins in question must have been silver denarii of Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, and Cladius, the first four Roman emperors.[61]

We know that these coins were minted at a regular weight of 3.85 grams. Incidentally, this evidence also supports the dating of the event during the reign of Claudius rather than of Augustus, as has been proposed by many recent scholars.

The fact that some hoards from southern India contain only coins of Augustus and Tiberius may well be an indication that in the time of the latter emperor the flow of Roman coins to India had already begun. This is perhaps supported by the reported

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58. Mahavamsa XXII. p. 64.

59. K. Indrapala: "The Nainativu Tamil Inscription of Parakramabahu I" *University of Ceylon Review* XXI, 1, (1963), p. 63-70.

60. R.E.M. Wheeler: *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London, (1954), p. 361-2; S. Bolin: op. cit., p. 73.

61. D.W. Mac Dowall: In "The Export of Roman Republican.....", (1990), p. 70.

discovery at Chandravalli in Mysore of two denarii, one each of Augustus and Tiberius, in a stratum which also produced two fragments of Arretine ware and a sherd of the black rouletted pottery which was popular in India chiefly during the Arretine and pre-Arretine period, i.e. before 50 A.D.[62] Moreover, Tiberius himself deplored the sending of Roman money "to peoples outside our domains, or even to our enemies" in payment for precious stones.[63] Thus the draining of Roman money was already a matter for growing concern during his reign. Knowing how close the island was to India, geographically as well as politically and commercially, one would find it very strange indeed if Roman coins did not find their way to the island in some quantity at this time.

It was during Pliny's own lifetime, in A.D. 54 and 64, that the emperor Nero debased the Roman denarius by reducing its silver content. One apparent result of this was that the Indians began to prefer gold coins and pre-Neronian silver coins. Thus in recounting the reaction of the king of Sri Lanka, Pliny may have given voice to the disillusionment of thoughtful Romans who could still remember the good old days when the integrity of Roman money was the key to international prestige.

For the subsequent period we have the evidence of Roman coins found in various parts of the island. In particular, the sudden abundance of "third brass" coins of the fifth century, which are also plentiful in southern India, may be attributed to intensified South Indian interest in Sri Lanka as a source for the commodities for which demand (from both China and the West) had now increased. The policy of the foreign rulers (possibly of the Kalabhra dynasty and therefore Buddhists) who ruled the island from A.D. 433 to 460, and that of the Sinhala kings who followed them, appears to have been one of competition on the one hand with the Axumite middlemen, and of conciliation on the other hand with their Roman customers. Palladius thought that this policy was the result of respect and fear for Roman power and military skill.[64] But Cosmas, more prudently, attributes it to their time-honoured admiration for the integrity of the Romans, as reflected in their money.[65]

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62. R.E.M. Wheeler and others: "Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman trading station on the east coast of India", *Ancient India* no. 2, (1946), p. 2-125, 45 ff.

63 Tacitus, *Annales III*, p. 53.

64. Palladius, *De Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus I.* 10 [W. Berghoff]; D.P.M. Weerakkody: "Adventures of a Theban Lawyer on his way to Sri Lanka", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Sri Lanka Branch, XXVI*, (1982), p. 23-42.

65. Cosmas Indicopleustes, Topographia Christiana XI. p. 17-19 [W. Wolska-Connus]; F.F. Schwarz: "Kosmas und Sielediba", *Zive (Antiquite Vivant)* 20, (1-2), (1975), p. 469-490; D.P.M. Weerakkody: "Ancient Sri Lanka as Described by Cosmas" *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities VII, 1 & 2*, (1981), p. 107-127.

He reports how, probably sometime in the latter part of the fifth century A.D., Sopatros, a Roman merchant from Adoulis, once again impressed the king of Taprobane with the superiority of the Romans and their coinage, this time in opposition to the Persians and their money.[66]

The authenticity of this story has sometimes been questioned, and it has even been described as "a mournful reflection of what really happened in days gone by".[67] But the regard for Roman gold, to which Cosmas attests, is amply corroborated by the provenance, both in Sri Lanka as well as on the Indian subcontinent, of gold pieces of the later Roman and Byzantine emperors.

Gold coins of the later emperors, especially those of Byzantium, are reported from Sri Lanka as well as from India. Coins found in India include those of Theodosius II, Marcian, Leo, Zeno, Anastasius and Justin.[68] The gold coins from Sri Lanka, like the silver coins from an earlier age, cover a somewhat wider span and include those of Valens (364-378), Arcadius (395-408), Theodosius II (408-450), Basiliscus, Leo I (457-474), Zeno (474-476), Justinian I (527-565) and Heracleus I (613-641). It is also recorded that during the last century a pot of gold coins inscribed Konob obruza were found in the north of Sri Lanka, apparently in the Jaffna Peninsula. As Codrington has observed, these may have been solidi of the Byzantine period.

Codrington also mentions eighteen coins bought from a man in Colombo, which may or may not have been found in Sri Lanka.[69] If they constituted a hoard, it must have been a very extraordinary one. For, together with coins of Constantius II, Valentinian I (two coins), Valens, Honorius (three coins), Theodosius II, Anastasius, Justinian (two coins), and Maurice Tiberius, there was a coin of Titus (A.D. 79-81). The occurrence of this early coin in a collection largely consisting of Byzantine solidi is not easy to explain. We perhaps have a parallel in two medieval hoards of Chinese coins, one found in the royal precincts of Polonnaruva and the other from Yapahuva.[70] Both these hoards, while containing mainly coins of Chinese emperors from Tai-tsung (976-988) to Lai-ss'ung (1225-1265) are also said to contain coins of Kao-tsu, the first Tang emperor (618-627), who ruled more than 300 years before Tai-ts'ung.

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66. Cosmas XI, p. 17-19.

67. E.H. Warmington: *op. cit.*, p. 294-5.

68. H.W. Codrington: *op. cit.*, p. 31.

69. H.W. Codrington: *op. cit.*, p. 252-253.

70. C.W. Willets: "Ceylon and China pt. 3" *Ceylon Today* X. 2, (1952), p. 19-20.

The presence of solidi indicates that gold was the precious metal now preferred in India and Sri Lanka. The south Indians had indeed preferred the Roman aureus to the denarius ever since Nero reduced the silver content of the latter. As there are no aurei from Sri Lanka, and few denarii for that matter, we cannot say whether a similar preference was shown on the island too. However, from the fifth century onwards the preference for gold coins is evident. Like the bronze coins to be discussed later, these gold coins were also imitated. An imitation half-solidus was found between Veyangoda and Mihirigama.[71] Mention is also made of four specimens of a thin gold coin with a bust on the obverse and a cross on the reverse. Though evidently based on later Roman types, the bust "displays oriental features".[72] According to Walburg, this coin is not an imitation of a solidus of Valentinian I or Valens, as Codrington has suggested, but of a bronze type "Restitutor Reipublicae" of those two emperors.[73] Walburg also mentions another Indo-Roman imitation in the Perera collection in Kandy; but he thinks that this coin, a fourth century medallion, apparently reached the island only at a later date.[74] Indigenous sources dealing with the later Anuradhapura period also refer to gold coins (suvanna) whereas in earlier times the coin mentioned was the kahapana. In the Polonnaruva period the Sinhala kings issued their own gold coins, for which the prototype, according to Codrington, was the Gupta coinage, of which a few specimens are recorded from Sri Lanka. On the other hand, Paranavitana thinks that the Sinhala kalanda could have been based on the Roman solidus. According to him, a gold coinage with the kalanda as standard and fractional pieces of half, quarter and eighth was in circulation in the ninth and tenth centuries.[75] Whatever the factual basis of this statement, it is well known that inscriptions of the later period generally mention sums of money in terms of kalandas of gold.[76]

To get back to the Byzantine period, it appears that the preference for gold coins was exploited by the Roman merchants and their middlemen. We learn from Cosmas that the best gold coins were picked out for export to the east, and that they

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71. H.W. Codrington: *op. cit.*, p. 45.

72. H.W. Codrington: op. cit., p. 42; idem, "A Pseudo-Roman Coin", *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, I. 3, (1916), p. 202-203.

73. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 40.

74. *ibid.*

75. C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana: *Concise History of Ceylon*, Colombo, (1961), p. 165.

76. H.W. Codrington: In *Ceylon Coins*, (1924), Appendix D.

competed successfully with the silver coins of the Persians.[77] Taken literally, the story of Sopatros reveals that the king of Sri Lanka was already familiar with Roman and Persian coins. The way Sopatros tells the king "you have both kings here" and "you have the money of both kings", and also the fact that the king ordered the coins to be produced implies that he already possessed money of both nations. One need not therefore assume, as has sometimes been done, that he was unfamiliar with foreign coins or that he was looking at them for the first time. What Sopatros invites the king to do is to look at the coins in a new way, that is, to compare them with each other and draw his own conclusions about the culture, wealth and power of the two empires, which the king duly does.

However, when Cosmas (XI. 22) says later that the king of Sielediba values elephants at so many nomismata per cubit of height, this need not imply that the king did his transactions in Roman (Byzantine) money only. Cosmas is speaking in terms familiar to his Greek readers, and all that can be inferred is that money, Roman or otherwise, was offered in payment for elephants. As Cosmas does not tell us where the elephants came from, (and the implication clearly is that they were caught locally), we do not even know whether the payments were made to foreigners at all.

There can be no doubt that Persian drachmae and Byzantine solidi reached the island in quantities during the fifth and sixth centuries and perhaps even later. Their disappearance may not be due entirely to melting down. We have also to think of the large-scale plunder and destruction that must have accompanied the many foreign invasions during the later Anuradhapura period. All the same, the chronicles continue to mention lavish sums of gold spent by the kings on religious works. In the eighth century, for instance, Aggabodhi I is said to have spent 26,000 suvannas (gold coins) in repairing the dilapidated structures at the Cetiya Pabbata.[78] Melting down is perhaps also attested in the Mahavamsa account of king Mahinda I (9th century). We are told that out of his great wealth he also made an image of the teacher out of 60,000 of pure gold.[79]

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77. Cosmas, *loc. cit.*

78. Mahavamsa LXVIII. P. 7

79. Mahavamsa LXVIII, P. 137.

Codrington, following Wickramasinghe, believes that the term ridi tiram occurring in the Anuradhapura Ruvanveli Dagaba Inscription of Nissankamalla is a reference to the silver drachma of the Greeks.[80] The inscription states that this king, with his chief queen and the heir apparent, mounted the scale pans and caused great showers of gifts to fall by throwing down in the King's Street unlimited quantities of wealth, including the "seven kinds of jewels"[81] and silver tiram. If tiram represents the drachma, it should be observed that the Sinhala form derives, not from Skt. dramma but from diram, the Persian and Arabic form, through the Tamil form tiramam found on several Pandya and Cola inscriptions of the 11-13th centuries.[82] The term may therefore have been used for a Persian, or more probably Arabian, coin rather than for one of the Byzantine Greeks.

II

The Roman and Indo-Roman bronze coins of the fourth and fifth centuries have been the subject of much discussion. In Sri Lanka these coins occur not only as single finds but also as "hoards". Most of the coins are extremely worn, but it has been possible to read them with sufficient accuracy, and many of them bear the mint marks of famous cities of the Roman empire.[83]

The most abundant issues range from the coins of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-337) to Arcadius (395-408) and Honorius (395-424), while the coins of these last two emperors are probably the most frequent, occurring in almost every hoard. Similar bronze coins have also been found in large quantities in the "Madura district" of southern India and along the Coromandel coast, although, as far as I am aware, no one has published them adequately.

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80. H.W. Codrington, "Ridi Tiram", *JRAS CB, XXIV*, notes and queries pt. 5, (1916), p. 79-80; cf. *E.Z.* vol. II, p. 81.

81. For this expression cf. X. Liu: *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges A.D. 1 - 600*, Delhi, (1988), esp. 92-103.

82. H.W. Codrington: (1916), *loc. cit.*

83. J. Still: In Roman Coins ...", (1907), p. 166.

Walburg has arranged 1155 precisely datable genuine Roman coins into seven chronological periods and given their distribution within those periods as follows:[84]

Period	Number of Coins
P0 (A.D. 324-330)	1
P1 (330-363)	49
P2 (363-383)	28
P3 (383-408)	682
P4 (408-424)	150
P5 (425-450)	45
P6 (450-476)	1

(146 coins are not precisely datable, although some of them can be assigned to the emperors or authorities under whom they were minted.) From this it is clear that the largest number of coins are those minted between A.D. 386 and 408.

Apart from the genuine Roman coins, a large number of imitations have also turned up in Sri Lanka as well as in South India. It has, however, been observed recently that genuine Roman coins constitute a much larger proportion in the finds from Sri Lanka than has hitherto been imagined, and that many of the specimens once described as Indo-Roman are in reality genuine Roman coins.[85] Codrington divided these so-called Indo-Roman coins into two classes, while observing that the line of demarcation between the two is not always clear. The first class consists of those coins which adhere closely to the original, with the exception of the lettering "which baffled native minters". The second class, far less skillfully executed than the first, is called, following John Still's suggestion, the "Naimana type" after a place in southern Sri Lanka where a large find of these coins was made.[86] These coins, while imitating the portrait head of the emperor on the obverse, reproduce on their reverses, with varying degrees of crudeness, imitations of the types common to the Roman coins which are most frequent. There are also attempts to reproduce the effect of the legend.

The great number of Roman bronze coins found on the island belong to the latter half of the fourth century A.D. Their extremely worn state indicates that they must have been in use for a long time. Codrington has suggested that the latest limit for their use was probably the first half of the 7th century. He has based this suggestion on two considerations: Firstly, that the direct western trade ceased with the fall of Alexandria in A.D. 638, and secondly, that only one coin has been found in

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84. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 30.

85. O. Bopearachchi: In "some Observations ....", (1990), p. 31.

86. H.W. Codrington:In *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, (1924), p. 35.

Polonnaruva, a city first mentioned in connection with Aggabodhi I and used as a royal residence at least as early as the time of Aggabodhi IV (A.D. 658-674). Thus, if we allow the widest limits, the coins would have been in use for some 300 years. This is not at all surprising in the ancient world where coins enjoyed a very long period of circulation. Within these broad limits, however, is it possible to assign a more precise date for the introduction of these coins to Sri Lanka, and to ascertain the historical background of their introduction?

At Sigiriya, out of a total of 1697 coins reported by Still and Codrington, 1685 are Roman or Indo-Roman. The excavations of 1982-1983 yielded 157 coins, out of which 60 were identified: 25 genuine Roman coins, 7 Roman or Indo-Roman coins and 28 Indo-Roman imitations.[87] Thus, against approximately 130-140 coins from Anuradhapura and from the district of Anuradhapura, there are around 2511 from Sigiriya.[88] This place was the capital only under Kassapa I (A.D. 479-497) and it was handed over to the monks at his death. The earliest Roman coins from the site are those of Constantine. The latest Roman coins known to Codrington were those of Arcadius and Honorius, but the 1982-1983 excavations unearthed a coin of Marcian (A.D. 450-457). Now, even at the earliest reckoning Sigiriya did not become the capital until well over twenty years after the death of Marcian, and the coins of Constantine would have enjoyed nearly one-and-a-half centuries of circulation before they were finally abandoned.

In the largest hoards described by Still and Codrington, such as those from Colombo, Balapitiya and Boragoda, the latest coins include those of Arcadius and Honorius. These hoards therefore could not have been deposited until well into the fifth century A.D. Moreover, according to the same authorities, some hoards contain, in addition to the above coins, those of Theodosius II, whose reign ended only in A.D. 450. Examples are Vatapuluva, Kapuhenvala (Tangalle district) and Valaichchenai (Eastern Province). These hoards, therefore, like those of Sigiriya, must have been deposited during the second part of the fifth century at the earliest.

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87. Bopearachchi: In "Some Observations ...", (1990), p. 20. On 28 Bopearachchi gives information on other coin finds at Sigiriya as follows: "Many other coins were also found from time to time at Sigiriya. In 1935, four separate batches comprising of 605 Roman and Indo-Roman coins found in that area were given to the Colombo National Museum. In 1945, a hoard of 200 small copper coins were discovered in a semi-broken pot by a villager in Sigiriya jungle. I once learned from the competent authorities of the Sigiriya museum that an important coin hoard containing hundreds of coins was discovered, in 1979, during the construction of a tourist hotel situated a few hundred yards from the Sigiriya rock."

88. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 32.

As R.A.L.H. Gunawardena has rightly observed, "finds of Roman coins provide an important corrective to the prevailing views on the relative importance of ports in the south-western, southern and eastern parts of the island in the period between the fourth and the seventh century".[89] The occurrence of these well worn bronze coins at almost every port as well as at various places in the interior has led to the very plausible supposition that, at the time they were in use, these coins formed the currency of the island. Consistent with this is the fact that few other coins of the period, whether local, Indian, or of other foreign nations, have been found.[90] Relevant also I think is the fact that some of the recent finds contained coins in round numbers: 30.000 from Godavaya, 400 from Kalutara, two other hoards of 200 each and one of 600. These must represent quantities of currency.

It was once thought that the presence of third brass in large quantities at Madura in south India was a possible indication of the presence of a colony of resident Roman agents in the Pandya capital.[91] In Sri Lanka, these coins are not confined to one locality. Codrington believed that, in both Madura and Sri Lanka, the introduction of "third brass" was possibly a successful commercial speculation on the part of the western merchants, who could not have failed to notice the practical absence of small change. That this currency met with popular favour is evident, he says, from the fact that it was imitated.

Although in the earlier centuries of the Roman empire Graeco-Roman merchants (especially from the province of Egypt) may have penetrated into South Asia in significant numbers, our literary evidence suggests that by the fifth century the situation had changed. The narrative of Palladius concerning the adventures of the Theban lawyer shows that it was not easy for the Romans to get into the eastern waters.[92] Similarly, the 11th book of The Christian Topography of Cosmas gives the impression that the Romans had been made to recede very much into the background by the activities of the

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89. R.A.L.H. Gunawardena: "Seaways to Sielediba: Changing Patterns of Navigation in the Indian Ocean and their Impact on Pre-colonial Sri Lanka", *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road*, (1990), p. 35.

90. The Roman hoards sometimes contain Sassanian or Indo-Sassanian coins. Two coins of Yasdagerd I (A.D. 397-417) have been recognized. Codrington also mentions some gold coins purchased in Colombo belonging to the Guptas and to Harsha, the 7th century ruler of Kanauj. Some copper coins of the small lion or dog type, found at Anuradhapura, are thought to belong to the Pallavas of south India with whom Sri Lanka had close contact during the later Anuradhapura period. (J. Still: In *Catalogue of Coins*.., (1908), nos. 219-224.)

91. H.W. Codrington: , (1924), ch. 4 section 5.

92. Palladius, I. p. 3-10.

Axumite middlemen and the Persians. Thus the provenance of Roman coins at this date cannot be taken as a definite indication of the presence of settled western merchants in this area.

According to Warmington, the abundance of coins at this time is due partly to the revival of western energy through Axumite, Himyarite, and Persian middlemen after the foundation of Constantinople as the seat of the empire, and partly to the gradual shifting of the focus of trade from the Malabar coast southward to Sri Lanka, which appears as the main centre of trade in the Indian seas by the sixth century.[93] Warmington therefore thinks that the Roman coins were brought by the middlemen. He also believes that the abundance of the coins of Arcadius and Honorius is due to the fresh demand for pearls, spices and precious stones created by the barbarians who harassed and invaded the western empire. IN his opinion, it was the Indians themselves who produced the imitation coins, and the cessation of the Roman coins after Honorius is due to the fact that the middlemen, considering the supplies to be adequate in view of the local imitations, ceased to import.

Mac Dowall believes that the copies of 4th and 5th century Roman coins found in Sri Lanka were almost certainly made locally on the island itself.[94] He points out that there are no copies of comparable type manufactured within the Roman empire. In a note he adds: "There are copies of some of these issues found in the empire, but the Sri Lankan copies are quite distinctive".[95] "The Indo-Roman coinage", MacDowall concludes, "is in effect a locally produced coinage of Sri Lanka, albeit inspired originally from Roman prototypes. This coinage clearly does reflect Roman contact, but only to the extent that genuine Roman coins are found and have been employed as prototypes".

This view apparently does not take into account the provenance of imitations with characteristics of Codrington's first group, together with genuine Roman coins, at Madura and along the Coromandel coats. Moreover, the question raised by Bopearachchi still remains unanswered, namely the coexistence of two monetary types, one genuine and the other an imitation, with technical, iconographical and specially metrological differences.[96]

Codrington was of the view that the Indo-Roman coins commenced from the second half of the fifth century A.D. By way of confirmation he cited the opinion of Harold Mattingley that the local imitations of the Roman "third brass" may be due to the

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93. E.H. Warmington: *op. cit.*, p. 123-124.

94. D.W. Mac Dowall: In "Finds of Roman Coins ...", (1990), p. 61.

95. *ibid* n. 14.

96. O. Bopearachchi: In "Some observations ...., (1990), p. 33.

fact that very few of this species were issued by the Roman mints after the reign of Theodosius II.[97] Bopearachchi, however, has pointed out that at Sigiriya Indo-Roman coins were found together with the genuine coins which served as prototypes for them, and that both genuine coins and imitations are characterized by varying degrees of wear. If the Indo Roman series began during the latter half of the fifth century, those found at Sigiriya should have been in good condition as the city was founded only in A.D. 479, i.e. less than thirty years from the supposed commencement of minting.[98]

As for the so-called Naimana type, it has been observed that some hoards of imitations contain no genuine Roman coins at all, while in others Roman coins constitute only a minute proportion. It has also been pointed out that sites such as Anuradhapura and Mihintale, which have yielded a large number of imitations, have produced few genuine Roman coins, or none at all.[99] The suggestion has been made, therefore, that the imitations were made where authentic coins were insufficient to satisfy the need. This suggestion, if acceptable, would also point to local sources (i.e. in Sri Lanka) for these coins, as distinct from the Indo-Roman coins of Codrington's first type. It would follow from this that their fabrication must have commenced with the termination of the flow of Roman (and Indo-Roman) bronze coins to the island through south Indian intermediaries, possibly by the time of king Moggallana I around the beginning of the sixth century A.D. It is thus clear that the imitations are not the cause of the cessation in the flow of Roman coins to the island, as Warmington supposes, but rather its undoubted consequence.

Several scholars have suggested the possible relevance of Egypt to the study of these late Roman bronze coins from Sri Lanka, as Egypt was the one province that was in closest touch with the island. Mattingley found the existence of these coins not all surprising, since Egypt was also the province where gold and silver coinage came to an early end.[100] Raschke has observed that the prevalence of Imperial bronze from a large number of mints reflects the pattern of circulation which developed in Egypt in the fourth and fifth centuries.[101] Walburg has compared the finds from Sri Lanka and Egypt in some detail.[102] In both countries coins minted in the eastern cities of the

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97. H.W. Codrington: In *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, (1924), p. 240.

98. Bopearachchi: (1990), *loc cit.*

99. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 44.

100. H. Mattingley: *Roman Coins from the Earliest Tomes to the Fall of the Western Empire*, London, 1rst and 2nd ed., (1928-1960);cf. R. Walburg: op. cit., p. 35.

101. M.G. Raschke: *op. cit.*, p. 672.

102. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 33-35.

empire (such as Constantinople, Nicomedea, Cyzicus, Antioch, Alexandria, and, to a smaller extent, Heraclea) are more numerous than those from western cities. Again, hoards from both countries contain foreign coins of comparable date. With regard to chronological distribution, Roman bronze coins begin with a few specimens issued between A.D. 324 and 330, increase between 330 and 363, decrease between 363 and 383, reach their peak between 383 and 408, decrease between 408 and 424 and further between 424 and 450. However, whereas Roman bronze coins from Sri Lanka practically cease after A.D. 450, they continue in Egypt for some time, though in smaller numbers. Walburg accordingly thinks that the flow of Roman coins to Sri Lanka must have ceased after A.D. 450, and, on all this evidence, concludes that the Roman coins found on the island were part of the coins circulating in Egypt.[103]

I am however inclined to believe that both the Roman and Indo-Roman coins may have been circulating in south India for a considerable time before reaching Sri Lanka in the latter half of the fifth century, and that their introduction to the island occurred against the background of well-known historical events.
In mid fifth century, Sri Lanka was under foreign rule, having been invaded by a certain Pandu from south India. Pandu, who is now believed to be of Kalabhra origin,[104] set up a dynasty at Anuradhapura which, according to the Mahavamsa ruled for 27 years (A.D. 433-460) until it was uprooted by Dhatusena. The Roman and Indo-Roman coins may have been introduced to Sri Lanka from south India at this time by these invasions. (The case of the "Naimana" type coins is, I think, different; they were probably minted on the island, as argued above.)

Finds of Roman and Indo-Roman coins in Sri Lanka have occurred mainly along the coast, and their greater concentration has been on the western and southern shores. Few have turned up in the north, and these have come mainly from places of politico-economic importance as well as religious significance such as Anuradhapura, Mihintale, Sigiriya, Kantarodai, Udappu, and Mantai. From a comparison of this pattern of coin finds with the distribution pattern of inscriptions of the 4-7th centuries A.D. (which provides a rough indication of the distribution of population) it becomes clear that outside the main cities and ports such as Anuradhapura, Sigiriya, Rohana and Mantai, where there is a correlation such as one expects to find, the regions of dense population have yielded fewer coins, while the heavier finds are concentrated in thinly populated regions. Districtwise Kurunegala, Anuradhapura, Badulla, Matale, Trincomalee, and Hambantota

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103. Owing probably, according to Walburg, to an edict of 356 or 352 forbidding the export of all types of money. The edict allows merchants to take with them 1000 folles for personal use. The object was to prevent speculative trading of coins (i.e. as merchandise) within the empire; but Walburg (op. cit., 33-35) thinks that the prohibition also fell on the transport of money outside the frontiers of the empire.

104. C.W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana: *op. cit.*, p. 122 ff.

have yielded both Roman coins and inscriptions; while Galle, Matara, Colombo, Baticaloa, Ampara and Puttalam have produced Roman coins but hardly any inscriptions from the period in question.[105]

The ancient settlements of Sri Lanka were largely centered round the production of food crops under irrigation, and were mainly concentrated in the dry zone, which was ideally suited for this purpose. The wet zone of the south-west, on the other hand, was largely covered with jungle, and produced not only the so-called cash crops such as ginger, turmeric, pepper and (later) cinnamon, but also ivory and precious stones which were so important for the island's foreign trade.[106]

The ports and harbours along the south-western coast, where so many Roman and Indo-Roman coins have turned up, must have acted as outlets for the commercial products of the wet zone. Accordingly, the sudden outburst of coin hoards of the fifth century must be connected in some way with the island's capacity to produce these valuable items of foreign commerce. There is also a marked change in the constitution of the coin hoards of Sri Lanka at this time. Whereas the earlier hoards of punch-marked coins (of the third and fourth centuries A.D) are associated with other coins such as elephant, bull, lion and swastika, no other coins are generally found in the fifth century Roman hoards. Such a drastic change in the coin pattern must reflect some important political development.

Reference has already been made to the increased demand for these luxuries in the West created by the barbarian invasions. The south Indians who traditionally supplied these commodities to western merchants and their middlemen were doubtless pressed for increased supplies, and were naturally compelled to explore and exploit fresh sources. It is probably here that one should look for the background and the purpose of Pandu's invasion of Sri Lanka in mid fifth century, and the possibly consequent introduction of the Roman and Indo-Roman coins. The foreign dynasty ruled from Anuradhapura; but their interest penetrated far beyond the northern territory. We learn

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105. This comparison was carried out with the aid of the lists of find-sites of Roman and Indo-Roman coins given by H.W. Codrington: *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, (1924), p. 31-50 and R. Walburg: op. cit., p. 31-32 plotted on a map of Sri Lanka, and the locations of 4-7th century inscriptions given in the map accompanying the article by C.W. Nicholas: "Sinhalese Naval Power", *University of Ceylon Review* XVI. 3-4, (1958), p. 20-27, updated from Epigraphica Zeylanica vols. V (1955-66) and VII (1984) p. 107-119. I wish to thank Miss R.M.K.K. Ranatunga for assistance in carrying out this comparison.

106. S.F. de Silva: "The Historical Geography of Some of the Capital Cities of Ceylon", *CHJ*, I, (1951), p. 13-23.

from inscriptions that they patronized Buddhist shrines in the south.[107] Perhaps, their patronage even took the form of coin donations.

Several of the finds from Sri Lanka are actually from sanctuary sites, and probably represent offerings made to the Buddhist clergy by these foreign rulers of the mid-fifth century as well as by their local predecessors and successors. The comparatively small number of coins from Anuradhapura must, in that case, be attributed to the plunder and devastation which accompanied the frequent foreign invasions during the later Anuradhapura period.[108] A sthupa deposit from Sigiriya contained six bronze coins in association with jewelry, precious stones, pearls and eldlings, indicating the high value ideally attributed to these coins, and hence their value as offerings to the Buddhist clergy. Donations of coins to Buddhist clergy are attested at other times in history and in other geographical areas. Two fifth-century inscriptions from Sanchi, for instance, record the donation of coins (though of precious metal, namely, dinara), the interest from which (presumably through lending or investing by the monastery) was to be used for feeding monks and keeping lamps burning.[109]

The burying of coin hoards is a desperate measure adopted in troubled times, which may also lead to considerable abandoning of property. In the present instance, the Sinhala rebellion under Dhatusena may have been the immediate occasion for such losing or abandoning of hoards. The possibility that the movement of bronze coins, unlike silver and gold, may actually represent the movement of merchants and travelers has been suggested;[110] but I am inclined to believe that the hoards from Sri Lanka most probably represent, first and foremost, temple donations and the payments made to soldiers. These bronze coins must have been introduced to the island by the invaders in large quantities, and their use as currency must have continued for a considerable period thereafter.[111] It is now generally accepted that these coins formed the currency

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107. W.A. Jayawardhana: "Successors of Mahasena", *University of Ceylon: History of Ceylon* vol. 1 pt. 1 Colombo, (1959), p. 293-294.

108. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 43.

109. X. Liu: *op. cit.*, p. 131.

110. M.G. Raschke: op. cit., n. 1593, referring to the views of L. Robert and G. Le Rider.

111. Osmund Bopearachchi has however pointed out to me that the coins from Panduvasnuvara and Pidurangala are in mint condition, and that the latter hoard contains mainly coins of Constantine and his sons (early fourth century). Thus the coins were hoarded as soon as they came into circulation, and cannot have been introduced in mid fourth century as I have suggested. On the other hand, this observation, together with the fact that these coins have also been found in

of Kassapa's short-lived capital at Sigiriya. The scattered finds throughout this site are perhaps testimony to the commotion that must have followed Moggallana's invasion and the defeat and death of Kassapa. We know that at least one of the contending parties (albeit the winning one) received military support from India.

It has been observed that no gold coins known so far are earlier than the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth, and that their appearance coincides roughly with the end of the minting of bronze coins. A parallel situation exists in India and Afghanistan, where later gold coins begin with those of Theodosius II, while finds of earlier coins end with Constantine I. Thus there are no gold coins from the period between Constantine I and Theodosius II. Walburg therefore concludes with some confidence that the Roman bronze coins found in Sri Lanka can only be considered as part of the small coins in the bulk of coins in circulation - a mixed bulk of gold and bronze from which the precious metal was withdrawn for melting either in antiquity or in modern times.[112] He goes on to suggest that the important part bronze coins played in commerce was the consequence of a decree of A.D. 374 forbidding the export of gold to barbarians.

It must however be pointed out that, although bronze coins could, and most probably did, circulate alongside coins of more precious metal, the suggestion that they were introduced instead of the latter is unacceptable. Rather, I prefer to follow Warmington and others who believe that they were used as small change, though the lack of local copper deposits must have given the coins a value considerably higher than we are tempted to imagine today. This is also borne out by the Chinese sources of the 5th century which Walburg himself has cited, and which reveal that Chinese copper coins were much appreciated in Sri Lanka and that they were brought to the island in large quantities, perhaps to compensate for unequal value of merchandise.[113] Roman bronze coins and imitations may have played a similar role once they were introduced from southern India. (Their introduction may even be connected with the increasing importance of the trade with the Chinese, whose own coinage was largely copper. We know that at an earlier age the Kushans used their thickly made copper coins in trading with the Chinese).[114]

Bopearachchi has rightly underlined the significance of the recent coin finds from Sigiriya: "It is not an exaggeration to say that this is the first time that we have at

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the post-Kasyapa layers in the Bodhigara at Sigiriya, serve to strengthen Codrington's hypothesis that they were in circulation for about three centuries.

112. R. Walburg: *op. cit.*, p. 40.

113. *Ibid.* p. 41.

114. X. Liu: *op. cit.*, p. 79-80.

our disposal a well documented series of coins found in a scientific archaeological excavation conducted in Sri Lanka".[115] One can only hope that similar scientific evidence regarding Roman coins will come forth from excavations at other sites on the island. What I have presented here, I wish to stress once again, are only tentative inferences drawn from imperfect evidence, pending the publication of more systematic reports by qualified numismatists.

D.P.M. WEERAKKODY

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[115]. O. Bopearachchi: In "Some Observations .....", (1990), p. 27.

THE TAMIL PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM MANKANAY

The epigraph from Māṅkanāy, a village located about eight miles to the north of the town of Trincomalee, was discovered in 1956 by employees of the Archaeological Department, Colombo, and subsequently deposited in the Archaeological Museum at Anuradhapura. The text of the inscription was deciphered, edited and published by K. Kanapathipillai in 1962 on the basis of an estampage given to him.[1]

The inscription is engraved on two sides of the pillar in Tamil script interspersed with Grantha characters. The names Jayabahu and Gajabahu are written entirely in Grantha while the name Māṉāparaṇa is written in Tamil characters. It is interesting to find that Grantha characters have been avoided in engraving the letters of the expression *tēvar*.

On each side there are 22 lines of writing and the letters are indited between neatly engraved horizontal lines which are 2 inches apart from each other. The broader face of the pillar is 11.5 inches and the narrower one is 7.5 inches in width.

The epigraph which, is dated in the 43rd regnal year of Jayabāhu, is of unusual interest and significance. It throws light on the activities of two princes, Gajabāhu and Māṉābharaṇa, and on some events in the island just before the accession of Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) to the throne of Polonnaruwa. It records a land grant made to a Buddhist temple called Veyka Vihāram and provides some insights on the procedures relating to land grants. Some of the terms and concepts recorded therein are significant as providing some indication of inter-cultural communications and social interaction as found in some parts of the island during the twelfth century. Although the inscription has run into two editions at the hands of specialists in epigraphy its contents have been understood imperfectly until now.

The purpose for which this inscription was set up could not be ascertained as the crucial expressions which provide a key to an understanding of its contents could not be deciphered correctly. Incorrect readings of vital portions of the text have led to fundamental misconceptions and wrong interpretations. Commenting on this inscription K. Kanapathipillai observes:

> "Though the inscription was given by Gajabāhu, it is known from the second part of the inscription that it was inscribed on stone by Māṉābharaṇa alias Virabāhu 1196 A.D. who was ruling the southern country."[2]

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1. K. Kanapathi Pillai, "Mankanai Inscription of Gajabahu II", *University of Ceylon Review* (UCR), vol. XX, No. 1 (April, 1962) ed. P.E.E. Fernando, W.J.F. LaBrooy, K.W. Goonewardena (155 pages), p. 12 - 14.

2. *ibid.*

"The object of the record is to register the donation for life of certain paddy lands to one Mintan Koṟṟaṉ, the Overseer of the palanquin bearers of the palace."[3]

That the assumptions underlying these observations are false would become evident here later. Kanapathipillai's reading of the text is faulty in four cases. His decipherment of the expressions in lines 20-21 as *veyka vēraṭṭāna paritta* is wrong and his unsuccessful attempt here has led him to entertain untenable notions about the purpose for which the inscription was set up. The last letters of the last word in the last line of the text on face A of the pillar have not been recognized by him and so he deciphers the word as *ittaruḷina*. However, on close examination, one is able to recognize the traces of two letters after *na*. The expression concerned could be clearly deciphered as *ittaruḷinar*. The expressions in lines 16-19 of face B have eluded him. In the text as deciphered by him they are constructed wrongly so as to read: *Ce (yaleṉṟu)*. These have to be revised as *Ceytavarkaḷ narakil* and such a reading, apart from being supported by the engravings on the stone, enables one to comprehend the text in its proper setting. Finally, Kanapathipillai made a mistake in deciphering the last word of the text as *cūḷuṟavu*. As a matter of fact, the second letter of this expression which he has recognized as *ḷu* is altogether a different one. It is *ḻa*. The revised and correct reading of the expression concerned is *Cūḻaṟavu*.

Inevitably his translation of the text, as will be seen later, is wrong and misleading in some important respects. For instance, he refers to 'the Vihāra of Gajabāhudēva which is situated on the main road' in the last sentence of the first paragraph of his translation.[4] The *vihāram* referred to in the epigraph was certainly not named after Gajabahu, although he was its benefactor.

2. Twenty two years ago the present author made a contribution on this inscription, examining in some length the significance of its contents.[5] The ruler Mānābharaṇa referred to in this inscription was identified as Mānābharaṇa II, the son of Siri Vallabha of Rohana and a cousin of both Parākramabāhu I and Gajabāhu.

No attempt was made at that stage to revise the text as deciphered by Kanapathipillai as facilities for scrutinizing the extampage of the inscription were not readily available. I was then persuaded to take up the position that the record is spurious because of the fact that Mintan Koṟṟaṉ is described in the first person and on account of the misunderstanding initially created by the editor of the inscription that it records

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3. *ibid.*

4. *ibid.*

5. S. Pathmanathan, "The Tamil Inscription from Mankanai", *Pavalar Thuriappapillai Nootandu Vizha Malar*, Tellippalai (1972) pt. II, p. 81-88.

a land-grant made to Mintan Korran.[6] A re-examination of this inscription on the basis of experience gained over the years on studies on Tamil epigraphy has stimulated fresh thinking, and it has become obligatory on my part to reformulate my views on grounds of academic necessity and on the basis of revisions of the text deciphered and published by two editors.

3. S. Paranavitana's edition of this inscription appeared subsequently in an issue of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* published in 1973.[7] Comenting on the need for a re-edition of the document, he says:

> "While the learned Professor has made a distinct contribution towards the interpretation of the document, its historical significance has not been adequately elucidated by him. There are also some places in which Prof. K. Kanapathypillai's text admits of improvement. The document is therefore re-edited for the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*."

To what extent S. Paranavitana accomplished the task he has set upon himself in this respect may be investigated here, as it is a matter of great academic concern. The expressions in lines 19-20 which were erroneously deciphered as *vēraṭṭāna paritta* by Kanapathipillai have been revised as *vērattāna varākku* by Paranavitana. Besides, as usual he proceeds to provide explanations of the etymology of *vērattāna*. As an expression *varakku* has no meaning or significance, Paranavitana has obviously faltered here where Kanapathipillai has failed. The revisions in the reading made by him were not of such a character as to enable him or anybody else to comprehend correctly the contents of the inscription. In this respect Paranavitana could not move his readers from the position in which they had been left by Kanapathipillai ten years earlier.

Paranavitana correctly points out that the first editor has failed to recognize the traces of a letter after *na* in the last word of the text as found on face A of the pillar, and in the version of the text as revised by him the expression reads *iṭṭaruḷiṉāṉ*. However, it may be observed here that there is no trace at all of the letter *ṉ(ன்)* in the inscription. The last letter as found in this face of the stone is *r* and not *ṉ* and therefore the expression, as stated earlier, has to be deciphered as *iṭṭaruḷiṉār*, the expression being a finite verb ending with the honorific third person singular termination *ār* and referring to the act of *bhūmi tānam* performed by the ruler Gajabāhu.

Paranavitana's attempt to revise the first two lines of face B of the pillar has proved to be a fiasco. In his revised version they read: *i vitti aṟivu pukku*. Such a reading is not supported by the letters on the stone. The word *nirupati* is quite clear in

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6. *ibid*, p. 84.

7. S. Paranavitana, "A Tamil Pillar-Inscription from Mankanai", *Epigraphica Zeylanica* (EZ), vol. VI, pt. 1, no. 2, p. 7-11.

the epigraph. Although the letters on the second line are not so clear Kanapathipillai's decipherment of the expression concerned as *kuṟippukku* has to be sustained until an improvement is found to be feasible.[8]

The revisions effected by Paranavitana in respect of the decipherment of the concluding expressions of the inscription have turned out to be distortions. He has transformed the words *Puttar* and *Vallavaraiyan* which could be recognized without difficulty even by those who are not specialists in epigraphy, into *Pattar* and *Pallavaraiyan*. Thus the revisions made by Paranavitana have turned out to be distortions. The translation of a distorted version could be very misleading and the impressions formed on the basis of it could be false. His translation reads:

> Hail. Prosperity. In the 43rd year of Apaiya Colamekapanmar alias His Majesty, the Emperor Sri Jayabāhu I am Mintan korran, the Overseer of the palanquin bearers of his Majesty Gajabāhu - (the land) comprised within the four boundaries of this (estate) upto the limits of the lands of the monastery of Veyka, His Majesty, Lord Gajabahu, was pleased to assign (again) as a land grant. This information having come to the knowledge of (His Majesty) Mānābharaṇa was pleased to Vouchsafe the boon of a verbal order (to the effect) that what has been granted by his Majesty Gajabāhu was (indeed a good) deed, and had the land granted by executing a writing on stone (and declaring that) those who cause any impediment to this (grant) (will be) fallen into hell.
>
> The order (has been attested on) oath by Pallavaraiyan.[9]

Besides having failed, like Kanapathipillai, to discern the purpose for which the stone inscription was set up, Paranavitana has misrepresented the ideas conveyed by the concluding portion of the text on account of his own misunderstanding. In attempting to revise and improve the text on the basis of his decipherment he has in fact distorted it and in this instance his performance does not measure up to his claims and reputation.

Paranavitana's only concern in the elucidation of the historical significance of the inscription is the identification of Mānābharaṇa and the circumstances leading to his presence in Polonnaruwa. In fact, there is no other single item which has attracted his attention as one requiring elucidation and explanation.

4. Our re-examination of this inscription shows that the key expressions in lines 19-20 of face A, which reveal the purpose for which it was set up, could be correctly

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8. *ibid*, p. 8.

9. *ibid*. p. 11.

deciphered as *veyka vērattālvārkku*. These have a significance and meaning. Their direct meaning would be,'to the āḷvār of Veyka Vēram'. That *vēram* is an alternate form of *Vihāram* is known from the inscriptions of Rājarājap-perumpalli.

Both K. Kanapathipillai and S. Paranavitana read these expressions respectively as *veyka vērattāna paritta* and *veyka vērattāna varākku*. The decipherment of the last word as *paritta* is obviously wrong as the last two letters of it are *kku* and not *tta* as evident from the characters on the stone. Although Paranavitana came closer to a successful decipherment, he could not correctly identify the expressions owing to a lack of imaginative understanding in this respect. What both of them recognized as *vērattāna* is in fact *vērattāl*, which is incomplete as an expression. The last letter *l* (ள்) has been mistakenly identified as *na* (ன) as the two letters have a close resemblance, the only difference being that the central stroke in *la* assumes the form of a circle in na. What Paranavitana recognized as *varākku* is in fact - *vārkku*. It should be noted here that in medieval Tamil inscriptions the long vowel *a* and the semi-vowel *ra* are represented by identical characters. So - *vārkku* could be wrongly identified as *varākku* particularly when the letters are indited in small characters and very close to one another owing to the inadequacy of space, as it is obviously in this case.

So *vērattāl* and *vārkku* put together reads *vērattāḷvārkku*, which is formed with the addition of the dative case termimination *ku* to the nominative form *vērattāḷvār*.

In the light of the proper deciphement of the expressions concerned the portion of the text as found in lines 18-22 on face A of the Pillar, as found in the published versions, may be reconstructed as follows:

Gajabāhu tēvar Veyka Vērattāḷvārkku bhūmitānam ittaruḷinār

"Gajabāhu tevar made a land grant to the Āḷvār of Veyka Vihāram."

It is thus clear that the inscription was set up to proclaim a land-grant made by Gajabāhu tevar to a *Vihāram* and not the grant of maintenance lands to Mintan Korran, as claimed by K. Kanapathipillai and S. Paranavitana.

5. There are of course references in the inscription to two grants made by Gajabāhu tēvar, one to Mintan Korran and the other to the Āḷvār of Veyka Vēram. What is significant is that these grants were not made simultaneously. They were made on different occasions and the second grant, the one made to the *Vihāram*, had the effect of annulling the one made earlier.

Mintan Korran, who is described in the epigraph as 'the superintendent of the palanquin bearers attached to the palace of Gajabāhu', was apparently a functionary of the royal court and in that capacity was a dignitary of considerable influence. According to customs prevailing in the country, those who performed services at the court and assisted the king in sustaining the framework of administration were supported with land

grants to be held on service tenure and traditionally known as *jīvita(m)*. That Mintan Korran had received such a grant from Gajabāhu is clear from the following passage recorded in this inscription:

> Mintan Korranēn Gajabāhu tēvar enakku jīvitamāka itta Tel Vēcarum Kiratu Narātu Vēcarum.
>
> "The fields (called) Tel Vēcar and Kiratu - Narātu Vēcar assigned as maintenance-land by Gjabāhu tēvar, to me - Mintan Korran."

6. When Gajabāhu made a land-grant to the ālvār of Veykavēram on a subsequent occasion, towards the end of his 'reign', the fields previously given as *jīvitam* to Mintan Korran were also included in the grant, as evident from the following passage recorded in the epigraph:

> "Tiruppallic civikaiyāril Kankāni Mintan Korranēn Gajabāhu tēvar enakku jīvitāmka itta Tel Vēcārum Kiratu Naratu Vēcārum itil naṟpāl ellai Perumāḷ Gajabāhu tēvar veyka vērattālvārkku bhūmitanam ittarulinār."
>
> "Perumāḷ Gajabāhu tēvar donated these fields called Tel Vēcār and Kiratu Narātu Vēcār which were (previously) assigned to me as 'maintenance-land (jīvita) and the lands on their four boundaries as a land-grant (bhūmitānam) to the ālvār of Veyka-Vēram."

Mintan Korran is referred to in the first person in the text as the lands granted to the *Vihāram* was caused to be engraved by him. A document caused to be engraved by a person recording the transfer of lands which he himself had held on service-tenure to a religious institution on the instructions of a ruler could by no means be considered as spurious.

Doubts which had arisen on the basis of an inadequate understanding owing to an imperfect decipherment of the text are now dispelled. It may also be recalled here that royal orders and instructions were, in most cases, caused to be engraved on stone by court functionaries. In one of the pillar inscriptions from Budumuttāva, the Court official who caused the royal order to be engraved on stone is referred to in the first person as Mākkaliṅkam Kaṇavatiyēn - "by me, Mākkaliṅkam Kaṇavati."[10]

7. The second part of the inscription introduces the name of another ruler, Mānābharaṇa, who is said therein to have considered the instructions of the ruler Gajabāhu (*Nirupati tan Kurippu*) pertaining to the grant and issued an order to the effect that the notification relating to the grant made to the *Vihāram* should be engraved on stone. It was in compliance with that order that Mintan Korran had caused the inscription to be engraved, presumably, in his capacity as a court official.

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10. S Paranavitana, "Two Tamil Pillar-Inscriptions from Budumuttava", *EZ*, vol. III, Oxford University Press, London (1933) no. 2, (pp. 302-312), p. 306.

The epigraph under consideration highlights certain matters relating to procedures concerning the land-grant and the circumstances under which it was set up. As it is dated is the 43rd year of Gajabāhu it is clear that it was indited shortly before the coronation of Parākramabāhu I at Polonnaruwa around 1153. Mānābharaṇa was in control of the kingdom of Polonnaruwa for a while before this event and subsequent to the death of Gajabāhu.

As suggested by the text of the Māṅkaṇāy inscription the instructions pertaining to the land-grant made to the Veyka Vihāram were issued by Gajabāhu but the formal procedures regarding its execution were not completed during his lifetime. These were brought to the notice of Mānābharaṇa when he was in occupation of Rajarata after the death of Gajabāhu. Mānābharaṇa confirmed the grant and issued an order to the effect that the notification concerning the grant should be proclaimed in the form of a stone inscription (*Cilālekam*). In pursuance of that order Mintan Korran set up the stone inscription. In respect of the land-grant and its execution the epigraph from Māṅkaṇāy is reminiscent of the Leyden Plates of the Cōḷa kings, although they are by no means comparable in scale.

8. The identification of the rulers referred to in this inscription does not pose serious problems. Jayabāhu tēvar, described as *Apaiya Calāmekapanmar* and *Cakkaravarttikal*, was the younger brother and successor of Vijayabāhu I (1055 - 1110). Gajabāhu tēvar was a grandson of Vijayabāhu, being a son of Vikramabāhu and Sundarī, a Kalinga princess. The inscription refers to a third ruler - Mānābharaṇa, who issued an order confirming the grant made by Gajabāhu with the instruction that it should be proclaimed by means of a stone inscription.

In the twelfth century there were two princes in the island who had the name Mānābharaṇa; one of them was a nephew of Vijayabāhu I. This prince, who was the eldest son of Mittā, the younger sister of Vijayabahu I, was consecrated as *Yuvarāja*, heir-apparent, on the consecration of his uncle Jayabāhu as king around A.D. 1110. By this arrangement the claims of Vikramabāhu, the son of the previous king, were overlooked.[11]

Mānābharaṇa, however, was defeated by Vikramabāhu who secured control over *Rajarata*, 'the kings's country', comprising the northern parts of the kingdom. King Jayabāhu lost authority in Polonnaruwa and elsewhere. Vikramabāhu could not subdue the remaining portions of the kingdom. His cousins, Mānābharaṇa and his brothers, occupied them and divided their territories among them. Mānābharaṇa assumed control over *Dakkhinadesa*, corresponding to the Western and North Western parts of the island, while Rohana in the South and South-east was divided between his younger brothers, Kitti Siri Megha and Siri Villabha. The eldest of the brothers may be referred to as Manabharana I to distinguish him from his nephew, Mānābharana, the son of Siri Vallabha.

The suggestion made by the first eidtor of this inscription that the Mānābharaṇa referred to therein was the ruler of Māyarata is untenable. The inscription is dated in the 43rd year of Jayabāhu, which corresponds to A.D. 1153, whereas Mānābharaṇa I had died

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11. *The Cūlavamsa* trans. in to German by Wilhelm Geiger and from German into English by C. Mabel Rickmers (Duff), Colombo (1953) lxi. 4, lxii. 4.

before Gajabāhu became ruler of Polonnaruwa around A.D. 1132. The prince referred to in the inscription was evidently Mānābharana II, the cousin and contemporary of Gajabāhu II and Parākramabāhu I.

Mānābharaṇa II was deeply involved in the struggle between Parākramabāhu I and Gajabāhu II for the control of Rajarata. He had considerable support and sympathy among the inhabitants of the northern principality, to whom he appeared as the only source of support against the armies of Parākramabāhu which they seem to have disliked. Mānābharaṇa led his armies into Rajarata on two occasions. On both occasions his success was conspicuous but shortlived. Although he displayed commendable skill as a military leader he was vacillating and irresolute and on account of such weaknesses he failed to consolidate his position in spite of the advantages gained in war.

On the first occasion, he advanced into Rajarata when Gajabāhu was imprisoned by the armies of Parākramabāhu which had overrun that principality. Manabharana dislodged those armies from Polonnaruwa and freed Gajabahu from captivity. Yet, he was not inclined to restore Gajabahu in power. He had the members of his family and his courtiers taken to Polonnaruwa from Rohana and took charge of the government there. Later, he was compelled to withdraw into his principality after military reverses.

Still later, when Gajabāhu died at Kantaḷāy, where he had taken up residence during the later part of his career, the functionaries of his court moved out to Kōttiyāram from where they invited Mānābharaṇa to come over and take charge of the government. In response to that appeal Mānābharaṇa advanced into Rajarata and overwhelmingly defeated the armies of his rival cousin. The forces of Parākramabāhu had to temporarily abandon most of Rajarata.[12]

It was under such circumstances and around the year A.D. 1153 that the epigraph at Maṅkanāy was set up. The contents of this record suggest that besides being engaged in warfare, Mānābharana had concerned himself with some matters pertaining to administration. It would appear that he had summoned to his presence court functionaries on some occasions and directed their affairs. Mintan Korran was obviously one such dignitary who was also probably associated with a group of functionaries who had invited Mānābharaṇa on the demise of Gajabāhu. Such an impression gains support from the description of events leading to Manabharana's advance into Rajarata, as found in the *Cūlavamsa*.[13]

It may also be suggested that Mānābharaṇa took up residence at the 'palace' at

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12. The account of Mānābharaṇa as found here is extracted from the present author's earlier paper, "*The Tamil Inscription from Mankanai*", Pavalar Thuraiappapillai Nootandu Vizha Malar, p. 81-80.

13. *CV.* lxx. 251-268.

Kantalāy where Gajabāhu had previously resided.[14]

9. The expressions *Perumāḷ*, *Āḻvār* and *Vallavaraiyan* occurring in this inscription require some explanation and elucidation. The word *Perumāḷ* had many different connotations. As an epithet it was applied to persons of eminence. Sometimes, it was the component of an epithet of some principal dignitaries in the kingdom as it was in the case of *Tanininru Venra perumāḷ* and *Teyvaccilaip perumāḷ*, epitets of Ārya Cakravarttis serving under the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Kulasekhara (1268-1310).[15]

The Cera kings had the title *Perumāḷ* and in this respect it was analoguous to *Vaḷavan* and *Ceḻiyan* generally applied to the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings respectively. In the Hindu religious tradition it was applied to God and more specifically to Maha Visnu. Vaisnava temples are often referred to as Perumāḷ Kōyil even now.[16] In the Māṅkaṉay epigraph the word *Perumāḷ* is applied to Gajabāhu tevar as a royal epithet and in the sense of prince or ruler. It would appear that this inscription is the oldest among extant records in the island containing a reference to *Perumāḷ* being applied as a royal epithet.

The reference to the Āḻvār of Veyka Vihāram is of particular significance. The Āḻvār of Veyka Vihāram is obviously a representation of the Buddha in some form. It is interesting to find here an instance where a word generally applied to denote concepts in the Hindu tradition is applied to Buddhist concepts.

The twelve principal leaders of the movement of devotional theism in South Indian Vaiṣṇavism are generally referred to as Alvar. According to an authoritative opinion, the original correct form was *Āḻvār* derived from the root *āḷ*, 'to rule'. It is argued convincingly that on account of the confusion between *ḷa* and *ḻa*, as suggested by nemerous examples from epigraphy, alvar became established in course of time as the accepted literary form. Such an explanation is supported by the use of such terms as Āṇṭāḷ and Āḻavantān in connection with some of the leading exponents of South Indian Vaiṣṇavism. These expressions are

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14. *The Culavamsa* states:

> *Gangataṭākam Agantvā Gajabāhu mahīpati rājadhānim Karitvāna Nivasi so tahim sukham.*
>
> "The ruler Gajabāhu betook himself to Gangataṭāka, made it his residence and dwelt there happily'. CV. lxx. 1, 6-7; 9, 72

15. An inscription from Tiruppullāṇi in Ramnad refers to a person called Aḻakan Āriyaccakkaravartti who had the epithet Teyvaccilaip-perumāḷ whereas one of the epigraphs from Srī Rangam testifies that the Āriyaccakkaravartti called Matitunkan had the epithet Tani ninru venra *perumāḷ*. S. Pathmanathan, *The Kingdom of Jaffna*, pt. I Colombo. (1978) p. 175-176.

16. *Tamil Lexicon*, vol. V, Madras (1932) p. 2882.

undoubtedly derived from the root *āḷ*.[17]

The principal connotations of the word *āḷvār* were God, gods, supreme devotees, religious teachers and persons of great eminence.[18] As a term of description it could be applied to those who attracted and brought under their sway and influence men and women through their charismatic qualities. The word *āḷvār* is derived from the root *āḷ* and formed by the addition of a termination indicating third person honorific singular of the common gender. Its singular masculine and feminine forms are respectively *āḷvār* and *āntāḷ*. In our inscription the word *alvar* is applied as an epithet of the Buddha to signify his pre-eminence as a religious teacher.

Vallvaraiyan Cularavu occurs as the last sentence in the inscription. It is preceded by the expressions *puttarāṇai*. These taken together translate:

> The Oath (sworn) in the name of the Buddha
> The Oath (sworn) in the name of *Vallavaraiyan*.

Vallavaraiyan is a compound expression formed by combining the words *Vallavar* and *aiyan* meaning 'Lord' among several other things. The fact that an oath is sworn in the name of *Vallvar* provides the indication that he was considered as one worthy of worship and veneration as in the case of the Buddha in whose name also the oath is sworn. Vallavar is the Tamil form of Vallabha, one of the epithets of Ganeśa.[19] In the invocations addressed to Ganeśa he is also called Vallabha and in the manuals on Hindu iconography Vallabha is said to be one of the thirty-two forms of Vināyaka. As Ganeśa was known as Vallavar his consort was called Vallavai.[20] The tradition of incorporating the names of Hindu gods and concepts along with the *triratna* in the concluding imprecatory portions of inscriptions issued by court officials appears to have had its precedents in the practices of the Polonnaruwa period.

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17. These views are based on the opinion expressed by Irakava Aiyankar, a reputed Vaisnava Tamil Scholar. *See Kalaikalañciyam* - I, Tamil *Valarccik Kaḷakam*, Cennai (1954) p. 75.

18. *ibid.*

19. *Tamil Lexicon*, vol. V. Madras (1932) p. 2882.

20. One of the introductory stanzas in the *Taksiṇa Kailaca Puranam* contains a description of Ganapati. He is said to be having his consort Vallavai on his side. Vallavai is the feminine form of Vallavar. The relevant expressions in the text runs: *orupal vallavaiyun taritta cōtik kaimukanai maṟavāten itayam.*

> *Taksina Kailāca purāṇam* ed. K. Civacitampara Aiyar Madras (1887) *payiram*, v. 5, p. 2.

Text of Inscription

	Face A		Face B
1.	ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ அ	1.	நிருபதி
2.	பைய சலாமே	2.	தன் குறிப்பு
3.	க பன்மரான ச	3.	க்கு மானா
4.	க்கர வர்த்திக	4.	பரண தே
5.	ள் ஸ்ரீ ஜய ஸவாஹு	5.	வர் ஸ ஜ வா
6.	தேவற்கு யாண்	6.	ஹு தேவர்
7.	டு 43 ஆவது தி	7.	செய்தது செ
8.	ருப்பள்ளிச் சிவி	8.	யவென்று
9.	கையரில் கண்கா	9.	அருளி திருமு
10.	ணி மிந்தன் கொ	10.	கம் வரக்கா
11.	ற்றனேன் ஸ ஜ வா	11.	ட்டிச் சிலா
12.	ஹு தேவர் எனக்கு ஜீ	12.	லேகஞ் செ
13.	விதமாக இட்ட இ	13.	ய்து குடு
14.	த் தெல் வெசாரும்	14.	த்து இது
15.	கிரது நரது வெ	15.	க்கு ஒரு வி
16.	சாரும் இதில் நாற்	16.	க்கஞ் செய்
17.	பால் எல்லை பெ	17.	தவர்கள் நர
18.	ருமாள் ஸஜ வா	18.	கில் புத்தரா
19.	ஹு தேவர் வெய்	19.	ஞ்ஞை. வ
20.	க வேரத்தான்வார்	20.	ல்லவ ரை
21.	க்கு வேபி தானம	21.	யன் சூழ
22.	ாக இட்டருளினார்	22.	றவு

Transliteration of the text

	Face A		Face B
1.	Svasti Srī A	1.	Nirupati
2.	paiya calamē	2.	tan kurippu
3.	ka panmarāna ca	3.	kku Mānā
4.	kkara varttika	4.	paraṇa tē
5.	l Srī Jayabāhu	5.	Var Gajabā
6.	tevarku yan	6.	hu tēvar
7.	tu 43 āvatu ti	7.	Ceytatu Ce
8.	ruppallic civi	8.	yalenṟu
9.	kaiyāril kankā	9.	aruḷi tirumu
10.	ni Mintan ko	10.	kam varakka
11.	rranen Gajabā	11.	ttic cilā
12.	hu tevar enakkujī	12.	lēkaṅ Ce
13.	Vitamāka itta i	13.	ytu kutu
14.	t Tel Vēcārum	14.	ttu itu
15.	kiratu naratu Vē	15.	kku oru Vi
16.	Carum itil nār	16.	kkaṅ Cey
17.	pāl ellai pe	17.	tavarkaḷ nara
18.	rumāḷ Gajabā	18.	kil, Puttarā
19.	hu tēvar Vey	19.	ṅṅai. Va
20.	ka Vērattālvār	20.	llava rai
21.	kku bhūmi tānam	21.	yan Cuḷa
22.	āka iṭṭaruḷinār.	22.	ṟavu.

Translation

Hail Prosperity. In the 43rd year of Apaiya Calāmēka Varmar Cakkaravarttikaḷ Srī Jayabāhu tēvar.

Perumāḷ Gajabāhu tēvar gave as a land grant to the Ālvār of Veyka Vihāram, the fields called Tel Vēcar and Kiratu-Narātu Vēcar which were previously given to me, Mintan Korran, the Superintendent of Palanquin bearers attached to the palace, as maintenance land, and the lands adjacent to their four boundaries.

In respect of this king's order (recorded) in the entry, Mānāparana tēvar sent (us) a royal order proclaiming that it was an act of Gajabāhu tēvar. On the receipt of that order this inscription has been set up. Those who cause impediments to this grant shall be in hell.

This Oath is sworn in the name of the Buddha. The Oath is sworn in the name of Lord Vallavar (Ganapati).

S. PATHMANATHAN

CONFESSION AND ASSERTION IN CONRAD'S *UNDER WESTERN EYES*

Northrop Frye declares, in *Anatomy of Criticism*, that the "confessional" is one of the elements on which novels could be patterned. A "confession," he states, is "introverted, but intellectualized in content," and "nearly always a theoretical and intellectual interest in religion, philosophy, or art plays a leading role in the confession."[1] Frye's comments serve as an apt preface for an examination of *Under Western Eyes* which like *Great Expectations*, *Jane Eyre*, and *Ulysses* makes effective use of the confessional mode. There is no "one to one" reference between Conrad's novel and Frye's formula, however. Although Conrad introduces political ideology/philosophy into the novel, and his own political biases can be read "against the grain," as it were, he does not dwell at length on a subject that is "intellectualized in content." He uses ideology for an aesthetic purpose, which is to explore the psyche of his main character who throughout the novel is plagued by complex, moral dilemmas. At another level, he employs these ideas as a point of departure to examine the enigma that is the "Russian" experience.

This essay scrutinizes *Under Western Eyes* as a confessional novel by charting Rasumov's search for a confessor. In the process, it compares, briefly, Rasumov's search with Jim's and Marlow's quests in *Lord Jim* and *Heart of Darkness* respectively. The study finally focusses on the larger confession that the novel allegedly brings forth. Conrad's biographers are unanimous in their view that *Under Western Eyes* is perhaps the most intensely personal of all his novels. Aaron Fogel claims, for instance, that Conrad here feels "a coercion to speak;"[2] in other words, Conrad's novel is a confession that is "coerced" from him. This essay also examines the validity of such claims.

A confession, which is usually precipitated by a crisis, is distinct from other forms of self-expression because it is always an act of community. An individual realizes that he has violated a norm upheld by the social world to which he belongs; as a consequence, he feels compelled to explain his "sin" to a confessor who can in some way offer him consolation. Terrence Doody asserts:

> In every case, however, the speaker confesses to an audience who represents the kind of community he needs to exist in and confirm his identity.

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1. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (1957) p.308.

2. Aaron Fogel, *Coercion to Speak: Conrad's Poetics of Dialogue*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press (1985) p.88.

> His need for identity is intrinsic to his personal motive for making a confession; and though he does want to be brought back into "the human family" and into "the wholeness of people and things," his confession itself defines that wholeness according to his own needs and desires, which he embodies in the confessor he creates.[3]

Jim, Marlow, and Rasumov are three persons who seek confessors, but the kind of confessor each individual finally secures, and the manner in which they address these confessors, reveal intriguing parallels and contrasts. After Jim jumps from the *Patna*, he insists that he had "jumped" and not "cleared out." Yet, even in his first confrontation with Marlow, the latter discerns that, Jim "would be confident and depressed all in the same breath, as if some conviction of innate blamelessness had checked the truth writhing within him at every turn."[4] By abandoning the *Patna*, when its passengers were not even aware that the ship was crippled, Jim violates one of the most sacred norms of the Merchant Navy; consequently, he is ostracized by the very community whose respect he had tried so hard earn. In such a situation, he needs a person to whom he can explain his actions, someone who can provide sympathy and understanding. Again and again he tells Marlow, "I leave it to you. You can understand. Can't you. You see it--don't you?"[5] During the same conversation, Marlow speculates on why he was chosen as a confessor, and the following extract captures, in a way that nothing else does, Jim's longing for community:

> Hadn't we all commenced with the same desire, ended with the same knowledge, carried the memory of the same cherished glamour through the sordid days of imprecation? What wonder that when some heavy prod gets home the bond is found to be close; that besides the fellowship of the craft there is felt the strength of a wider feeling--the feeling that binds a man to a child. He was there before me, believing that age and wisdom can find a remedy against the pain of truth, giving me a glimpse of himself as a young fellow in a scrape, that is the very devil of a scrape, the sort of scrape greybeards wag at

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3. Terrence Doody, *Confession and Community in the Novel*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, (1980) p.22.

4. Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim: A Tale*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 64-65.

5. *Ibid.* p. 97.

solemnly as they hide a smile.[6]

The predicament that Marlow finds himself in "Heart of Darkness" is somewhat different. He is one who has gazed on the depths of "darkness," yet he can never fully recount his experiences. He says, "it is impossible to convey the life-sensation of any given epoch of one's existence--that which makes its truth, its meaning--its subtle and penetrating essence. It is impossible. We live, as we dream--alone".[7] Marlow, confronts this "darkness" again, and in the process he tries to clarify the obscure even partially by recounting "the horror" to his audience: "Do you see him? Do you see the story? Do you see anything," he asks his companions. As Daleski concludes:

> He [Marlow] does not recount experiences in the light of a gained knowledge,... On the contrary, his striking "the pose of a Buddha, preaching in European clothes" exemplifies as inappropriateness that rubs off on to his conclusions. Since he does not fully understand the meaning of his experience when he begins the narrative, the tale itself becomes not only a reliving of that experience but a progressive attempt to penetrate its significance.[8]

At the beginning of *Under Western Eyes*, Rasumov, according to Albert Guerard, is "the unawakened man".[9] Although he regrets his never having a secure family life, and is subject to loneliness from time to time, Rasumov is content, even selfishly complacent with his lot. He is "unawakened" because he refuses to engage in the world outside his own; furthermore, he is a man of limited ambition. He only aspires to win a silver medal for an essay, and to become a professor someday.

This complacency is shattered, however, when Haldin draws him into the world of politics and anarchy. Daleski suggests that, "when Rasumov returns to his rooms, Haldin's presence there confronts him with a choice between fidelity to an individual and

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6. *Ibid.* p. 101.

7. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1983) p. 57.

8. H.M. Daleski, *Joseph Conrad: The Way of Dispossession*. London Faber (1977) p. 54.

9. Albert Guerard, *Joseph Conrad: The Novelist*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press (1958) p.232.

loyalty to the state,"[10] but the issues are obviously more complex. Just as Jim's jump from the *Patna* cannot be attributed to his cowardice alone, Rasumov actions are brought about for a multiplicity of reasons. He is naturally angered by Haldin's actions which threaten his very existence and jeopardize his chances of academic success; in addition, he is provoked by Haldin's presumptuous and unhappily worded comment, "you have no one belonging to you...no ties, no one to suffer for it if this case comes out by some means."[11] Finally, there is his growing conviction that autocracy is the only kind of government suited for Russia. Conrad has rendered Rasumov's conversion with considerable artistic aplomb; what is even more important to note, however, is Rasumov's pathetic longing for a confessor even before he decides to betray Haldin:

> Rasumov thought: "I am being crushed--and I can't even run away." Other men had somewhere a corner of the earth--some little house in the provinces where they had a right to take their troubles. A material refuge. He had nothing. He had not even a moral refuge--the refuge of confidence. To whom could he go with this tale--in all this great, great land?[12]

Ironically, this betrayal, though carried out to preserve the *status quo*, eventually bring him not one "moral refuge" but several. Buried in the text is the idea that the betrayal was a compulsion, a psychological necessity. In a manner reminiscent of Lawrence's character Henry, in *The Fox*, who symbolically becomes the fox once he kills it, Rasumov's betrayal of Haldin makes him Haldin.

Just before Rasumov begins the tortuous process which ends with the betrayal, he has a "morbidly vivid vision" of killing Haldin; however, he desists because "The corpse hanging round his neck would be nearly as fatal as the living man. Nothing short of complete annihilation would do."[13] This is certainly one of the most loaded statements in the novel. Rasumov's murder of Haldin by proxy, as it were, binds a corpse round his neck just as fatally. And he carries this burden just as Coleridge's mariner is forced to carry the albatross on his shoulders. The moral weight falls off only when Rasumov confesses. This image, however, operates at yet another level. Because of his jump, Jim too is forced to carry a burden, but his "crime" also enables

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10. Daleski. *op.cit.* p.187.

11. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 67.

12. *Ibid.* p. 78.

13. *Ibid.* p. 77.

him to meet Marlow who, with Stein's help, gives him the opportunity to immerse in the "destructive element." Jim's "success" in Patusan is, of course, qualified, but Rasumov's action awakens him. Not only is he forced to engage in a world that he had long avoided, but this betrayal, which initially was an act of moral failure, leads him eventually to a moral triumph.

Victory, however, is not easily won. He has to undergo mental and physical anguish before the process is complete. Part of his anguish is brought about because after the betrayal Rasumov is forced to play unaccustomed roles. He is regarded variously as a police spy, a revolutionary, Haldin's accomplice, a confidante, and almost Natalia's lover. Often these roles conflict with his search for a confessor. Helen Funk Rieselbach asserts that, in all the confrontations Rasumov has with the revolutionaries in Geneva, he is "on the verge of giving himself away. He is seized by a spirit of perversity that, coupled with his hatred of lying, causes him to deal dangerously in double meanings and in irony..... Rasumov chafes under the suspicion that he is being watched all the time."[14]

The pressure that is brought about because of his "hatred of lying" is so great that Rasumov nearly confesses on several occasions. Rasumov's confrontation with Peter Ivanovitch is perhaps the instance in which he comes closest to self-disclosure:

> Ah, Peter Ivanovitch, if you only knew the force which drew--which *drove* me towards you! The irresistible force....
>
> You have been condescending enough. I quite understood it was to lead me on. You must render me the justice that I have not tried to please. I have been impelled, compelled, or rather sent--let us say sent--towards you for a work that no one but myself can do.... Enough of this. Here I stand before you--confessed![15]

Clearly, Rasumov is being sarcastic here, but there are other forces at work too. At one level, the "force" is Mikulin, but at another deeper level, perhaps even hidden from Rasumov at this time, the "compulsion" is the necessity to confess. The first crisis in his life unmade Rasumov; now, he flirts with danger so that he can precipitate another which will bring him back into community. To Guerard Rasumov's action is "an

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14. Helen Funk Rieselbach, *Conrad's Novels: The Psychology of Revolution in the Novels from Nostromo to Victory*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press (1985) p. 74.

15. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 230-231.

unconscious effort to appease guilt through re-enactment of the crime." Despite his comment to Ivonovitch, Rasumov, at this point in his career, "does not stand before Ivanovitch confessed, but someday he will."[16]

As was indicated at the beginning of this essay, not every individual can serve as a confessor. If the act of confession is to provide any cathartic value at all, the confessor must represent "the kind of community he [the one who confesses] needs to exist in and to confirm him."[17] In the course of the novel, Rasumov thinks of confessing to Haldin, Mikulin, Prince K, and even Ivanovitch, but he always desists either because he is not ready to confess or because he feels that these confessors will not be able to make him whole. Ironically, or perhaps fittingly, it is when news of Ziemanitch's suicide has cleared him of all suspicion that Rasumov makes the move that destroys him physically and raises him above the rest in moral worth. His final confrontation with the Haldins is the apogee of Rasumov's psycho-moral drama. He forces an encounter with Mrs Haldin for two reasons: he realizes that "his abstention would look strange," and, like Jim, he is supremely confident that "Nothing could touch him now."[18] Once he is in the room, however, the sympathetic identification which proves so crucial to characters in Conrad's other novels begins to affect him too.

Even a cursory, intertextual comparison of this scene with similar encounters experienced by Jim, Marlow, and the crew of the "Narcissus" reveals an intriguing pattern that is simultaneously different and alike. In *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, the crew identify themselves with the malingerer Wait, and this affects their morale, their attitude towards their officers, and their efficiency as sailors. It is only once Wait is dead that normality is restored. By associating with Kurtz, Marlow "wrestles with death" in *Heart of Darkness*. Marlow says, "It is his extremity that I seem to have lived through. True, he had made that last stride, he had stepped over the edge, while I had been permitted to draw back my hesitating foot."[19] Marlow's "inborn strength" and his "own true stuff"[20] do not allow him to succumb to the powers of the dark, however. Jim for his part labours under the delusion that he has buried the ghost of the *Patna* in Patusan. But, Gentleman Brown arrives, and in what amounts to a psychological duel

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16. Guerard, *op.cit.* p. 235.

17. Doody, *op.cit.* p. 5.

18. Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim: A Tale*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 317.

19. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 113.

20. *Ibid.* p. 69.

with Jim, he makes "a subtle reference to their common blood, an assumption of common experience; a sickening suggestion of common guilt, of secret knowledge that was like a bond of their mind and of their hearts."[21] This confrontation, which forces Jim to recall a guilt-ridden past, and ultimately affects his judgement, results in Brown being given a free passage--a move which leads to Brown's treacherous killing of Dain Waris and his followers.

This pattern of identification is also evident in *Under Western Eyes*, but here identification leads to confession and redemption. Like Jim, Rasumov is a slave to his conscience; consequently, when Mrs Haldin acts the way she does, Rasumov's defenses collapse, and he is ready to confess. Ironically, the same "deprivation" which had made him betray Haldin on a previous occasion, now accelerates the process of confession. Haldin flaunts his domestic happiness in Rasumov's face and this is one of the reasons which prompts him to denounce Haldin; observe, however, what transpires during Rasumov's encounter with Mrs Haldin.

> And this was the phantom's mother consumed with grief and white as a ghost. He had felt a pitying surprise. But that, of course, was of no importance. Mothers did not matter. He could not shake off the poignant impression of that silent, quiet, white-haired woman... And was it not something like enviousness which gripped his heart, as if of a privilege denied to him alone of all the men that had ever passed through this world? It was the other who had attained to repose and yet continued to exist in the affection of that mourning old woman, in the thoughts of all these people posing for lovers of humanity. It was impossible to get rid of him. "It's myself whom I have given up to destruction," thought Rasumov. "He has induced me to do it. I can't shake him off."[22]

Rasumov realizes, at length, that he has been living a lie. By betraying Haldin he has betrayed himself. He is on the threshold of a confession.

The scene in which Rasumov confesses to Natalia is perhaps the most dramatic and impressive in the entire novel. Rasumov can no longer act a part and he has nowhere to turn. He rushes out of Mrs Haldin's room, agitated and shattered by remorse, and he meets the one person he wants to avoid--Natalia Haldin, the one who reminds him so much of Victor. She stands there naive, trustful, and enraptured by her

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21. Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim: A Tale*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, p. 291.

22. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 317.

brother's friend. Watching Rasumov's heart-rending confession and Natalia's progression from a consciousness of "the obscure form of his suffering" to the realization that Rasumov was her brother's betrayer is the professor, who is incapable of comprehending *in toto* the "Russian" experience that is taking place here.

Rasumov, then, has finally discovered his confessor. After he is "washed clean" by the rain and by his verbal confession, he compiles a more elaborate written confession in which he articulates to Natalia how she was assigned "to undo the evil by making me betray myself back into truth and peace."[23] This written confession is crucial because it introduces Rasumov's diabolical plot to "steal his [Victor's] sister's soul from her;"[24] reiterates the pathological loneliness and the mental agonies he had experienced before the confession; and, more importantly, describes the nature of the catharsis that this confession gives him:

> It was as if your pure brow bore a light which fell on me, searched my heart and saved me from ignominy, from ultimate undoing. And it saved you too. Pardon my presumption. But there was that in your glances which seemed to tell me that you...Your light! Your truth! I felt that I must tell you that I had ended by loving you. And to tell you that I must first confess. Confess, go out--and perish.
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> Suddenly you stood before me! You alone in the world to whom I must confess. You fascinated me--you freed me from the blindness of anger and hate--the truth shining in you drew the truth out of me.[25]

Not only does Rasumov discover "air to breathe" after the confession, but in Daleski's words, he finally "comes to the sort of self-knowledge that is the condition of a full possession of the self."[26]

Rasumov's task, however, is by no means complete. Some commentators claim that the confession to the revolutionaries is redundant, but this is not so. This confession is rendered not merely "to keep us from thinking the political theme unimportant or secondary,"[27] but also to make the confession complete. Rasumov is not without literary precedents in Classical and later literature. Oedipus in *Oedipus Rex*, Christian

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23. *Ibid.* p. 331.

24. *Ibid.* p. 331.

25. *Ibid.* p. 333.

26. *op. cit.* p. 208.

27. Goodin, *op.cit.* p. 338.

in *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Everyman in *Everyman* are just three individuals who suffer both mental and physical anguish. Similarly, Rasumov, who had sent Haldin to torture and death, can only receive full expiation when he experiences physical torment. This confession is appropriate for yet another reason. While his confession to Natalia allows him to achieve wholeness at a personal level; his confession to the revolutionaries restores him, eventually, to a larger community. George Goodin asserts:

> The second confession is necessary to validate the first. Rasumov confesses to Natalia because he needs to love more than he needs safety, but it is far from clear that this confession will cost him anything. He is proceeding in the same manner as other existential heroes seeking the affirmation of their own identities. He must perform an action which is so disinterested that it can have no other purpose except witnessing to the existence of an ultimate which has not been created through pragmatic adaptation to outward circumstances.[28]

Once again Rasumov's confession at the end of the novel can be contrasted effectively with the actions of Jim and Marlow. In the Congo, Marlow encounters a man who has degenerated to such an extent that he is ruled by the most diabolical of human instincts, yet even though Marlow tries his utmost, he does not have the capacity to declare this knowledge to the people who really matter. When he confronts the Intended, Marlow can only respond with the soft lie: "The last word he pronounced--was your name."[29] Marlow's confession then remains incomplete. Gail Fraser declares that, at a certain point in the narrative,

> Marlow's silence has the dramatic effect of delaying the introduction of Kurtz's Intended,[30] but more important, it reminds us that the narrator himself has a voice which, despite it capacity for truth-telling, can never reproduce the shape of experience as it actually is or was... In this passage, Conrad invites the reader to interpret the narrator's silence. He juxtaposes the Intended's "lies" or illusions with Kurtz's egotistic abuse of language and the self-seeking lies of the other

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28. *Ibid.* p. 339.

29. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1983) p. 121.

30. This "silence" is a reference to the sequence which reads: "He was silent for a long time. 'I laid the ghost of his gifts at last with a lie,' he began, suddenly." Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1983) p. 84.

> Europeans. The long silence implies the equivocal nature of Marlow's lie in this context, and the uneasy compromises it represents.[31]

Once Brown massacres Dain Waris and the other villagers, Jim's rule in Patusan is effectively over. All he can do is to fight or to escape. Jim, the supreme egoist, is to the last affected by his delusions of grandeur, however. "Nothing can touch me,"[32] he informs Tamb'Itam, as the latter pleads with his master to resist Doramin. He then walks unarmed to Doramin's *campong* and is shot. Jim's action cannot be construed as an attempt to atone for a "sin;" rather, it is a romantic death-wish. He has chosen a glorious way to die.

When Rasumov presents himself to the revolutionaries, however, he is not deluded by any romantic ideals. He is well aware of the danger he faces, but he is also convinced that a complete confession is both necessary and desirable. Unlike Marlow, he does not make a speech which is calculated to deceive, but speaks the truth and lays himself open to the tender mercies of Nikita. And, by acting thus, he achieves an apotheosis denied to Jim and to Marlow. True enough, Conrad reduces the poignancy of the sacrifice by informing the reader at the end of the novel that Nikita is a double agent. Furthermore, at the last, Rasumov is confined to a "little two-roomed wooden house, in the suburb of some very small town, hiding within the high plank-fence of a yard overgrown with nettles." And, he is "crippled, ill, getting weaker every day."[33] This description of his parlous condition, however, cannot detract from the moral awareness he achieves; Tekla's devotion; and the respect he is accorded by the revolutionaries. Rasumov has finally achieved community.

A biographical analysis of a novel is at best speculative, and there is no evidence to suggest that such an examination of *Under Western Eyes* will prove to be different. Furthermore, although Conrad has structured the novel as a confessional, it does not follow that the novel is his confession too. One cannot totally ignore, however, the claims made by his biographers. Fredrick Karl writes in *Joseph Conrad: The Three Lives*,

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31. Gail Fraser, *Interweaving Patterns in the Works of Joseph Conrad.* Ann Arbour: UMI Research Press (1988) p. 65.

32. Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim: A Tale.* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 310.

33. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes.* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 347.

> One can understand Conrad's mind at the time not only from his letters... but from the psychological situation in the novel he was writing from 1908 to early 1910, *Under Western Eyes*.... The Rasumov of that novel is all irony and ambiguity; every course he has marked out for himself leaves either death or suicide as a consequence. He is baffled in the labyrinth, whether of Russian bureaucracy or of his own desires for the future....Thus, Conrad stages a psychodrama of defeat, frustration, self-loathing, misdirected ambitions, ambiguity, and anonymity: the literary equivalents of a mental breakdown.[34]

In this extract, and in other sections of his biography, he argues that Conrad's nervous breakdown could be attributed to his writing of this very personal novel.

Leo Gurko takes the argument a step further. He enunciates that "the Russians brought him to a rapid boil, and aroused in him an emotional response from some deeper part of himself which in life he was never able to identify."[35] Gurko concludes:

> Art again came to his rescue, for he was able to achieve in fiction that control of powerful feeling that escaped him in present experience. *Under Western Eyes* (1911) turned out to be a safety valve from the rush of angry sentiment about his country's hereditary enemy and, in however obscure or oblique a fashion, an escape hatch for his tangled feelings about Poland.[36]

Both Karl and Gurko convince the reader about the intensely autobiographical nature of the novel; there is little evidence to suggest, however, that this novel is Conrad's "confession" for his "betrayal" of Russia, and for the reservations he had about the Polish revolutionaries who were exiled from their country. Indeed Aaron Fogel takes the argument to a ridiculous level when he claims that,

> To "the familiar reader"... the whole scene of the spy writing...is an oblique picture of Joseph Conrad as *forced to write*, and a picture of what a novel, as a "social contract," really is, and is like in its production: it is a forced writing embodying and reenacting the

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34. Frederick Karl, *Joseph Conrad: The Three Lives*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson (1979) p. 668.

35. Leo Gurko, *Joseph Conrad: Giant in Exile*. New York: Macmillan (1962) p. 182.

36. *Ibid.* p. 182-83.

historical forcedness of other relations (emphasis added).[37]

Conrad, clearly, does not seek a confessor, nor does he wish to find community within the ranks of a people whom he despised. One could say more confidently, however, that in this novel Conrad makes assertions about issues that are extremely personal, assertions which are tempered by his artistic sensibility. These comments avoid the stridency of his essays; consequently they are more convincing.

In "Autocracy and War," Conrad makes a scathing attack on Russia and on revolution. The following extract is a representative example:

> In Russia...there is no idea....she is and has been simply the negation of everything worth living for. She is not an empty void; she is a yawning chasm open between the East and West; a bottomless abyss that has swallowed up every hope of mercy, every aspiration towards personal dignity, towards freedom, towards knowledge, every enabling desire of the heart, every redeeming whisper of the conscience. Those that have peered into that abyss, where the dreams of Panslavism, of universal conquest, mingled with the hate and contempt for Western ideas, drift impotently like shapes of mist, know well that it is bottomless; that there is no ground for anything that could in the remotest degree serve even the lowest interests of mankind.[38]

But, even a cursory perusal of *Under Western Eyes* reveals that there are other forces at work. Conrad always displays a certain ambivalence towards his characters, and this novel is no exception. He employs ambiguity here to provide a balanced portrayal of the autocrats, the revolutionaries, and the Western world. Irving Howe complains in *Politics and the Novel* that, "by failing to restrain his antipathy towards the emigres, and by casting most of them as knaves or fools, Conrad undermines the dramatic integrity of his book."[39] One must insist, despite Irving Howe, that nothing could be further from the truth. Conrad the essayist and Conrad the novelist do not always write in the same vein.

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37. Aaron Fogel, *op.cit.* p. 213.

38. Quoted in Frederick Karl, *op.cit.* p. 17-18.

39. Irving Howe, *Politics and the Novel.* Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press (1956) p. 90.

Peter Ivanovitch and the other revolutionaries certainly pose a challenge to Conrad. Although Conrad hated messianic leadership and revolutionary doctrine of any kind, he has, in this novel, deliberately chosen to write about these issues. A lesser artist would have made the revolutionaries into caricatures; Conrad, however, understands the revolutionaries at the same time that he deplores their actions. Sophia is one character who is regarded with a double perspective. Conrad certainly questions her ideology and her grandiose statements about revolution; at the same time, however, he makes the reader aware that she is a tireless worker, a faithful revolutionary whose dedication to the cause is genuine. Conrad's portrayal of Ivanovitch, however, is even more effective. Here is a man who represents everything that Conrad loathed. He is a vain man, who is both a hypocrite and a parasite. He certainly has a penchant for purple prose. Consider the following tirade:

> No, we have no classes. But we have the Russian woman. The admirable Russian woman! I receive most remarkable letters signed by women. So elevated in tone, so courageous, breathing such a noble ardour of service! The greatest part of our hopes rests on women.[40]

There is, however, a great divide between precept and practice. While he lavishes praise on the Russian woman for her courage and her "noble of ardour of service," Ivanovitch treats Tekla like a servant, and is himself a lackey to Madame de S. Then again, subsumed in the text, is a suggestion that he articulates these radical feminist views as part of an elaborate plan to seduce, or at least to make himself more appealing to women. Yet Conrad is able to identify some positive traits even in this odious man. Although he is one of the "apes of a sinister jungle,"[41] his traumatic experiences as a convict are depicted at some length, and the reader shares the compassion of the woman who frees him. For all his faults, he is a man of passion, of restless energy, and of considerable resilience. While Conrad questions Ivanovitch's excesses, and deplores his political inclinations, these denunciations are often tempered by occasional references to some positive attributes.

If Tekla, Peter, and Sophia represent the "senseless desperation" in Russia, Prince K, and Mikulin are members of "the senseless tyranny"[42] which forces the revolutionaries to act the way they do. Prince K is a peripheral figure, but Mikulin's role is central to the novel. Like Peter, he is treated with some ambivalence. Undoubtedly, Mikulin is a tool of a repressive regime, and the reader is supposed to

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40. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 146.

41. *Ibid.* p. 51.

42. *Ibid.* p. 50.

regard his exploitation of Rasumov with revulsion, yet he is on the whole a mild-mannered man, dedicated to his task. Ultimately he too is a victim, and although the following passage is loaded with irony, Conrad still manages to generate some sympathy for him, in this description of Mikulin's fall from grace:

> Later on the larger world first heard of him in the very hour of his downfall, during one of those state trials which astonish and puzzle the average plain man who reads the newspapers, by a glimpse of unsuspected intrigues....Mikulin went under, dignified, with only a calm, emphatic protest of his innocence--nothing more. No disclosures damaging to a harassed autocracy, complete fidelity to the secrets of the miserable *arcana imperii* deposited in his patriotic breast....For the terribly heavy sentence turned Mikulin civilly into a corpse, and actually into something very much like a common convict.
>
> It seems that the savage autocracy, no more than the divine democracy, does not limit its diet exclusively to the bodies of its enemies. It devours its friends and servants as well.[43]

The action in this novel is for the most part rendered by the teacher of languages, and given Conrad's affiliation to the West, this narrator could have become too obviously Conrad's spokesman. Conrad, however, has portrayed him with great conviction. This narrator sees, but he does not always perceive. He is so detached from the world of the emigres that he rarely recognizes the complexities in the issues involved. The reader, for instance, recognizes the narrator's shallowness of feeling when he shows surprise at Sophia's announcement that she had visited the ailing Rasumov. To some extent the narrator is like Rasumov. He too wishes to view the world from a distance. Yet, while Rasumov's confession makes him grow as a character, the narrator to the last refuses to engage, and his personality, therefore, remains static. As Gurko states, "If the Russians suffer from an excess of feeling, the Western Europeans are hobbled by a dearth of it."[44]

Through his unflattering depiction of Geneva and of its citizens, Conrad takes pains to point out that the West is not necessarily a happy alternative to autocratic Russia. At one point the Bastions is described as a "plot of ground of deplorable banality," and the young Russians, Rasumov and Natalia, are compared favourably with the Swiss couple whose

> Fate was made secure from the cradle to the grave by the perfected

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43. *Ibid.* p. 290-291.

44. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 195.

> mechanism of democratic institutions.... The man, colourlessly uncouth, was drinking beer out of a glittering glass; the woman, rustic and placid, leaning back in the rough chair, gazed idly around.[45]

The Russia that Conrad presents, then, has no middle ground, only extremes of various kinds. Those individuals who do not fit into any extreme are either forced to live in anonymity or brought into this divisive world against their will and ultimately destroyed. There is a sense in which every one in Russia is a victim. Is there a way out of this abhorrent situation? Normally, it would be ridiculous to pose such a question in relation to Conrad's work because, as an examination of *Lord Jim* and "Heart of Darkness" reveals, no "solutions" are usually posited in his novels. *Under Western Eyes*, however, is a different kind of novel. Gurko insists that, "love is one of the sentiments in Conrad that releases men from the sufferings of narcissism and the emptiness of non-involvement."[46] Certainly, love redeems Rasumov, and to his dying day he has a devoted nurse in Tekla. Furthermore, this novel also privileges the importance of domestic harmony; nevertheless, while love triumphs in individual instances, in his concluding pages, Conrad gives more prominence to Ivanovitch's hypocrisy, Sophia's delusions, Rasumov's failing health, and the narrator's insensitivity. There is little to suggest that, as Natalia predicts, "the anguish of hearts shall be extinguished in love"[47] one day. To read *Under Western Eyes* as a novel in which love and loyalty prevail over evil and adversity, then, is too limiting. It is more rewarding on the whole to regard the novel as one which exploits the potentialities of the "Confessional" mode by exploring the challenges faced by an individual who grapples with the irreconcilable claims of self-interest, State, and loyalty to one's fellows. Rasumov is not alone in this regard, however. The dilemmas faced by his creator are equally challenging. Confronted by a situation in which his political convictions could adversely affect his artistic integrity, Conrad contrives to write, if not his own "confession," certainly a series of balanced assertions about the revolutionaries, the autocrats, and the Western world.

S.W. PERERA

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45. *Ibid.* p. 189.

46. Gurko, *op.cit.* p. 195.

47. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin (1985) p. 345.

ANIMALS IN AESOP AND THE JATAKAS

The general contention as between Greece and India for an Indian origin for the similar motifs found in Aesopic fables and the Indian jatakas is that India is more the home of folk-story than is Greece. In the same breath is expressed the likelihood that Aesop was a foreigner and may have introduced this genre of story to Greece, coming from (or via) Phrygia.

The reluctance on the part of orientalists who hold this view, especially Asian orientalists, to concede anything to the opposite contention is the result of a prejudice or mistaken notion that, to do so, is to concede everything. What are involved are, however, a relatively few story-motifs which have found their way into the ocean of Indian story. Indeed, in the light of the strong and long presence of Greeks on Indian soil in the centuries that saw the production of a wealth of stories in India, and in the evidence we have of Greek influence in the art of these early centuries, it should be an absense of such literary influence that should be cause for surprise, not the opposite.

By far the strongest point in favour of India in the matter of similar fables in the two civilizations, however, is the negative one that Greece was unfamiliar with certain of the animals which participate in the Aesopic fables. This, by itself, need not award the case to India. A rival claim is now made for Babylonia, where not only would these animals be known but which also reveals in its Wisdom Books, including the *Book of Achiqar*, evidence of the evolution of fable around these very same animals. And this, when taken with that evidence, then considered hostile to the Greek case, of Aesop having come from the East - actually the Near East - would, if anything, revive the Greek claim to originality at least against India. There are those who would even account for the similarity of fable-motifs as between Greece and India by going to the extent of suggesting that India herself may have derived fable and fable-motifs from old Babylonia, or at least having drawn those comparable fable motifs into her repertoire from this source.

One of those who inclined to such a view was B.E. Perry, who, in his *Babrius and Phaedrus* says:

> "In the entire Greek tradition there is not, so far as I can see, a single fable that can be said to come either directly or indirectly from an Indian source; but many fables or fable-motifs which make their first appearance in Greek or Near Eastern literature are found later in the *Pancatantra* and other Indian story-books, including the Buddhist *Jatakas*."[1]

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[1]. Loeb Classical Library, London, Camb. Mass. (1965) p. xix.

Besides animals (including birds, fish, reptiles and insects) Aesopic fables involve as participants (a) gods and goddesses (predominantly Zeus, Hermes and Heracles), also abstract gods like Fortune and Oath (b) mythical and historical persons (c) trees, vines and shrubs (d) natural phenomena, like the Sun, the North Wind, Sea and Rivers (e) even artefacts, like pots or files, as in *Pots* (H 422) and *The Snake and the File* (H 146) respectively, (f) parts of things, such as the axle of a cart in *The Oxen and Axles* (H. 479) and parts of beings, such as the stomach and the feet in *The Belly and the Feet* (H. 197) or the tail of the snake which usurped leadership from the head and plunged the whole body in the precipice in *The Tail and Quarters of the Snake* (H. 344). These make fable between each other, but also with men and the animal world, so that the combinations of characters possible is unlimited. In the jatakas, by contrast, inanimate objects or parts of animate or inanimate do not figure as characters, think, talk or act of themselves, while even trees and ponds and such, when they need to be articulate, have it done through some resident sprite, as of air, sea, mountain, tree or even kusa-grass.

Talking animals are in the very nature of fable. Originating in man's association with animals through the course of evolution and into primitive human society, which even then remarked little difference between the basic needs and behaviour in satisfying these, it was natural to accept with animals a like intelligence, motives for conduct and even the possibility of discourse with himself or each other. This assumption survived in fable, even when society had evolved a degree of self-criticism and value-judgement which shaped the end of beast-story into beast-fable.

It is this traditional acceptance of the capacity for thinking, intelligent discourse and conduct evaluation found among human beings that finds no need for apology in Aesopic fables in general when animals, birds, reptiles, fish, and even insects do all these things in all the varied situations in which human beings find themselves. And it is by this visualizing of animal society as hardly different from human society that fable works to draw inferences from the one for the other.

It is unlikely that Aesop himself apologized for the phenomenon of his speaking animals when he narrated fables. The two well-authenticated fables from Aesop, that of *The Fox and the Hedgehog*, (H. 36) which he narrated to good effect in the Assembly of the Samians in defence of an officer charged with embezzlement,[2] and *The Eagle and the Dung Beetle*, (H. 7), which he used in his own defence when charged with the theft of a gold cup from the temple of Apollo in Delphi, give no evidence of his having done so.[3] Aristophanes' yarn of Aesop reprimanding a bitch (*Aesop and the Bitch* (H. 20))[4]

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2. Aristotle *Rhetoric* ii. 20.

3. Aristotle *Constitution of the Samians* fr. 573 Rose. His source may have been Eugeon of Samos, a writer who lived before the Peloponnesian War and wrote a chronicle called *Horoi Samion*. This must be the fable referred to by

and the carricature of the fabulist on a red-figure cup dated to 460 B.C. and now in the Vatican[5] evidence him directly addressing animals.

But an occasional fable in the collections come down to us shows an incipient discomfort on the part of the narrator with this phenomenon and so are prefaced with such statements as "Once when animals spoke the same language ....." when only animals, but of differing species, were involved, or "When animals spoke the same language as men," where the fable involved both animals and men, as though in apology for an absurdity. I do not contribute to the opposite view - that these were formulaistic openings in fable-narration with listeners new to fable, and dropped when the conventions of fable had gained acceptance with the people.

A mythical basis for a society in which beasts had community with men was readily available in the concept of the Golden Age. The traditional description of this imaginary age with which life began on this earth was often modified in use according to the doctrine for which it was required to provide background. In general, one of its characteristics was the friendship, based on kinship, which existed between man and beast. This was accompanied by the detail, introduced by the reincarnationist sects (beginning with Orpheus[6] and rising to a principal feature in Empedocles - he has the Age of Cypris[7]) of the avoidance of killing living creatures and the eating of their flesh, popularly equated with the Orphic life (*Orphikos bios*[8]) while the idealistic dream of these people was to bring back peace on earth and goodwill among men and animals that

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Aristophanes who, in *Wasps* vs. 1446-1449 gives the detail of the theft of the cup. The commentator *ad.loc.* improves on this by saying the cup was planted in Aesop's baggage by the Delphians themselves to incriminate him - an observation reminiscent of the Bible's story of Joseph and Benjamin (*Gen.* 44.12), but which I suggest is independent since I suspect it is reflected in the *Manicora Jataka* (No. 194). An ancient chronological reckoning recorded by Eusebius and also an inscription of 16 A.D. places Aesop's death at Delphi in 564 B.C. For the culpability of the Delphians in this, see Herodotus ii. 135.

4. *Wasps* vs. 1402 f.

5. Plate I.

6. See Aristophanes *Frogs* vs. 1030 - 1036, and in the light of this, Horace *Ars Poetica* 391 f.

7. Fr. 128 and 130; see also, for the fall of man fr. 115, and for the primal sin as killing and flesh-eating fr. 136, 137, 138 and 139. In fr. 117 he claims he had once been a bird and a fish himself.

8. Euripides *Hippolytus* vs. 952-954; also Plato *Laws* 728c and Horace *loc.cit.*

was thought to have been lost by perversity (usually man's) sometime afterwards in that distant antiquity.

But even in the concept of the Golden Age animals were not conceived of as endowed with thought and speech. What religion had idealized in it was the quality of peaceful coexistence and *ahimsa*. This was what the depiction of Orpheus in art, surrounded by animals of all kinds harkening to his songs, symbolized. The treatment of this age as a background for the Aesopic fables had necessarily to be somewhat different. For, in the world of the Aesopica, as of any beast-fables, the relationship between animals is neither the realistic one in which some are in constant fear of, or hostility with one another, nor yet the relationship idealized by religions like Orphism, in which all creatures were friends. Rather, the relationship projected upon these creatures, while keeping something of the natural order between them, could be any of those which pertain between human beings in human society. When invested with the human attributes of reasoning, speech and considered action, though animals, they display all the thoughts, emotions and feelings of mankind and act in the same deliberate and rational manner as men in society. All this is of course rendered dramatically plausible in fable - and where a degree of scepticism has crept in, it does so by reference to mythical antiquity, an age secure from the application of reality standards by its very distance from historical times and by its mythical character.

Thus we find Babrius in his prologue introducing his book of fables writing:[9]

> "It was a race of just men who first lived on earth, O Branchus, my son, the race which men call Golden. After this there came, they say, another generation, the Silver. We are the third after them, the Iron Race. In the Golden Age all other living creatures had the power of speech and understood such words as we ourselves now use in speaking to each other. Assemblies were held by these creatures in the midst of the forests. Even the pine trees talked, and the leaves of the laurel. The fish swimming about in the sea chatted with the friendly sailor, and quite intelligibly, too, the sparrows conversed with the farmer.... That this was so, you may learn and fully understand from wise old Aesop, who has told us fables in the free manner of prose."

Phaedrus had interfered even more drastically with the illusion which carries us through fable when he defended the feature of talking animals poorly and ineptly by claiming to be jesting (*fictis iocari ..... fabulis*):[10]

> "The substance of which Aesop was the author, this I have put into a finished senarian verse. Twofold is the benefit that accrues from my

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9. Translation by Perry *op.cit.* p. 3.

10. Translation Perry *op.cit.* p. 3.

book; it raises laughter and it guides life with wise counsel. However, should anyone choose to ridicule it, because trees speak, not just wild beasts, let him remember that I speak in jest of stories that arn't true."

This humanization of animals by identifying in their natures, or imputing in them qualities of men renders these animals symbolic of human beings in society. This basis of reference between beast and man required of fable thus renders the animal world a copy of the human, with animals standing for broad types of human beings and human behaviour. The lion is lordly and high tempered, the wolf ravenous and unscrupulous, the fox shrewd and manipulating, the crocodile dull but pitiless, the hare timid, the tortoise slow and lugubrious, the monkey imitative and clumsy, the viper vicious and unrelenting - and so on, all standing for natures that are found among men. To quote at length from the *History of Animals* of Aristotle:

"Now here are ways in which animals differ from each other in regard to character. Some are gentle and mild-mannered, and not inclined to be aggressive, as the ox; others are ferocious, aggressive and unteachable, like the wild boar; some are intelligent and timid, as the stag, the hare; others are mean and treacherous, as the snake; others are noble and courageous and high-bred, like the lion; still others are thorough-bred, wild and scheming ..... Again, some are villainous and crafty, as the fox; others are spirited and affectionate and fawning like the dog; some are gentle and easily domesticated, like the elephant; others fight shy and are watchful, like the goose, still others are jealous and self-conceited, like the peacock."[11]

So that when these creatures, who are incapable of moral judgement or ethical conduct are treated as if they were, the reflection is on the human beings typified by them. At the same time the use of animals in moralistic situations comparable to those in which human beings find themselves in social life, or exemplifying human relationships makes it possible to objectify these situations so that they could be applied neatly and effectively to the human contexts which they suit at any time, any place and with anyone. And not without the quaint humour they bring - the so called *Aisopikon geleion*, when men are made to view themselves carricatured as animals.

A recognition of broad similarities of character between certain beasts, birds etc. and certain types of men was popular in ancient teaching, as it is today. We find Semonides of Amorgos (fl. 664-661 B.C.) resorting to a categorization of women on this basis - e.g. pig-woman, vixen, she-ass, weasel, mare, monkey, bee. It is also

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11. 488b 12 - 24.

recognizable in a simplistic concept of metempsychosis, as in the *Laws of Manu*,[12] or in the *Phaedo*,[13] the *Phaedrus*,[14] the *Republic's* 'Myth of Er'[15] and the *Timaeus*,[16] men who have manifested such and such character being said to find rebirth as creatures marked for similar natures - or sometimes vice-versa, as when Gratiano surmised Shylock as the rebirth of a wolf hanged for his depredations. Those averse to the idea of animal reincarnation have often therefore fallen back on the interpretation of rebirth as animals as no more than rebirth as human beings manifesting the characteristics of the respective animals - rebirth as a lion implying rebirth as a man with lion-like qualities, rebirth as an ape as a man with apish qualities, and so on, as for instance we find in the *Laws* of Plato.[17]

Unlike the jatakas, however, which purport to have their basis in the belief of rebirth coupled with the Buddha's phenomenal power of *anamnesis*, both of the past births of himself and of others, the Aesopic fable has no pretence to factuality. It is more in the nature of an elaborate simile or sustained metaphor, often expressible as proverb. Indeed, fables have given rise to similes and proverbs, as similes and proverbs have given rise to fable - a conscious exercise of making the one out of the other possibly having been part of the education of Greek youth aspiring in later antiquity to the art of *rhetorike*.

This of course is not to suggest that fable in the jataka collection had its origin any differently than fable anywhere else in the world - *metempsychosis* and *anamnesis* serve only to coopt these fables as jatakas, or birth-stories of the Buddha, in which the *paccuppannavatthu* is the present life circumstance in which the Buddha is claimed to have narrated the particular story of the past life, while the concluding *samodhana*

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12. xii.52 f. See William Jones' translation revised by G.K. Haughton in *Institutes of Hindu Law or the Ordinances of Manu*, London (1825). Here it is told that he who steals gold will be reborn a hemacara bird, who steals grain a rat, of a yellow-mixed metal, a gander, of water a plava (or diver), of meat a vulture, of perfume a musk rat.

13. 82b.

14. 249b - e.

15. 620b - d.

16. 42a - d.

17. 904c - e. See for instance W.Y. Evans-Wentz in *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* 2nd ed. London (1949) intro. p. 49 f. See also the animal-like instances in Semonides' poem referred to above, which may easily evoke this sort of identification.

identifies the characters of that past life with the characters of this one, with the Buddha assuming that of the best of them, or (if none is worthy of equation with him) playing the role of observer of the incident. But it is this very quality of the jatakas which help them to accept the feature of talking animals, since these 'births' (even if most of the times they were "when Brahmadatta ruled in Benares" - a formula equal to "once upon a time", and against a background that always remained identifiable with the life and scenario of contemporary India) belong to an unreckonable past.

Even so, in one jataka, the *Phandana Jataka* (No. 457) a brahmin carpenter is surprised when addressed by a lion and exclaims, "Lo, a miracle! ..... I swear, I never yet saw beast that could talk like a man"; in the *Sigala* (No 113) so is a brahmin, when a jackal addresses him in a human voice, plotting to get him to carry him out of the city in his waist-cloth; in the *Parantapa Jataka* (No. 416) the Bodhisatta comprehends the language of all animals only because he had acquired a spell; otherwise no excuse is made for animals conversing with each other or with men in such past lives. On the other hand, this is hardly found in the *paccuppannavatthu*; a rare case is in the *Dalhadamma Jataka* (No, 409), where the Buddha is addressed by a she-elephant, the erstwhile royal mount of King Udena, now retired from service, destitute and forced to subsist on *ketaka* fruit (a position very similar to that to which the ageing war-horse was reduced in Aesop's *The Horse and the Miller* (H 174b)) and speaks back to him.

This feature of animals who think, speak and act like human beings does not, however, reduce fable to the level of frivolity. To present it as such, as Phaedrus does, is to ignore its instructive and evaluative potential, which made Socrates himself give fable serious consideration on the behest of Apollo in the last days of his life. Afterwards, as mentioned, it was to become a popular element of moral and political instruction in Greek rhetorical schools, as it was the case with the *Katha* literature of India, for the education of prince and pundit. What the quaintness of the fable provides, both by its participants and the situations they develop between themselves, is no more than the degree of amusement (*dulce*), which is dramatic and subtle, to relieve the lesson it holds (its element of the *utile*) from being dull and pontifical.

This unique quality of the fable, including the beast-fable, is seen in its appeal both to children as to the old, and it is not for no reason that, while Aesop was traditionally said to have been grotesque and a stammerer, he was also said to have been old and wise and brought into association with the wisest men of Greece. As observed in passing, animal fable and animal proverbs - with animals who talked - had figured extensively in the Wisdom Books of Babylonia belonging to the millenium between Old Babylonian times (1800 B.C.) and the end of the 7th century B.C. and constituted a rich vein of this ancient wisdom.

I am however as averse to the notion that the Greek fable derived from India and the reference to the animals who populate it as proof of this belief, as I am averse to the hypothesis of a Babylonian origin on the same score. The reason for this is that I find no need to look outside Greece and the wide travel experience of the Greeks in

neighbouring lands from the very earliest times to account for all the animals encountered in the so-called Aesopic fables, granting that an odd fable with an unusual animal or bird may have made its way into the collection at a later date than the bulk of them. Most of the Aesopic animals, a closer look will show, belong to farmyard as against those of jungle in the jatakas. Of the others, many belong to the Greek scene, or were popular in Greece, whether by foreign experience of the Greeks, such as the elephant, the camel and the crocodile, or were imported as pets, like the monkey and the peacock. A cursory review of the beasts, birds, reptiles and fish one meets in the Indian jatakas and the Greek fables may contribute to a settlement of this "evidence" used to argue a Greek borrowing of her reputed Aesopic fables from India - our resort to the jatakas in the Indian case being because they hold the oldest and most extensive range of animals in Indian story and are also such that could have influenced, if they did, the Aesopica.

Upon his coming into possession of the Sinhala version of the *Jataka Book*, the *Pansiya Panas Jataka Potha* in Sri Lanka, the Revd. Spence Hardy had his 'native pundit' reckon the different kinds of beings as which the Buddha had taken birth in his past lives, and the number of times as each.[18] The result is, however, descrepant with the account we find in J.G. Jones' *Tales and Teachings of the Buddha*[19] and cannot be wholly due to Jones' use of the Pali version, the *Jatakatthavannana*. Rhys-Davids reproduces Spence Hardy's list,[20] so that it seems to me that we should go by Jones, who supports his items with references to the respective jatakas.

Leaving aside the large number of the Buddha's incarnations as a divine being or sprite or as a human being in many and variant capacities ranging from king and courtier to low-caste man and robber, it is seen that he had had birth as the following creatures (the frequency is, if anything, only roughly indicative of their popularity among men):

> Monkey (11), Lion (10), Parrot (09), Elephant (07), Pigeon (06), Bird (06), Stag (05), Golden Goose (05), Quail (05), Goose (04), Vulture (04), Horse (03), Bull (03), Crow (03), Peacock (03), Naga (03), Fish (03), Garuda King (02), Ox (02), Jackal (02), Rat (02), Lizard (02), Buffalo (01), Dog (01), Pig (01), Iguana (01), Hare (01), Sigala Bird (01), Golden Mallard (01), Cock (01), Fowl (01), Frog (01), Naga King (01).

It would be noted in passing that, notwithstanding all these several kinds of

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18. *Manual of Budhism - Its Modern Development* London (1853) p. 100.

19. London (1979) p. 18 - 19.

20. *Buddhist Birth Stories* London (1897) p. 247 Table VII.

creatures as which the Buddha had taken birth, even reaching down to pig and rat, he is never a crocodile - a birth the jatakas gladly accord to his inimical cousin, Devadatta. As a serpent he assumes the life of a Naga, the hooded royal cobra venerated in Indian religion, folklore and art. But in all these former births he is always the male of the species, never a female. As Jones points out, animals held to be specifically sacred in Hindu literature, like the monkey and the elephant, are popular, with 11 and 7 births in each, but though he had assumed the life of a bull, ox and even buffalo, he was never in these births a cow, so especially revered by the Hindus. This attitude to the female, Jones observes, and correctly, is merely consistent with the general attitude towards women in the jatakas[21] - an attitude no doubt conditioned by the threat they posed to the celibacy incumbent on the monkish life.

Also worth observing is that, while the lion is frequent enough in the jatakas - and the Buddha was himself 10 times a lion, the tiger, whose presence in the jungles of Northern India was more widespread and impressive, is a rarer occurence, while the Buddha himself was never born as one. It is a lion-skin, found in the original Aesopic version of the story, with which its owner first draped the Indian ass, not a tiger-skin, which it afterwards enigmatically changes into in the *Pancatantra*. The wolf, notorious predator of western lands and ever so popular in the Aesopica, is a rare beast in the jatakas. It occurs once in the jataka named after it, the *Vaca* (No. 300); the only other occasion seems to be in the *Mahabodhi Jataka* (No. 528), where the wolf remarkably figures with sheep (*urabbha*) in also *their* only occurence in the jatakas - and that too in none other than a context from Greek fable - the fable of the wolf in sheep's clothing. That this motif is still contained in verse in a larger jataka and not developed into an individual story is interesting evidence of the passage of Greek fable-motifs from Aesop into the jatakas.[22] The role of the wolf is otherwise assumed by the lion in addition to

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21. *op.cit.* p. 20.

22. *Urabbharūpena vak' āsu pubbe*
asaṁkito ajayuthaṁ upeti
hantvā uraniṁ ajiyaṁ ajaṁ ca
citrāsayitvā yenakamaṁ paleti

H.T. Francis, in E.B. Cowell ed. *The Jataka* vol. V., London (1905. Reprint 1957) translates:

A wolf disguised as ram of old
Drew unsuspected nigh the fold.

The panic-stricken flock it slew,
Then scampered off to pastures new.

In the Aesopic fable *The Shepherd and the Wolf* (H.376), the disguise

his own, as we see for instance in the *Javasakuna Jataka* (No. 308), which emulates Aesop's *The Wolf and the Heron* (H 276), in which a bird relieves a ferocious animal of a bone stuck in his throat.

Among the other animals, birds and other creatures found in the jatakas are the Ass, Mule, Goat, Wolf, the so-called Timirapingala monster-fish (possibly the Whale), Crocodile. Tortoise, Otter, Crab, Crow, Cuckoo, Heron, Owl, Mynah-bird, Water-crow, Cat, Mouse, Mosquito and Ant.

All these creatures, as which the Buddha took birth or did not take birth are indigenous to India. Be that as it may, the argument that the same cannot be said of the animals of the Aesopica for Greece is not as good as it sounded to some earlier scholars who argued upon it. For, it will be seen from fables in the Greek (as I observed earlier) that most of the animals and birds in them are farmyard creatures or familiar to the Greek countryside, the fish to the surrounding seas, the lesser creatures and insects to the trees and soil. The rest, upon which the contention must rest then, are relatively few and figure, apart from the lion, the camel and the monkey, in just one, two or three fables each, and are such as themselves were reputed among the Greeks from the lands in which the Greeks had founded colonies, or were encountered by them in familiar foreign lands, such as Egypt, Libya and in the Near East.

To go by the collection in Halm, which is considerable enough for our purpose - by far the commonest of animals in the Aesopica is the Fox; next to the Fox would come the Lion, while Wolf, Ass and Dog are equally popular. Less frequent but numerous enough are the occurences, in this order, of Stag, Horse, Crow, Monkey, Snake, Eagle, Mouse, Frog, Cat, Goat and Jackdaw, with Cock, Bird, Sheep, Swallow, Camel, Ox, Cicada and Hare following. Other creatures encountered in the fables of Aesop are, in around five fables, the Stork and the Dolphin, in four or so, the Partridge, Dove, Raven and Ant. Bear, Swan, Bat, Crab and Beetle occur about three times each. Just a fable or two take these others - among animals, the Mule, the Wild-ass, Wild-boar, Leopard, Crocodile, Elephant, Hyena, Hedgehog, Mole, Tortoise and Bat; among birds the Ostrich, Peacock, Goose, Crane, Cuckoo, Owl, Nightingale, Halcyon, Cormorant, Lark, Crested-lark and Sparrow; among smaller creatures, the Snail, Toad, Scorpion; among Fish, the Tunny, Sprat and Shrimp; among insects, Wasp, Bee, Gnat, Flea and Louse.

Much of the problem of animals exotic to Greece in these fables would evaporate if we could date and identify the sources from which the respective fables of the Aesopica found their way into the collection. Even otherwise we are left to consider,

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only brings the wolf to grief; the shepherd mistakes him for a sheep and kills him for his meal. As would be noticed, the verses in the jataka hardly constitute a fable yet, even a most elementary one like the Greek.

PLATE I

Aesop, the fabulist, in animated conversation with a fox. From a red-figure cup dated c. 460 B.C. Vatican.

among beasts, the Lion, the Monkey, Camel, Leopard, Crocodile and Hyena, among birds, the Ostrich and the Peacock. The bear, brown bear (*arktos* or *arkos*) was of course well known in Greece, being found in several regions including Arcadia and Laconia; the Taygetus, says Pausanias, was full of them and they are fairly common in recent times on Pindus.

One look at this list, and it would be evident that, even when we add to it the Elephant, which figures in two fables included in Halm, *The Elephant, the Camel and the Monkey* (H 183) and *The Elephant, the Lion and Prometheus* (H 261), it would appear to pertain more to Africa, (in the north of which the Greeks had early colonies, and to which, as Libya, Aeschylus assigns at least one fable as against none to India) than to India.[23] This hypothesis finds confirmation when we have the elephant in combination with the camel and the monkey (which, as we shall see, was tailless), and in the next, with lion. Two of the other creatures in our list are the hyena and the ostrich, again pointing to Africa, while the crocodile is in itself definitely Nilean. Elephants were known in Syria till about the 9th century B.C., and it is probably from here that the ivory came which Homer knew as *elephas*. The ox, upon whose horn a gnat alighted and then inquired whether he wished him to depart (*The Gnat and the Ox*, H.235) is in its ancient Babylonian original no less than an elephant.[24] On the other hand, the elephant who is challenged to battle by a dung-beetle, and with poetic justice disposed of with a clod of dung by the elephant in the Indian *Gutha Pana Jataka* (No.227) appears to me to have been a rejoinder to the humiliation the elephant in the Greek fable of *The Elephant, the Lion and Prometheus* suffers from his fear of the gnat

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23. See W.G. Rutherford *Babrius* ('Scriptores Fabularum Graecae', Volume First containing the Mythiambics of Babrius) London (1883) p. xxxvii. See also p. xxx-xxxvi. Rutherford acknowledged the passage of Indian stories to Europe to the "professional rhetors of degenerate Greece and their successors, the illiterate and trivial monks of the Middle Ages," but Perry *loc.cit.* observes even of these that the famous fable book, the *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, derived from the Indian *Pancatantra* via the *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, "exerted, thereafter, strange to say, not the slightest influence upon the traditional Greek *Aesop*."

24. E. Ebeling. *Die Babylonische Fabel und ihre Bedeutung für die Literaturgeschichte* Leipzig (1927) p. 50 = Perry *op.cit.* p. xxxii: "When the gnat had settled on the elephant he said, "Brother, have I been a burden to you? [If so], I will go away, over there by the pond." Said the elephant to the gnat, "I was not aware that you had settled on me. What are you anyhow? And if you have left, well, I didn't notice your departure either." This is the same as Babrius 84, except that bull replaces elephant, and a river the pond.

there.[25] It will be recalled that the coastal regions of the Mediterranean in North Africa still had elephants, the Carthagenians building up a special corps of war elephants from animals captured in the woods of Numidia (now Algeria) which they threw against the Romans with varied success. These would no doubt have been of the sub-species *Loxodonta africana cyclotis*, the bush elephant, which the advancing desert and depleted fodder soon rendered extinct in these regions.

To turn to the lion - the lion is famed even in countries which in historic times had no lions. A case in point is our own Sri Lanka, where the lion not only dominates the foundation myth and the flag of the nation but gives the name to its people. We need not, however, go outside Greece for the lion; lions of some kind seem to have been abundant in the region between the rivers Nestus and Achelous in Northern Greece, and Aristotle, who was brought up in the north, mentions them twice. Herodotus tells us how these lions attacked the camels of Xerxes' army, going for them only and leaving the men and other animals alone - a thing which puzzled the historian.[26] The hero Heracles is, in mythology, accredited with the killing of a lion which ravaged the region of Nemea, the skin of which is depicted draped over his head or arm in sculpture and vase-painting - the lion-skin which Dionysus puts on himself to pretend he was Hercules in his descent to Hades in Aristophanes' excellent comedy, the *Frogs*.

Norman Douglas, in his *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology* writes:[27]

> "Aristotle and Xenophon both confirm the existence of these Macedonian lions (spoken of by Herodotus). There seems to be little doubt that they also existed in Greece at an early period, on Mount Olympus, Cithaeron and Parnassus; Pausanias gives some information on this subject, and the Nemean lion's den is pointed out to this day. A well-known scholar denies that lions were ever found in the

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25. See my study in 'The Aesopic Constituents of the Gutha Pana Jataka' in *Kalyani*, Journal of Humanities and Social Studies of the University of Kelaniya, vols. III and IV (1984-1985) p. 119-127.

26. vii. 125. See also Pausanias vi 5.4. He says the Thracian mountains up country from the river Nestos are stocked with animals, and the lions from there often range into the country round Olympus. One of these, he adds, the strongman Polydamas killed with his bare hands - a wild lion of considerable size, in his wish to rival Heracles' killing of the Nemean lion. On the other hand, Aristotle represents them as found in Europe only in the strip between the rivers Achelus and Nessus (*op.cit.* 579b 6), and elsewhere (606b 14) that here they were as numerous as in Libya. See also Xenophon *Cyneg.* xi. and Pliny viii. 17 (16): *longe viribus praestantiores iis, quos Africa et Syria gignant.*

27. London (1928) p. 9 - 10.

> Peloponnese: he regards the Nemean story as an importation. But if the beast inhabited Thessaly, there is no reason why it should not have spread southwards; indeed, I fail to see by what means it could have been kept out of the Morea. Dion Chrysostom speaks of it as extinct in Europe. Three hundred years later, at the tail end of antiquity, Themistius regrets Thessaly can furnish no more lions for beast-shows".

The oldest monumental sculpture of Europe, that above the portal of the palace-complex of Mycenae, depicts two rampant lions flanking a pillar (the escutcheon on the Argive shield was a lion rampant),[28] while another, a ravenous beast tearing the throat of an unresisting stag is among the remains of a pediment of the earlier temple of Athena on the Acropolis, which the Parthenon replaced. Lions, faced by a hero, tearing a warrior, or hunting already make their appearance in grave vases at the close of the Geometric Period heralding a new age in the art, and soon afterwards join the mythical and semi-mythical beasts of the orientalizing vases of Corinth. A row of archaic lions, squatting on their haunches, lined the Sacred Road in Delos. In later times a lion, it may be recalled, surmounted the tomb of Leonidas, whose name, like a few other Greek names, incorporates *leo* or *leon* ("lion"). Lions were associated with the cult of Cybele - though then they refer us to the Orient. However, lion similes and metaphors abound in the literature of Greece from the earliest times, which reveal that a clear idea of the appearance, qualities and habits of the beast was prevalent among the people, which would have made description as gratuitous as their use was popular.[29]

In this context the setting of Lucian's version of *The Ass in the Lion-skin* (H 336) in Cumae on the grounds that the Cumaeans were ignorant of lions would both be contradictory and self-contradictory.[30] For, had the Cumaeans not even a vague idea that

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28. Aeschylus *Agamemnon* vs. 812-815.

29. Homer evidently knew the lion well; in a sustained simile in *Odyssey* vi.130 he calls it "mountain-nurtured", "fiery-eyed" defying wind and rain to hunt oxen, sheep and deer and even beseige homesteads and pens. See also *Iliad* xxiii. 161, *Odyssey* xi.611. Alcibiades is called a lion's whelp whose ways have to be tolerated if the Athenians were to have him (Aristophanes *Frogs* vs. 1431-1433) - which looks to the fable found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (vs. 718-737), here descriptive of Helen, of a shepherd who, to his woe, reared a lion cub with his sheep. In Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (vs. 1436-1437) Philoctetes and Neoptolemus are asked by Heracles to guard each other's lives "like lions hunting together" - and so on.

30. *Piscator* 32. Talking to Philosophy of the humbugs who masquerade under her name, Lucian says:

> "Apes daring to pass off as heroes! emulators of the ass at Cumae, who put on a lion-skin and thought himself a lion,

a lion was, how could they have reacted to the ass in disguise as the ass expected them to do? and if it then frightened anyone, it should have been the very stranger who had seen lions, not those who had not. What they apparently should not have been able to discriminate should have been between the roar of the lion and the imitation of it by the wretched ass.

For its part the camel is clearly associated with the Arab, as is shown in the fable in Babrius (H. 68) of a crooked Arab and his camel:

> An Arab, his camel full laden inquired
> If high road or low road he'd take.
> The camel to which with wit made retort,
> "Why, is't that the straight road is barred?"

Though the fable is of late appearance, in Babrius, the camel was known to Aeschylus and Herodotus, and surely very much earlier, to Greeks, who colonized the northern coast of Africa and travelled in the lands of the Near East. As far back as the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. there is evidence of the Libyan tribes using camels, as did the Arabs of the east - though the animal is singularly absent in the art of ancient Egypt. On the other hand, we must note that no jataka mentions the camel, let alone as an incarnation of the Buddha, as a wild or domesticated, indigenous or exotic animal in India. The two-humped camel - though this is not the camel the Greeks were familiar with - was a regular beast of burden along the land routes running across the arid wastes of Central Asia, which would see silk and other rich oriental ware go by, and was connected to the regions of Northern India by passes such as the Karakoram through the mountains.

What the fables tell us of the camel is that it is the next largest animal that the Greeks knew after the elephant, with which, in The *Camel and the Elephant* it vied for kingship of the animals. (I find that the hunter and traveller,Samuel W. Baker, notorious in Sri Lanka for his massacre of elephants, measured one of his camels in Abyssinia at 7 ft. 3 1/2 inches to the top of the hump). But as the monkey in the fable here declared, it was poor-spirited. Seen for the first time by men, it was feared by all for its size, but familiarity only brought it contempt (*The Camel* (H 195)). It wanted horns like the bull, but Zeus, angered that it was not content with its bulk and strength as a defence, went so far as to even clip its ears. Quite apart from dancing (*The Monkey and the Camel* (H 365)), it was thankful if its walk itself did not draw laughter (B 80).

Like the elephant and the camel, the crocodile of the Aesopica is no Indian creature. Two fables, one *The Murderer* (H. 48) and the other, *Dogs and Crocodiles* (P. 25) given by Phaedrus, when they mention crocodiles, locate the stories on the banks

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terrifying the ignorant natives with ear-splitting brays - till a stranger, who had seen a lot of both lion and ass, showed him what was what with a sound beating."

of the Nile, not anywhere in India, so that we may think too that the crocodile which vied with the fox on the nobility of their respective births in *The Fox and the Crocodile* (H. 37) was none other than an Egyptian crocodile, a creature which Herodotus troubles to describe for his hearers, having surely seen enough in his travels through that land, as no doubt would several Greeks who went for trade and other purposes to the Milesian entrepot, Naucratis (established in the 7th century B.C.), not to mention the thousands who joined the disastrous expedition against Egypt in 460 B.C. Some idea of what the Greek may have understood of the beast is to be gained from the account of the historian:

> "The crocodile, during the four winter months takes no food. It is a four-footed, amphibious creature, lays and hatches its eggs on land, where it spends the greater part of the day, and stays all night in the river (Nile), where the water is warmer than the night-air and the dew. The difference in size between the young and the full-grown crocodile is greater than in any other known creature; for the crocodile's egg is hardly bigger than a goose's, and the young when hatched is small in proportion, yet it grows to a size of some twenty-three feet long or even more. It has eyes like a pig's and great fang-like teeth, and is the only animal to have no tongue and a stationary lower jaw; for when it eats it brings the upper jaw down upon the under. It has powerful claws and a scaly hide, which on its back is impenetrable. It cannot see under water, though on land its sight is remarkably quick. One result of its spending so much time in the water is that the inside of its mouth gets covered with leeches. Other animals avoid the crocodile, as do all the birds too with one exception - the sandpiper, or Egyptian plover; this bird is of service to the crocodile and lives, in consequence, in the greatest amity with him; for when the crocodile comes ashore and lies with his mouth wide open (which he generally does facing the west), the bird hops in and swallows the leeches. The crocodile enjoys this, and never, in consequence hurts the bird..... In the Egyptian language these creatures are called *champsae*. The name crocodile or 'lizard' - was given them by the Ionians, who saw they resembled the lizards commonly found on stone walls in their own country."[31]

Hyena, ostrich and leopard also point to Africa - though the fables which feature them could well be late. The two hyena fables, *The Hyena and the Fox* (H. 405) and *Hyenas* (H. 406), like the fable of *The Ostrich* (H. 391) play on the ambiguity of their natures and may share the inspiration as well as the authorship, while also being from someone who had had more direct and intimate experience of African wildlife, among

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[31]. ii.68. See also Aristotle *op.cit. passim*. He has specific reference more than once to the Egyptian crocodile in his own detailed description of the beast.

which both figure, as does the leopard. Not that leopards and panthers were unknown in Greece. An epitaph of Panopeus refers to him as a lion and panther hunter, while another on a boxer says he was killed by the same leopard he slew. 'Pardalis', panther, was a Greek name, even if not a popular one.[32]

Last and most important of the animals exotic to Greece that needs to be considered is the monkey - an animal that is so much associated with India, Indian art and Indian story, and as which the Buddha had, as noted before, taken birth the most number of times in the jatakas. But it has also figured in several fables of Greece, and it is upon this creature (with the exception of the jackal/fox perhaps, that much of the argument from animals for an Indian origin of the Greek fables has sprung.

It is rarely that a fable needs to explain the circumstances upon which it is constructed or a feature which it involves, without which it is neither properly comprehensible or appreciable. One such fable happens to be Aesop's *The Monkey and the Dolphin* (H 363) and tells us how a monkey came to be upon the Greek waters of the Aegean Sea. This is done with the observation that "it was a habit of sailors to take along with them Maltese lapdogs and monkeys to while away their time during a voyage." Otherwise there is nothing to imply that the fable is enacted in Greece rather than, as with the majority of the fables, in any other part of the world. And other fables involving the monkey are of this latter sort.

But what is significant is that very presence of the monkey in the Greek fables, and how it got there in such popularity, which could be a strong point in favour of India. However, the argument is vitiated by a feature of the monkey of Greek fable which distinguishes it from the monkey of the jatakas and other Indian stories. This is its taillessness, which often leads translators to render it as 'ape'. It is expressly upon this feature that the fable of *The Ape and the Fox* in Perotti's Appendix plays, where a monkey asks a fox for part of his tail to decently cover his bare bottocks but is nastily rebuffed by the fox. It may be this matter of tail - or rather, taillessness - that was largely responsible for the conversion of the dolphin in the Greek fable of *The Monkey and the Dolphin* (H 363), in which a dolphin mistakes a drowning monkey for a man, to a crocodile in the *Sumsumara Jataka* (No. 208) and the *Vanara* (No. 342). Had the monkey had a tail in the Greek fable, I am sure the dolphin would not have been misled into attempting to save him, as he did. On the other hand, the Indian crocodile never did take the monkey to be anything but a monkey - nor did the Bodhisatta get deceived when one tried to pass off as an ascetic in the *Makkata Jataka* (No. 173), even if, in the *Kacchapa* (No. 273) the similarity of the monkey there carrying the tortoise who had bitten on to his penis to a monk with begging bowl in hand did not fail to amuse him.

The monkey must then have come among the Greeks as pets (when they did),

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32. For this information, see Norman Douglas *op.cit.* p. 8 and 10 - 11.

PLATE II

The fable of the Crane and the Fox, with Aesop or the Bodhisatta as observer. Cosmetic Tray from Sirkap.

and knowledge of the creature into circulation in Greek literature from other lands in more proximity to Greece than India and having this tailless species, more properly chimpanzee or ape. Besides, it had been known fairly widely by the Greeks as far back as the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., if they were to make anything of the poem of Archilochus of Paros, in which he had a line from a fox saying:

"O monkey, with a backside like that."[33]

This, when taken together with two other fragments[34] from the poet, appears to look towards the fable of *The Fox and the Monkey* (H. 44), to which a very early date must then be assigned along with an admission that the monkey was no stranger to ordinary Greek folk even that far back.

There is no pretence that the monkey is indigenous to Greece at any time. The fables dealing with it as a character keep the setting, like most of the Aesopic fables, nondescript. Where however the monkey was specifically required to be in Greece, as we found in *The Monkey and the Dolphin*, explanation was given, saying it was a practice of sailors to keep Maltese lap-gods or monkeys on board ship to while away the time. To judge from the fable *Monkeys Dancing* (H. 360), it would seem that monkeys were also put on show for entertainment, in this instance typically forgetting themselves and decorum when someone threw nuts at their feet. Their dance was the Phyrric, but their trainer, mark you, was an *Egyptian* - which points more to Africa than to India.[35]

Matching the somatic difference of the monkey of Greek story from his India counterpart is a psychological one as well. While emulative of men like the Indian monkey, who is even a bit of a rascal in the jatakas, the Greek is shown to be quite

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33. Fr. 91. Scholiast on Aristophanes *Acharnians* vs. 120 says that the comedian parodied this, substituting *pagōn* (beard) for *pugēn* (backside, buttocks), though I find the context better suited by the latter. See also Aristotle *op.cit.* 502a 17. He makes a distinction between the ape (*pithecos* - the words used throughout in the Aesopica) and the monkey (*kēbas*) and baboon (*kunokephales*), remarking that "the monkey is an ape having a tail." (*èsti d' ho men kēbas pithēcos èchōn oὐran*). The Greek for the tailed monkey - *kēbos, kēpos, keipos* may indeed by etymologically linked with the Indian *kapi* (cf. Pali: *kapi*).

34. Fr. 89 and 90.

35. In Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*, adapted from the Greek *Alazon*, (vs. 167, 189, 284, 505 etc.) the slave Sceledrus chases a pet monkey on the roof, while Juvenal (*Sat.* v. 153-155) tells of monkeys, armed like Roman soldiers and riding goats, made to throw spears to amuse spectators upon the Embankment in Rome.

stupid, with no redeeming quality except this entertaining imitativeness.[36]

Thus, we find the monkey getting himself entangled in a net by trying to emulate fishermen in *The Fishermen and the Monkey* (H. 362), foolishly attempting to found and inhabit a city like men in *Apes founding a City* (H. 361), playing king and prisoners with two captive humans in *Monkey Monarch* (P. 13) or being robbed when slavishly imitating a clever thief and shutting his eyes in *The Ape and the Merchant* (Perry *B & P* 643). On the other hand, in his popular occurrence the Indian is shown to be quite clever, unless on such instances as when the jataka is based on actual observation. Two such instances are in the *Arama Dusa Jataka* (No. 268), in which monkeys uproot plants and examine their roots to see how much water they will take, and the *Kalaya Mutthi Jataka* (No. 176), in which a monkey in search of a fallen pea lets a whole lot of others fall off his hand.

The three significant jatakas which, on the other hand, exemplify the intelligence of the Indian monkey are the *Nalapana* (No. 20), in which a king of monkeys (the Bodhisatta) outwits a water-demon by having his followers drink through a reed; the *Vanarinda* (No. 57), in which a monkey vaults to safety over the back of a crocodile by making him open his mouth (and consequently close his eyes), and the *Sumsumara/ Vanara*, in which a monkey saves himself from a crocodile by lying that he had not brought his heart along with him, which the crocodile's wife yearned to eat. On the other hand, in the Greek version of this latter story, our fable of *The Monkey and the Dolphin*, the monkey's lie is so blatant that it causes him his death. But the best proof of the stupidity of the Greek monkey is demonstrated by no less an animal than the fox, the Greek equivalent for intelligence and craftiness. This is in the Aesopic fable of *The Fox and the Monkey* (H. 44), in which a monkey, appointed king because of his skill in dancing, is led to a trap by a fox and shown some meat, in the act of going carelessly for which he gets caught. It may be this fable in which Archilochus has monkey and fox together and in which he clearly talks of the crafty fox (*kerdalee-* "with eye to gain") and his "cunning mind," (*puknon echousa noon*) in relation to the monkey he intends to beguile. Two further allusions, in Aristophanes, show great familiarity with the fable while at the same time underlining the shrewd nature of the Aesopic fox. In the *Wasps* we have him saying:

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36. S.v. *pithekos* in Liddell and Scott *Greek-English Dictionary* The word is traced back to *peitho, pithanos* = *mimo*, from the animal's propensity to mimic; in Latin *simia* from *similis*, *simulo*. Reference was derogatory - *pithex* = a dwarf, *pithon* = flatterer, thus a trickster, a jackanapes Ar. *Ach.* vs. 907, *Birds* vs. 440, *Frogs* vs. 708. Thus Demosthenes (307.25) insultingly refers to Aeschines as a *pithekos autotragikos*, i.e. "an arrant tragic ape." Little wonder then that the bounder, Thersites, picks the life of an ape for his rebirth in Ploto's 'Myth of Er' (*Rep.* 620). Ape, or monkey is proverbial contrast for lion; hence "to be ape instead of lion" (*Rep.* 590b) and "to send an ape in lion-skin" (Luc. *Philos*), also the absurdity of "ape in purple" (Diogen. vii. 94).

"you can't play fox (*alopekizein*)
and be friend to both sides"[37]

and again, in the *Peace* there is talk of

"being lions at home
but in battle foxes."[38]

Of *alopekizein* in the former, Rutherford says it was probably coined by Aristophanes himself and "calls up a whole series of adventures in epilogue, in which double-faced craft triumphs over innocence and strength."[39] Correspondingly, there is, as acknowledged by translations like those of Blaydes Rogers, Dudley Fitts and David Barrett, a definite play on the word *epitekizei* (*e-pithekizei*) when the Scythian policeman in vs. 1134 of the *Thesmophoriazusae* exclaims of Mnesilochus,

"The dirty fox, he make the monkey out of me,"

an allusion once again to the old popular fable known to Archilochus. The antithesis between the hedgehog's single mode of avoiding trouble and the numerous at the fox's command, which by the time of Archilochus had become proverbial as

"the fox knows many, the hedgehog one big thing"[40]

also speaks for the resourcefulness of the beast.

There is yet another fable of the Aesopica in which the fox has the opportunity to belittle the monkey. In this, also called *The Fox and the Monkey* (H. 43), a monkey, showing a number of graves to a fox, claims them to be those of the freedmen and slaves of his family. "Lie all you wish", replies the fox; "None will rise up to contradict you."

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37. vs. 1240.

38. vs. 1289.

39. *op.cit.* p. xxxv, continuation of p. xxxiv n. 1.

40. Fr. 118 = Zenobius v. 68. "Archilochus mentions this in an epode ... it is used of the greatest of scoundrels." Rutherford (*op.cit.* p. xxxi-xxxii n.1.) thinks allusion is to the hedgehog's single mode of avenging injuries and the legion at the fox's command. But see J.M. Edwards *Elegy and Iambus* vol. II Loeb. ed., London and N.Y. (1931) p. 175 n.4 to fr. 118. He thinks the reference is to the hedgehog's defence by rolling into a ball.

Greek recognition of the shrewdness of the fox is best seen, however, when the lawgiver, Solon, refers to it when reprimanding fellow Athenians for their stupidity in not seeing that Peisistratus was deceiving them to become tyrant.

"Each of you walks with the footsteps of the fox,
But collectively your intelligence is slight.
For you look to a man's tongue and shifty speech
But see not the deed that he does."[41]

This fable, thought by some scholars to be the fable of *The Lion, the Fox and the Stag* (H. 243), in which a fox helps lure an unsuspecting stag to the reach of a sick lion and which I find, notwithstanding Keith,[42] emulated in the *Putimansa Jataka* (No. 437) may not really be the one Solon is referring to, however interesting it would otherwise have been to find both the Greek pundit and the Bodhisatta using a story based on the same motif to admonish their respective audiences. The context seems rather to suggest the fable of *The Lion and the Fox* (H. 246), in which a fox escapes death from a sick and ageing lion by observing that all the footprints led to his den, but none were seen coming out.[43]

It is undoubtedly this same cunning of this fox which in more recent times made him replace the monkey of the *Sumsumara/Vanara*, when the story made a return to the West in a Russian version heard by the translator of the *Sumsumara*, W.H.D. Rouse, from one Nestor Schnurmann, who was once told it by his nurse (about 1860).[44]

Sadly, however, this quality of the fox, so amply substantiated in Aesopic fable in contrast to the jataka jackal, is overlooked in a discussion set off by Otto Keller in contending for the priority of India over Greece with respect to the animal fable on the basis of "the doctrine of logical sequence and conformity of the habits of animals as

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41. Diodorus ix. 21 = Solon fr. 9. (See Diogenes Laertius 1.51).

42. See A.B. Keith *A History of Sanskrit Literature* London (1920) p. 357.

43. See my 'In the Footsteps of the Fox' in the *Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume of the University of Kelaniya*, Kelaniya (1986) p. 232-241. This fable brings in the clue of the *nulla vestigia retrosum*, popular afterwards in the jatakas but traceable (in reverse) to the Greek myth of Hercules and Cacus, best narrated by Vergil in *Aen* vii. 190 f; see also Diog. Hal. *Ant.Rom.* i.39.2 f.

44. See Cowell ed. *op.cit.* vol. II, p. 110 n.i. The King of the Fishes desired the heart of a fox to become intelligent. The fox was sent for and flattered, accepted the ride on the back of the whale. But when he really found out what it was that was wanted of him, he said he would gladly have given his heart, except that he had left it at home. So he is taken back, and escapes.

revealed in nature."[45] Keller observed that the jackal following the lion to feed on the remains of his kill was true to nature and would have prompted the fabulist to conceive of him as a minister of King Lion - and since in Indian politics the minister was expected to be cunning, the jackal in turn acquired this reputation. On the other hand, he conjectures, this role of the fox in Greece would go unaccounted for, for he is not a very cunning animal. This, Keith contends against him, is to ignore that it is fancy, not fact, which creates the world of intelligent beasts in fable, as well as the possibility that fable had its origin neither in India nor in Greece, but was a product of lands intermediate between these countries.[46] Weber went on to theorize that if this sort of association between jackal and lion came from India to Greece, it would have been adjusted with fox to suit the Greek scenario, while if it reached India from Greece afterwards, the jackal would have been reinstated.[47]

The role of the jackal underlined by Keller, however it may be in the *Pancatantra* and folk stories in certain later works, is not to be found in any degree in the jatakas. Indeed, the jackal figures more in them as a scavenger and a despised

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45. *Jahrbucher f. klass, Phil.* iv. 309-418.

46. *op.cit.* p. 353.

47. *Indische Studien* vol. III p. 327-373. See p. 335; he believed, and correctly, that while India was appreciative of the monkey, it did not rate the counterpart of Reynard the Fox a wise or shrewd creature, so much so that he supposes India borrowed all her fables which credit the jackal with intelligence. This conclusion on the nature of the jackal in Indian story has recently been clarified by Greta Van Damme in her study *De jekhals in de Oudindische Pancatantra* (Verhandelingen van der Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie, Kl. de Litteren, Jg. 53. 1991 No. 141) Brussels, Palais der Academien (1991). See the review by J.C. Wright in the *Bulletin of the SOAS*, University of London, vol. LVI, pt. 3 (1993) p. 645. As he says, Van Damme, making an interesting inquiry into the role and character of the jackal in the Sanskrit *Pancatantra*, source of the European beast fable, compares them summarily with the role and character of the jackal as depicted in the Pali Jataka, and, in an isolated instance, in the *Mahabharata*. "There is evidently some tension between a zoologically realistic and sometimes sympathetic treatment of the jackal as the epitome of gluttony and rapacity and the distinctly anthropomorphic and unsympathetic depiction of the creature vainly and ineffectively ambitious. The author expresses surprise ..... at the extent to which the attractively raffish European Reynard Fox, though agreeing well with the original *Pancatantra's* Damanaka framework story and reasonably well with its more constituent narratives, is diametrically opposed to the unattractive character of the jackal that prevails especially in the Buddhist Jataka and equally moralizing later Jain *Pancatantra*.

vermin than as the servant of the lordly lion. So much so that one could argue Keller the other way round on the matter of influence, except that in the Aesopica even that role (as the lion's servant) is but *one* of the fox's - and that too, often enough, having him use his speciality, cunning, *against* the lion. In one of these Greek lion and fox fables (H. 39), the fox, when he first met the lion, was scared to death of him; meeting him a second time, he was afraid, but not as much as before; on the third occasion he had the audacity even to approach him and talk to him. In another (H. 40) he goes up to a lion (who he sees is restrained in some way) and insults him. In yet another (H. 246), mentioned earlier on, he outwits the ageing lion by his perspicacity and saves himself from the fate of the other animals. In still another fable (H 41) our fox tries to play lion himself - with, of course, disastrous consequences. The brilliance of the fox is, however, best seen in *The Lion, the Wolf and the Fox* (H. 255), for here he not only turns tables on the wolf but does so by using the lion for this, while in *The Lion, the Fox and the Stag* (H. 243), also mentioned earlier, he not only helps the lion to kill the stag but thereafter steals its heart and bluffs the lion that the stag did not have such a thing - else he would not have come a second time within the lion's reach.

To all this wealth of fable on the shrewdness, resourcefulness and indeed ingenuity of the fox in the Aesopica, I can only find very little in his Indian cousin, the jackal, in the jatakas, except perhaps in that single fellow who tested the brahmin's sleep by tugging at his walking stick in the *Sigala Jataka* (No, 142). But then, like the jackal of that other *Sigala Jataka* (No. 148), which is a very near version of Aesop's *The Fox with the Distended Stomach* (H. XXX), he is the Bodhisatta himself in a previous birth. Otherwise, as said before, the Indian jackal is a lowly, despised creature, a corpse-eater as in the *Mahasilava Jataka* (No. 51) or the *Anta Jataka* (No. 295) (which is an inversion of the popular Aesopic *Crow and the Fox* (H. 204)), a disgusting creature who pollutes the water from which he has drunk (*Udapana Dusaka Jataka* (No. 271)), and one whose cry, as in the *Sihakotthuka Jataka* (No 188) is no more than an insult to the lion's roar. So that, far from the Indian jackal inspiring any concept of the fox in Greek fable, it seems to me that the very opposite, if anything, is the truth. And this would be in conformity with my other evidence from the study of the Greek fable and the Indian jatakas, of the priority of the former over the latter.

Several animal fables, both in Aesop and the jatakas, while investing creatures with such human qualities as rationality, moral-seeming conduct and speech, rest their motifs on the distinctive behaviour of the respective creature. For instance, the Aesopic fables engage such details as the crab's sideways walk, the mole's blindness, the frog's puffing up, the elephant's ear-flapping, the meddlesome and imitative nature of the monkey, the snake's viciousness, the eagle's practice of dropping hard objects from the air to break their shells, or the half-bird half-animal physical features of the bat and the ostrich. In like manner there are in the jatakas stories which play upon the tortoise's ugliness, the human appearance of the monkey, the high-flying of the vulture, the out-of-time crowing of some cocks, the owl's sullen look, the goat's frisking, the strange feature of the peacock's proud dance. The woodpecker's knocking in contrast to the crane's (or heron's) drawing action make the basic variation of the respective fables,

Indian and Greek, of the beast with the bone in his throat.

Remarkably, as observed before, the Aesopic fable, which pivots on the imitative (of men) and meddlesome nature of the monkey in *The Monkey and the Fishermen* (H. 362), has bypassed the jatakas to surface in Indian story as 'The Wedge-pulling Monkey' of the *Pancatantra*, while the jatakas have a story, the *Makkata Jataka* (No. 173), in which a monkey poses as an ascetic to warm himself at the Bodhisatta's fire, and another, the *Kacchapa* (No. 273), in which a lascivious monkey, tortoise in hands is visualized by the Bodhisatta as an arthritic monk with begging bowl uplifted. The fable of the snake which a farmer found frozen and warmed at his bosom, only to be stung to death by it (*The Farmer and the Snake* (H. 97)) was known to Theognis (fl. 544-541 B.C.) and reechoed by the *Veluka Jataka* (No. 43), with another jataka, the *Visavanta* (No. 69), in which a snake refuses, even on the threat of death by burning, to take back the poison he has once unjected. The tortoise of the *Kacchapa Jataka* (No. 215) falls to his death when being carried in the air by two wild geese because of his inability to keep quiet. But the Greek fable, of which this is a modification, has an eagle (the bird there; note that in the Southern recension of the *Pancatantra* the bird returns to eagle) itself drop the tortoise - a thing which, perhaps jocularly, is said to have caused the death of the bald Aeschylus. The tortoise's ugliness makes him the Indian substitute in the beauty contest of the *Gangeyya Jataka* (No. 205) for the monkey with his young that we had in the Aesopic fable of *The Monkey and Zeus* (H 364),[48] while the friskiness of the goat exposes the lost cleaver wanted for killing him in both the *Takkariya Jataka* (No. 481) and the Greek fable, given as if a true incident which took place in Corinth, by Zenobius.[49] In the *Nakula Jataka* (No. 165) the motif rests upon the natural enmity of mongoose and snake - and so on.

An interesting instance of how the opposite - the character of the chosen animals, modifies a detail itself, or the motif itself, of a fable is seen when woodpecker is substituted in the *Javasakuna Jataka* (No. 308) for the heron (or crane) of the respective Aesopic fable, *The Wolf and the Heron* (H. 276) (or *Crane* (H. 276 b)); for, where the heron or crane, in the Greek, draws out the bone from the wolf's throat, putting its beak down his throat, what the woodpecker does with the lion is characteristic

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48. In the *Gangeyya* two fishes dispute who is the more beautiful and ask a tortoise to decide. The tortoise grants both are beautiful,but he himself is more beautiful than either. In the Greek it is a baby-contest, with Zeus as judge, with a monkey-mother claiming that, no matter who wins, her baby is the prettiest of all. The proverbial ugliness of the monkey is found in a less popular fable, in which a man, seeing an ape hung up at a butcher's, asks how he tastes, to which the butcher replies, "He tastes as bad as he looks" (*The Butcher and the Ape* (P.4)).

49. Prov. *Cent.*1.27: so Suidas. He gives the Greek expression "like the goat and the knife" as flowing from this.

of woodpeckers - it enters his mouth and taps the bone down his gullet. However, in the *Kandagalaka Jataka* (No. 209) this woodpecker's pecking at too resilient a tree breaks his beak and splits his head, providing the fable the lesson it seeks to impart.

Substitution of one of the characters - crocodile for the dolphin in *The Monkey and the Dolphin*, is accompanied also by an inversion of the motif in the afore-mentioned *Sumsumara/Vanara Jatakas*. For, where the dolphin was for saving the monkey in the Greek fable, mistaking him for a man - a thing which dolphins are reputed to have done for Taras, the founder of Tarentum,[50] and Arion, the dithyrambic poet[51] - the crocodile was for drowning him, when the respective lies of the Greek and Indian monkeys resulted in their doing the contrary. With regard to this fable, it is interesting to discover that the Indian crocodile, who replaced Greek dolphin in the jataka and the *Pancatantra*, once again converts to dolphin or porpoise in the *Kathasaritsagara*, exploiting the ambiguity of the Sanskrit *sisumara* - before tragically turning to tortoise (*ghaliam*) in the Arabic *Kalila wa Dimna*.[52]

Two Greek stories, one a myth, the other a historical anecdote from Herodotus, reappear with animal characters in the jatakas - again with interesting and appropriate ones. The first of these is the flight of Icarus, which is rendered as the flight of the high-flying vulture in the *Migalopa Jataka* (No. 381) and *Gijja Jataka* (No. 427). The young and impetuous vulture takes no heed of his father's warning, as Icarus did not, flies too high in the sky - and for variation of the melting of Icarus' artificial wings by the heat of the sun, is struck down by the Verambha winds. But by far the most fascinating of details of animal- (here bird-) behaviour found in the jatakas is one which nearly debilitated my own stance on the priority of the Greek fables and the direction of borrowing as being of India from Greece. This is the *Nacca Jataka* (No. 20), in which the peacock, dancing in joy at being selected husband by the daughter of the royal Golden Mallard, shows his posterior to the audience, resulting in his dismissal in disgrace. For, this peculiarity of the dancing peacock, proverbially known to the Indians, has also been recently authenticated and described for us by Flannery O'Conner,

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50. See the coins of Tarentum which depict Taras riding the dolphin - B.V. Head *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, London (1959) Plate 6 nos. 3, 4, 5; Plate 13 nos. 6, 7; Plate 25 nos. 9, 10; Plate 32 nos. 4, 5; Plate 37 nos. 7, 8. Taras, son of Poseidon, god of the sea, is said to have travelled thus from Taenarum to South Italy, where he founded Tarentum. He was worshipped as a hero there.

51. See Herodotus *Histories* i. 22.

52. For a study of this story-motif in Greece and India, see my article 'Two Monkey Tales' in *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* vol. XX, nos. 1 & 2. (1994) p.31-47.

who reared peacocks, but, I presume, was totally unaware of this jataka.[53]

For, of the peacock's fanning out his tail, O'Conner says:

> "The cock opens his tail by shaking himself violently until it is gradually lifted in an arch around him. Then, before anyone has had a chance to see it, he swings around so that his back faces the spectator. This has been taken by some to be an insult and by others to be a whimsy. I suggest it means that the peacock is equally well satisfied with either view of himself";[54]

and describing his dance:

> "The cock, his tail raised in a shimmering arch around him, will turn this way and that, and with his clay-coloured wing-feathers touching the ground, will dance forward and backward, his neck curved, his beak parted, his eyes glittering."[55]

This unique and striking detail would have led me myself, notwithstanding all other considerations (as I said) to award the origin of this story without demur to India, were it not that there was an equally shameless dance among the Greeks, which Hippocleides of the corresponding Greek story - the historical anecdote of the marriage of Agariste - danced with similar consequence and was equally well affirmed by a popular saying.[56] As for the argument of R.W. Macan,[57] afterwards used by

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53. "The King of Birds" *Spam* vol. XXIII no. 9 (Sept. 1982). The jataka is one of those found depicted on the railing of the Bharhut Stupa. See A Cunningham *The Stupa of Bharhut*, Benares (1962) p. 69 with Plate XXVII, item 11.

54. *op.cit.* p. 17.

55. *op.cit.* p. 18.

56. See A.B. Cook "Hippocleides' Dance" *Classical Review* vol. XXI no. 6 (1907) p. 169 - 170. He conjectures the offending dances were 'Theban figures', if not improvisations of Hippocleides' own. He refers to a fragment of a pella found in the site of the Kabeirion in Thebes and datable to the end of the 5th century B.C., which shows a man dancing on his hands on a three-legged table, his legs in the air, while another, seated, may be playing a flute. The saying, which became proverbial, viz. "Hippocleides doesn't care" (*ou phrontis Hippocleidē*) should already have been popular to Herodotus' audiences. Remarkably, the privilege given to the mallard's daughter to select her own husband and called in India *svayamvara* figures also in Herodotus, with a father granting his daughters a similar boon - and, of all places, immediately prior to

Winternitz,[58] that "it is more feasible for a fable to be transferred to human conditions, than for a fable to be made out of an anecdote" - quite apart from the relative dating of the Herodotean anecdote and the Indian jataka, we have the *Migalopa/Gijjha Jataka* just previous to this discussion of the *Nacca Jataka*, transforming Icarus of Minoan saga into a high-flying vulture - and nobody would give less antiquity to the myth over the jataka. Again, in quite the opposite sort of way, it was partly the presence of the human element which went to convince Rhys-Davids of the antiquity of the Indian story of *The Ass in the Lion Skin* (H. 336 and H. 333), the *Sihacamma Jataka* (No. 189) over the Greek.[59] For, in the jataka the skin is draped over the ass by his owner, whereas in the Greek the ass does this for himself. (It is enlightening to observe that the version in the Chinese Avadana, even though derived from India, follows the Greek in this detail).[60]

Now that we are on the subject of the peacock, it might well be questioned whether the bird itself does not speak for India in the matter of priority of the *Nacca Jataka/Marriage of Agariste* motif. Thus, we find Macan, who rejects the possibility that the story was carried to India through Herodotus in the days of Alexander, in course of time to be transformed and degraded into a beast- (or bird-) fable, say it is "infinitely more probable" for him that this was an old Indian fable, which had reached Greece and become historicized before the days of Herodotus. And in his attempt to decide on a date for this arrival, he is led to trace the date of the introduction of the peacock there- which, to say the least, ends in a veriable wild-goose chase.[61]

The peacock appears to have been introduced to the mainland of Greece via Samos, where the bird was sacred to Hera. Myth has it that it was the many-eyed

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the story of Agariste!

57. *Herodotus* vol. II (London (1895) append. XIV, p. 304 - 311.

58. *A History of Indian Literature* vol. II, Calcutta (1933) p. 127 n.5. Winternitz emphasises the proverbial shamelessness of the peacock's dance in India, while S.J. Warren (in *Hermes* vol. XXIX (1894) p. 476 f.) remarks the *svayamvara*.

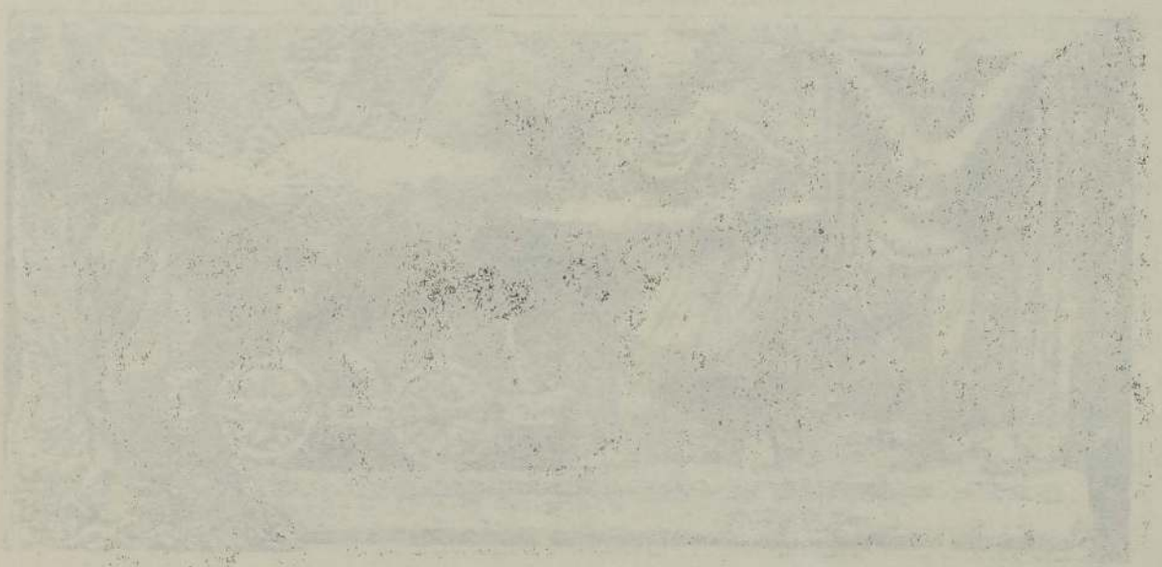
59. *Buddhist Birth Stories* (1897) p. vii. As for his argument that "the fable could scarcely have originated in any country in which lions were not common" (implying Greece here), see the evidence on lions in Greece given earlier in this article. Hercules donned his lion-skin long before the jataka ass was draped in his!

60. I have discussed this fable, Greek and Indian versions, in an article 'The Ass in the Lion Skin' appearing in *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* vol. VII (1981) p. 29 - 60.

61. *op.cit.*

PLATE III

THE TROJAN HORSE FRIEZE
Relief from Gandhara (2nd century A.D)



monster, Argos, transformed, or that Hera adorned its tail with the eyes of Argos. Though more popular in the fifth century than in the fourth, the epiphany of the peacock in Athens, as Macan found out, did not antedate Herodotus to have prompted the story of Hippocleides that the historian gives.[62] At the same time, the evidence makes it obvious that the source of the peacock in Greece is Persia, not India. This is confirmed, if anything, by the Greek for 'peacock' i.e. *taos*, which is derived from the Persian *tavus* even to the extent of retaining the aspirate on the *o* from the foreign pronunciation.[63] Add to this, we have a character in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* cry in reply to the announcement of ambassadors from the King of Persia,

> "King of what? I hate ambassadors
> And I hate their strutting peacocks."[64]

It appears that at some time tradition interposed a peacock in the incarnations of the Samian Pythagoras, into which we find Ennius, the Roman poet (also punning on his name, Quintus) claiming to be "fifth" from that Pythagorean peacock (*quintus pavone e Pythagoreo*).[65] Which, seeing that they included Homer as well, makes Tertullian sneeringly ask how sits a bird with so raucous a voice as the peacock in such a poetic lineage.[66] And he is right too, for as Flannery O'Conner describes it (and I have heard it myself) it is hardly pleasant.[67] In the circumstances, it is anything but factual when

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62. The bird was known to his contemporaries; see Eupolis apud Athenaeus p. 397, Aristophanes *Acharnians* vs. 61 - 67, *Birds* vs. 102, 269, 885. Aristotle *op.cit.* 564a 25- 69 describes the bird, and in 488b 24 its jealous and self-conceited nature.

63. According to Trypho apud Athenaeus 397e; Liddell and Scott *Greek-English Lexicon* s.v. *taos*.

64. *loc.cit.* See also the *Codex Ravennas ad loc.*

65. Ennius vi. 9 - 11 and schol. Pers. vi. 11. See my "Of Euphorbus, Pythagoras' Prior Incarnations" in *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* vol. XIV (1988) p. 84 - 86 for the position of the peacock in these incarnations.

66. *Anim.* 33.8.

67. *op.cit.* p. 18. Describing this cry of the peacock, he writes: "Frequently the cock combines the lifting of his tail with the raising of his voice. He appears to receive through his feet some shock from the centre of the earth, which travels upwards through him and is released: *Eee-coo-ii*! *Eee-ooo-ii*! To the meloncholy this sound is melancholy and to the hysterical it is hysterical. To me it has always sounded like a cheer for an invisible parade." The hen's call O'Conner compares to a mule's bray - *heehaw, heehaw, aa-aawww.*

King Golden Mallard of the *Nacca Jataka*, disgusted with the peacock's performance, dismisses him, notwithstanding (among other things) his "pleasing note" (*rudam manunnam*). Appeal for a tuneful voice to match "the emerald glitter" of his neck and "tail bedecked with jewels and gaily painted feathers" found Juno unsympathetic, says the fable of *The Peacock to Juno on his Voice* (P. 3. 18); let the peacock be content with what it has been given, even as is the eagle with its strength, the nightingale with its melody, the raven with its prophetic ability and the crow with its unfavourable omens. Otherwise it would be deluded and relapse into self-pity.

Sometimes there appear in the Greek fables, as also in the Buddhist birth-stories, details of animal behaviour and individual qualities attributed to them that are palpably folk belief and no more; for instance, that the lion fears the crowing of the cock as in the *The Ass, the Cock and the Lion* (H. 323) and the elephant fears pigs (*The Camel and the Elephant* (H.183)), that the beaver bites off his own testicles to save himself when pursued (*The Beaver* (H. 189)), or again, that the ape bears two young at a time, one of which gets suffocated by its embrace, while the unloved one survives (The Ape's Young (H366)); or that the hyena changes sex from time to time, being now he-hyena, now she-hyena, which not only worries themselves (*Hyena.* (H 406)), but the fox whom one wanted for a lover (*Hyena and Fox* (H. 405)). Fable is also made of the alleged practice of bears, when hungry, of dipping their tails in the sea, to which crabs cling and are fished out by these resourceful beasts (*The Hungry Bear* in Perrotti's Apendix 22) - a fable which may have grown out of the name of a variety of crab also called *arktos* (probably the *cancer arctus*). These are in the Aesopica, while the jatakas go on to tell us of the elephant's disgust with the smell of dung and the crocodile's shutting his eyes when he opens his mouth - knowledge of which, as was said in the *Vanarinda*, saved the Bodhisatta as a monkey from falling prey to the crocodile, who was Devadatta, no less. As I suspect, this notion may have derived from the sight of crocodiles sleeping or basking in the sun with eyes closed, which I myself have observed. However, I am not as sure whether this is a habit of the tortoise as well, which led the lascivious monkey of the *Kacchapa Jataka*, who had been in the habit of copulating in the meditating Bodhisatta's ear, to try it in the mouth of a basking tortoise - of course, with disastrous, if well-deserved consequences![68]

An intriguing if devious argument is used by Rhys-Davids to reinforce his hypothesis of an Indian origin for the comparable Greek fables via the *Suvannahamsa Jataka* (No. 136). A man dies and is reborn as a golden mallard (*suvannahamsa*) and visits the house of his former wife and family. On each occasion that he does so, he gives them a feather of gold to sell and live in comfort. But the wife, fearing that he

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68. This jataka, which the translator of the Cowell edition, W.H.D. Rouse, rendered in Latin for obvious reasons, is discussed by me as "A Naughty Jataka: *Kacchapa 273*", in *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* vol. XI (1985) p. 83 - 89, together with an English translation thereof; see J.G. Jones *op.cit.* appendix p. 194 - 195.

may stop his coming, seizes him and plucks his feathers all at once - only to find that because they are taken against the mallard's wishes, they cease to be gold. Here, thought Rhys-Davids, we have "a true myth born of a word puzzle, invented to explain an expression which had lost its meaning through the progress of linguistic growth." The epithet 'golden' (*suvanna*) applied to the mallard (*hamsa*) for its beauty, he thinks, led to the idea of its yielding gold. And this, he implies, inspired the Greek fable of *The Goose that laid Golden Eggs* (H. 343b).[69] This I find rather farfetched and think instead that the Indian story is merely varying the natural product expected of a bird, eggs, to the rather unusual one, its feathers - prompted, of course by the linguistic of that bird's mythic nomenclature.

The jatakas are not as prolific as are the Aesopica in aeteological fables concerning animals which tell of why an animal is such and such, or why it behaves so and so. A detail is mentioned in the *Kaka Jataka* (No. 140), companion of the *Kapi* (No. 404), which tells why crows have no fat, thus giving the lie to a chaplain who would have them killed in numbers to get his revenge for one of them who in mischief defecated on him. But it is not the point of the story, only subsidiary to it. On the other hand, there are several Aesopic fables concerning animals and birds which are aeteological in nature - of course though not scientifically so. One of these, *The Eagle and the Beetle* (H. 7), which tells why eagles will not lay their eggs when beetles are around, is one of the two fables attributed to Aesop himself with good anthority and is said to have been narrated by the fabulist in defence of himself when the Delphians accused him of the theft of a gold cup from the temple of Apollo. The fable *Asses Petition Zeus* (H. 319) seeks to explain why asses, when they see the urine of one, add their own to it; Zeus had told them they would be free from their travails only when they succeeded in making a river with their urine - meaning of course never. Finest of these aetiological fables is perhaps the fable of *Zeus and the Tortoise* (H 154), in which Zeus invited all the creatures to his wedding. All came except the tortoise, and when asked why he did not turn up, replied, "I love my house; my house is best." The reply so angered Zeus that he saw to it that the tortoise carried his house wherever he went. The jataka parallel of this fable however destroys this aetiological basis by making a mud hole the tortoise's lodging, which he claims to have loved so dearly. This is the *Kacchapa Jataka* (No. 178), in which we have the Indian tortoise, injured in his shell by the digging implement of a potter's son (the Bodhisatta), who was digging for clay in the river bank which the tortoise had refused to quit from excessive love of home, lamenting the fact as he expired. "Kites", says another of the aetiological Aesopica, *The Kites* (H. 170), "once had as much of a singing voice as nature had given swans. But hearing the neighing of horses, they yearned for a voice similar to theirs. So, in trying to imitate them, they lost the voices they had, using which they had to learn, and ended up neither knowing how to neigh nor recalling how to sing."

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[69]. *op.cit.* p. 294 n. i.

The notion that swans had a beautiful voice, as we find here, and, coupled with it, that they only sang before they died (*The Swan and his Owner* (H. 216)) is purely folk belief. The swan's voice is as unpleasant as the hee-haw of the peacock, notwithstanding the stanza of the *Nacca Jataka*, which gives the latter bird also a good voice. Both false notions must owe everything to the physical beauty of these birds, and not to reality. This is comparable to the notion that the *suvannahamsa* actually has gold, or golden feathers. Other such false, usually folk, notions make their appearances in the Aesopic fables as well as in the jatakas. One such in the latter is that crocodiles close their eyes when they open their mouths, upon which knowledge the monkey of the *Vanarinda*, as we saw, escaped falling prey to one. We have also, in the *Udapana Dusaka Jataka (No.271)* the belief that jackals habitually foul with their urine the water from which they had drunk, which, false if it is, yet recalls the brief but excellent proverb fable of old Babylonia: "All the sea is my urine", said the fox, "pissing into the sea."

Notwithstanding the enlistment of several exotic animals in the Greek fable, we hardly see the use of mythical creatures, even when a whole range of them figure in Greek and Near Eastern mythology and art. A few however occur in the Indian jatakas; for example, among animals the six-tusked Chaddanta elephant and the winged horse, among birds the Garuda, among reptiles the Naga, among fish the monster-fish several leagues long. All of whom we may well leave alone in concluding this review, lest they entice us from the reality of field and jungle to the semi-real world of myth and fantasy. At the same time, there is little or nothing that can be drawn to our notice from the several unidentified jatakas on the rails of the Bharhut and Sanchi stupas of animal life that is not already to be found in those that have been identified from the collection. What these do suggest, however, is that a whole range of animal fables, even coming within the class of jatakas, did exist in India, which had not found their way into the *Jatakatthavannana*. Nearly half of such relief sculptures from the afore-mentioned topes could not be associated with any of the jatakas when Rhys-Davids wrote his *Buddhist India*[70] - and I believe still remain so after the efforts of Sir Arthur Cunningham and other early orientalist scholars and archaeologists. A toilet tray from Sirkap, which I have been able to examine in the private collection of Franco Micieli de Biase, onetime ambassador for Italy in Sri Lanka, appears to me to depict a scene from one of the popular Aesopic fables not found in the literary work. This shows an eagle-like bird eating off a flat plate, while, facing him on the opposite side is small horse-like animal watching him; between them sit a man, chin to hand, in contemplation of the scene - which, allowing for the poor art and workmanship, may suggest the fable of *The Fox and the Crane* (H. 34), the observer being either Aesop himself or, if already Indianized,

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70. India (1955) See p. 109. "Twenty-seven of the scenes have been recognized as illustrating passages in the existing Jataka Book. Twenty-three are still unidentified, and some of these latter are meant, no doubt, to illustrate Jataka stories current in the community, but not included in the canonical collection." And see the list in p. 117.

the Bodhisatta.[71] If so, this little cosmetic tray should achieve as much significance as the famous Trojan Horse Frieze from Gandhara, which, interpreted in terms of Indian story, could tell of the capture of Prince Udena of Vatsa by the soldiers of King Chandapajjota of Ujjain.[72]

Already, however, we are straying from the strict subject of our study. But the evidence here is indicative of what a greater wealth of animal-fable and story-motif from Greece must have poured into India with the arrival and sojourn of the Greeks following Alexander's invasion. It is to our good fortune that a fair quantum of these are contained in the extant literary works, led by the *Jatakatthavannana*. What the rest, with the exception of the meagre archaeological pieces surviving, would have held for reviews such as mine here is thus anybody's guess.

MERLIN PERIS

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71. See my 'A Toilet Tray from Gandhara' *Pratidana Manjari: W.F. Gunawardhana Commemoration Volume* (1987) p. 59 - 69. For the tray, see Plate II.

72. See my "The Ujjain Elephant and the Trojan Horse" in *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* vol. II, no. 1 (June 1976) p. 32 - 43. For this famous frieze see Plate III.

THE CASE FOR AN INTEGRATED CURRICULUM IN PRIMARY SCHOOL EDUCATION

I

Curriculum integration is one of the more recent notions of curricular organisation in the field of education. The attempt to integrate the curriculum in the primary and secondary school partly stems from the dissatisfaction resulting from the fragmentary nature of the subject-structured curriculum. This widespread interest in integrated studies has received much official support. As such, primary schools have their integrated day, the secondary schools their interdisciplinary inquiry, and colleges prepare students for a more integrated approach.[1]

In this study I attempt to make a claim for an integrated curriculum in the primary school as distinct from the secondary school. The traditional view of the aims of primary education can mainly be stated in terms of the acquisition of knowledge. Consequently, there is a curriculum divided into different subjects, and instruction in each subject is imparted according to some specific time, allocated for it on the time table. My concern here is to show that in the primary school an integrated curriculum is more acceptable than a rigid subject-structured curriculum. I will first consider the scope of such an integrated curriculum. Then, I would like to specify the nature and the type of integration of the curriculum that is suitable for the primary school. Finally, given specific assumptions about the nature of the child and the nature of learning, it is my intention to state the rationale for such an integration.

The general idea of 'integration' presupposes differentiation. 'Integration' in itself is an imprecise word, the meaning of which is neither very clear nor exact. But, basically the word 'integration' would mean a unity of parts, in which the parts are in some way transformed.[2] In an integrated curriculum the separate subject elements are drawn together and made into a unified whole. These parts are made into such a whole by their subordination to some unifying principle.[3]

To begin with, it is necessary to define the scope of integration for which I will attempt to make a claim. In this sense, at the primary school level, it will be useful to

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1. R. Pring, 'Curriculum Integration' in R.S. Peters ed. *The Philosophy of Education*, Oxford (1973) p. 123.

2. R.S. Peters, *op.cit.* p. 127.

3. R.F. Dearden, *Problems in Primary Education*, London (1976) p. 41.

have a 'loose' integration of subjects rather than a 'tight' one. A 'loose' integration of subjects would involve the following subjects, namely, reading, writing, arithmetic, environmental studies, art, craft, music and physical education. At any given time a large number of these subjects will be integrated. Therefore, in a 'loosely' integrated curriculum it will be possible to integrate subjects intermittently. Hence it is a flexible organisational device.

However, one must begin to question whether a reasonable justification could be sought for such a 'loosely' integrated curriculum. It is important to note that in a curriculum of this nature, not only is there a scope for integrated learning, there is also the opportunity for some form of differentiated learning, which may in fact be necessary. It is plausible to think that mathematics may require more specific attention. The reason being that mathematics as a subject involves a sequential development of concepts from the simple to complex. Therefore, it is not reasonable to assume that all mathematical concepts that a child needs to know will always emanate from integrated topics or themes. Similarly, language skills of reading and writing may call for specific instruction. Certainly, children whose language skills are less developed may need to develop these skills in an appropriate manner in a more differentiated learning situation. Furthermore, this may even provide an opportunity for more individualized attention. Whatever type of curriculum is being followed, it would not be difficult to obtain a consensus on the fact that a primary school child will need to master language and basic mathematical skills. Music could be yet another subject that could be integrated from time to time. On other occasions such learning could be differentiated within a general learning situation. Therefore, in a 'loosely' integrated curriculum the choice of subjects to be integrated at a particular time remains a more open question, which gives the teacher a wide latitude in the choice.

II

An integrated curriculum both means, and is in organisation, many different things. Consequently, it is necessary to specify the nature and the type of integration for which a claim is being made. In a 'loosely' integrated curriculum, integration could be effected through topics or themes. In this sense, a topic or a theme provides the integrating element within the curriculum. In so far as these topics or themes are explored in an interdisciplinary manner, subject divisions become blurred. Bernstein says, "when the basis of the curriculum is an idea which is supra-subject, the subject is no longer dominant, but subordinate to the idea which governs a particular form of integration."[4] In this way, the different subjects may be selectively drawn upon for the contribution they can make for topics, such as 'water', 'transport', 'ships', 'weather', 'sea', etc.

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4. R.S. Pring, *Knowledge and Schooling*, London (1976) p. 41.

However, due consideration must be given to the selection of topics or themes. In this respect, it would be useful to maintain 'negotiable learning situations' within the topic-centred approach. This would be best described as a situation which is midway between a position where the teacher stage-manages and selects all topics, and an extreme non-manipulative situation, where the child selects whatever topics are of interest to him/her. In this sense, 'negotiable learning situations' are preferable to both these two extremes, as it avoids both extremes, and the resulting consequences. In a 'loosely' integrated curriculum, if all the topics are selected by the teacher, learning would be a teacher-initiated process. This would close up the child's options to select his/her own learning experiences, as it does not provide an opportunity for such a course of action. Again, it is more likely that the teacher will select topics for their educative value, and their perceived interest for the child may even be a secondary consideration. On the other hand, if all learning is pupil-initiated, the child is bound to select topics purely for their interest rather than for their educational value. Therefore, in a 'negotiable learning situation', the child could select topics which would interest him/her. The teacher on the other hand would select topics which would be in the child's interest, and which may also be of interest to the child.

Difficulties are however likely to occur in such a mediatory relationship. Who specifies the limits of such a participatory situation? How are these limits specified? No doubt, there will be a greater tendency for the teacher to exert authority, and conversely a lesser probability on the part of the children to participate actively in a given situation. The teacher, being an adult, would be more inclined to think that he/she knows more than the child. Again, the teacher is all the more likely to think that he/she knows what is best for the child, which probably could not be conclusively argued against.

A meaningful arrangement would be one in which the teacher and the students play participatory roles, discuss, and select topics for a prescribed time limit. This could take the form of an open negotiation, to which the teacher and students have some partial commitment.[5] Through such a process of open negotiation the teacher and the students could arrive at an agreement on the number of topics to be selected. The moral sensitivity of the teacher to this situation would undoubtedly give the necessary balance to the process of negotiation.

However, this position warrants a justification. It is important to note that when certain topics are selected by the child, it gives him/her an opportunity for self-expression. Clearly, this indicates that the child's own concerns play a part in structuring his/her own learning. Bonnett correctly argues that learning would be more meaningful if children are allowed to experiment and genuinely experience the

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5. Peter Woods, 'Negotiating the demands of School Work' *Journal of Curriculum Studies* vol. 9-10, (1977-78) p. 309.

consequences of their own decisions.[6] In this sense, the challenges which arise from the topics selected by the children would be relevant to their interests.

On the other hand, teacher-selected topics become significantly important for several reasons. One has to admit that within a learning situation, there must be some discrimination, balance and order. If all learning is initiated by the child, the same topics may even be repeated in successive years without much progressive learning. As evident, primary schooling extends to a duration of five to six years and within this period there must be some progressive learning, which would entail a progressive understanding of facts. If topics are repeated learning may entail disinterest, and may even lead to frustration. However, it is not impossible to explore some topics in succeeding years in a progressive manner.

More importantly, the topics selected by the teacher will be in the child's own interest. Perhaps, these could be topics of current practical importance. Scriven's curricular concepts in terms of 'Education for Survival' is worth considering here. To name but a few, 'environmental pollution', 'health foods', 'drugs abuse', 'pests and parasites' are some such topics that may be tackled in an integrative manner. In a discussion situation, the teacher could explain the relevance of such topics to children. In this way, they would come to understand and value what is being learnt, and consequently learning will become a valued pursuit.

Nonetheless, one cannot ignore the fact that a child may want to study subjects rather than topics. Just as children who are taught through a subject-structured curriculum often become interested in topics, it seems likely that children taught through a topic-centred curriculum will sometimes become interested in subjects. If a child's interest is to study subjects, and if such knowledge is less relevant to the contemporary context, one must decide whether the child be taught less relevant knowledge or whether the child should be apprised of the more vital knowledge, which is almost basic to one's survival, through a topic-centred curriculum. If we accept the fact that the child should be taught more relevant knowledge, then it becomes apparent that such knowledge cannot be imparted within a subject-structured curriculum. But such knowledge could be significantly imparted through a topic-centred curriculum. It is evident that the advantages of a topic-centred curriculum, which I will emphasize later will not accrue through a subject-structured curriculum. It follows logically that in the absence of a curriculum integrated around topics this option will be foreclosed. In this sense, the advantages of a topic-centred curriculum outweighs the value for a subject-based curriculum. Therefore, even if a child develops an interest for subjects, he/she should be apprised of the value of learning such topics rather than subjects.

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6. Michael Bonnett, 'Child-Centredness' and the Problem of Structure in Project Work,' *Cambridge Journal of Education* vol. 16, No. 1 (Lent Term, 1986) p. 5.

P.H. Hirst contends that when units of teaching fall within one form of knowledge, it enables the development of one kind of conceptual structure, and therefore the control of learning is considerable.[7] Such units will be single-form units. Hirst refers to topics and themes as 'inter-form units'. He maintains that there is no clear rationale for such 'inter-form' units unless there are significant links between the elements from the different forms of knowledge. One would want to think that if there are significant links between the subject elements, one could justify the 'inter-form' unit. He does not deny that a large variety of inter-form units could be composed. Hirst's position here seems to be more a critique of the nature of the topics rather than a critique of the topic approach itself. If this is the case, I suppose there will be no difficulty in selecting curricular topics which draw on the different subject elements. One could leave out narrow and restricted topics and select 'wide ranging' topics. Topics like 'health foods' or 'environmental pollution' could make 'significant links' between different elements from different forms of knowledge.

Though 'inter-form' units draw together elements of different forms, the different elements do not break down into separate studies. Rather, such topics are ways of showing how different subjects interconnect in the pursuit of particular questions.[8] Within the unit, the elements of one form cannot be properly or meaningfully understood without reference to knowledge of elements of one or the other of the forms. For instance, if the topic is 'environmental pollution', a scientific knowledge of the various gases which pollute the atmosphere and their composition requires a geographical understanding of population growth, the effects of industrialization, and urbanisation. Some mathematical knowledge may enter into, and is necessarily presupposed by such scientific knowledge. An economic grasp of the effects of pollution on man, fauna, and flora could only be understood in relation to the scientific knowledge in terms of the various gases. This signifies that 'inter-form' links do provide 'significant links' between the elements from the different forms. Therefore, in a 'negotiable learning situation' the teacher could select topics which are more 'wide-ranging' and this question could be taken care of.

Again, Hirst is of opinion that a 'wide-ranging' inter-form unit cannot hope to cater to systematic attention to links across a whole range of elements from many forms. Thus, learning within an 'inter-form' unit will be of a limited nature.[9] This position cannot be conclusively argued against. To be more explicit, a study of topics or 'inter-form' units will not bring about a knowledge of systematic development of concepts within the different subjects areas. But, it is plausible to assume that a primary school

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7. P.H. Hirst, *Knowledge and the Curriculum* London (1974) p. 149.

8. *ibid.*

9. *ibid.*

child needs to acquire only a general understanding of broad concepts, and not a systematic development of concepts within the different forms of knowledge. If this is the case, then the learning that is acquired through the study of topics within the integrated curriculum would seem to satisfy the learning requirements of a primary school child, provided of course that some attention is given to the selection of topics. In addition, in a 'loosely' integrated curriculum, since the subjects are integrated intermittently, some attention can also be given to the differentiated structures of the various forms.

Hirst admits that in the early years of education, a curriculum organised into subjects would seem inappropriate as children are unable to acquire certain forms of knowledge, as they lack certain prior concepts from some other form of knowledge.[10] This indicates that a child will learn certain things earlier and some later. Hirst, however, rejects the notion that on these grounds the child needs an integrated curriculum. In making this statement he does not solve this issue, but he only ignores it. If as he admits, a subject-structured curriculum is not appropriate at the primary school level, then a more acceptable alternative must be found, as the primary school needs to have some sort of curriculum. The primary school curriculum need not necessarily reflect the units of teaching at high school or, for that matter, at the university. It is fair to assume that curricular content and curricular organisation should reflect some difference. It cannot be conclusively argued, that a logical curriculum pattern needs, to be followed at the primary school. If a more flexible arrangement is desired, one may have to choose the integrated curriculum.

III

It is important to note that any learning strategy should have a purpose and a value of its own. The notion of an integrated curriculum at the primary school could be justified if it provides a more acceptable alternative to the traditional subject-based curriculum. Hence, it is necessary to state a rationale for such an integration.

Firstly, to attempt to justify the claim for an integrated curriculum, the question of 'unitary mental abilities' seems pertinent. The assumption made here is that the child's mental abilities are of a unitary nature and the integrated curriculum is considered more suitable to develop these abilities. The assumption that mental abilities like imagination, critical thinking, inquiry, etc. are of a unitary nature is to suggest they are common to all intellectual pursuits, and in this sense could give unity to the child's thinking. In a subject-structured curriculum, the development of mental abilities will be specific to the different forms, and consequently, it would not develop these 'unitary mental abilities'.

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[10]. Hirst *op.cit.* p. 142.

According to Hirst, the logical structure of the forms constitute the structure of the mind. Since the structures are different, the mental abilities which operate within any one form are different from the mental abilities which operate within any other form. On account of the content of the structure the same mental ability assumes a difference. Therefore Hirst rejects the notion that there is some general way in which mental abilities could be developed.[11]

However, it may be argued that even within a subject-structured curriculum the primary school child will only be able to acquire some basic elements of the different forms. If, as Hirst admits, some forms of understanding appear later than others, then, the child's concepts will be less structured and less refined than those of an adult. If we accept the fact that differentiation of knowledge is a progressive process, an elementary knowledge of the subjects will not be sufficient to develop mental abilities specific to the different forms as in the case of an adult. Moreover, as the subject structures are less developed, the mental abilities which operate in any one form will also be less developed. I shall argue that mental abilities in a cruder form may cut across the different subjects and therefore it is possible to speak in terms of 'unitary mental abilities'.

Hirst maintains that enquiry methods are superficially similar across different forms of knowledge.[12] One would want to question whether at a child's level, imagination, or critical thinking could not similarly cut across the different subjects. Perhaps these could also be considered as general abilities.

To elaborate the above fact, it will be necessary to restrict one's inquiry to a specific mental ability. Accordingly, 'imagination' could be considered a general ability. As Mary Warnock says, imagination is the "power to see possibilities beyond the immediate..... and to begin to explore something imaginatively; it is to see it stretching out into unexplored paths whose ends are not in sight."[13] The child imagines about what a child perceives, observes, and thinks, and the boundaries of thought will ever expand.

It is possible to assume that at the child's level the power of imagination involved in imaginative writing and imaginative scientific investigation would be a general ability, and not specific to either of them. When an adult is involved in imaginative writing, this imaginative ability will be linked to some conceptual structure. This indicates that the power to direct one's thoughts, to gauge one's possibilities, to

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11. Hirst *op.cit.* p. 141.

12. *ibid.*

13. Mary Warnock, *Schools of Thought* London (1977) p. 142.

imagine creatively and to be able to explore the topic at depth will be linked to a specific topic, and therefore to a specific form of knowledge. Similarly, imaginative scientific investigation will also be related to a particular discipline. The assessment of a problem, the setting up of hypotheses, testing hypotheses, seeking solutions, and making generalizations will be specific to a particular form of knowledge. Hence, the power of imagination which operates within the different forms of knowledge will be different according to the particular content.

On the other hand, in a child, imaginative writing and imaginative scientific investigation will be more or less a general ability, common to both subject areas. For instance, if the child is writing imaginatively about 'tigers' or is engaged in a simple investigation about the 'concept of volume', the imaginative ability will be a general one. Since the child's conceptual structures are less differentiated, so too are his/her mental abilities. Consequently, imaginative writing will not be different from imaginative scientific investigation. Then, it will be plausible to assume that in both instances what was operative could be referred to as a 'unitary imaginative power'. Accordingly, imagination or any other mental ability will spill over the subject divisions. However, Hirst would also agree that a child's conceptual structures are less differentiated. But he may consider this as a limitation and insist that the child's reasoning should be rectified through differentiated inquiries of various kinds. He may even maintain that differentiated learning is more useful, and if they are in a cruder form, they need to be developed.

Furthermore, one needs to inquire whether 'unitary mental abilities' could be developed through the subject-structured curriculum. As is evident, the subjects are differentiated and the child receives instruction in the separate subjects without much connection. Consequently, the subject-structured curriculum trains the child to think in terms of the subjects in a more or less differentiated manner. Since it is more attuned to the development of different mental abilities, there is little reason to think that 'unitary mental abilities' will be developed.

In connection with the point at issue, the claim that Warnock makes needs to be considered here. She thinks that the imaginative faculty enables one to perceive things, not in isolation but in a connected form. Warnock admits that only when something is learnt 'in depth' could a 'quality in education' be achieved. According to her, too many subjects would prevent the child from learning things at a deeper level. It is this 'in depth' knowledge that would 'fire the child's imagination'.[14] If imagination as a general ability could be developed through a deeper knowledge of topics, we could reasonably assume that other mental abilities too could be developed in somewhat the same manner. This fact justifies the claim that unitary mental abilities could be developed through an integrated curriculum. If this is the case, then we could

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14. Mary Warnock, "Towards a Definition of Quality in Education," in R.S. Peters, ed. *The Philosophy of Education*, Oxford (1973) p. 119-120.

also assume that 'unitary mental abilities' could not be developed through a subject-structured curriculum.

Michael Scriven's claim for a 'survival curriculum' is a notion that needs to be looked into, in an attempt to justify the integrated curriculum. In this sense, topics of social relevance which are necessary for our survival could form the basis of an integrated curriculum, and subject divisions should take a back seat. Scriven makes a strong claim when he suggests that most of the conventional elements in the traditional subject-structured curriculum is not relevant to learning in a society which exerts pressure on one's survival. Consequently, "Education for Survival" should replace education for adjustment. "Education for Survival" will need a survival-oriented learning, and he indicates that such learning is necessary even for young children.

The main argument that Scriven makes is that a different kind of knowledge needs to be imparted to children. This suggests that different qualities of the mind must be developed in order that the child may survive in the present day world. If the subject matter of different subjects do not directly cater to the pressing problems of social living and undermines survival, it becomes imperative that the nature of the existing curricula must be considered. These necessary qualities of the mind could be interpreted as more general skills, which enable the child to appraise problematic situations, to cope with stress situations, and to be able to communicate with others in a satisfactory manner. Scriven argues that "to survive in a defensible society", what is needed are "relevant parts of many subjects and not a study of different subjects."[15] He further contends, that the omission of this vital knowledge from the curriculum is particularly harmful, and the urgency of learning these concepts demands that they should be on the curriculum.

According to Hirst, the fundamental development of the mind is brought about by the acquisition of the forms of knowledge. Presently, if what is considered essential is the development of certain skills and abilities which would equip the child to tackle survival problems, one cannot justify the development of abilities purely in terms of the forms of knowledge, if the former abilities too are not developed. The child may excel in these subjects, but it may not help him/her to cope with pressing problems in day to day living, for which he/she has not been educated. In this sense, the school has failed to impart the much-needed knowledge, skills and attitudes in order to survive in society. It has been argued that a curriculum, to be educationally defensible, means in part to be what will improve life as a whole - which means that knowledge and skills must be taught with an eye to the future.[16] Clearly, in this sense one cannot justify a curriculum whose main focus is only on the development of the mind in terms of the

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15. Michael Scriven, 'Education for Survival', Maurice Belanger and David Purpel ed. *Curriculum and Cultural Revolution*. Berkley: McCutchan (1972) p. 172.

16. Mary Warnock *op.cit.* p. 26.

different forms of knowledge. Obviously, if the required knowledge is not imparted within a subject-structured curriculum, and if such knowledge is considered as vitally important, one must necessarily consider a curriculum in which such a need is met. Therefore, the possible alternative is a curriculum integrated round such survival topics, and which could be explored in an inter-disciplinary manner.

In a subject-centred curriculum there is a lesser possibility of incorporating survival topics, as compared to the integrated curriculum. True, certain topics of the survival curriculum could be dealt within the different subject areas in a subject-centred curriculum. For instance, 'food production and storage' could be learnt within geography, 'health foods' could be studied within the purview of health studies etc. Still, these topics will not be dealt with meaningfully or in depth within the subject-centred curriculum, as the emphasis will be on the subject matter knowledge and not on the topic for its survival importance. Furthermore, the objectives of survival education are somewhat different from the objectives of liberal education. Since the educational objectives differ, the type of curriculum is bound to be different. This means that most topics in the survival curriculum which are considered vitally important cannot be studied within the subject-centred curriculum as they are either not incorporated or not emphasised.

The integrated curriculum which I have outlined caters to Scriven's position as well as to Hirst's position, and also recognises the value of the child's interests. The topics selected by the teacher could consist of curricular concepts which Scriven has argued for. At the same time it could incorporate topics which would fall within the subject-centred curriculum for which Hirst makes a claim. However, it is important to note that one cannot accommodate the complete curriculum outlined by Scriven within 'negotiable learning situations'. It only indicates that there is a greater provision in the integrated curriculum to teach survival topics rather than in a subject-centred curriculum.

In order to justify the claim for an integrated curriculum, it is possible to bring in the question of children's interests. One must admit that children's interests can be accommodated somewhat in a subject-centred curriculum. For instance, a teacher could select topics within history from the point of view of interest to the students. However, in an integrated curriculum there is more scope for the consideration of children's interests than in the subject-centred curriculum. An integrated curriculum is not an interest-based one. If we accept the fact that some interests of children have an educational value, we must also admit that they merit some consideration. Again, if we assume that the integrated curriculum is one such curricular device which ensures this, then I think one could make a fair claim for a curriculum which is integrated.

Children's hobbies and other related activities which they take 'an interest' in, may be referred to as 'interests'. 'Interests' could be referred to as fairly settled dispositions. 'Interests' form a valued part of the child's life as they are significantly important to the child. In a subject-centred curriculum what is central to education is the transmission of subject matter knowledge. Therefore, what is in the child's interests

take precedence of the child's interests. A curriculum which denies the child the opportunity to pursue his/her interests limits the child's freedom of choice. If we concede that every individual has the right to self-determination, we must admit that in the education of the child his/her interests must be considered.

However, not all interests of children are desirable or educationally significant. Some are desirable and worthy of being pursued, while others are not. The possibility of undesirable interests is not a sufficient justification to undermine the view that childrens' interests must not be considered in curricular organisation. Neither can one allow the child to pursue all his/her interests, specially those which are undesirable.

In 'negotiable learning situations' within the topic-centred approach, the topics selected by the children will become centres of interest. Certainly, within an integrated curriculum of this nature the child will come to understand the nature of their interests. More importantly, they will come to learn and value what is appropriate. It must be noted that 'negotiable learning situations' are also possible to some extent within the subject-structured curriculum. For instance, in planning project work, field trips etc. the teacher may encourage the active participation of the children in the process. Therefore, some amount of negotiation will be involved.

Elsewhere Hirst and R.S. Peters maintain that children's interests might have some educational value as such interests may lead them to more important goals. But they assert that the content of the curriculum could not be determined purely by children's interests.[17] Within the integrated curriculum that I have specified, the possibility to impart knowledge as Hirst and Peters expect, though in a less structured form, is possible. At the same time it allows the child to pursue his/her interests in part. It is important to note that both the child's interests, and what is considered important in the child's interests is taken care of. Therefore, the integrated curriculum though it is not purely an interest-based one, still provides the framework within which the child's interests may be considered. This, I believe, is a more reasonable approach to education rather than one which ignores the child's interests completely.

In this study, then, I have attempted to show that the integrated curriculum is more acceptable than a subject-structured curriculum in the primary school. I have also shown that 'negotiable learning situations' within the topic-centred approach could combine elements of an interest-based education, subject-based education, and also 'survival education'. Part of the present analysis is to indicate the possibilities of a piecemeal approach which I think is more suitable for the primary school.

LEELA KOBBEKADUWA

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17. P.H. Hirst, R.S. Peters, *The Logic of Education*, London: p. 37.

THE POETRY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN: MAKING CULTURAL DIFFERENCE MEANINGFUL

"It is always a struggle to get diversity recognized and respected. Recent artists have not turned back from that in the land of the free and the home of the brave."

(Glen Close. On accepting her 1995 EMI award)

I

For a non-African-American to speak of black American literature must always seem a presumption, and I am aware of what I risk. For, the work is often coded and culture bound to discourage appropriation. In the aftermath of the 60s, many modern African-American artists made the pointed political move of turning away from addressing and entertaining the dominant white community, and began to compose or perform primarily for their own ethnic group.[1] Some of these strategies of exclusion, or esoteric signification are evident in the modern jazz of John Coltrane or Dizzie Gilespie, in the tap dance routines of Sammy Davis Jr., or in the novels of Toni Morrison. That awareness predicated my selection of writers, and therefore, this discussion excludes the work of a number of vastly radical and tremendously challenging African-American women poets such as Audre Lorde, Sonya Sanchez, Alice Walker, among others. Although the poems of Maya Angelou, Lucille Clifton, Nikki Giovanni, and Gwendoline Brooks are referred to here, they are by no means completely representative of African-American Women's writing which is extremely diverse. There is also the risk that my selection of writing may lead to the assumption that *these* particular texts are "transparent", because in the kind of reading I attempt here, which is to speak about the work the poem may do when released into our world, there may be the inevitable "valorization of the social and polemical functions of Black literature" with insufficient attention to close textual analyses.[2] I do attempt, however, symptomatic readings of the poems, though the poets themselves, may like Salman Rushdie or Prufrock say, "but that is not what I meant at all"; therefore, I dare say, I occupy a nebulous and uncertain space in order to speak of African-American women's poetry.

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1. Marge Piercy and Dick Lourie, "Tom Eliot Meets The Hulk at Little Big Horn: The Political Economy of Poetry", *Literature in Revolution*, ed., George Abbott White and Charles Newman (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972) p. 81.

2. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., (ed.) "Criticism in the Jungle", *Black LIterature & LIterary Theory* (New York: Methuen, 1984) p. 5 - 6.

The poetry of African-American women is necessarily a dissident poetry--dissident for the purpose of making their different socio-cultural and historical experience meaningful. Some of this poetry does not quite harmonize with the traditional stuff read in English departments. It is not cool, it is controversial, and one cannot deliver any talk of such dissidence in a deodorized or sanitized way. I have, perforce therefore, to meet the challenge of speaking of subjects which in our particular Asian contexts may well be, at most taboo and repressed, or at least, looked upon with disfavour. It is, however, in positing their difference, specificity, and diversity that these poems enable an alternate tradition, a tradition, which now in its second wave can claim to speak for the new America and so proclaim the hope for unity in diversity. Speaking for the new American, however, and attempting to forge such unity are not without cost. My comments on the poem "On the Pulse of Morning" read by Maya Angelou at Bill Clinton's presidential inauguration are directed towards reckoning that cost, by suggesting how radicalism is undermined in the political project of integrating African-Americans into the mainstream.

II

Because these poems from the margins of the canon challenge it and afford an ironic re-thinking of history and literature, they throw into crisis or problematize entrenched liberal humanist ideology of the literary establishment, an ideology reinforced by the work of the great Modernists at the turn of the century. The poetry is interventionist and iconoclastic (though not anarchist) denying the validity of the Modernist enterprise aptly termed the "supreme fictions" by Wallace Stevens a major American modernist. In demonstrating how the poetry of African-American women subvert, challenge, and politicize issues of gender, race, and class while simultaneously, foregrounding, and thus emphasising literature's use as an ideological tool, I maintain that it, therefore, makes overt what is covert in mainstream literature. Moreover, Black women's struggle to open up a public space in the literary arena has resulted in broadening the concept of literature itself: many literary conventions to do with the "proper" and the "normative" in terms of language, subjects and standards are problematized in the poetry of African-American women.

Rooted in the particular, in the specificity of the socio-historical and cultural milieu of the underclass, the poems are marked also by the difference of race and/or gender. They are the poems of a constituency limited to a time and place. Gwendoline Brooks' poems "KItchenette Building", or "The Lovers of the Poor"--from which I cite excerpts below--articulate the conditions of the constituency and class insularity.

Kitchenette Building

We are things of dry hours and the involuntary plan,
Greyed in, and gray, "Dream" makes a giddy sound, not strong
LIke "rent", "feeding a wife", "satisfying a man."
But could a dream send up through onion fumes

Its white and violet, fight with fried potatoes
And yesterday's garbage ripening in the hall,
Flutter, or sing an aria down these rooms
Even if we were willing to let it in,
Had time to warm it, keep it very clean,
Anticipate a message, let it begin?
We wonder. But not well, not for a minute,
Since Number Five is out of the bathroom now,
We think of lukewarm water, hope to get in it.

The Lovers of the Poor

arrive. The Ladies from the Ladies' Betterment League
Arrive in the afternoon, the late light slanting
In diluted gold bars across the boulevard, brag
of proud, seamed faces with mercy and murder hinting
Here, there, interrupting, all deep and debonair,
The pink paint on the innocence of fear;
Walk in a gingerly manner up the hall,
Cutting with knives served by their softest care,
Served by their love, so barbarously fair.
Whose mothers taught: you'd better not be cruel...

...who are full,
Sleek, tender-clad, fit, fiftyish, a-glow, all
Sweetly abortive, hinting at fat fruit,
Judge it high time that fiftyish fingers felt
beneath the lovelier planes of enterprise.
...Their guild is giving money to the poor,
The worthy poor. The very very worthy
And beautiful poor. Perhaps just not too swarthy?
Perhaps just not too dirty nor too dim
Nor--passionate...
But it's all so bad
and entirely too much for them,
The stench; the urine, cabbage, and dead beans,
Dead porridges of assorted dusty grains,
The old smoke, heavy diapers, and, they're told,
Something called chitterlings...
...Here is a scene for you. The Ladies look,
In horror, behind a substantial citizeness
Whose trains clank out across her swollen heart.
Who, arms akimbo, almost fills a door...
...They own Spode, Lowestoft, Candelabra,..
...Aubussons and Hattie Carnegie. They winter

In Palm Beach..
...Oh squalor,
This sick four-story hulk, this fibre
With fissures everywhere
Why, what are bringings
Of loathe-love largesse? What shall peril hungers
So old old, what shall flatter the desolate?
Tin can, blocked fire escape and chitterlings
And swaggering seeking youth and the puzzled wreckage
Of the middle-passage...
...And children children children. Heavens
That was a rat, surely, off there, in the shadows?
The Ladies from the Ladies
Betterment League agree it will be better
To achieve the out air that rights and steadies...
...better presently to cater
To no more possibilities, to get
Away. Perhaps the money can be posted.
Perhaps they too may choose another Slum?
Keeping their scented bodies in the center
Of the hall as they walk down the hysterical hall,
They allow their lovely skirts to graze no wall,
Are off at what they manage of a canter,
And, resuming all the clues of what they were,
Try to avoid inhaling the laden air.

This kind of poetry challenges the tradition of the privatized worlds of poets, of upper and middle class domesticity, and instead offers something of the Black experience and history itself. The poems, however, are harnessed towards achieving something more than mere realism. In these poems the black experience is presented as one of alienation of a people transitting from a condition of forced labour into a position of underemployment. These poems make no pretence of illuminating the conditions of that vast abstract entity "man", the subject of the modernist enterprise: the poetry is addressed mainly to a people whose worth has been devalued by a history of slavery and aims at uplifting a marginalized community to be stronger than the forces of their historical conditioning. Therefore, the poets perforce, are militant, their words sharper and clearer than the language that persuaded them that they were "ugly, stupid, and without history".[3] I cite below two poems of Lucille Clifton titled "Miss Rosie" and "For the Lame", and refer the reader to Barbara Watkins' poem "I see hard times a comin'" which are poems celebrating struggle and survival, thus redefining the notion of heroism, an archetype of western literature.

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3. Marge Piercy, p. 78.

Miss Rosie

When I watch you
wrapped up like garbage
sitting, surrounded by the smell
Of too old potato peels
or
when I watch you
in your old man's shoes
With the little toe cut out
sitting, waiting for your mind
like next week's grocery
I say

when I watch you
you wet brown bag of a woman
who used to be called the Georgia Rose
I stand up
through your destruction
I stand up.

For the Lame

happen you will rise
lift from grounded in a spin
and begin to forget the geography
of fixed things.
happen you will walk past
where you meant to stay,
happen you will wonder at the way
it seemed so marvellous to move.

Note that poems like "Miss Rosie" are also attempts to include as part of the community the marginals of the margin, to show that these individuals are larger than ordinary lives, to acknowledge the validity of different social experience, *to preserve and make cultural difference meaningful*, for these incorporations strengthen the community. A good example is Nikki Giovanni's "Alabama Poem." Here, Giovanni gives voice to a different type of black character than victimized desolate figures. The poem is so delicately nuanced that even as it implies celebration it eschews romanticization.

Alabama Poem

if trees could talk
wonder what they'd say
met an old man
on the road late afternoon
hat pulled over to shade
his eyes
jacket slumped over his shoulders
told me "girl my hands seen
more than all
them books at tuskegee"

smiled at me
half waved his hand
walked on down the dusty road
met an old woman
with a corn cob pipe
"sista'" she called to me
"let me tell you--my feet
seen more than yo eyes
ever gonna read"
smiled at her and kept
on moving
gave it a thought and went
back to the porch
"i say gal" she called down
"you a student at the institute?
better come here and study these feet
i'm gonna cut a bunion off
soons i gets up"
i looked at her
she laughed at me
if trees would talk
wonder what they'd tell me.

Nikki Giovanni's poetry, often, is strong and militant, as in "The True Import of Present Dialogue: Black vs. Negro", which is a poem that gives voice to anger and calls for violence:

Nigger
Can you kill
Can you kill
Can a nigger kill
Can a nigger kill a honkie
Can the nigger kill the Man...

The above quoted part from this lengthy poem indicates the nature of the poem, one that the mainstream would find hard to relate to. Marge Piercy has pointed out that if one finds it difficult to read Giovanni, one must stop and consider and appreciate the traumas of black readers who had to try and belong in a culture that consistently did not write for them, marginalized, excluded, ignored, or "treated them as objects". And Piercy adds that

> Black poetry often has ritual and magic and drama beating purposefully through. One of the aims of much black poetry is to change the people who read it and who hear it from ashamed niggers into proud, fighting black people...Black poetry aims to create a nation on the spot, to create an "Us" sense in the oppressed, which, at that moment, welds them into a strong force. Repeated rituals of unity and pride help accomplish a strength that the people can carry back to the streets.[4]

I mentioned earlier the difficulty of using sanitized and deodorized language when speaking of a people's poetry. "Portrait of a White Nigger" by Caroline Rodgers and Nikki Giovanni's "The True import of Present Dialogue: Black Vs Negro" testify to the total eschewing of gentility tolerating no slack in the black struggle. These attitudes are echoed in the impatience, satire, criticism, and irony directed at the "Cool Set" in Gwendoline Brooks' "We Real Cool":

> We real cool. We
> Left school. We
> Lurk late. We
> Strike straight. We
> Sing sin. We
> Thin gin. We
> Jazz June. We
> Die soon.

Although Black poets may exonerate black people for events in history--see "Admonition" (Clifton) and "What Shall I Give my Children?" (Brooks)--they simultaneously militate against the "cool" or "laid back" attitudes that signify complacency or
lethargy.

III

I use the terms Black/African-American interchangeably. In 1990, on TV, I heard a senior African-American observe that when he was little, he got used to being

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4. Marge Piercy, p. 78.

called a "nigger", sometime later, "colored", in the 60s "black". At the time of speaking he had learned that he was now "African-American" and complained that he was pretty confused. Despite the humorous rendition here, the changing nomenclature highlights the constant vigilance and struggle to un-name the names imposed upon a community that historically were given names by those that owned them, had rights and powers over them. The un-naming and re-naming[5] is part and parcel of a process of self-empowerment in terms of articulating one's identity as one knows and wants it. Malcolm X, Mohammed Ali, Imamu Baraka and Cat Stevens are the more famous examples. Naming/un-naming can also be a strategy of disempowerment: Maya Angelou in an autobiographical video presentation has spoken of how her ancient grandmother was "unnamed" by young white kids using her first name, when the other black people in the community addressed her by her last name preceded by the title Mrs.[6] Angelou sees in the act testimony of African-American powerlessness at that historical juncture. She speaks of a similar violation carried out wittingly or unwittingly in those instances when old Black maids in domestic service had to endure their mistresses, young enough to be their grand-daughters, addressing them as "girl". In colonial Ceylon there prevailed a form of addressing males in domestic-type service as "boy", whatever their age: they were servant boys, houseboys, club boys etc. Calling a black male "boy" is definitely a term of insult and denigration and the colonial form of addressing subordinate males as "boy" could not have been too different and it falls into that category of a terminology of power.

In contemporary American-culture, there seems to be an extreme sensitivity to nomenclature: "international" student has replaced the term "foreign" student and other workers have dignified labels as "janitor", "custodian", "office assistant" (not peon). But the use of polite euphemisms may be a form of social hypocrisy. Marge Piercy has cautioned us as to the downside of this "gentility": "the shock of Americans at four letter

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5. See Kimberly W. Benston, "I yam what I am: the topos of un(naming) in Afro-American literature" in Henry Louis Gates, Jr. ed., *Black Literature and Literary Theory*, p. 150-172. Benston recounts Malcolm X's dialogue with a black academic: "Brother Professor, do you know what they call a black man with a PhD?" "No what"? "Nigger". With this reply Malcolm is said to be attempting a negation of the class-, race- and title-distinctions bestowed by the superordinate white society, and thereby, trying to divest themselves of imposed naming. The "un-naming" also manifests itself in the adoption of the X, explained as a "mysterious variable [which] is a symbol not of something unnamable but of something unknowable - the inaugural African identity that was usurped during Middle Passage". Benston cites Malcolm X as saying "Mr Muhammad taught that we would keep this "X" until God himself returned and gave us a Holy Name from His own mouth" (p. 153).

6. I am thankful to Ranjith Sandanayake and Yvette Ferdinands of Colombo USIS for helping me with the video material.

words in poetry best expresses the profound rudeness felt in a society at calling anything by its right name, a society in which public and private acts of violence and robbery and murder are justified by such names as pacification and stabilization".[7]

IV

Recasting knowledge is always fraught with cultural and political struggle and literature is vastly implicated in the process of constructing and constituting knowledge. African American women's poetry can be considered as attempts to insert texts of oppositional knowledge that subvert, contest, and challenge constructs of knowledge obtained in history as regards the nature, history and lives of African-American people, not only women.

If we take the 18th century poet Phyllis Wheatley who wrote poems of her situation as a slave, we see how the poems reproduce the ideology of the master race. Her work is clearly a construct of knowledge from the perspective of the dominant culture foregrounding hegemonic ideas regarding the subordinate and the dominant. In a 1773 poem that is, itself, proleptic, a poem entitled "On Being Brought From Africa to America", Wheatley implies that the non-Christian and non-white are innately evil and that the colour of the skin is symptomatic of that. This is the epistemology that is inherited, and the poem is a classic example of the way in which "Ethnocentrism and 'logocentrism' are profoundly interrelated in Western discourse."[8]

On Being brought from Africa to America

'Twas mercy brought me from my *Pagan* land,
Taught my benighted soul to understand
That there's a God, that there's a *Saviour* too:
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.
Some view our sable race with scornful eye,
"Their colour is a diabolic dye."
Remember, *Christians, Negroes,* black as *Cain,*
May be refined, and join the angelic train.

In the contemporoary re-writing and reinscribing of texts already written for them, the major task of the women writers has been to speak the African-American gendered subject into being. Black women have often pointed out that they face double jeopardy by belonging simultaneously in two minority groups, blacks and women, and that they are appropriated by the more dominant sectors: by black males in issues of race and by white women in issues of gender, thus marginalised and losing out twice over. Phyllis

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7. Marge Piercy, p. 87.

8. Henry Louis Gates, p. 7.

Wheatley's poem is a good illustration of how the African-American subject was first put into discourse or spoken into being as object or victim needing the intervention of a superior race to rescue him/her from a depraved or savage state.

In reinscribing history, African-American women poets have tried to wrest for themselves subject status quite pointedly by articulating their identity themselves as sexual beings, or by expressing sensuality. These are areas repressed in traditional narratives that stereotyped all women as "madonna or bitch", a phrase coined by Leslie Fiedler. Lucille Clifton's poem "Homage to my Hips" or "To a Dark Moses" evinces just such a spontaneity and freedom to articulate the self:

Homage To My Hips

these hips are big hips.
they need space to
move around in.
they don't fit into little
petty places. these hips
are free hips.
they don't like to be held back.
these hips have never been enslaved,
they go where they want to go
they do what they want to do.
These hips are mighty hips.
i have known them
to put a spell on a man and
spin him like a top!

To a Dark Moses

you are the one
i am lit for.
come with your rod
that twists
and is a serpent.
i am the bush.
i am burning,
i am not consumed.

These poems of Clifton foreground other issues in gender politics as well. In celebrating her hips and singing that fat is beautiful, Clifton challenges conventional societal notions about desirable and undesirable femininity and aesthetic value as regards the female body. The compulsion to straighten hair--by way of an unpleasant process called conking--for many African-Americans of an earlier era was symptomatic of the trauma of accepting other (alien) standards of beauty than those that obtained within the ethnic community. But this was a problem prior to the militant posture politicising that

"black is beautiful", which is an attempt to set unequivocal value on "negritude, the limitations of the notion of "negritude" notwithstanding. In the Lankan context too, I am reminded that even at this time, all the dolls we have for little girls to play with are blonde and blue eyed and pink plastic--the heritage of our colonized past which encouraged the inculcation of Western norms in regard to aesthetic values of beauty even to the extent of impressing that our own ethnic characteristics are lacking and limited and negative.

By rebelling against repression and inhibition, many African-American women writers try to halt or put a break upon the socializing and gendering processes that attempt to inculcate uniformity in how women should "be". They celebrate difference, nurture what Toni Morrison has called "funkiness"[9] which for black women is the freer expression of passion, sensuality, spontaneity, and the untrammelled, unashamed demonstration and expression of self and difference. And therefore, their poetry can be regarded as liberational, encouraging what Alice Walker calls "Womanist" sensibilities rather than even feminist: feminist is considered to be classist, as emerging from the dominant white women's groups. Some of Lucille Clifton's poems--"To a Dark Moses," "If I Stand at my Window, and "There's a Girl" testify to a radical re-articulation of female sensibility, and simultaneously an articulation of radical "Otherness".

African American women poets, therefore, through their articulation of Otherness, contest and sometimes reject outright the ideology and value system imposed from without by dominant groups. This is very obviously seen in poems that render problematic hegemonic and received ideas of morality. When the absolutes moral/immoral are considered within the particularities and constraints of the immediate class, race, and gender inequities, hegemonic ideas of morality as of immorality are rendered irrelevant and invalidated. Such an insight is possible on reading the two poems on abortion by Lucille Clifton and Gwendoline Brooks, "The Lost Baby Poem," and "The Mother", respectively.

The Lost Baby Poem

the time i dropped your almost body down
down to meet the waters under the city

and run one with the sewage to the sea
what did i know about waters rushing back

what did i know about drowning
or being drowned
you would have been born into winter

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9. See Susan Willis, "Eruptions of Funk: Historicizing Toni Morrison," in Henry Louis Gates.

in the year of the disconnected gas
and no car we would have made the thin

walk over Genesee hill into the Canada wind
to watch you slip like ice into strangers' hands
you would have fallen naked as snow into winter

if you were here i could tell you these
and some other things

if i am ever less than a mountain
for your definite brothers and sisters
let the rivers pour over my head

let the sea take me for a spiller
of seas let black men call me a stranger
always for your never named sake.

The Mother

Abortions will not let you forget
Your remember the children you got that you did not get
The damp small pulps with little or no hair,
The singers and workers that never handled the air.
You will never neglect or beat
Them, or silence or buy with a sweet.
You will never wind up the sucking-thumb...

I have heard in the voices of the wind the voices of my
dim killed children.
I have contracted. I have eased
My dim dears at the breasts they could never suck.....

If I stole your births and your names,
Your straight baby tears and your games,

If I poisoned the beginnings of your breaths
Believe that even in my deliberateness I was not deliberate
Though why should I whine,
Whine that the crime was other than mine
Since anyhow you are dead.
Or rather, or instead,
You were never made...
Believe me, I loved you all.

From the insights afforded by these poems in regard to the question of Abortion and morality, then, what we might ask is whether it is just or even possible to impose absolute standards across the board for all, and to ask also as to whose moral rightnesses are being imposed at the expense of whom.

From the perspective of a radical feminism, however, these poems are self-defeating and counter productive to gender struggles in feminist politics, because they reinforce hallowed and essentialist notions regarding women in traditional patriarchal literary traditions. And, therefore, in a sense, the poets' seeming rejection of the hegemonic ideology and value system is fraught with a sense of contradiction. But, on the other hand, the poems articulate a certain tragic reality in terms of woman as underclass subject and as a socially constituted being, two conditions that cannot simply be wished away.

V

Except in the time of enslavement when dissimulation was a strategic necessity for survival, African-Americans, since then, have rarely dissimulated their political intent in poetry. The Negro spiritual did not dare articulate discontent, or the burdens of life in slavery, except in so far as to look to another life after death. The modern writers are determined to combat inequities and continue the struggle in their own time and place. They have had, perforce, to write against the grain of what constituted mainstream poetry included in the western canon. Maya Angelou's poetry draws from the oral traditions of the spirituals, incorporating other oral forms such as the dozens, Rap, oral techniques of the black sermons, church ritual and so on. Her poem "And Still I rise" is in the voice of a militant marginal. The note of optimism, the call and response technique of the black church practice and the religious fervour of church ritual is manifest in this poem, the same strategies that Jessie Jackson used to powerful effect in his political campaigning.

And Still I Rise

You may write me down in history
With your bitter, twisted lies,
You may trod me in the very dirt
But still, like dust, I'll rise

Does my sassiness upset you?
Why are you beset with gloom?
'Cause I walk like I've got oil wells'
Pumping in my living room...
. . .

You may shoot me with your words,
You may cut me with your eyes,

You may kill with your hatefulness,
But still, like air I'll rise.

Does my sexiness upset you?
Does it come as a surprise
That I dance like I've got diamonds
At the meeting of my thighs?

Out of the huts of history's shame
I rise
Up from a past that's rooted in pain
I rise
I'm the black ocean, leaping and wide,
Welling and swelling bear in the tide.

Leaving behind nights of terror and fear
I rise
Into a daybreak that's wondrously clear
I rise
Bringing the gifts that my ancestors gave,
I am the dream and the hope of the slave.
I rise
I rise
I rise.

This poem encapsulates the idea of re-writing an oppositional history to the one that's already been written: it speaks of the fighting spirit of the African-American subject, articulates her sexiness, her "sassiness" and her racial heritage--"gifts of her ancestors." Above all, the speaker zooms in on the right of the Afro-American to dream, to realize her own American dream which is also the realization of the dreams of her ancestors in slavery. This poem is strongly rooted in the oral tradition of African-American poetry, as is the poem "Black hopscotch."

It is interesting, however, that Angelou's long poem "On the Pulse of Morning" written for President Clinton's presidential inauguration, shows affiliation not to the black tradition of poetry, but to the mainstream Whitmanesque tradition. This affiliation is evinced in her own cataloguing, naming, and inclusion of the different groups in the style of Walt Whitman. Whitman sometimes seen as a "patriarch of American poetry" or referred to as the "American Adam", wrote an inclusive poetry. He was one of the first poets to sing in *Leaves of Grass*, in "The Song of Myself" on behalf of all Americans, seeing unity in the diverse groups that constituted the whole and so, legitimized them as American subjects. The editorial essay on Whitman in *The Norton*

Anthology of Modern Poetry[10] cites that

Whitman as experimental poet aligned himself with the great social and political experiment of American democracy. His was a new style...necessitated by new theories, new themes...and forced upon us for American purposes.

Above all, Maya Angelou's poem written at the inception of a democratic regime, suggests that she is speaking, in a sense, for the establishment, for "American purposes" and therefore, this filiation is perhaps politically correct. But, the suppression here, of the strong African-American voice, tradition, and rhythms that characterized her other work is somewhat troubling as that suppression or effacement suggests the ways in which the radical "Otherness" of Black-American voices may be undermined in poetry oriented towards the political project of integrting into the mainstream. For, such effacement could be the price paid for the honour of inclusion, the honour of being called upon to sing for and of America, an honour that demands compromises. I am also reminded of the only other poem recited at just such an awesome moment, the inauguration of the Kennedy Presidency. The poem is "The Gift Outright" read by Robert Frost, but his version of history speaks for and of only the English-Americans, obliterating from the text of history multitudes of Other-Americans. These two poems inaugurating new political regimes in US history are themselves symptomatic of effacements that still seem to be the cost of speaking for American purposes and the price of daring to dream the American dream. For, "On the Pulse of Morning" exemplifying the notion of the US as "melting pot of identity" forges a commonality with the mainstream "The Gift Outright", thereby obliterating the classed, raced, and gendered specificities and distinctions that operated in the poetry of African-American women.

In the case of Maya Angelou's poem, this troubling effacement could be recuperatively interpreted as an enactment of a necessary and generous holding back of ethnic or "racial" claims, a momentary stay of difference to effect the cultural bonding of all of the different groups that are called upon to participate in the renewal and so effect and so perform the unity in diversity. Only the other day, on accepting her 1995 EMI award, actor Glen Close pointed out that "It is always a struggle to get diversity recognized and respected. Recent artists have not turned back from that in the land of the free and the home of the brave." I am sure she would agree that this struggle for these recent artists was and had been admirably and courageously initiated by African American Women Poets.

LILAMANI DE SILVA

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10. Ellman and O'Clair, editorial essay in *The Norton Anthology of Modern Poetry*, New York & London: W.W.Norton, 1973 p. 22.

THE ECOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SERUWILA COPPER-MAGNETITE PROSPECT NORTHEAST SRI LANKA[1]

> "The Director of mines, being conversant with the science of (metal) veins in the earth and metallurgy, the art of smelting and the art of colouring gems, or having the assistance of experts in these, and fully equipped with workmen skilled in the work and with implements, should inspect an old mine marks of dross, crucibles, coal and ashes, or a new mine, where there are ores in the earth in rocks or in liquid form, with excessive colour and heaviness and with a strong smell and taste" (*Kautilya Arthaśāstra* II.12.i.).

INTRODUCTION

The ecological significance of resource zones sustaining pre-industrial metallurgical operations as a critical factor in the dialectics of social formation and technological change is seldom taken up for discussion in archaeometallurgical studies in south central Asia. The ecosystem of the Formative Proto and Early Historic Periods essentially functioned within an interacting process linking the resident community with the subsistence pattern, technology, resource use and settlement pattern. Consequently, this situation resulted in a coincidence between the technocultural zone and the physical zone during the Early Iron Age.

The momentum of technological processes associated with such societies largely depended upon certain pre conditions leading to a viable utilization of mineral resources, especially metallic ores. The utilization of a particular raw material in the production of a luxury, prestige, utilitarian or ritual item was conditioned by the variations in the demand based on factors such as the functional value of the item, the level of material development in society, direct or indirect access to strategic resources, the possession

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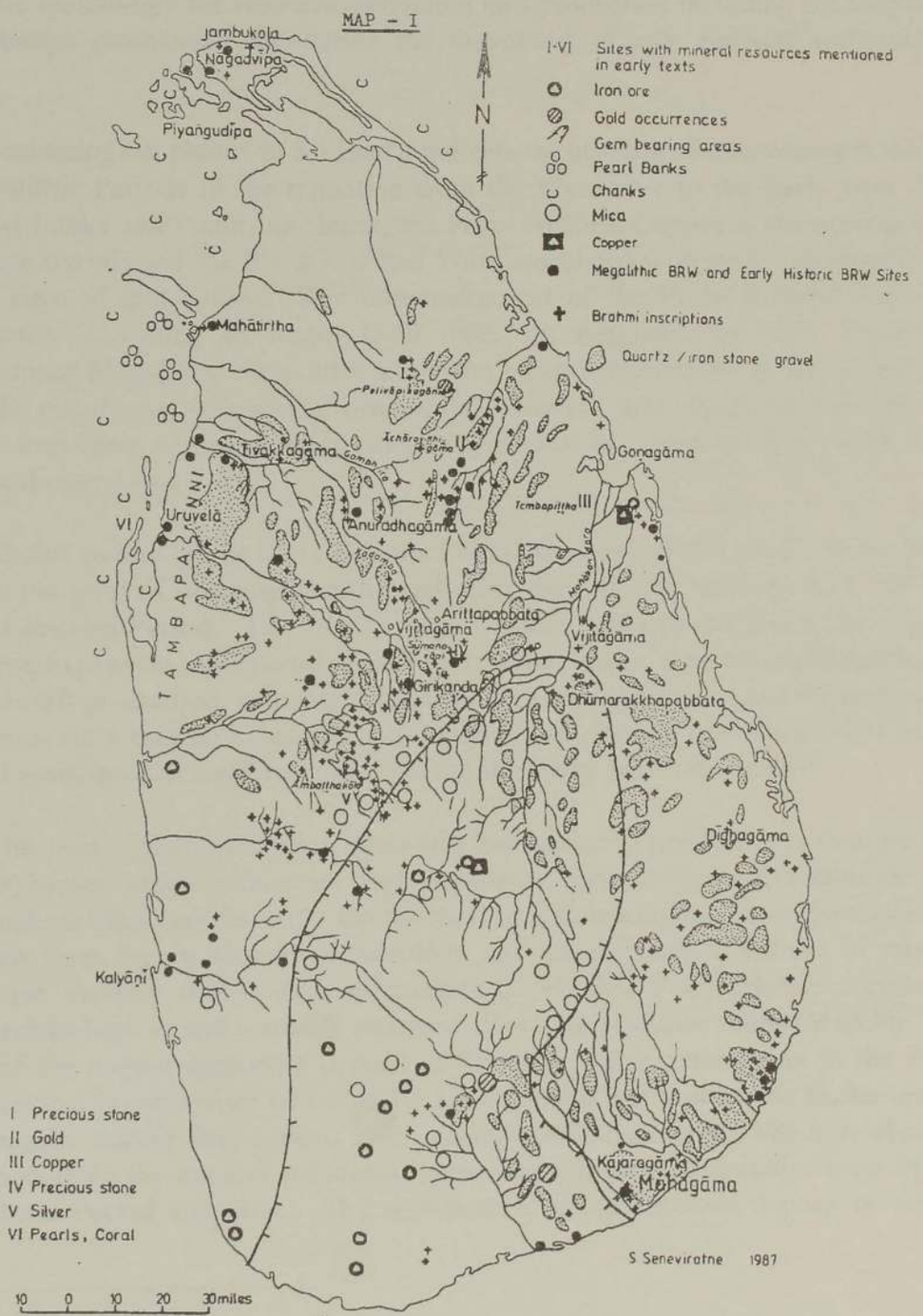
1. A study of the preliminary investigations conducted at Seruwila was presented in a paper entitled "The Historical Archaeology of the Seruwila Copper-Magnetite Deposit" at the *Seminar on the Archaeometallurgy of Sri Lanka* (September 1987, Institute of Fundamental Studies, Kandy, Sri Lanka). A draft of the present paper was submitted to the *National Seminar on Indian Archaeometallurgy* (October 1991, BHU, Varanasi, India). This paper is to be published in *From Sumer to Meluhha* (Wisconsin Archaelogical Reports, Volume 3) ed. Mark Kenoyer (Wisconsin, Madison). The text remains unchanged, though some new references have been added to this article. The author gratefully acknowledges the invaluable assistance received from Mr. Dulip Jayawardena (former Director at the Geological Survey Department of Sri Lanka), Professor C.B. Dissanayake (Director, Institute of Fundamental Studies, Kandy) and Ms. Champa Fernando (Editor, Institute of Fundamental Studies). in the course of this research study.



of a suitable technology for resource extraction and production including the existence of an exchange mechanism facilitating the movement of raw material and finished products.[2]

Technological phases in Sri Lanka indicate the absence of intervening Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods in the transition from the Mesolithic to the Early Iron Age. Both, in Sri Lanka and Peninsular India, the Proto Historic Culture is characterized by the Iron Age burials and the Black and Red Ware associated with such monuments and habitation sites of that period. The commencement of the Proto Historic Period at Anuradhapura, according to recent C-14 dates, is assignable to B.C. 750 ± 50.[3]. Investigations at Megalithic burial sites and Proto Historic habitations in Sri Lanka have revealed the occurrence of personal ornaments, weapons, and objects of domestic use made of iron and copper/bronze including industrial remains associated with metallurgical operations.[4]

Recent studies on the Early Historic Period also suggest that there was a relative increase in the level of utilizing metallic and other mineral ores between B.C. 300 and the Early Christian Period. The relative improvement in the production technology, a demographic expansion, an extension in the settlement zones, a better regularization of specialized craft production, an intensification of the exchange vortex, and the emergence of the pristine state may be listed as crucial factors contributing towards a wider use of metals and associated mineral resources during the Early Historic Period.[5]

The Iron Age communities, therefore had access to metallic ores (mainly iron and copper) located either within the micro-ecological zones or those obtainable through an interzonal exchange mechanism. On the basis of this assumption, a synthesised study of the Early Iron Age settlement archaeology and the distribution pattern of mineral resources (in varying macro and microregions) revealed a remarkable correlation between archaeological and textually recorded sites with resource zones (Map 1). The selection of the copper-magnetite deposit at Seruwila was a natural one to the Proto Historic resident communities of north Sri Lanka which had less access to the central montane region during that period. The central montane region, which is also the primary repository for mineral resources, came under intense exploitation only by the Early Historic Period and after. The significance of the Seruwila deposit is viewed

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2. Seneviratne 1987: 132-133; 1988; 1990.

3. Deraniyagala 1990:14.

4. *vide* Deraniyagala 1972; Parker 1884; Ragupathy 1987; Seneviratne 1984; 1987.

5. Seneviratne 1984; 1985; 1986; 1987; 1987a; 1988; 1990.

within the above context.

THE GEO-ENVIRONMENT SETTING (MAP 2)

The discovery of the mineralized zone at Seruwila in modern times was made in 1971 by the Geological Survey Department of Sri Lanka, However, in 1821 Davy made a reference to the existence of magnetic ore near Trincomalee[6] and following him Tennent records the occurrence of mercury in the same region.[7] Seruwila is located in north east Sri Lanka to the south of the Koddiyar Bay containing the large natural port of Trincomalee. The micro-region brought into focus in this study is situated between the Allai tank and the Ulakali lagoon. Its eastern limits are demarcated by the lagoon, beaches, and dunes. This whole region, along with the Koddiyar Bay, submerged during the Holocene transgression which was followed by the filling-in due to fluvial depositions. Sedimentation is extremely active to this day and the primary landscape is marked by alluvial plains and residual terrain. The Allai tank is situated within a vast natural depression, which is about 12 miles in circumference. The concentration of microearthquake epi-centres along the Mahaweli Basin is known[8] and it is suggested that such a seismic focus may have altered the course of the Mahaweli river in its lower reaches during the Middle or the Late Historic Periods.[9]

The geological formation had a direct bearing on the landscape evolution and the historical geography along the lower valley and deltaic Mahaweli. Seruwila has a matrix of high-grade metamorphic rocks belonging to the Pre-Cambrian Age represented by the Highland and the Vijayan Series. The Highland series, located to the north west, predominantly has charnockites and quartzites whereas the Vijayan Series in the southeast has granites, granitic gneisses, and hornblende-biotite gneisses as the major rock types. The rocks in the Seruwila area indicate parallel repetition of beds thereby showing isoclinal folding.[10]

The occurrence of the ore mineralization at the boundary of the Highland and the Vijayan Series is significant to our study. The highly crushed and altered nature of

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6. 1821/1923: 13.

7. 1859.1: 29 note 3.

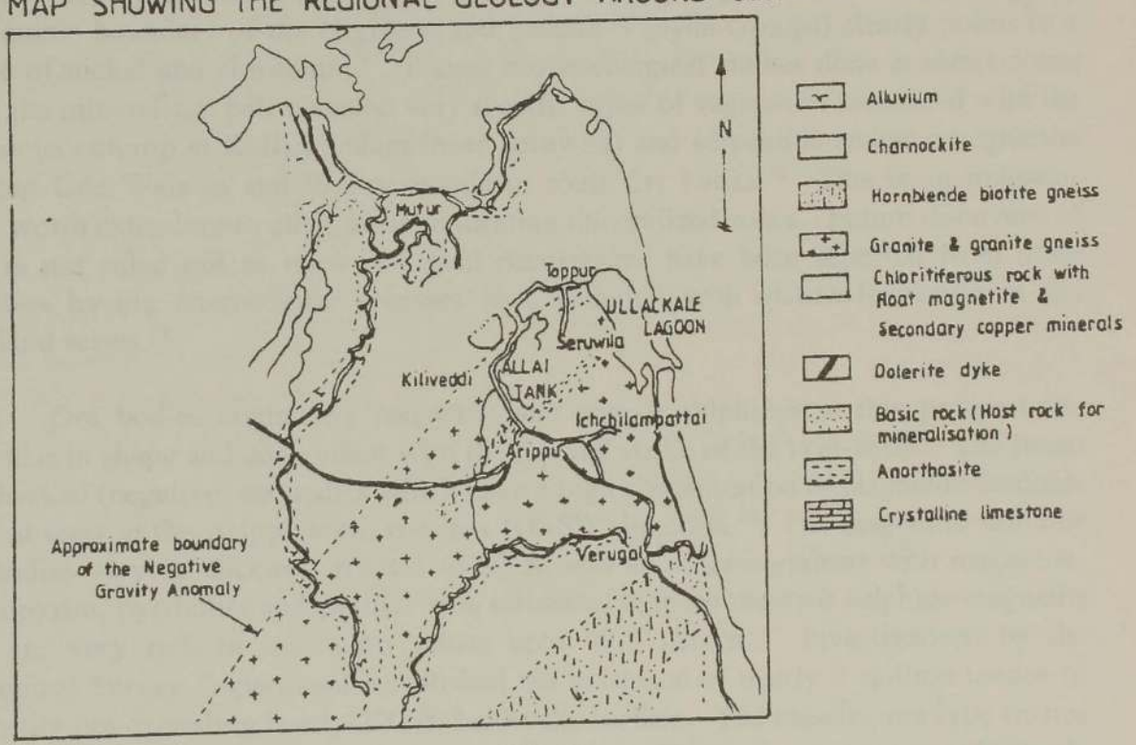
8. Fernando and Kulasinghe 1986.

9. Fernando 1971; Map 3.

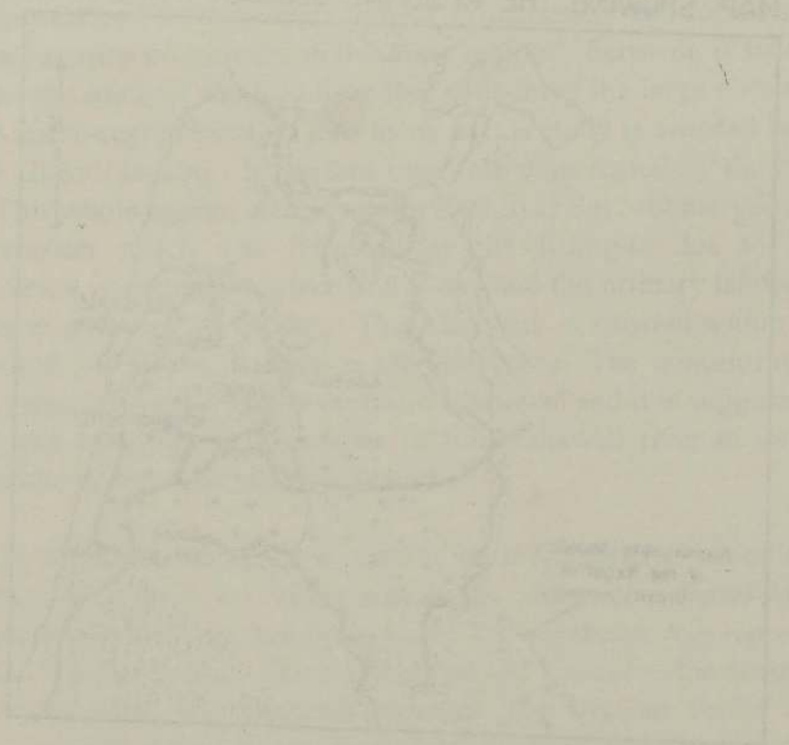
10. *vide* Brohier 1935: III.39; Cooray 1967; Dissanayake and Navaratne 1981; Fernando 1971; 1982; Jayawardena 1982; Dissanayake 1985, for details on the geo-environmental setting.

Map-2

MAP SHOWING THE REGIONAL GEOLOGY AROUND SERUWILA AREA



Jayawardena 1982 : 141



the host rocks forming this boundary indicates that the mineralization is at a tectonic thrustplane. This is represented by an extensive mineralized belt, approximately 10 miles wide and 250 miles long, extending from Trincomalee to Ambalantota (Map 5). The ore mineralization at Seruwila may have taken place during the Upper Cretaceous Period and it is rich in magnetite ore and sulphides (mainly copper) including other minerals such as silver, bismuth, zinc, mica, and nickel (pentlandite rich in cobalt). The existence of serpentinite bodies in association with the prospect at Seruwila (and along the tectonic boundary of the Highland and Eastern Vijayan Groups) clearly points to a source of nickel and chromium.[11] Recent biogeochemical studies done at select zones along the mineralized belt revealed very specific types of vegetation associated with the gossanous outcrop at Kollan Kulam (near Seruwila) and serpentine-endemic vegitation between Uda Walawe and Welipatanwila in south Sri Lanka.[12] This is an indicator study worth extending to other areas in locating mineralized zones. Future discovery of gold is not ruled out as mica and gold occurrences have been reported from other localities having charnockitic gneisses in association with quartz formation in the Highland series.[13]

Ore bodies containing magnetite and copper sulphides in this prospect are lenticular in shape and concordant with the dip and strike of the host-rocks. The linear geophysical (negative) anomalies which have a high concentration of magnetite-sulphide ores, at least in the Arippu area, run in a NE-SW direction.[14] The magnetite-sulphide ore bodies vary in thickness from 3 to 30 ft. and are coarse-grained with magnetite, chalcopyrite, pyrrhotite and pyrite. It is estimated that the massive sulphide-magnetite ores are very rich in iron with values upto 99.5 percent. Investigations by the Geological Survey Department established the existence of nearly 7 million tonnes of magnetite ore extending nearly 200 ft. below the surface. The massive ore type carries a higher content of copper over the disseminated ores. The copper in the ore at Seruwila is around 1:3 and the amount of metallic copper in the Arippu area alone is quantified to be about 68,000 tonnes.

The general topography of Seruwila is relatively flat though the ultrabasic rocks , which is also the host rock for mineralization, and is highly weathered on the surface and survives as outcrops in the micro landscape. The magnetite outcrops vary in height

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11. Dissanayake 1984; 1985.

12. For details see Brooks 1987; 277-279; Brooks et al. 1985: 223-235; Brooks and Johannes 1990: 60.

13. Jayawardena 1982; Dissanayake and Navaratne 1981; Karunaratne and Dissanayake 1990.

14. Jayawardena 1982.

from 3 to 45 ft. and some of these measure 3 to 15 ft. in length. Secondary copper minerals such as malachite and azurite, are exposed on the highly weathered surface of the rock.[15]

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Archaeological data and corroborative evidence derived from epigraphical (Brahmi inscriptions) and textual sources furnish us with information relating to the historical geography and topography of ancient Seruwila. In this connection, Pali texts of the Middle Historic Period, namely the *Dhātuwaṃsa* (*DV*) and to a lesser extent the *Mahāvaṃsa* (*MV*) carry useful references on the historical topography and mineral resources found in this region.

The antiquity of human activity in this region quite clearly extends to the Early Iron Age. Surface investigations at abandoned deep pits in the mineralized zone yielded scattered Megalithic - Black and Red Ware embedded in the soil. Interestingly enough, the *Dhātuvaṃsa* records at least three sites known as *ṭhitapāsāṇathūpa* located on the *sīmā* (boundary) of the *stūpa* premises at Seru (*DV* 68). This is clearly a reference to funerary monuments of upright stone or dolmenoid cists (Plan I).[16] The existence of a dolmenoid cist burial site at Kadiraveli, located only a few miles southeast of Seruwila, bears testimony to the prevalence of Proto Historic settlements in this region. Perhaps an echo of this Early Iron Age community movement to this region is found in the *Mahāvaṃsa* description on the founding of early settlements at Gokaṇṇa, a site located somewhere along the Koddiyar Bay.[17]

The Early Brahmi inscriptions found at Seruwila confirms the continued presence of a settled agricultural community in this region. Inscriptions from the adjacent region carry records of endowments made by merchants and chieftains of the Early Historic Period to the resident Buddhist clergy who depended on the agricultural surplus generated in this area.[18] The *Dhātuvaṃsa* description accounts for two *nagara* (city) and at least twelve *gāma* (village) settlements in addition to *khetta* (fields) and *vapi* (reservoirs) located in the area surrounding the *stūpa* during the chieftainship of Kavantissa, who ruled over the southeast quarter of Sri Lanka during the early 1st century B.C. (Plan I).

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15. *vide* Jayawardena 1982; Herath 1975 for deetails.

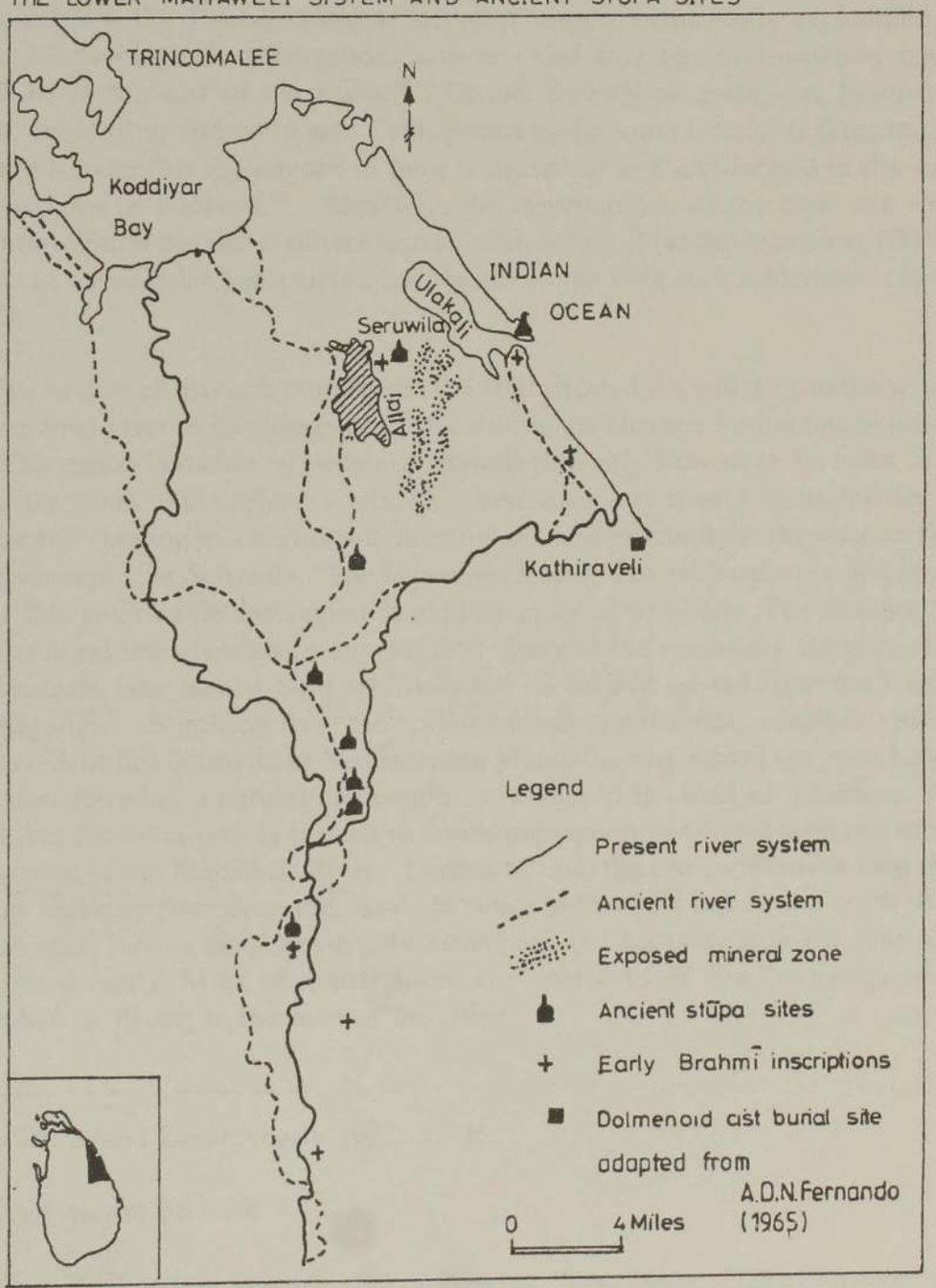
16. Seneviratne 1990a: 147.

17. *Mahāvaṃsa* VIII. 12-13; 24-25.

18. For inscriptions see Paranavitana 1970: Nos. 382-387; *Epigraphical Notes* 1974; XIII Nos. 5 - 6.

Map - 3

THE LOWER MAHAWELI SYSTEM AND ANCIENT STŪPA SITES



The microtopography at Seruwila indicates a gradual inclination from the southeast to the northwest, where the mineralized zone with its rocky outcrops marks the landscape in that sector. The location of the eastern sector as the primary habitation nucleus during the Early Iron Age was due to the natural selection based on the elevation of the microregion, the drainage pattern, and its proximity to the easily exploitable ore resources. Archaeological investigations have revealed an extensive habitation mound nearly 600 ft. to the east of the *stūpa*.[19] Textual description giving the location of habitations, reservoirs, and cultivated fields points in the same locational direction. It is interesting to note that the *nagara* of Seru is described as a city located in the midst of rocky outcrops or *pabbata*.[20] Similarly, the incorporation of the term *sela* (from *śaila* or stone) within the name of residential villages (e.g. Maccha-sela-gāma [*DV* 18, 68]), points to a particular topographic feature associated with such settlements (Map 6 and Plan I).

The Mahaweli River traversed the flat land situated immediately to the west of the resource zone prior to its change of course during the Historic Period due to seismic activity. The major branches of deltaic Mahaweli presently flow over 10 miles to the west and to the south of the *stūpa*. Aerial reconnaissance very clearly shows the dry bed of the Mahaweli running in a northward direction in close proximity to the western flank of the *stūpa* complex at Seruwila. The textual information on the landscape and human ecology of this riverine-deltaic region is explicit in its description. For instance, the *Dhātuvaṃsa* in no uncertain terms situates the *stūpa* and the monastery complex at the edge of a natural lake named Seru which in turn is located on the right bank of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā[21] Significantly, the *Sahassavatth-uppakarana*, another Middle Historic text identifies Seruwila as Mahāsarassa, which literally means the great Lake.[22] The text also describes a natural depression or *sobbha* to the west of the *stūpa*. It is significant that the Allai tank is located in a vast depression associated with the ancient drainage system of the Mahaweli River. Further to this, the text mentions at least three *tittha* (from *tīrtha* or river crossing, ford, landing) to the west and to the north of the *stūpa*. One such ford is very specifically mentioned as Uttarakoṭatittha (lit. 'the *tittha* of the northern end'). Most obviously these are references to river crossings of the ancient Mahaweli River, to the west of the *stūpa*.

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19. Solheim and Deraniyagala 1972: 23-26.

20. *Dhātuvaṃsa* 68 - 69.

21. The Dhātuvaṃsa carries the following description "...tambapaṇṇi dīpe mahāvālukāgaṅgāye dakkhinabhāge serunāma dahassa ante varāha nāma soṇḍimatthake kākavaṇṇatisso nāma rāja patiṭṭhapessati cetiyaṁ saṅghārāma kārāpasseti". (*DV*. 24).

22. *Sahassa*. 183.

The topographic description in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* commences from the eastern sector and follows a full cycle before arriving at the same point. The final landmark in this description, the Loṇasāgara (lit. 'salt sea') located in the east, is a reference to the present Ulakali lagoon which also happens to be the nearest saltwater body. The text also refers to a city by the name Loṇanagara and a *paṭṭana* (port) named Madana, including a *stupa* that was located at the entrance to this port (*paṭṭanamukhadvāra*).[23] The archaeological site of Ilankaturai is situated at the estuary of Ulakali lagoon and this site has yielded the remains of an ancient *stūpa*, Early Historic Black and Red Ware, and early Brahmi inscriptions (Map 6 and Plan I).

ARCHAEOMETALLURGY OF THE SERUWILA PROSPECT

In view of the evidence at hand, it is clear that this resource zone was known, inhabited, and exploited during the Early Iron Age. It is important, therefore, to ascertain the functional value this particular resource zone had to the Early Iron Age community.

First, the very location of the Seruwila copper-magnetite prospect in proximity to the primary habitation zones in the north central plains is significant as it was within easy reach and easily accessible by land, river and sea routes. this is in contrast to the primary mineral deposits in the central montane region that had to be reached, identified extracted and transported through difficult terrain. Mineral stones and metallic ore in particular are 'weight-gaining' objects in relation to the distance factor.[24] It was not practical, therefore, to exploit distantly located sources during the Formative Period. A proper utilization of such resources became possible only with the evolution of Intermediary Transitional Ecosystems in the lower montane-subplain regions during the Early Historic Period[25]

Second, there is the question about the resource zone itself. the primary ore formation at Seruwila is represented by magnetite and sulphides, mainly copper. The functional as well as the utility value are critical factors in the preference shown in selecting a particular ore. In the first instance, it is unlikely that the Proto historic smelters of Sri Lanka had the technological capability of working the highly concentrated magnetite formation (99.5%) by reaching a temperature level of 1800°C to smelt the ore. Some of these concentrated magnetite formations are associated with sulphide ores such

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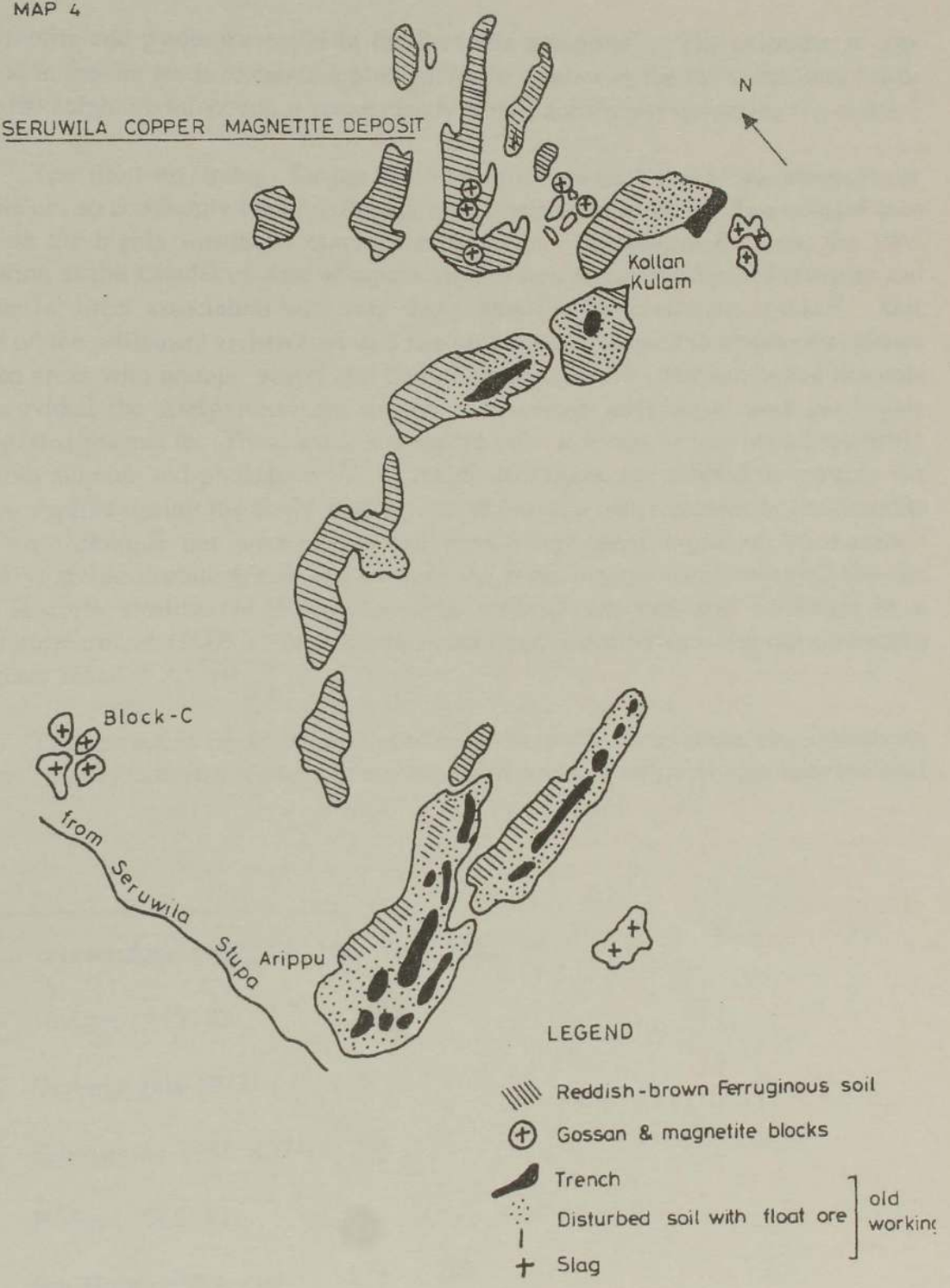
23. *Dhātuvaṃsa* 48.

24. Seneviratne 1987: 144; 1990: 128.

25. Seneviratne 1990.

MAP 4

SERUWILA COPPER MAGNETITE DEPOSIT



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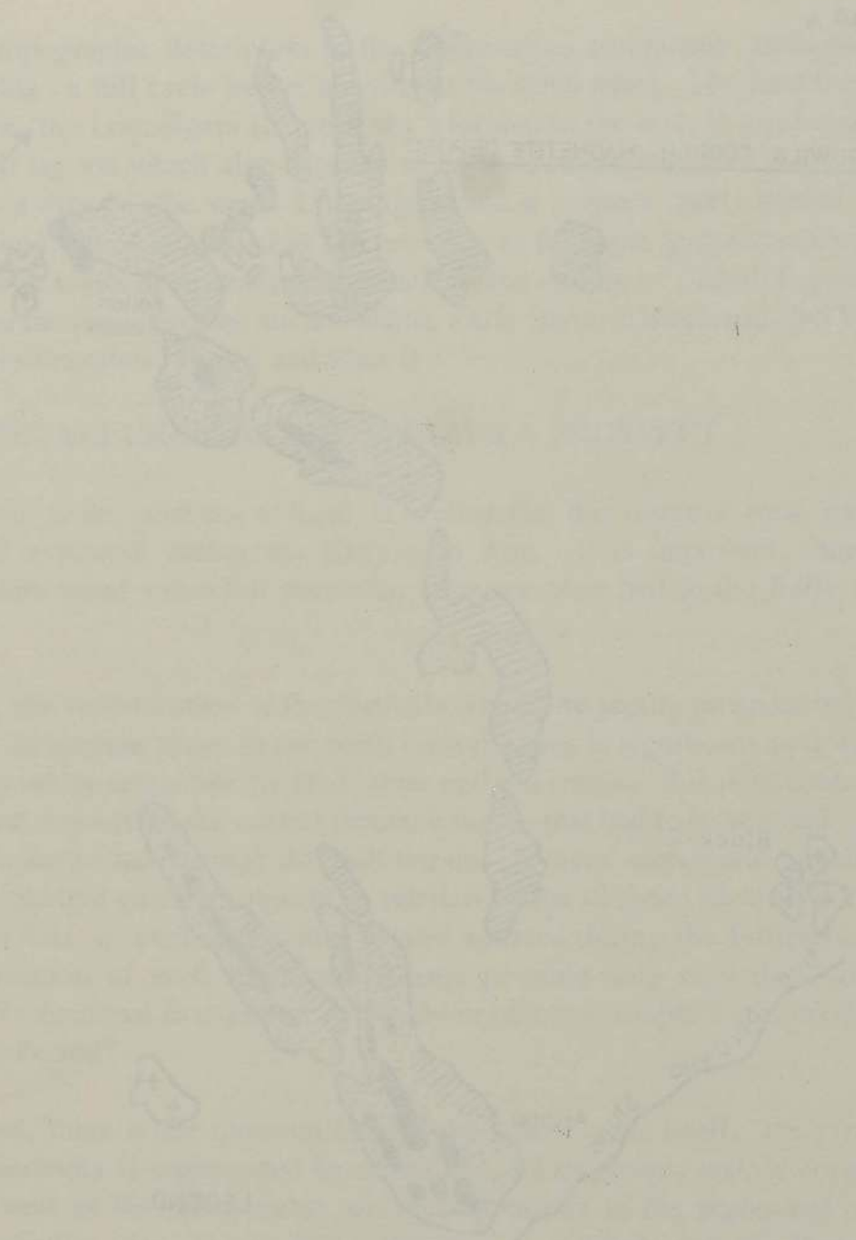
1991



as pyrrhotite and pyrite/marcasite in the Seruwila prospect.[26] The existence of any sulphide in the ore tends to create a problem to the smelter as the metal becomes brittle due to the sulphur content and it consequently entails a difficulty in forging the metal.[27]

The alternate strategy for the Proto Historic ironsmith was to use haematite or limonite ore so commonly found in the northern plains or to work the disseminated ores found on the highly weathered outcrops at Seruwila. To take up the first, the 1969 excavation at the Citadel of Anuradhapura yielded iron stone nodules of haematite and limonite in direct association with iron slag within the Proto Historic levels.[28] Our studies on the settlement archaeology and resource zones also point to a high coincidence between areas with nodular gravel and Early Iron Age sites.[29] Haematite and limonite ores provided the Early Iron Age smelter with certain advantages over the highly concentrated magnetite. These are less compact ores, silicious by nature and relatively free from sulphur and phosphorus.[30] In the broad region, the method of roasting the ore was applied during the Early Iron Age to reduce the water content in the limonite ore,[31] a technique not unknown to the Pre-Modern metallurgist of Sri Lanka.[32] Similarly, archaeometallurgical studies from the broad region also confirmed that the Proto Historic smelters in Peninsular India reduced limonite and haematite at a temperature around 1200°C.[33] and that steel can be obtained by smelting ore containing 50 percent metal.[34]

The extraction of the disseminated ore at Seruwila for iron working operations poses an entirely different strategy of resource utilization. Contrary to the view we held

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26. Jayawardena 1982: 131-132; Yapa 1982: 25.

27. Hodges 1965: 85.

28. Deraniyagala 1973: 152, 155.

29. Seneviratne 1985: 137-141.

30. Hodges 1965: 81.

31. See Hegde 1973: 403.

32. Coomaraswamy 1908/1956: 190.

33. Gogte 1983: 74.

34. Kularatnam 1979: 222.

previously[35] recent investigations conducted by us point to select utilization of less-compact magnetite ore during the Proto Historic Period. In this connection, an analysis of some iron objects unearthed from the Proto and Early Historic levels of Anuradhapura provided several revealing facts (Table 1; Str. 3A and 3B Proto Historic, 4A and 4B Early Historic).

In the first instance, at least five samples out of the eight tested have iron contents over 45 per cent and one sample (No. 7) indicating a high 86 percent. Iron contents of this intensity must either come from a rich source of iron or it reflects the ability of the metalsmith to extract the iron from the ore.[36] The second aspect is even more revealing about the source. All samples tested in this study established a consistent copper-nickel combination, pointing not only to a common source but also to a source particularly rich in copper.[37]

This poses a question about the source itself. One probable source to consider is the magnetite deposit at Panirandawa in southwest Sri Lanka which carried traces of copper.[38] The Panirandawa deposit, however, is inconveniently located in terms of its distance to the north central region. Further more, the magnetite ore is situated 70 to 120 ft. and at times runs to a depth of 500 ft. from the surface.[39] The Seruwila prospect holds the most complex mineral formation which is nearest to the metallic composition of the iron implements tested from Anuradhapura. Trace element studies of the Seruwila prospect showed that the magnetite ores are rich in iron (40 to 99.05 percent) and also the existence of cobalt, nickel, chromium and manganese in the ore. the selection of particular ore formations and their location are elaborated in a subsequent section in this study. The deliberate selection of the copper-magnetite ore at Seruwila by the Early Iron Age ironsmith apparently had a sound technological reasoning behind it. Metallic iron with high copper contents and nickel inclusions is known to be corrosion resistant. The metal objects that were analysed, especially sample No. 7, maintained a remarkable level of corrosion resistance[40]

Evidence derived from textual, epigraphical, and archaeometallurgical studies

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35. Seneviratne 1987: 144.

36. Maliyasena and Seneviratne 1987.

37. *Ibid.*

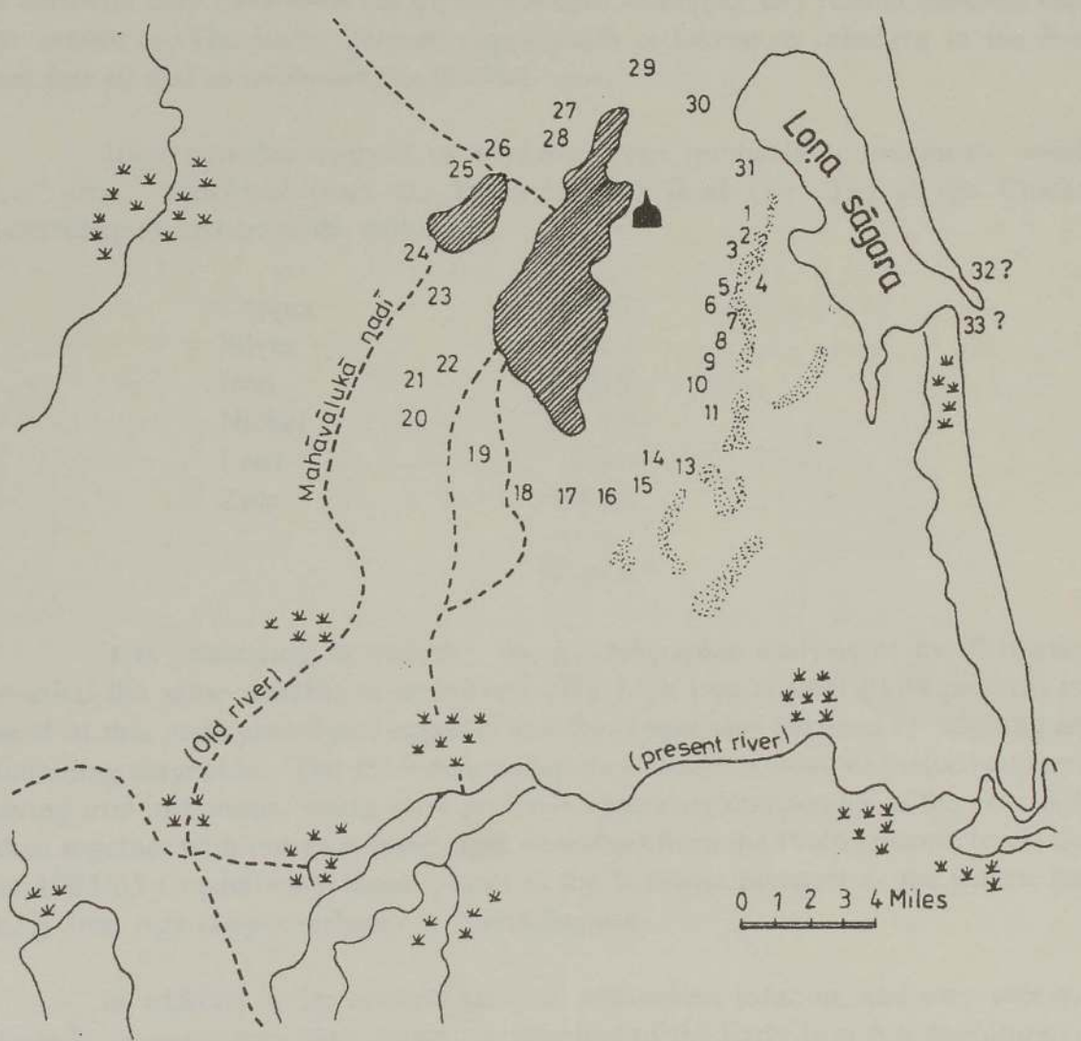
38. Pattiarachchi 1961.

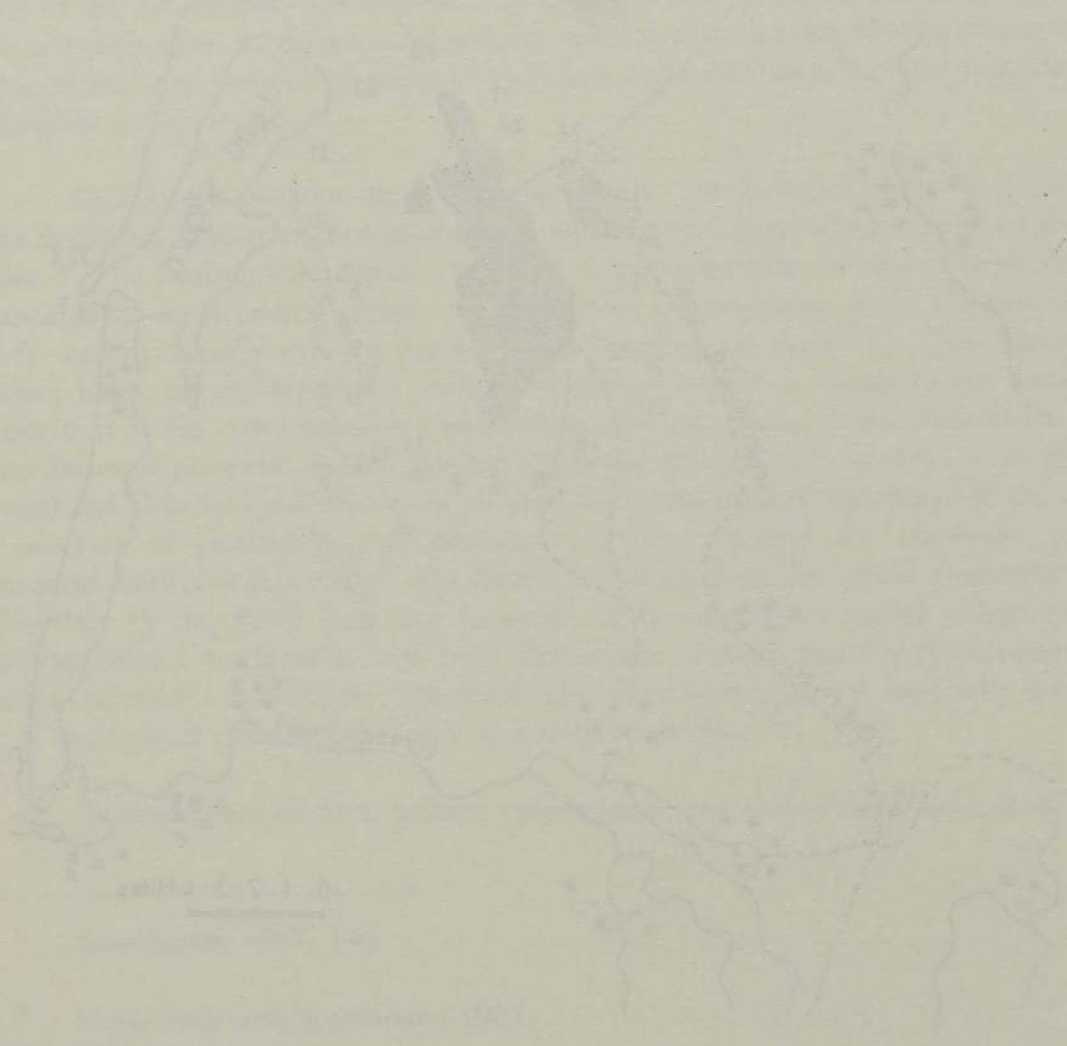
39. Kumarapeli 1963. Also see Tantrigoda and Geekiyanage 1991.

40. Maliyasena and Seneviratne *op.cit.*

Map- 6

Seruwila historical topography
(Suggested location pattern based
on the Dhātuwaṃsa)





indicates that, the metal prospect at Seruwila had a grater utility value as a source of copper to the Early Iron Age community. Proto Historic burials and habitation levels in Sri Lanka point to a somewhat high occurrence of copper-bronze objects representing a range of personal ornaments and items of domestic use. The discovery of copper slag, copper inclusions from crucibles, and tuyeres within the Proto Historic context at the Citadel of Anuradhapura[41] establishes the working of copper during the Early Iron Age. Contrary to the view held so far, raw material in the form of copper and possibly tin was available to the Early Iron Age smelter from sources located within the island. Until the central montane region was effectively penetrated for its copper resources, the prospect at Seruwila may have been the primary source of copper and related minerals used in the industry. The Early Historic coppersmith is known as *tabakara* in the Brahmi inscriptions and as *tambakāra* in the Pali texts.

Spectrographic analysis of a copper object (probably an ornament), weighing 5.11 gms., unearthed from the Proto Historic level (Str. 3A) at the Citadel of Anuradhapura indicated the following.

Copper	94.10%
Silver	1.61%
Iron	0.84%
Nickel	0.13%
Lead	Trace
Zinc	0.41%

	97.01%[42]

It is interesting to note that the spectrographic analysis of the Seruwila ore revealed the same metallic composition. The high iron content (0.84 percent) in the metal of this particular object suggests that the copper was obtained by smelting an ore containing magnetite. The 1969 Anuradhapura Citadel excavations yielded copper slag having iron inclusions, which were probably secondary compounds of the ore. All this taken together with ore containing zinc, unearthed from the Proto Historic levels during the 1984/85 Citadel excavation, points to the Seruwila prospect as the source for the Early Iron Age copper industry at Anuradhapura.

In addition to its mineral content, convenient location, and easy access, the Seruwila prospect may have drawn the attention of the Early Iron Age metallurgist due to two other functional reasons. These may be listed as the natural setting of the ore formation and technological factors associated with production techniques, especially

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41. Deraniyagala 1972: 145.

42. Maliyasena 1986.

working the copper ores.

It is significant that the ancient trenches overlapping the geophysical anomalies (in the Arippu area) revealed scattered remains of magnetite, chalcopyrite and to a greater extent secondary malachite and azurite or copper carbonates.[43] The magnetite at Seruwila is mainly associated with iron sulphide minerals (i.e., chalcopyrites) and to a lesser extent bornite. Sulphide ores such as bornite and chalcopyrites contain copper up to 55.5 percent and 34.6 percent respectively. There are problems related to extracting and working the sulphide ores and, consequently, these problems may have restricted the extensive exploitation of such ores during the Early Iron Age. An additional disadvantage in this connection is the existence of sulphide ores at relatively deep levels within the Seruwila prospect.

Conversely, the existence of some amount of iron pyrites in the slag heaps of Seruwila (or for that matter at any Pre Industrial foundry hearth) does not necessarily point to iron smelting. This may have very well been a result of copper extraction because iron and copper pyrites are known to occur together[44] The relatively high iron content (0.84%) in the spectrographically analysed Proto Historic copper object from Anuradhapura points to a specific technological advantage associated with the use of chalcopyrite magnetite ore at Seruwila. The presence of iron streaks is known to give additional strength to copper implements. The deliberate extraction of chalcopyrite ore by the Chalcolithic coppersmiths of Ahar (in India) may have been associated with this technological advantage.[45]

In view of the relatively large quantities of oxide ores scattered near trenches and pits, it is not altogether impossible that the Early Iron Age smelters may have been more attracted to the easily accessible secondary copper minerals such as malachite and azurite found on the highly weathered surface of the rocks. The existence of oxide ores at Seruwila is an interesting feature on several counts. For instance, the carbonates of this group such as malachite and azurite have colours (blues and greens) that may have been useful to the early smelters in locating their raw material with relative ease.[46] The very formation of the Seruwila prospect, representing small outcrops, provided additional advantages in the process of extracting the ore.

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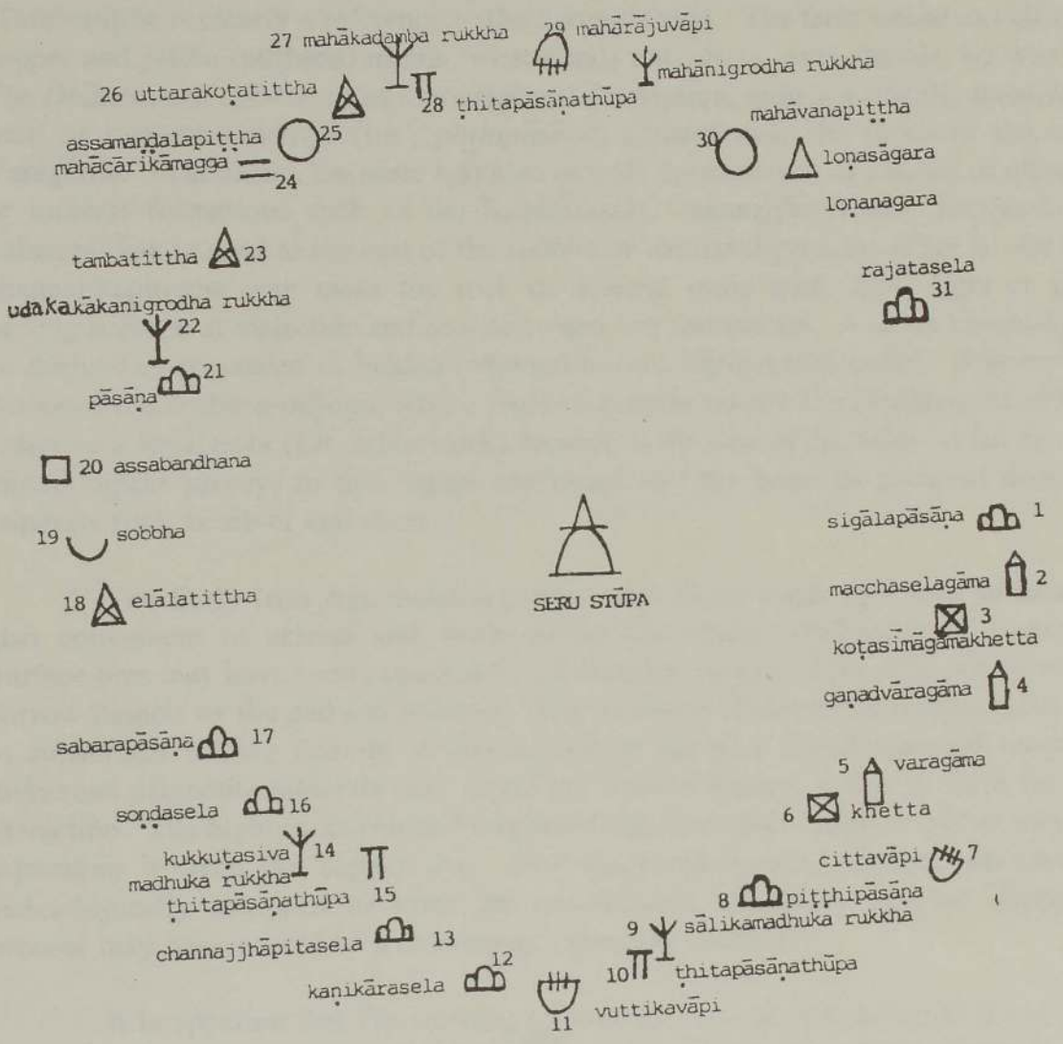
43. Jayawardena 1986.

44. Hodges 1965: 81; also see Bachmann 1982.

45. Hegde 1969.

46. Hodges 1965: 65; for similar features associated with malachite and azurite ores in the Aravalli hills, see Hegde and Ericson 1985: 63.

PLAN - I



SERUWILA HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE
A schematic presentation based on the Dhātuvaṃsa

Sudharshan Seneviratne 1991

In this connection, textual evidence may substantiate this suggestion. The *Mahāvaṃsa* narration describes the 'discovery' of copper in an area called Tambapiṭṭha, seven *yojana* east of Anuradhapura, during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, C. 150 B.C.[47] Tambapiṭṭha is clearly a reference to the Seruwila area. The term *tamba* in Pali means copper and *piṭṭha* (piṭṭhena) means 'what stands out, along, over, beside, by way of'.[48] The *Dhātuvaṃsa* (68-69) in its topographical description, quite specifically mentions the rock or mineral outcrops (i.e., *piṭṭhipāsāṇa*) situated near the fields of the village Varagāma. In addition, the same text also records the existence of a series of other rock or mineral formations such as the Kaṇikārasela, channajjhāpitasela, Soṇḍasela, and Sabarapāsāṇa located to the east of the *sobbha* or natural depression (Plan I). Of these, channajjhāpitasela may mean the rock or mineral stone with shine, light or glitter, hinting perhaps at malachite and azurite copper ore formations. A second meaning may be derived as concealed or hidden (*channa*) burnt (*jhāpati*) rock (*sela*). *Sabarapāsāṇa* derives from *śvabhra-pāṣāṇa*, where *śvabhra* denotes mica. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* (69) also refers to a Rajatasela (Lit. silver-rock) located to the east of the *stūpa* (Plan I). Geo-mineralogical surveys in this region confirmed that the Seruwila prospect does carry minerals such as silver and mica.

The Early Iron Age metallurgist not only found oxide ores easy to locate but also convenient to extract and work within the existing technological framework. Surface ores may have been extracted by splitting the surface of the rock and by working narrow tunnels by the gad and hammer. The existence of numerous trenches also points to subsurface mining activity at this deposit in the past. The scattered remains of numerous magnetite minerals may reveal yet another feature related to the form of ore extraction. The highly concentrated magnetite may have been 'chipped-off' *en bloc*, thus separating it from the copper ore. For the Proto historic smelter, who was not technologically equipped to work the concentrated magnetite ore, the chipping-off process may have served as a convenient extracting method.

It is apparent that the working of sulphide ores in turn points to the ability of the Early Iron Age smelter in separating and refining the copper minerals. The disadvantage of working the sulphide ores, however, was the requirement of an additional in-put of time and labour due to the existence of unwanted matter such as gangue (silica) found in the ore. A second sample tested from Str. 4B (Citadel of Anuradhapura) showed that it is almost 100 per cent pure copper viz. copper 98.16 per cent, silver 1.95 per cent, iron 0.24 per cent, nickel 0.37 per cent.[49] It is possible that the ore was roasted to concentrate the copper. The practice of roasting was not unknown

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47. *Mahavamsa* XXVIII. 16-17.

48. Rhys Davids and Stede 1959: 457.

49. Maliyasena 1986.

to the Chalcolithic smelters of Ahar in India,[50] and to the Pre-christian smelters of Thailand.[51]

The oxide ores on the other hand are considered to be the most simple and profitable type to be worked because the copper content of malachite and azurite is as high as 57.03 per cent and 55.01 per cent respectively. Surface investigations in the Arippu areas, where metallic copper is highly concentrated, quite significantly yielded beaten copper. Metallic copper found in this locality represents the type of native copper described as a raw material requiring '...neither smelting nor casting and could be worked into small articles by simply hammering...'.[52]

The ability to work copper and use alloys did not require great technological advancements to the metallurgist already familiar with the iron technology and the process of making steel.[53] For instance, if the raw material consisted of native copper, then the small objects could be hammered into shape. The ability to derive oxide ores with relative ease was an additional advantage. In working the ore, the early metallurgist had little trouble in smelting or melting copper ore as the minimum temperature required for that purpose is 400°C,[54] whereas reduction of carbonate/oxide ores can be performed at 1100°C.[55] In certain cases reduction can be done even at 700° - 800°C. and pure copper in fact melts at 1083°C.[56]

The existence of bronze implements within the Proto Historic context in Sri Lanka points to resource requirements beyond copper. It is, however, uncertain whether the bronze implements found within the Proto Historic context were imports or manufactured locally. Interestingly enough, two recorded instances of bronze objects from megalithic burials are reported from the western sector of the island, Pomparippu[57] and Pin-weva,[58] and it is not known whether this indicates the arrival

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50. Hegde 1973: 401-402.

51. Bennette 1987.

52. Hodges 1965: 65.

53. *Vide* Seneviratne 1987.

54. Bharadvaj 1973: 391-392.

55. Hodges 1965: 66.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Arch. Surv. An. Rep.* 1957: 30-31.

of bronze implements to this region from South India. The metallic composition of bronzes from the urn burial site at Adichchanallur (Tirunelveli District) in Tamilnadu revealed the following:

Copper	75%
Tin	23%
Lead	0.2%
Iron	0.4% (Rea 1915: 3 note 3)

Significantly, with the exception of bronze objects obtained from the megalithic burials in northern Deccan, e.g. Takalghat and Mahurjhari[59] where the copper-iron contents at times are as high as 86.34 and 0.84 percent respectively, none of the Proto Historic sites in Peninsular India reveal a similar copper-iron combination in the bronzes. It is therefore pertinent to question whether the Proto Historic metalsmiths in the Tambapaṇṇi valley imported copper from Seruwila and obtained their tin requirements from internal sources such as Kadavur and Ururakkarad in central Tamilnadu in turning out their high quality bronzes.[60] These bronzes apparently carried high prestige value. For instance, at Adichchanallur the bronzes discovered were restricted to particulars objects, limited in number and were invariably deposited inside and very rarely found outside the urns.

By the Early Historic Period however, there is positive evidence for the existence of tinsmiths within the island. At Periyapuliyankulam, a site located near the Mamaduwa burial complex, an early Brahmi inscription records an endowment made by a *topaśa* or tinsmith.[61] Cassiterite is known to occur within the mineralized belt and in the Ratnapura area though its level and period of extraction are not known. The advantage of cassiterite is that it can be located with ease and also has a tin content as high as 75 to 78 per cent. Working cassiterite did not pose any problem either, as tin ore tends to melt at 232°C. It is not altogether impossible that some amount of tin may have been imported from external sources such as those located in central Tamilnadu. Resource movement of this nature may not have been unusual during the Early Iron Age as raw material such as carnelian was brought into Sri Lanka from the southern Deccan for the bead manufacturing industry during the Proto Historic Period.

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58. Seneviratne 1984:248.

59. Deo 1982: 29; 1973: 77.

60. For such sources in Tamilnadu, see Chakrabarti 1979.

61. Paranavitana 1970: No. 370.

Alternatively, a second possible source for tin during the Early Iron Age especially the Early Historic Period may have been eastern India, which was linked up with Sri Lanka through the long-distance trade mechanism. The region known as Vanga in antiquity coincides with the tin-bearing western districts of Bengal. It is also significant that the personal name Tapussa, one of the earliest lay disciples of Buddha, may have derived from *trapu* or tin. Tapussa is said to have travelled from south Bihar touching north east Sri Lanka on his way to Suvarṇabhūmi (Burma). Southern Burma is a primary repository for copper and tin ores which were exported to eastern India at least during the Middle and Late Historic Periods.[62] (*vide* Schroeder 1981: Chapter 7). The possibility of copper technology reaching eastern India from South East Asia during the Proto Historic Period is not totally ruled out.[63]

It is also a fact that the metallurgy of iron has little in common with copper and bronze technology. However, a close proximity between these two industries in terms of their physical location was an advantage. The utilization of iron slag as flux in the native method of Indian as well as South East Asian copper smelting is a case in point.[64] Investigations at Early Iron Age habitation sites (e.g., Anuradhapura, Kantarodai, Tissamaharama) revealed that iron and copper workings were situated in the same locality and at times within the same premises. It is also recorded that as late as 1884, cassiterite-granules were smelted in iron furnaces in central India.[65]

Another aspect related to the utilization of mineral resources supplementing the technology of the craftsman was his ability to use antimony and arsenic, in order to give a hardening effect to antimonial and bronze implements. In addition to some sources yielding stibnite (antimony trisulphide) and mispickle (arsenical pyrites) located in the montane region and in south west Sri Lanka, it is quite likely that much of the antimony, mercury and arsenic requirements were obtained from the sulphur minerals found within the Seruwila prospect.[66] Terms such as *haritāla* (orpiment or arsenic trisulphide), *manosilā* (minium or red lead) and *hinguli* (cinnabar or mercuric sulphide) are found in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* descriptions. There may have been a relative appreciation of such minerals with improved levels of casting and alloying during the Early Historic Period. The microstructure of the spectrographically analysed copper object from the Early Historic levels at Anuradhapura indicated that it is free of voids

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62. *Vide* Schroeder 1981: Chapter 7.

63. *Vide* Ray and Chakrabarti 1975.

64. For Thailand see Bennett 1987.

65. Chakrabarti 1979: 62.

66. Also see Tennent 1859.I: 29 note 3.

and was produced by casting.[67]

The rich mineral potential of the Seruwila deposit was quite well recognized by the 1st century B.C./A.C. Period. For instance, the dark blue transparent glass beads unearthed from Str, 4B at Anuradhapura and similar ones found at Kantarodai indicated that the colour had occurred due to cobalt.[68] The Seruwila deposit revealed cobalt-nickel mineralization[69] and the nickel found therein is described as pentlandite and has a melting point at 1455°C. Cobalt has to be extracted by converting the ore into oxide and reducing the latter with aluminium. It melts at 1480°C and is used in compounds to produce a blue colour in glass and in ceramics. As cobalt oxide is a very strong colourant, it is used in limited amounts as 1/2 to 1 percent.[70] The extraction of such sulphur ores become possible only with the ability of the smelter in generating high temperature levels under more controlled conditions by the Early Historic Period. The craftsmen of this period also mastered the art of obtaining colour variation on glazed tiles by using copper oxide[71] This is evident by the profuse occurrence of glazed tiles during the Early Middle Historic Period.[72] The crucial significance of the Seruwila deposit as the primary repository for strategic minerals was so well recognized during the Early Historic Period that, when the *Mahāvaṃsa* was documented in the 5th century A.D. its author did not hesitate to credit the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (C-150 B.C.), the hero-king in the chronicle, with the 'discovery' of this metallic source.

RESOURCE MOVEMENT AND PRODUCTION-DISTRIBUTION ZONES

The process of resource movement from Seruwila is central to this discussion. There was however an obvious difficulty involved in transporting large quantities of copper ore from Seruwila to centres of production and consumption. Copper, therefore may have moved out of the source area mainly in the form of a semi-product. The recovery of copper ingots from several Early Iron Age habitation sites in the north (e.g., Mantai, Kantarodai, Vallipuram) more or less points to the most convenient semi-product, facilitating resource movement associated with a weight-gaining object to

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67. Maliyasena 1986; Deraniyagala 1986: 41.

68. Deraniyagala 1972: 138.

69. Jayawardena 1982: 138.

70. Hodges 1965: 45.

71. Pieris 1917: 23 note; Paranavitana 1936: 5.

72. Deraniyagala 1986: 42 dates the occurrence of glazed tiles at the Citadel to C. 200 A.D.

distantly located places. In all probability, *tambalohabīja* (lit. 'balls of metallic copper') presented to King Dutthagāmaṇī by the residents of Tambapiṭṭha[73] may have well been such copper ingots. There is sufficient evidence from the Seruwila-Arippu region to conclude that extensive smelting activity was carried out in the source area in the past. Several field studies report the remains of large heaps of slag, especially in the Seruwila-Arippu area.[74] In some quarters the slag remains were in such large piles that they obstructed the construction of the Right Bank Canal of the Allai Scheme in 1957.

Textual, inscriptional, and archaeological sources carry evidence pertaining to this process of resource movement from the Seruwila region. Copper in the form of ore or ingots may have moved out of the source area through land and water courses. The topographic description in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* records the existence of several *tittha*, identifiable as ports/landings/fords associated with the Mahaweli River. One such *tittha*, located to the west of the *stūpa*, is called Tambatittha, literally 'copper-port', indicating perhaps its primary economic function related to copper (See Map 4 and Plan 1). Small boats carrying ore or ingots may have moved along the old river course of the Mahaweli connecting the internal resource areas with the Koddiyar Bay and the Ulakali lagoon, both ultimately opening out to the Bay of Bengal. As late as 1857 '... boats drawing a foot of water were able to come from Koddiyar Bay up the escape channel to within a few hundred yards of the (Allai) tank, a distance of six miles'.[75]

To note some land routes, it is significant that Pybus (the British emissary) travelled from Trincomalee to Kandy in 1762 along an existing route that commenced at the mouth of the Koddiyar river, moving south to Kiliveddi on the Allai tank and on to the ford at Kandakadu on the Mahaweli. Pybus also records the lake at Kiliveddi and the extensive plains in that region.[76] The *Dhātuvaṃsa* description also mentions a prominent highway known as Mahācārikā-magga, immediately after Tambatittha. This evidently refers to an important land route running westward from Seruwila to the north central region, directly to Anuradhapura thus connecting the source area with one of the major production-distribution centres.

Production-distribution may have been better regularized during the Historic Period as we have some information for the existence of organized corporate bodies of craft or commercial guilds. The *Dhātuvaṃsa* topographic description locates a village

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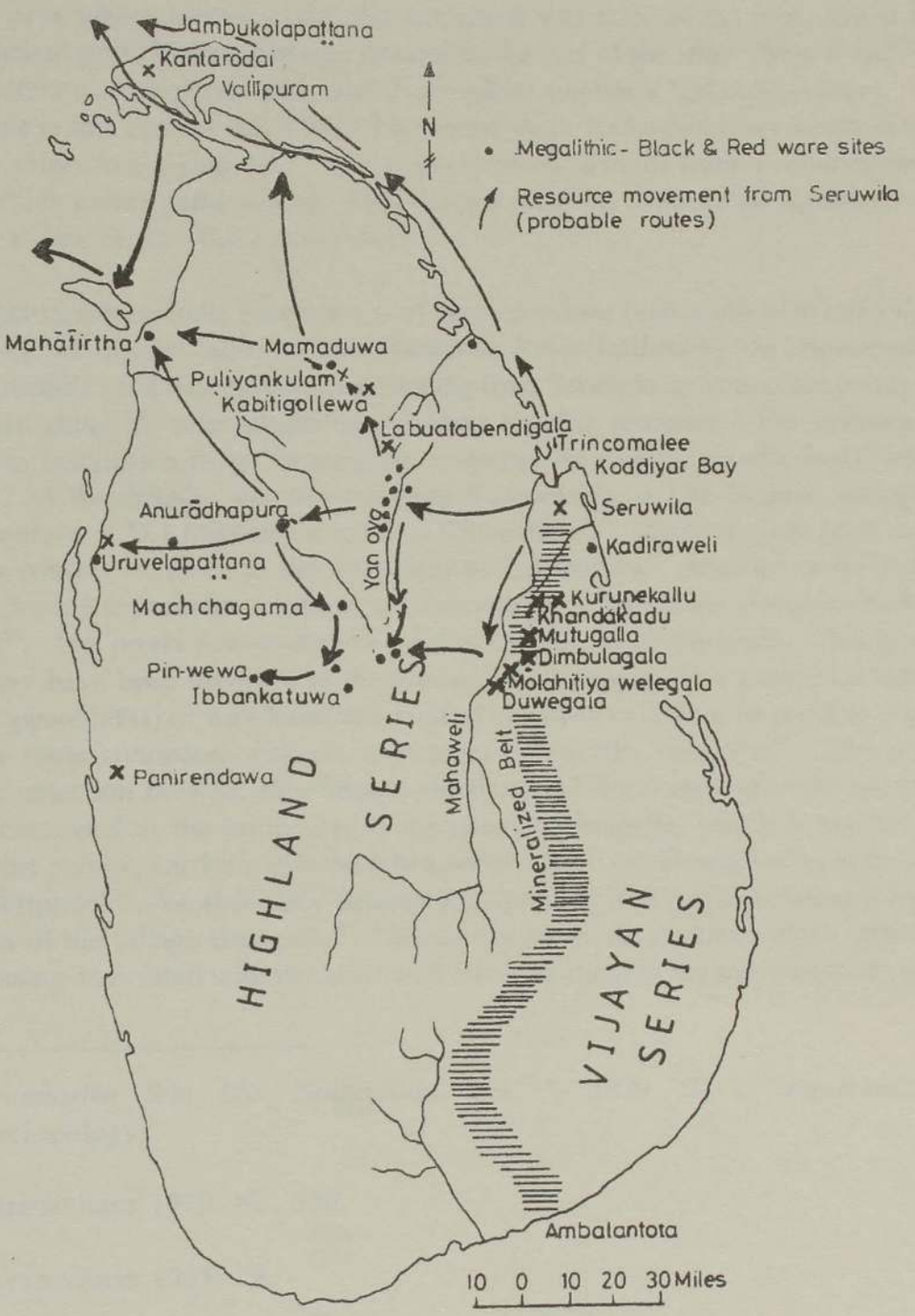
73. *Mahāvaṃsa* XXVIII. 17.

74. Solheim and Deraniyagala 1972: 4, 19; Jayawardena 1982: 129; Yapa 1983: 169.

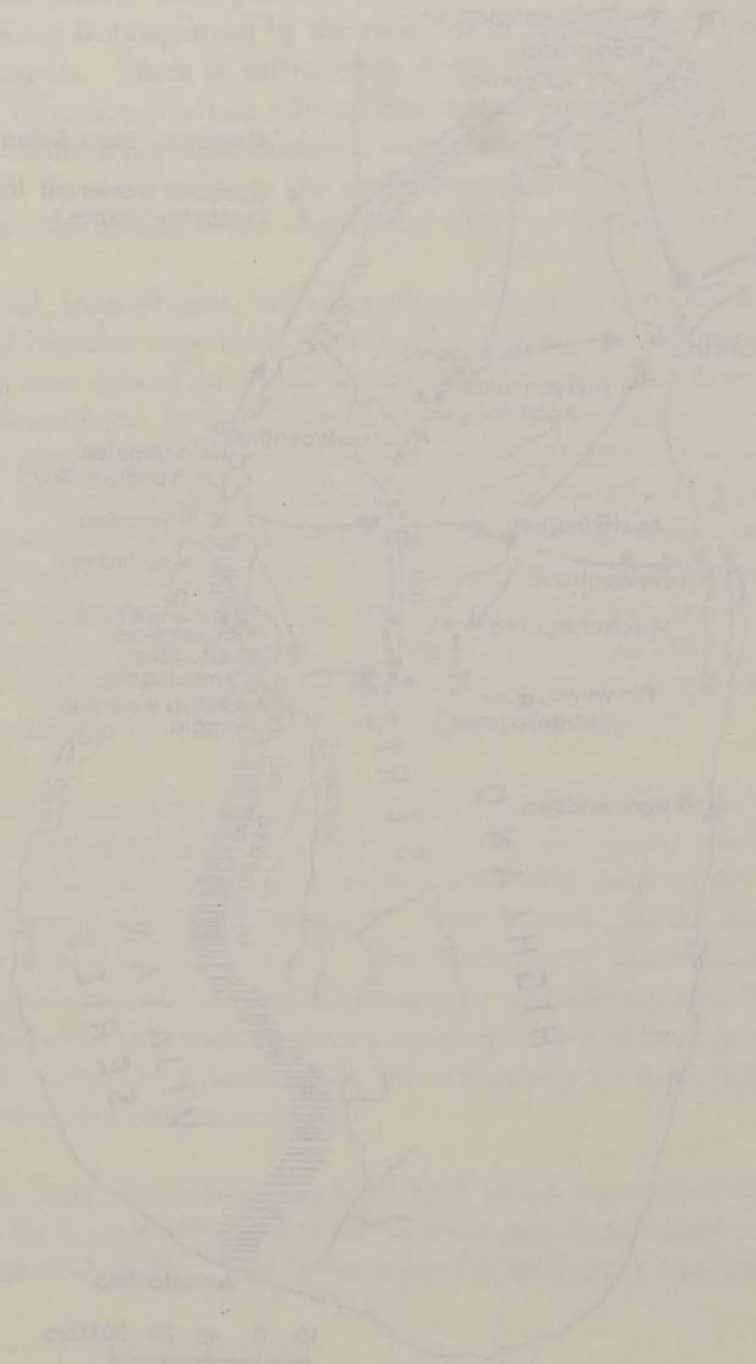
75. Brohier 1935: III. 39.

76. Deraniyagala, P. 1958: 33-35.

Map-5



Sudharshan Seneviratne 1991



named Gaṇadvāragāma to the east of the *stūpa*. This locational direction coincides with the Arippu area where intensive metallic extraction was done in the past, and it also faces the ancient port, Madanapaṭṭana, situated to the east of the *stūpa* (Map 6 and Plan I). *Gaṇa* refers to a corporate body and *dvāra-gāma* implies a 'gateway village'. It is useful to note in this context that a 9th/10th century A.D. rock edict from Seruwila very specifically refers to a niyam-det.[77] The term *niyam-deṭ* derives from *nigama-jeṭṭha* > *niyam-jeṭ* which means guild-master. This also points to the commercial significance of this region as late as the 10th century A.D.

There seems to have been a series of such corporate bodies and even individuals located along the lower valley of the Mahaweli River facilitating the movement or processing metallic and minerals ores originating from Seruwila or from other points that were situated along the mineralized belt yielding metallic resources. For instance, an early Brahmi inscription from Kurunekallu mentions the *puki* (corporate body) of the Dipikuli[78]. At Kandakadu, not too far from Kurunekallu, a late Brahmi inscription (3rd. 4th century A.D.) mentions a *haba* of Cittanakara[79]. *Haba* derives from *sabhā* and in this context it refers to the city-guild of Cittanakara. Another early Brahmi inscription from Kurunekallu mentions an endowment of *parumaka* (lineage chieftain) Tabara Vēḷ[80]. The prefix *tabara* derives from *tambakāra* or coppersmith. This lineage chieftain may have been involved in the production of copper (as a master craftsman, leader of coppersmiths) or may have had wielded authority over an area yielding copper and even a route connected with the movement of metallic resources[81]. The socio-economic connection between this lineage chieftain and the corporate body called the Dipikuli, mentioned at the same site, is not clear. Mutugalla, which is another site located in this cluster, carries a reference to a *kabara* (ironsmith/metalsmith) in an early Brahmi inscription[82]. Another early Brahmi inscription at Mutugalla mentions a *toḍika* or ferryman of the village Banagama[83] This may point to the existence of an important ford or crossing associated with the Mahaweli River facilitating the movement of people

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77. *Traimasika Sila Lipi Sangrahaya* Vol. I, 1979: 21. Department of Archaeology.

78. Paranavitana 1970: No. 320.

79. Paranavitana 1963: 79.

80. Paranavitana 1970: No. 319.

81. Seneviratne 1992.

82. Paranavitana 1970: No. 301.

83. Paranavitana 1970: No. 309.

and resources. Quite obviously the *toḍika* in this case was a person of some social standing as the same inscription addresses his son as a *gamika*.

All these sites are located on or in close proximity to the mineralized belt (Map 5). It is, therefore, not altogether impossible that the corporate bodies and the individuals mentioned may have been involved in the movement or extracting locally available mineral resources. The above-mentioned sites are situated within a distance less than 50 miles south of Seruwila and are easily accessible by boat and may have formed extended units of the same resource zone. For that reason this particular area may have been recognized as a very specific ecological zone by the Early Historic Period. An inscription datable to around A.D. 30, from Molahitiyawelegala (which is situated to the south of the above-mentioned region) mentions a place named Lodora or Lohadvāra[84]. The place named Lohadvāra is also mentioned in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (XXXVII. 212) in association with Dhūmarakkhapabbata (Dimbulagala) which is not too far from Molahitiyawelegala. *Lohadvāra*, literally means 'door/entrance of metal'. *Loha* in general is metal though it specifically denotes 'copper, brass and bronze'[85]. Therefore, taken in the above context, Lohadvāra may have implied 'entrace to the land of metals or copper', reflecting the function of this particular region as an entry point to the resource zone associated with the Seruwila-Arippu area.

It is reasonable to assume that by the Early Historic Period, mainly copper and to a lesser extent iron and other minerals were beginning to move out of Seruwila into centres of production-distribution and consumption. Resource movement out of this region occurred through land-routes and coastal sea-routes. There may have been a quantitative expansion in the movement of resources or finished objects of metallic ware from the Proto Historic Period to the Early Historic Period. From Seruwila, resources may have moved into internal production-distribution centres where there was a further redistribution to other centres of consumption from the latter.

The middle Yan Oya valley could be identified as one of the most important production-distribution zones, since the Proto Historic Period. It possessed the geographical advantage of facing the Mamaduwa-Periyapuliyankulam area, the Anuradhpura area, the upper Kala Oya area and upper Yan Oya-Sigiri region. It was also strategically located centering three resource zones i.e. Seruwila, Kabitigollewa (Ācāravitthigāma in Map I) and the lower montane region. It is not a coincidence that the primary highway connecting Seruwila with Anuradhapura (i.e., Mahācārikāmagga) traversed the middle Yan Oya. The occurrence of pumice stone (found only in the littoral of the north east) at certain megalithic sites in the Yan Oya valley confirms the

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84. Paranavitana 1983: 4 - 5.

85. Rhys Davids and Stede 1959: 589.

movement of resources through this region[86]. Our studies also indicate that the middle valley of the Yan Oya housed powerful *parumaka* or lineage chieftains controlling this vital junction region and its human resources since the Proto Historic Period[87].

By the Early Historic Period the existence of organized groups of specialists and the organization of labour in the middle Yan Oya valley is known to the sources. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (XXIII. 4-5) records the existence of a village of workers or *kammantagāma* in this region[88]. An early Brahmi inscription from Brahmanayāgama (middle Yan Oya valley) records the endowment of a *kabara* or metalsmith/ironsmith[89]. Another site in the vicinity, Nattukanda, carries a 1st Century A.D. inscription mentioning a reservoir associated with a *Kabaragama* or the village of ironsmiths/metalsmiths[90]. An inscription belonging to the same period at Kahatagasdigiliya in the middle Yan Oya valley mentions a *kabaravi*, literally 'the tank of the metalsmith'[91].

The organization of the Proto Historic residential villages of craftsmen into specialized units of production by the Early Historic Period suggests relatively intensive production based on metallic ore brought in from the Seruwila prospect. The most convincing evidence substantiating this hypothesis comes from a late Brahmi inscription (C. 350 A.D.) at Labuatabandigala, a site located between the middle Yan Oya and Kabitigollawa. This inscription very specifically mentions a *niyama* (*nigama*) or corporate body/guild known as the Mahatabaka, literally 'the great copper-working guild'[92]. The inscription situates this guild in the eastern quarter of the city '... *nakarahi pajinapasahi* ...' or the locational direction coinciding with the resource area (i.e., Seruwila) situated in the east. The inscription also hints that the guild functioned as a bank, pointing to its involvement in commercial transactions related to copper objects as well.

It may be suggested that the metallic ore, semiprocessed material, or finished objects moved across the middle Yan Oya valley and arrived at other primary

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86. *vide* Cooray 1967: 193 for details on pumice; Seneviratne 1984: 251.

87. Seneviratne 1984: 248-154; 1987a; 1992.

88. Seneviratne 1985a: 390ff.; 1990n.

89. Paranavitana 1970: no. 161d.

90. Nicholas Vol. II 80 No. 6.

91. Uduwara 1991: 211.

92. For inscription see Paranavitana 1928-33: 247-253.

production-distribution zones. Immediately to the north west of the Yan Oya is the Mamaduwa-Periyapuliyankulam area, which has an antiquity going up to the Proto Historic Period[93]. The early Brahmi inscriptions at Periyapuliyankulam very specifically refer to *tabakara* (coppersmiths) and *topaśa* (tinsmiths) and several donations made by merchants. One such tinsmith is also called a *gahapati* or head of the household[94]. Our studies indicate that during the Early Historic Period a powerful *parumaka* lineage group apparently wielded hegemonic authority over this region and they contracted matrimonial alliances with the *parumaka* lineage group controlling the middle Yan Oya valley[95].

It appears that copper resources reached the Jaffna peninsular from Seruwila through sea and land routes, the latter running from the resource area through the middle Yan Oya and the Mamaduwa-Periyapuliyandulam area. Sites such as Kantarodai and Vallipiuram, which have an antiquity running to the Early Iron Age, yielded copper ingots, other copper products, industrial remains associated with copper related work and even lead.[96]. The *Sīhalavatthupakaraṇa* (*Svp.* 7) records the existence of a village called Mahāharitālagāma in Nagadvipa (Jaffna peninsular). *Haritāla* is orpiment or arsenic trisulphide, and this may point to the existence of a village where alloying was done with the use of orpiment. The *Mahāvaṃsa* carries several references to the port of Jambukolapaṭṭana, located in the northern littoral of the Jaffna peninsular and as a point of contact for the Coromandal coast in India.

Mahātīrtha (literally 'the great port') was another major production-distribution centre that developed during the Early Historic Period. This site, which is located in the north west littoral of Sri Lanka, has yielded large quantities of oxide copper ore, iron slag, iron ore, remains of crucibles, furnaces and associated tuyeres, large quantities of copper ingots and other finished metallic objects[97]. The source for the oxide and sulphide ores found at Mantai may be traced to Seruwila. The land route for such resources may have touched the Mamaduwa-Periyapuliyankulam area and the city of Anuradhapura as well. Considering the large quantity of metallic remains (both industrial and finished products) found at Mantai, it is quite possible that some amount of copper and other minerals may have reached this site from Seruwila along a coastal sea route. The existence of a port or ford called Tambatittha, to the north of the *stūpa*

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93. Seneviratne 1984: 246-247.

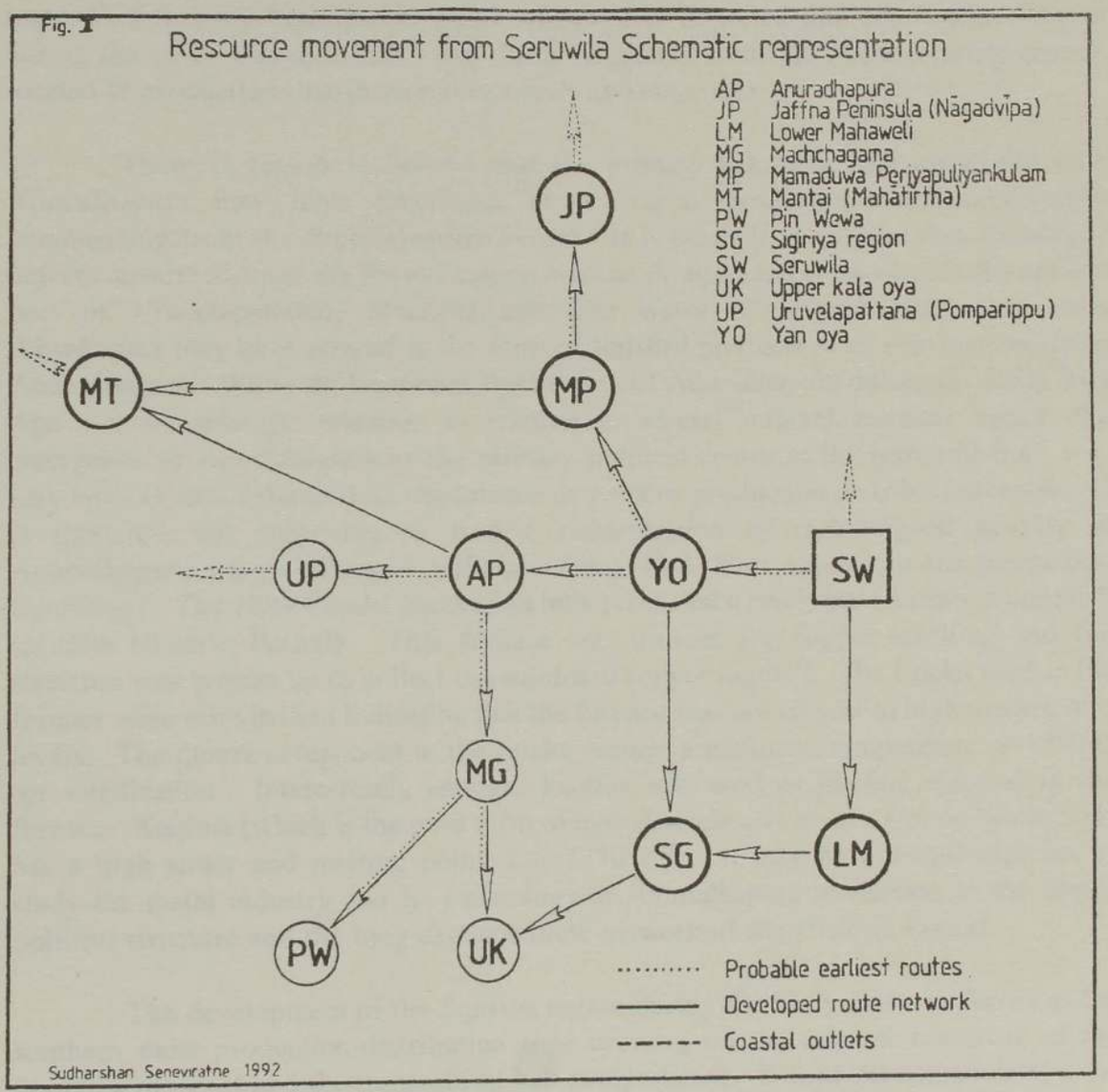
94. Paranavitana 1970: Nos. 350, 351, 370.

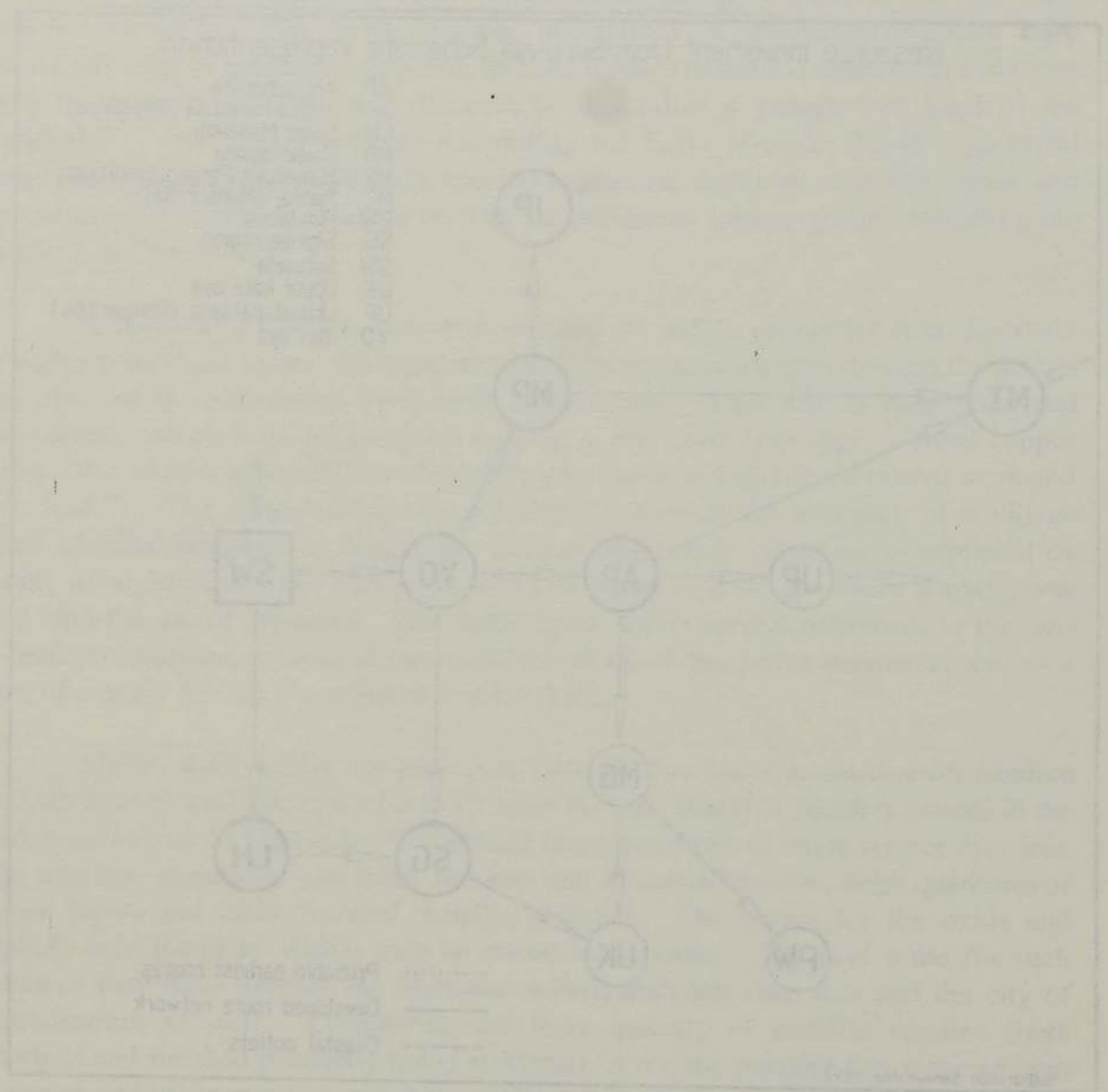
95. Seneviratne 1992.

96. Pieris 1919: 60-61; *vide* Raghupathy 1987 for details.

97. Boake 1887: III; Carswell et Prickett 1984: L52, 65 Table 2; Prickett 1987.

Fig. 1





at Seru may be noted here (Plan I). Such large quantities of metallic remains at Mantai also point to industrial production geared for export purposes. It is not altogether impossible that the high quality South Indian steel imported into the Roman Empire during the early Christian Era[98] may have originated from the manufacturing centres located at production-distribution zones such as Mahatirtha.

There is reason to believe that the primary habitation site associated with Anuradhapura may have functioned as a crucial production-distribution centre commencing from the Proto Historic Period. It is possible to suggest that the copper objects unearthed from the Proto Historic sites of Pomparippu (located near the ancient port of Uruvelapattana), Machchagama, Pin wewa (Galsohonkanatta), and even Ibbankatuva may have arrived in the form of finished products or as raw material from Anuradhapura. While the locational significance of Anuradhapura during the Early Iron Age was its strategic situation in relation to several mineral resource zones, the emergence of Anuradhapura as the primary political centre in the post 150 B.C. era, may have in turn enhanced its importance as a major production-distribution centre. It is therefore not surprising to find a concentration of metallurgical activity at Anuradhapura where advanced techniques may have been applied in the production technology. The 1984 Citadel excavation infact revealed a brick-built furnace from Str.6 (Middle Historic Period). This furnace was utilized for copper smelting and the structure was broken up to collect the solidified copper ingots[99]. The bricks used in the furnace were not vitrified indicating that the furnace was not subject to high temperature levels. The quartz component in the bricks require a minimum temperature of 1250°C for vitrification. Interestingly enough, kaoline was used as binding material in the furnace. Kaoline (which is the pure form of hydrated silicate) loses water on heating and has a high sinter and melting point, i.e. 1770°C[100]. It may be a useful exercise to study the metal industry and its technology at Anuradhapura in relation to the socio-political structure and the long-distance trade network of the Historic Period.

The development of the Sigiriya region during the Early Historic Period as the southern most production-distribution zone drawing on the mineral resources of the Seruwila prospect and the mineralized belt is significant. Recent investigations (by the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology and the SAREC Project) in the vicinity of Sigiri revealed extensive remains of highly specialized iron-working sites having multiple furnaces for smelting purposes. Industrial operations, according to C-14 dates, seems to have commenced around the 1st century B.C./A.D. The metallurgist at this site had

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98. Schoff 1915; Seneviratne 1987: 154.

99. Pers. Com. Deraniyagala; also see Deraniyagala 1986: 42-43.

100. Seneviratne 1987: 156.

used, both, the highly concentrated magnetite and magnetite having manganese as well[101]. Archaeological excavations at the Sigiri complex also yielded fragments of malachite copper[102].

Elsewhere we have suggested[103] the existence of a village of specialist blacksmiths in the vicinity of Sigiri. Pidurangala, the site adjacent to Sigiri, has an early Brahmi inscription carrying the term Kolagama[104], i.e. *kola* blacksmith/metalsmith and *gama* (*gāma*) i.e. village. In view of the type of iron ore found at the Sigiri smelting site, it is obvious that raw material moved into this region from Seruwila *via* the middle Yan Oya or from the eastern sector linking up with the mineralized belt in that region (see Map 5). This may hold true for the malachite copper unearthed from Sigiri though we have not ruled out the possibility of oxide copper moving down from the Bambaragala area (in the upper Mahaweli basin) along the exchange route traversing the Matale-Dambulla region[105]. The emergence of a major production-distribution zone in the upper Kala Oya region, which has been categorized by us as an Intermediary Transitional Eco-system, during the Early Historic Period witnessed the establishment of specialized units of production based on mineral resources[106]. We have already suggested a pattern for the movement of raw material or finished products to places of internal consumption and to coastal points for export purposes from the upper Kala Oya region[107].

In the final analysis we cannot underestimate the importance of Seruwila within the sub continental context. It remains as the largest copper-magnetite deposit south of the Bihar-Orissa region in South Asia. The interaction between the Seruwila region and external regions such as the Coromandal coast and even south east Asia requires closer attention. More specifically, the bearing this resource area had on the south Indian megalithic complex must be viewed within a new perspective related to resource movement and cross regional technological interaction. The movement of tin and lead in a southward direction along a coastal sea route associated with the Coromandal coast

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101. Pers. comm. Senake Bandaranayake and Mats Mogren PGIAR/SAREC.

102. Bandaranayake 1984: 18, 185.

103. Seneviratne 1990: 127.

104. Paranavitana 1970: No. 873.

105. Seneviratne 1990.

106. Seneviratne 1990.

107. *Ibid.*

TABLE - I

Anuradhapura Citadel (Gedige) 1969 iron analysis

Sample No.	La yer	Weight	Fe %	Mn %	Ni %	Cu %	Cr %	Cu/Ni %
1	3A	0.0135	50.75	Nil	0.0247	0.0327	Nil	1.32
2	3A	0.0014	40.86	Nil	0.2381	0.42	Nil	1.76
3	3A	0.0135	50.75	Nil	0.0563	0.1589	Nil	2.82
10	3B	0.0113	47.09	Nil	0.0590	0.1431	Nil	2.43
4	4A	0.0049	40.72	Nil	0.0255	0.2101	Nil	8.24
5	4A	0.0346	53.83	Nil	0.5118	0.0425	Nil	0.08
7	4A	0.0017	86.07	Tra ce	0.4902	3.2871	0.4 425	6.71
8	4A	0.0191	53.63	Nil	0.1309	0.0539	Nil	0.41

H.B. Maliyasena
20.8.1987

Maliyasena and Seneviratne 1987.

needs further probing. Similarly, a reference in the *Dhātuvaṃsa* (48) to the arrival of ships carrying silver and a fleet carrying gold, the latter arriving from Suvarṇabhūmi, at the port of Madanapaṭṭana near Seruwila is significant in the overall context. It is also not a coincidence that the early Brahmi inscriptions at Seruwila carry reference to endowments made by *dameḍa* (those arriving from the Tamil-speaking region) and *bata* individuals[108]. An early Brahmi inscription from Duvegala, (a site located south of Seruwila) mentions a *barata* individual and it also carries an engraving of a single-masted ship with a *nandipada* symbol at the helm[109]. Such ships were used along the Coromandal coast and the Sātavāhana bi-lingual coins in the same region carry representations of similar vessels of the double-masted type. We have also suggested elsewhere that the *bata-barata* group were members of the powerful and affluent south Indian Paratavar merchant group, who literally controlled the luxury trade in this region and were the most powerful middlemen in the Early Historic triangular trade vortex linking south India, Sri Lanka and the Roman trade[110].

Studies on the archaeometallurgy of south central Asia must necessarily take cognizance of regional concentration of resources and related regional patterns. Such investigations have to take note of intra-regional interactions with parallel studies on social and technological change for a better understanding of similarities and variations at the subcontinental level.

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108. Paranavitana 1970: No. 382; *Epigraphical Notes* 1974: 13.4.

109. Paranavitana 1970: No. 270.

110. Seneviratne 1985.

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SUDHARSHAN SENEVIRATNE

THE MELODIES OF SUNIL SANTA[1]

The object of this paper is to attempt an aesthetic appreciation of the melodies of Sunil Santa (1915-1981), the great composer who was one of the pioneers of modern music in Sri Lanka.[2] After a brief outline of the historical background, I propose to touch on the relation of the melodies to the language and poetry of their lyrics, the impact of various musical traditions, including folk-song, and their salient features.

I. Sources and Historical Background

Among the sources for a study of Sunil Santa's music, first in importance are the songs themselves. Most of these were published by the composer in book form with music notation, and all these have been reprinted by Mrs. Sunil Santa, who has also brought out posthumously four collections of works which remained largely unprinted during the composer's lifetime. The music is generally in Sinhala letter format, but there are two collections in staff notation,[3] to which must be added the first two books of Christian lyrics by Fr. Moses Perera which include a number of Sunil Santa's melodies.[4]

Many of these songs were recorded for broadcast either by the composer himself or by other singers who were his pupils or associates. Unfortunately, these recordings have not been preserved properly and are rarely heard nowadays. However, the S.L.B.C. has issued one LP, one EP[5], and two cassettes of his songs,[6] and a third cassette, *Guvan*

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1. This paper was read before the Royal Asiatic Society (Sri Lanka Branch) on 31st January 1994, and is now published with a few emendations.

2. The origin of this study was an invitation extended to me by the Sunil Santa Appreciation Society to speak at the twelfth commemoration of the composer, held in Kandy on June 13th 1993. I wish to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to Mrs. Sunil Santa for her generosity in providing me with relevant documents; to Mr. Ivor Dennis for his constant encouragement; to Messrs. Anil Mihiripenna, B. Victor Perera, Nimal Ariyaratne, K.V.A. Wijesiriwardhana and Gnanasiri Gunaratne for valuable advice; Messrs, U.L.R.A. Perera and Arjuna Balasuriya, Mrs. B. Grero, Ms. Yamuna Ranasinghe, Ms. Madhavie Ariyaratne, Ms. Chandrika Ratnayake, Ms. Priyanga Fernando and Ms. Sashikala Jayasinghe for their generous assistance in conducting the research.

3. Sunil Santa: 1948a, 1950a.

4. Perera, M.: 1964, 1969.

5. This EP consists of his settings of Sigiriya Graffiti.

6. The second of these includes the tracks from two EP's made in 1962. These, I believe, were his only commercial recordings.

Totilla, has been issued by Mrs. Sunil Santa.

Sunil Santa held clear and logical views regarding music and its aims, the need for a national music and music education.[7] These views were systematically expressed in the introductions and prefatory notes to his song books, in numerous newspaper articles and in educational and polemical publications such as *Sangeetayehi Attiwarama* (1944) and *Desiya Sangeetaya* (1953).[8]

Over the years, the popular Sinhala and English press has carried countless contributions by the musical public about sunil Santa and his music. Almost all of them represent him as a man of exemplary moral and intellectual courage, principle, independence, honesty, patriotism and altruism. All these writings have been carefully and diligently collected and preserved by Mrs. Sunil Santa, who has very kindly allowed me to consult them for this study. A convenient biography of the composer in Sinhala by Dharmasiri Gamage can be found in the third volume of the *Pujita Jivita* series.[9]

Sunil Santa[10] was born in 1915 on the 14th of April, the traditional New Year Day in Sri Lanka. While yet an infant, he lost both parents, a calamity to which his response was later epitomized in the song *"Netivu Mihira"*.[11]Brought up by his grand mother, he pursued his education at a number of schools with the help of his elder brother and relatives, and won the Weeraratne medal in 1931 for best performance at the School Leaving Certificate Examination. In 1933 he entered the Teacher Training College at Maggona and at the end of three years took his appointment as a teacher.[12]

Before long, however, he gave up teaching to pursue a musical career, and in 1939 left for India where he studied music, first at Shanti Niketan and then at the Bhatkande Sangeeth Vidyapeeth. In 1944 he obtained the best results in Asia at the Visarad examination and returned to Sri Lanka.

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7. Dissanayake: 1981; Iriyagolla: 1983, 1989.

8. All quotations from Sinhala publications are translated by the present writer unless otherwise stated.

9. Gamage: 1990.

10. His original name was Baddaliyanage Don Joseph John, which he changed, first to Sunil Shanti and then to Sunil Santa, during his years as a student of music in India.

11. Sunil Santa: 1950 p. 17.

12. The statement of E. Wijetunga that Sunil Santa entered the Sinhala Training College Nittambuwa and there came under the influence of Munidasa Kumaratunga is, as far as I know, incorrect - cf. E. Wijetunga: 1981.

He did not, however, succeed in obtaining a government appointment commensurate with his qualifications, and decided to go his way as a free lance musician. He made his public debut singing at the Kumaratunga commemoration on March 2, 1946, and before long his concerts became extremely popular throughout the country. The first song to be recorded on disk by Radio Ceylon in 1948 was his *"Olu Pipeela"*.[13]

Sunil Santa was disgusted with the musical trends that prevailed on the island at the time. This was the post-*Nurti* period when cheap songs were being produced by forcing distorted Sinhala words into popular melodies stolen from India and elsewhere. The Sinhala film, which emerged within a year after Sunil Santa's return to the island, also presented for the most part meaningless songs sung to Indian tunes. The music directors, assuming local singers to be incapable of rendering them, employed Indian singers who invariably distorted the pronunciation of Sinhala words.

But it was Ananda Samarakoon who attempted to develop an appropriate musical style for Sri Lanka taking for his model the musical corpus of Rabindranath Tagore. Samarakoon's efforts won Sunil Santa's approbation and encouragement.[14] He paid him tribute not only in words but even in music by an occasional quotation, as when in his *"Ada-yi Vesak Po Da"*[15] he echoed two lines from Samarakoon's *"Poson Poho Dina"*. Such quotations are sometimes misrepresented as plagiarisms which militate against an artist's claim to originality. However, Sunil Santa's integrity in this matter has been amply vindicated by E.R. Sarachchandra:

> " knew Sunil Santa personally and intimately, both at Shanti Niketan and back in Sri Lanka... He was a sensitive young man with a high moral sense, and he would never stoop to dishonesty deliberately. In the field of creative literature as well as creative music, it is possible that some reminiscence of a master's thought, or, in music, a phrase, could creep into the work of an artist in the early stages of his development."[16]

Sunil Santa's aim was to create a musical tradition intrinsic to Sri Lanka. This is evident from the notice to his first song book, *Hela Ridee Valava*, published in 1947:

> "Ever since I left for India to study music, I began to realize the tremendous gap in not having a music that belongs only to our country and is at home only in the *Hela* land. On returning to this country the

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13. Sunil Santa: 1947, p. 5, 1948a p. 3.

14. Sunil Santa: 1948.

15. Sunil Santa: 1947 p. 19.

16. Sarachchandra: 1992.

idea of filling that gap to the best of my ability grew stronger in my mind. I therefore began the course of action that I now follow."[17]

Unlike later day musicians, Sunil Santa did not attempt to create a national music by forcing new scales or systems of music theory out of folk-songs. Instead he created original compositions which have the power to speak to the hearts of the people. The *Desiya Sangeetaya* sets forth his motives very clearly:

"If our aim is to produce a music to be deposited in the museum so that we can pull out and show it at any time saying 'this is our national music', then we should rather not think of a national music at all, but idle away. What we need is not an antique, but something that we can use in our daily life. Therefore our task should be to develop not a type of music that would be overwhelmed by a music system found in our country today, but one that would always stand out. It is with this idea that I embarked on my contribution towards national music."[18]

"A special feature of a national music should be the capacity to appeal to all sections of the land - educated and uneducated, young and old. I embarked on a course of action whose goal was to develop a national music with such a quality."[19]

In order to propagate his new national music, Sunil Santa adopted three principal strategies: the publication of song books with notation, the conducting of music classes, and the presenting of radio programs. All three were, however, frustrated: his musical scores were pirated and reproduced in unauthorized publications; the classes suffered owing to unfavourable competition from rival institutions; and his broadcasting career was terminated abruptly in 1952 as a result of his campaign against the auditioning of Sinhala artistes by an Indian musician, S.N. Ratanjankar.[20] He was effectively barred from broadcasting for some fifteen years except for a few rare appearances. It was during this time that he composed the songs for the two films *Rekhava* and *Sandesaya*.

In 1967, he was invited by Neville Jayaweera, who was then Director General of Broadcasting, to serve on an auditioning panel together with W.D. Amaradeva and

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17. Sunil Santa: 1947 p. ix.

18. Sunil Santa: 1953 p. 9.

19. *ibid.* p. 19.

20. Ranasinghe, S.: 1977. This was, in fact, Ratanjankar's second audition, the first being in November 1949.

H.W. Rupasinghe.[21] Thereafter he presented a number of broadcasts of creative and experimental music including the well known *"Madhura Madhu"* series. But it would be true to say that almost all his melodies which have captured the hearts of millions were composed during the period 1946-1952, when he was actively engaged in promoting the cause of national music.[22] His last days were saddened by a personal tragedy, the untimely death of a son, which too he epitomized in a song called *"Daru Viyova"*.[23] He died on April 11th 1981 three days before his 66th birthday.

His songs embody a wide range of themes covering almost every aspect of the life and culture of Sri Lanka. They include Buddhist and Christian devotional songs, songs for children, patriotic philosophical and nature songs, laments, tributes, commemorations, festival songs and songs of love.

His achievements in the field of national music and poetry have been summarized by Arisen Ahubudu as follows: the creation of song out of poetry, the invention of a national melodic style, the composition of a melody to suit the lyric rather than the other way round, the correct pronunciation of words, singing in a manner which brings out the thought and feeling of the lyric, the composition and performance of melodies for films, the discriminate utilization of elements from Western music and the creation of a truly indigenous musical tradition for posterity.[24]

According to Jayantha Aravinda, the commonest features of Sunil Santa's melodies are "simplicity, western melodic style, the predominance of natural notes, fullness of feeling, straightness of notes, attractive rhythm, etc."[25] Some of these opinions will receive consideration in what follows.

II. The Melodies and their Lyrics

Almost all of Sunil Santa's compositions are songs; that is to say, they are closely bound up with words and are meant to be sung. He was also well known in his time as an accomplished instrumental performer, but few, if any, of his instrumental and orchestral works appear to have survived. Thus his extant compositions support the prevailing view in this country that music is primarily vocal.

Not only is his music closely linked to words, but it is also intimately bound up

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21. Ranasinghe, S. 1977.

22. Gunawardena, 1993.

23. Sunil Santa, 1948b, p. 35.

24. Ahubudu, 1982, 1985.

25. Aravinda, 1992.

with the Sinhala language, and can therefore be described as a truly Sinhala music. Apart from his recording of the Indian patriotic song *"Vande Mataram"*, the Bengali boat-song *"Bondure"*, his musical setting of Sanskrit verses from Jayadeva's *Geeta Govinda* and the English song "My Dreams are Roses" which he recorded for the film *Romeo Juliet*, all his songs had Sinhala lyrics.

The distinctly local touch of his music stems primarily from the inherent qualities of the Sinhala language. Although Vincent Somapala had already composed the music for Kumaratunga's *Hela Miyesiya*, it was Sunil Santa who created a musical style to complement the pure verbal style of the *Hela Havla*. The intrinsic qualities of this verbal style were, in fact, the foundation of his musical style.[26] Moreover, as Nandadasa Kodagoda has observed,

> "It was very likely this inspiration he drew from Munidasa Kumaratunga, whose sayings, writings and the very life he lived epitomized learning, rationality and love for the country, that formed his nationalistic fervour. Sunil's ability for simple and poetic composition of lyrics was also enriched by the same source."[27]

Both his singing and his composition were founded on his extraordinary command of the Sinhala language and his exemplary and unparalleled love for it. He paid scrupulous attention to correct use of language and, in particular, strictly observed the quantitative character of Sinhala syllables in setting them to music. He would not sacrifice the natural quantity (i.e. long or short) of a syllable except on rare occasions when he had to yield to the just demands of the music.[28] The "School Mistress" is the example that readily comes to mind.[29]

Sunil Santa was influenced not only by Kumaratunga's linguistic style and philosophy but also by his views on music. Although at a late date he criticized the limitations of the *Hela Miyesiya*,[30] initially it appears to have made some impact on him. According to Jayantha Aravinda, (who is, by the way, the son of Kumaratunga's collaborator Vincent Somapala) this impact explains the simplicity of many of Sunil

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26. Abeysekara, 1991 (3). Sunil Santa was, however, equally at home in the Sanskritized style. The best proof of this is the devotional song he recorded for the film *Ambapali*.

27. Kodagoda, 1987.

28. On this account I feel that, in rendering his melodies, it is improper to introduce syncopation of the type found in western popular music.

29. Sunil Santa, 1950 p. 3, 1950a p. 4-5.

30. Sunil Santa, 1942a.

Santa's melodies and the predominance of natural notes in them. In his opinion, Sunil Santa's melodies represent a poignant and more aesthetic vocal presentation of the melodic style of the *Hela Miyesiya* which had been designed as a system of exercises employing the natural octave for the purpose of training beginners in the art of playing the violin.[31]

As a lyricist, Sunil Santa's achievement is outstanding.[32] His lyrics reveal his powerful imagination as well as his phenomenal command of language. He realized that language was the soul of Sinhala vocal music and carefully chose the most appropriate words to convey his thoughts and emotions. In his lyrics he employed the genuine Sinhala idiom. As Aravinda has observed, "his lyrics well reflect his extreme sensitivity to correct and erudite language. Correct and erudite language was prominent even in the very simple lyrics that Sunil sang."[33] He paid equal attention to the structure, theme and language of a song and succeeded in maintaining a unity and balance among these elements in his compositions. As a result his songs were highly effective in registering the intended meaning and emotion in the listener.[34]

On the other hand, as Sunil Ariyaratne has pointed out,

> "it was Sunil Santa who first realized the nature of the contribution of a creative literary writer towards the success of a light song. Although he possessed the ability to create lyrics, Sunil Santa was not satisfied with it, but went further in search of pure literature. The scholars of the *Hela Havla* who rallied round him provided aesthetic nourishment for his creations. That corpus of lyrics contributed towards the establishment of a good song literature."[35]

Thus Sunil Santa's songs are equally rich in melody, lyricism and meaning. He took great care in grasping the obvious sense and deeper significance of his lyrics and in communicating them to his listeners through his sonorous voice and style of singing. The most important consequence of this was that the Sinhala song attracted the serious attention of the intelligentsia in general and of poets, writers and scholars in particular. At the same time, thanks to his efforts, the musician came to be accepted as a learned artist

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31. Aravinda, 1990.

32. In 1952 he published a collection of his own lyrics (words only) entitled *Sunil Gee*.

33. Aravinda, 1990.

34. Perera, S.S., 1988.

35. Ariyaratne, 1985.

commanding the respect of society.[36] The interaction and collaboration between musical and literary personalities which originated with Sunil Santa has continued to enrich our music down to the present day.

In the serious tradition of Western music, a song is usually a musical setting of an existing poem. But once set to music it is published and known as a work of the composer. Almost all the well-loved songs of the great composers are settings of already existing texts by various poets. But our experience has been quite otherwise. Our folk-songs *nurti* and *nadagam* songs, as well as the songs in many of our films are sung to already existing melodies. Hence the creation of a melody for an existing text is something of a novelty for many of us. That this attitude is not confined to the layman may be seen from Amaradeva's remarks on song production:

> "The birth of a song happens in two ways. One is the creation of a melodic pattern based on a poetic composition. The other is to create the form of the melody from a purely musical subject and then superimpose an appropriate lyric. Whichever process is adopted in the creation, it is useful for the composer to know that what affects the listener is the end result of the work. Even so, it should be said that it is the second method that gives rise to a creation of a song replete with musical merit. Here the composer's medium receives priority. His independent stream of thought is not confused by the impact of an external medium. Thus there is room for the creation of a veritable song that is original in melodic quality and beautiful in form."[37]

Sunil Santa, on the other hand, insisted that the melody should follow the text:

> "While every other nation has prepared the way for the enjoyment of literature and music by singing their songs and poems to musical settings, the work of our *Hela* poets belongs only to the book. It is a tremendous shortcoming that our singers do not have the ability to delight their listeners by the sweet rendering of *Hela* songs. They are still unable to decide whether the thought follows the tune or whether the tune follows the thought: The lyric itself comes first. The tune follows its thought. What prevails among us is the opposite."[38]

This is borne out by Hubert Disanayake and Gunapala Senadheera who describe their experience as Sunil Santa's lyricists:

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36. In 1950 Sunil Santa signed the Stockholm Peace Appeal along with Chitrasena, George Keyt and Martin Wickramasinghe (Anon. 1950).

37. Amaradeva, 1989, p. 50.

38. Sunil Santa in *Subasa* vol. 5.

"Sunil never asked the lyricist to write some words to a certain tune. ... If he needed a lyric on a specific topic, he would explain it and ask for a verse composition about it, and I would comply. ... When there was no such special occasion, I would create themes and compose lyrics purely according to my own poetic concepts and hand them over to him. ... But I cannot help saying that it must be through some strange grace that Sunil Santa turned those lyrics into captivating and immortal songs by setting them to music that matched in every way their poetic concepts and poetic images."[39]

"Every time he invited me to compose a lyric for him I would request him to furnish a suitable tune. But on every occasion he would smile and tell me in his accustomed high voice, 'write a song anyway you like. Leave it to me to compose a melody to it.' I think that this was the experience of every lyricist who wrote songs for Sunil Santa. Herein, I feel, lies the secret of Sunil's songs not becoming puppets enslaved by the melody."[40]

According to Sunil Ariyaratne the first composer to utilize a verse text by a Sinhala poet may well be Ananda Samarakoon who set to music a poem by the poet known as Doonagaha Kiviyara.[41] Sunil Santa also composed musical settings of poems by well known poets present and past, including Kumaratunga,[42] Rayifiyel Tennakoon,[43] P.B. Alwis Perera,[44] Jayadeva[45] and the Sigiri Graffiti.

Occasionally the same lyrics have been set to music by other composers as well. These include the songs from Kumaratunga's *Hela Miyesiya* (which were originally set by Vincent Somapala) and some of Fr. Moses Perera's Christian lyrics (which have been also set by Ivor Dennis, J.K.S. Perera and others). Arisen Ahubudu's *"Vasanta Geetaya* ("Spring song") has been set by both Amaradeva and Sunil Santa,[46] and it may be

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39. Disanayake, 1981.

40. Senadheera, 1981.

41. Ariyaratne, 1988 p. 186.

42. Sunil Santa, 1947 p. 3 & 11, 1949 p. 11 & 16, Sunil Santa-Dennis, 1993 p. 11.

43. Sunil Santa, 1949 p. 9, Sunil Santa-Dennis, 1993 p. 41.

44. Sunil Santa (ed. Lila Santa), 1990 p. 29.

45. Sunil Santa, 1948b p. 33.

46. Sunil Santa-Dennis, 1992 p. 35.

instructive to compare them.

Once he had decided on a lyric to set to music, Sunil Santa paid meticulous attention to its language, meaning, sound and emotional content. I have heard Arisen Ahubudu describe over the air how Sunil Santa made a long journey to meet him just to get his permission to drop one word from the lyric of *"Lanka Geeya"*. Gnanasiri Gunaratne informs me that the composer made some six changes in the two lyrics supplied by him, namely *"Sata Sata Vehi Bindu"*[47] and *"Reye Sonduru Reye"*,[48] so as to make them more suitable for singing.[49] How seriously he approached his task as a composer can be realized from the following statement of Fr. Moses Perera:

> "My loving friend Sunil Santa, once these lyrics were handed over to him, considered them, was pleased with them, took interest in them, and with care, thought, diligence and discrimination, he endowed each lyric with fresh and appropriate original melody, decked it out by enlivening the language, enhancing the meaning, making it appeal to the heart so as to direct the mind along religious sentiment and made it beam with a serene joy that induces concentration of mind and awakening of heart."[50]

It is this serious attitude to his work, I feel, that accounts for the enduring quality of many of his melodies. His exquisite melodies served to invest the lyrics with an unprecedented beauty and appeal. The lyric was never a hindrance to his creative impulse. Those who complain of monotony in his music are prejudiced from lack of familiarity. Variety is, in fact, the hallmark of his style.

Let me take one example. In his book *Sunil Handa* the composer says that Hubert Disanayake wrote the lyrics to metres suggested by him.[51] In three of Disanayake's love lyrics, *viz*, *"Kele Handa"*,[52] *"Kele Mala"*[53] and *"Verale Mihira"* [54]

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47. Sunil Santa, 1990 p. 14-15.

48. Sunil Santa-Dennis, 1993 p. 22-24.

49. Gunaratne, 1994.

50. Perera, M. 1964 Introduction p. 1.

51. Sunil Santa, 1947a. I should perhaps point out here that Sunil Santa, an artist who sincerely appreciated the work of other artists, was extremely generous in remunerating his lyricists. Thus, for the eighteen songs in this book he paid Rs. 900.00 to Hubert Disanayake, i.e. Rs. 50.00 per song (Sunil Santa: 1950 p. vii). That must have been a princely sum in those days.

52. Sunil Santa, 1950 p. 7, 1950a p. 10-11.

the verses follow an almost identical rhythmic pattern. But the three melodies that Sunil Santa composed for them have each an unmistakable individuality of its own.

In the setting of poetry to music, Sunil Santa's greatest achievement is, no doubt, the *"Kukulu Hevilla"* based on a poem by Rafiyel Tennakoon.[55] This work has been highly acclaimed by both fellow musicians and music lovers.[56] According to the composer himself, the melody was suggested to him by the vocal pattern of rural women who, on losing anything valuable, invoke the gods for redress.[57] According to Kodagoda "the lyric was enhanced by Sunil's music where the rustic reverberations of a desperate but believing rural woman's lament are cleverly incorporated into a very original musical composition and rendered in a style which is likely to be that woman's very own."[58] The poem on its own is perhaps satirical of a society that is only too ready to invoke what is sacred for the slightest thing without any sense of proportion. But all that is suppressed once the music is added, and our sympathy is directed towards the deprived woman as her malediction gradually softens to a prayer for help. Such is the power of his music.

III. Some External Influences

Any artist is inevitably influenced by his environment, education and the traditions that he has inherited. But a gifted artist knows how to use his discretion in rejecting what is not proper and absorbing whatever influence he needs to the required extent. Sunil Santa too understood the various influences that reached him and used them as appropriate in his works while maintaining his accustomed independence. As Senadheera has observed:

> "Sunil Santa, who undertook to develop a *Hela* music style, did not look for it only in one direction. Nor was he indebted to only a single style. If there was anything to take, whether from the East or from the West, he absorbed all those things in order to give to the country a music with a new design and new aspect having infused it with qualities that suit his land and his music."[59]

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53. Sunil Santa, 1952 p. 3.

54. Sunil Santa, 1950 p. 15, 1950a p. 6.

55. Sunil Santa-Dennis, 1993 p. 41.

56. Cf. Amaradeva, 1989 p. 50; Senadheera, 1952; Witarana, 1988.

57. Sunil Santa, 1953 p. 11.

58. Kodagoda, 1987.

59. Senadheera, 1983.

Sunil Santa never allowed himself to be enslaved by the North Indian Ragadhari music that he had studied. But neither did he hesitate to adopt whatever it had to offer that was worth adopting. The result, as Gnanasiri Gunaratne has aptly pointed out, was the birth of a style of musical composition that was at once akin to ragadhari music and independent of it.[60]

To take a few examples: whether deliberately or by coincidence he employed freely the melodic patterns of Dhanasiri (a raga traditionally recommended for the afternoon according to the North Indian system) to create a beautiful song about sunset.[61] The midnight raga Malkauns was similarly used for a Christmas song describing the infant Jesus in the crib.[62] His Easter song echoes raga Pathadeep.[63] Raga Pahadi (the favourite of *thumri* singers) evokes the love of prince Saliya for Asokamala.[64] The patriotic sentiment of Kumaratunga's *"Hela Rana Geeya"* finds expression in strains akin to raga Khamaj,[65] while raga Bhairavi (a traditional medium for separated love) is used for Rama's lament, originally composed for Chitrasena's ballet Ramayana.[66] Two songs, *"Hela Bas Asiri Geeya"* and *"Sundara Himidiriye"* employ an exquisite blend of raga Durgha with the South Indian raga Arabi.[67]

Jayantha Aravinda has observed that Sunil Santa created ragadhari melodies especially when setting texts which were pathetic in mood.[68] This is generally true, and it can be observed further that for highly emotional melodies he particularly preferred a melodic pattern which could be described as a synthesis of ragas such as Bhimpalasi, Dhanasri and Dhani. Examples are *"Pemvatiyage Sohona"* ("Grave of the Beloved")[69]

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60. Gunaratne, 1993a.

61. Sunil Santa, 1947 p. 15.

62. Sunil Santa, 1950 p. 12.

63. Sunil Santa, 1949 p. 12.

64. Sunil Santa, 1950 p. 4.

65. Sunil Santa, 1949 p. 10.

66. Sunil Santa, 1948b p. 34; Vitharana, 1988. For a completely different opinion cf. Nihal de Silva (1953) who maintains that all these songs are based on nothing but the metres of Sinhala folk verse.

67. Sunil Santa, 1949 p. 2 and 18.

68. Aravinda, 1990.

69. Sunil Santa, 1947a p. 14.

"Semiyage Viyogaya" (Parting of the Husband"),[70] and, above all, *"Mituru Viyova"* ("The Friend's Departure"), commemorating the death of Surya Shankar Molligoda.[71] In *"Heramitiya"* ("Walking Stick") he used not only the raga Bhairavi, but also the North Indian style of *ad lib.* verse singing known as *dohora.*[72]

It must however be pointed out that Sunil Santa did not approve of the prevalent practice of assigning popular Sinhala tunes to Hindustani ragas. He often pointed out that this practice led to confusions and misconceptions among listeners regarding the ragas and to the wrong impression that Hindustani music is an art which knows no rule or method.[73] He knew well that Hindustani music had a long history and that it was a profound art requiring long and diligent study and practice. Accordingly, he showed great respect for those who had mastered it thoroughly. He appreciated in particular the services of the veteran teacher and writer M.G. Perera.[74] What he fought against was not Hindustani music or musicians, but the misuse of that music to achieve instant and superficial success and to overwhelm the national music which he and others were trying to revive. On the other hand, Kodagoda feels that "if a North Indian raga could be heard in his compositions, it was not there because the composer intended to. It was that the feelings and emotions central to the composition invoked the presence."[75]

It is commonly accepted that the music of Bengal in general and *Rabindra Sangeeth* in particular exerted some influence on Sunil Santa. The song *"Ridi Valava"*[76] is cited as a clear instance of this influence. Now, the impact of Western music on *Rabindra Sangeeth* is well established. One could therefore have argued that the so-called Western element in Sunil Santa's music came through the intermediary of *Rabindra Sangeeth.*

However, this Western element found in some of his songs has been attributed more than once to the impact of Christian church music, and on that account his music has sometimes been maligned by extremists as something not only alien to our culture, but also of inferior quality. The following observation of Gunadasa Kapuge may be taken as typical:

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70. *ibid.* p. 18.

71. Sunil Santa, 1948b p. 1.

72. Sunil Santa, 1949 p. 36.

73. Sunil Santa, 1942a.

74. Sunil Santa, 1941, 1942.

75. Kodagoda, 1987.

76. Sunil Santa, 1947 p. 1.

> "The musical aspect of Sunil Santa's songs seems to have emerged from *"kantaru"* music. His melodies, which are often built on natural notes of the octave, are formed of monotonous sound patterns."[77]

It appears as though this eminent musician were under the impression that Christian song melodies were monotonous and largely limited to natural notes. That would be a serious mistake. It would be equally wrong to presume that Sunil Santa's melodies were monotonous. If some of them are confined to natural notes, Christian influence, even if it were admissible, would not be the only reason. I have already alluded to Jayantha Aravinda's attribution of this feature to the impact of Kumaratunga's *Hela Miyasiya*.

Be that as it may, I feel that what is common to Christian melodies and those of Sunil Santa is their simplicity, reflecting the fact that both are meant to be sung by everyone rather than by the pure professionals. Yet there was another reason for the simplicity of Sunil Santa's melodies.

Sunil Santa, who began his working life as a schoolmaster, always felt a deep affection for children. The company of these innocent children, free from the hypocrisy of adults, always brought him happiness.[78] Besides, he was convinced that through them a better world could be built in the future.[79] The same affection is also revealed in his photography, such as his study of the child lying on the ground and reading with the help of a lantern and that of the infant gazing through a window at the surroundings.[80] In fact some of his songs were first sung to children at various schools.[81] It is no surprise therefore that many of his songs are composed in such a way as to be easily sung and enjoyed by children. The more complicated melodies are generally reserved for love songs, laments, commemorations and other compositions for adults.

At the time when Sunil Santa embarked on his musical career, the old Christian songs of Fr. Jacome Gonsalvez and others, with their Eastern tunes, had fallen out of use. The churches echoed to Western melodies to which Sinhala words had been forced to fit without any regard for quantity or sense. Fr. Mercelline Jayakody and others had attempted to create original hymns, but in their earliest efforts they did not break away

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77. Kapuge, 1990 p. 37.

78. Anonymous, 1955.

79. Iriyagolla, 1983.

80. Samarasinghe, N. 1983.

81. Perera, B.C. 1981.

completely from Western influence.[82] Against this background, Sunil Santa, a Catholic Christian himself, composed in his accustomed style a number of original melodies for Christian songs of high linguistic and literary merit by himself as well as by Fr. Moses Perera, Hubert Disanayake and others.[83]

These Christian songs attained tremendous popularity and many other composers imitated their style with regard both to lyric and melody. His style has thus become the prevalent style of Sinhala Christian music. Thus it would not be true to say that he adopted the style of Christian music.

Some of those who spread this view appear to consider "Western music" as synonymous with "Christian music" or "Roman Catholic music". They also seem to imply that the composer adopted this style purely for the sake of popularity. Consider the following statements:

> "A number of songs that Sunil Santa composed recently reveal clearly on examination the existence of influence from Roman Catholic devotional songs. ... [The writer mentions a number of songs as showing western influence] ... The example of this Sunil Santa who went to India and returned after studying at a well known Indian musical institution, was followed by many other aspirants to music on the island who did not go to India."[84]

> "What Sunil created as melodies for his series of songs were simple and delightful compositions. At times his compositions as well as his style of singing bore a musical style which reminded one of the style of Western hymns. He may have embraced this song style to comply either with the general trends of fashion of the time, or with an inherent tendency within himself. Anyhow, this song style met with immediate and favourable response from the music loving public of the time. Sunil became the Sinhala vocalist who attained the greatest popularity within a short time and who had the greatest number of fans."[85]

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82. Thus the first original Sinhala hymn of Fr. Jayakody composed in 1934 follows the "A A B A" pattern of western melodies. Cf. Mercelline Jayakody, *Tun Kekula* (1965) p. 10.

83. Sunil Santa's song books often present Buddhist and Christian devotional lyrics side by side. This boldness and broadmindedness, I feel, he must have imbibed from, among others, Munidasa Kumaratunga who presented the new triple gem of "Land, Language and People".

84. Somapala, 1952.

85. Aravinda, 1990.

No one can deny the significant role of Christianity in the origin and development of Western music. But that does not justify the equation of Western music with Christian music. Besides, the so-called Western or Christian element would be evident, if at all, only in a small minority of his compositions. I may also add that the view that Sunil Santa adopted Christian musical elements had been successfully challenged recently by two eminent writers.[86]

However, one has to admit that, in a small number of his recordings, one is reminded of western choral singing. This is due to excessive reliance on Western techniques in vocal and instrumental accompaniment. The melody is occasionally confused rather than ornamented by Western harmony and orchestration. Well known examples are *"Siripa Namadu Geeya"*,[87] *"Kurulu Adare"*[88] and *"Kavsilumina Geeya"*.[89] Regarding the last mentioned song, Gnanasiri Gunaratne has correctly observed that the fault lay not in the singing or the employment of Western musical instruments, but in the music direction as a whole.[90] I feel that these songs would have fared better with a simpler accompaniment. I also feel that this style is particularly inappropriate for the *"Siripa Namadu Geeya"* which is a devotional song for Vesak.

Whenever Sunil Santa imbibed any influence, he did so deliberately and with a purpose. This is clear from the following statement in the *Desiya Sangeetaya*:

> "Sometimes one has to employ various strategies to attract the attention of someone. The strategy I employed towards this end in my task was to present songs according to the musical systems favoured by the majority in this country. That is why my compositions include songs of diverse styles. What I gained from singing songs in those diverse styles was that all those who preferred the several styles were attracted towards me, and that they thus got to know me."[91]

Rarely did he sing a foreign tune. But even then his originality stood out. At a time when musicians took great pains to reproduce slavishly not only the sound pattern and pronunciation but even the background music of Indian songs, Sunil Santa was able to render an Indian melody in a way that highlighted his independence and originality:

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86. Perera S.S, 1988; Abeysel a, 1991, (2).

87. Sunil Santa, 1952 p. 9.

88. Sunil Santa, 1947a p

89. Sunil Santa, 1952]

90. Gunaratne, 1993.

91. Sunil Santa, 195

witness His "*Sumano, Sumano,*" sung to a melody from the Hindi film *Kismet.*"[92]

Whatever the influences, his compositions represent a style that is unmistakably his own. As Sarachchandra has remarked, what he attempted to create was "a style of music which has a character of its own, and which is not simply an echo of the music of other countries."[93] The originality of that style was reinforced by his unique voice and vocal manner which depended for its effectivenss above all on clear and correct pronunciation. Each syllable of every word was properly articulated, with the result that Sinhala came to be revealed as a glorious, lofty and highly musical language.[94]

IV. The Impact of Folk-Song

Apart from the Sinhala language, Sunil Santa's most significant source of inspiration was Sinhala folk-song and folklore. He was gifted with a lilting, mellifluous, open voice ideally suited to the rendering of folk-song. This magnificent voice, nurtured in a rural environment, was not distorted by his training in classical music.[95] For three years prior to his departure for India he had studied folk-songs and *vannam* under Urapola Banda Gurunnanse.[96] Writing to Arisen Ahubudu once he inquired whether it would be possible to create a music that can be called Sinhala by modernizing our ancient rural song rhythms and composing lyrics on their model. Ahubudu's answer was the lyric "*piyumo*" which the composer promptly set to music.[97]

Sunil Santa believed that musical works could be produced by absorbing the melodic patterns concealed in our folk-songs, and accordingly attempted to create something new. In his view, one could not create a Sinhala music to reflect our national characteristics by absorbing Indian influence.[98] On the other hand, the musical element of our traditional melodies would not be adequate for our purpose, and therefore he advocated the prudent admission of elements from the great systems of world music.[99]

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92. Sunil Santa, 1948b p. 4.

93. Sarachchandra, 1950.

94. Cf. Senadheera, 1981.

95. Gunaratne, 1993.

96. Iriyagolla, 1983, 19

97. Anonymous, 1955

98. Vitana, R. 1981

99. Sunil Santa, 19

Those who attempt to create a national Sinhala music from folk-song today generally follow one of several courses of action: They either create a new composition based on a particular folk-song; or create an "*antara*" section by expanding the range of the folk melody to cover the span of an octave; or cause the melody to be rendered simultaneously at different pitch levels producing a rudimental form of parallel harmony; or convert the folk verse into a light song by adding an orchestral prelude, interlude and coda; or attempt to build elaborate systems of scales and theories on folk-song and introduce them into the educational system.

In my opinion, however, the best way to create a truly national music out of folk-songs is to listen to them as often as possible, study them as much as possible and, once they have been completely absorbed into one's system, to forget them altogether and create original compositions. Such creations will inevitably embody the national characteristics of our folk-songs.

I feel that Sunil Santa's music is truly national in this sense. In a piece called "*Tanuvaka Upata*" (Birth of a Melody")[100] written for Ivor Dennis, the composer has demonstrated how his "*Ganga Geeya*" and the lullaby from *Rekhava* originated from the traditional melody to which we sing verses from the *Lo Veda Sangarava*. One cannot help wondering just how many of his other melodies conceal disguised or transformed folk-song motifs.

The impact of folk melody becomes increasingly evident in his later compositions. Concurrently with this increasing impact, and no doubt as its inevitable consequence, we observe a progressive departure from Indian musical usage. This departure is particularly evident in three areas: Rhythm, Melody and musical Form.

(1) *Rhythm*: An Indian musical composition is generally set to a single rhythm or *tala* and changes of rhythm within a composition are not frequent. Our traditional melodies are not thus confined to a single rhythm. Each verse in a string of metrically identical verses may be sung to a different rhythm: witness the *Asne* of the *Kohomba Kankariya* ritual where the same metre is presented in five different rhythms and melodies. Not only that; our rhythms change even within a single verse, as in the "*Musaladi Vannama*" and the verses in honour of Dedimunda. Now, Sunil Santa too does not confine his melodies to a single rhythm as in Indian music, but lends them colour and interest by combining different rh hms. "*Sinhala Avurudde*",[101] "*Tel Gala Hisa*"[102] and "*Ko Haturo*" from *Sandesay* e well known examples.

(2) *Melody*: In India theory *raga* is a series of notes (*svara*) capable of

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100. Sunil Santa-Denni 7-29.

101. Sunil Santa 1948

102. Sunil Santa, 19

generating aesthetic delight. However,it is also stipulated that a *raga* must employ at least five notes of the scale from which it is derived. But Sunil Santa not only created melodies employing four, three, two notes and even one note,[103] but endowed them with the capacity for incomparable aesthetic delight. Although critics are inclined to dismiss them as mere experiments, their indigenous flavour and freshness can hardly be missed.

One limitation, however, has to be pointed out. Many of these tunes are hard to enjoy as pure music once they are separated from their lyrics. Nevertheless, as Abeysekara has observed, "These melodies combine bare simplicity and expressive power to a degree unparalleled in Sinhala music. I think in these compositions, baffling to some and infuriating to others, Sunil Santa's quest for a musical idiom which would avoid the exuberance and rhetoric of the *ragadhari* tradition and reach a naked austerity in keeping with the lucid economy of Elu was practically near-fulfilled."[104]

This development reached its climax in the 1970's in the musical settings of the Sigiri graffiti. Every one of these melodies is confined to four notes, but, given the composer's instinct for rhythm and colour, they are anything but monotonous.

(3) *Musical form*: As with Mohammed Ghouse, Ananda Samarakoon and Amaradeva, one observes in Sunil Santa the attempt to liberate Sinhala song from the *sthayi-antara* structure of Hindustani music to which it had been confined since the days of the *nurti*. This is already evident in the opening song of his first published collection which also gave the book its title: "*Ridi Valava*".[105] It was followed by others: "*Kokila Nade*",[106] "*Guvan Totilla*",[107] "*Oru Pedeema*",[108] "*Kukulu Hevilla*",[109] "*Lene*",[110] "*Simhala Avurudde*",[111] "*Handa Pane* (2)"[112] and "*Komala Deta*

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103. Sunil Santa-Dennis, 1993 p. 31-33.

104. Abeysekara, 1991 (4).

105. Sunil Santa, 1947 p. 1.

106. Sunil Santa, 1947a p. 1, 1[illegible] 8a p. 12.

107. Sunil Santa, 1948b p. 2

108. Sunil Santa, 1948b p

109. Sunil Santa-Dennis

110. Sunil Santa, 1949

111. Sunil Santa, 194

Nagala".[113] In fact, many of the songs in *Guvan Totilla* show this preference for expanded melodic forms.

At the same time, and due no doubt to the impact of folk-song, there is a counter tendency towards greater economy by contracting the melody down to a single strain. Examples are "*Kumbure Peraliya*",[114] "*Kate Kiri Suvanda*" from *Sandesaya*, "*Mal Mal Mal*",[115] "*Ran Van Palasin*"[116] and "*Sande*".[117]

There are several instances where an earlier lyric with an expansive melody has been reset to a tune of greater economy and a more modern ring. While admiring the conciseness of these new versions, one wonders sometimes whether something of interest in the earlier settings has not been lost in the process of modernization. The well known song *"Kele Gedi"* ("Wild berries") is a case in point.[118] The earlier version is a duet with a melody consisting of two strains. By contracting it into a four-line stanza and giving it a new melody the composer has doubtless brought it into line with the musical trends of the swinging sixties, when it was first broadcast. However, I feel that the dramatic element, which was the chief point of attraction in the earlier version, has been largely sacrificed.

V. Salient Features of Sunil Santa's Music.

Sunil Santa's melodies are noted for their clear form and perfect finish. Personally, I am of the opinion that his best creations are found among his Christian songs. His song for Our Lady of Fatima, *"Patima Mihira"*,[119] is, I think, one of the greatest melodies ever composed.

His melodies are simple and easy to grasp so that, As Aravinda has remarked,

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112. Sunil Santa, 1948b p. 3.

113. Sunil Santa, 1948b p. 6.

114. Sunil Santa, 1947 p. 16.

115. Sunil Santa-Dennis, 199 3.

116. Sunil Santa-Dennis, 1

117. Sunil Santa, 1990 p

118. Compare Sunil Sa and 1990 p. 13.

119. Sunil Santa: 195

upon hearing a line once, the listener is encouraged to join the singer the second time.[120] This is because the melodies have what Abeysekara has appropriately called the "air of inevitability": "Each note is unerringly in the right place. There can be no improvement of the structure; no rearrangement of the sequence of notes. The melody seems to have evolved naturally like a tree growing."[121]

Sunil Santa was capable of developing the simplest musical concept into an outstanding melody, and it is worth analyzing some of his techniques of composition, in order to be able to appreciate his music better. Whether in setting forth his views in prose, or in expressing his feelings in lyrics, his thoughts unfold systematically, one step at a time. The same is true of his melodies. More often than not, they gradually build up towards a climax.

Take, for instance, the well known melody of his *"Olu Pipeela"*. The first pause is on the tonic; the next is on the second note of the scale; this is followed by a pause on the third, and then another on the fifth. From here the melody soars beyond the upper tonic to its climax, and then, instead of descending directly, follows an undulating movement until it reaches the middle tonic which was its starting point.[122]

He had a fine sense of melodic balance. He would often arrange a pair of musical phrases like a question and answer. An interesting instance occurs in the verse of *"Kurulu Adare"*. Here the first line rises gradually but ends by falling two steps, while the second line falls gradually but ends by rising two steps.[123]

Imitative sequences figure prominently in his melodies. The second phrase is often a mere repetition of the first, but shifted to a different, and usually higher, degree of the scale.[124] Sometimes the second phrase is slightly modified in order to accommodate it to the shape of the melody.[125]

One device seems to have been a particular favourite with him. After repeating a melodic figure sequentially three times in the same direction (usually descending) he

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120. Aravinda, 1990.

121. Abeysekara, 1991 (1).

122. Sunil Santa, 1947 p. 5, a p. 3.

123. Sunil Santa, 1947a p.

124. *E.G.*, "May Song" 1947a p. 2 lines 1 - 2, 1948a p. 4 bars 1 - 8; *"Munindu Vendun* ita-Dennis: 1992 p. 6. Cf. Also the first eight bars of *"Gayava* rera, M. 1964 p. 14.

125. *E.g.*, *"Ridee S* il Santa, 1952 p. 18 lines 7 - 8.

would make the melody move in a different manner. I have counted some eighteen instances in his printed scores.[126]

As Aravinda has remarked, Sunil Santa was gifted with a golden voice full of refinement and highly listenable, which instinctively sought the correct notes and intervals. As the supreme reward of long and systematic practice this voice became cultivated and magnificent, amply fulfilling the expectation of music lovers. His voice was at home in both the high and the low, and agile in the rendering of vibrato and ornaments. He made his singing come alive by modulating his voice to suit the thought and feeling of his text.[127]

At a time when the Sinhala song is in danger of being fragmented and overwhelmed by seemingly endless orchestral introductions, interludes and codas, I feel that Sunil Santa's use of instrumental accompaniment embodies a salutary message. He never allowed his voice to be covered over by the accompaniment. Prominence was given to the melody while the accompaniment played a subsidiary and characteristically ornamental role. In general, his orchestra was not very large. It was usually restricted to a few instruments: often a violin, a guitar and a pair of Tablas would do; and they allowed his voice, which was free of any defects that a large orchestra might cover, to stand out in such a way as to allow due prominence to the words and the melody.[128] Among his later compositions, *"Ambalame Pina"*[129] and *"Tikiri Liya"*[130] only employed the udekki, while the song commemorating Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranayake was sung without any musical accompaniment whatsoever.[131]

Introductions were rare and, when present, confined to a few bars. Often only the *sruti* or tonic was heard before the song began. Interludes usually consisted of lines from the song itself, except in moments of intense feeling when the composer sought the power of pure music to express a thought that was too deep for words. The best example

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126. *E.g.*, Sunil Santa, 1952 p. 4, 1950 p. 6, 1949 p. 21; Sunil Santa-Dennis, 1992 p. 2, etc.

127. Aravinda, 1990.

128. Cf. Vitarana, 1988; Aravinda, 1990.

129. Sunil Santa, 1990 p. 32 -

130. *Ibid.*, p. 16 - 17.

131. There is an often re dote to the effect that, at this recording, when the engineer suggestec at least a tampura drone to prevent his breathing from being heard ; supposed to have replied: "It is good that the people of this cou Sunil Santa is still breathing." Cf. Gunasinghe, D., 1981; Porut(

is the violin interlude in the *"Mituru Viyova"*.

Sunil Santa was no extremist restricting his accompaniments to eastern instruments. His broad attitude towards musical traditions enabled him to effect a judicious blend of instruments from different cultures both of the east and of the west. But he exercised due discretion and moderation in employing western instruments. As H.M. Gunasekera remembers, "his view was that, while the blending of different systems without due knowledge or understanding abused the artistic element, the judicious employment of different systems in a way appropriate to one's creation was not only right but was essential to the propagation of the art."[132] In particular, he emphatically maintained that brass instruments were detrimental to the intrinsic qualities of our music and hence should not be admitted.[133]

Accordingly, some of his earlier recordings employ a string orchestra in harmony, and the clarinet and piano are also heard occasionally. The two commercial recordings employed electric guitar, double bass and flute as well as violins and Tabla. But the greatest variety of orchestration is found in the *"Madhura Madhu"* series. I must admit, however, that I find the orchestration in *"Valakulen Besa"*, *"Emba Ganga"* and, especially, *"Tel Gala Hisa"* too loud and uncharacteristic of the composer. On the other hand, the *"Ganga Geeya"*, composed for Ivor Dennis, has a colourful interlude in which the instruments are employed in canonic imitation, while the *"Munindu Venduma"*, for the same vocalist, presents a sensitive and highly aesthetic combination of the tone colours of different instruments. It is a pity indeed that these songs are rarely heard nowadays. On the whole, Sunil Santa's orchestration can be described as a model in restraint, appropriateness and moderation.

The tremendous popularity of Sunil Santa's melodies is beyond dispute. But the real nature of that popularity, I feel, has not always been rightly perceived. Much has been made of their vogue among the English speaking middle class both by the composer himself as well as by some of his admirers.[134] But, in truth, their popularity rests with the multitude of those who cherish a profound affection for the Sinhala language and song. One has only to think of the flood of letters to the press both when Sunil Santa stopped singing in 1955,[135] and when he passed away in 1981.

Sunil Santa firmly believed that, as an independent and sovereign nation, the people of Sri Lanka should possess a music that can truly be called our own. He therefore did whatever he could, not onl· to create such a music, but also to elevate it to

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132. Gunasekera, 1990.

133. Sunil Santa, 1953

134. Sunil Santa, 194' ı; Vitana, R. 1978; Vitarana, W. 1990.

135. Cf. in particula · for 1955, February 3, 4, 5, etc.

international level. Moreover,he encouraged others who aspired to these same objectives. He conducted numerous experiments with the object of presenting his listeners always with something original and meaningful. The results of such experiments were embodied in a musical idiom founded on the inherent characteristics of the Sinhala language and folk song, but with the judicious incorporation of elements from both East and West. The melodies in which this idiom found expression are perhaps unparalleled in Sinhala music for the balance between didactic and aesthetic value, and will doubtless be remembered and sung for many generations to come.

D.P.M. WEERAKKODY

BOOK REVIEW

MORE OPEN THAN USUAL? : AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EXPERIMENT IN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AT PERADENIYA AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

Edited by R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, published by the University of Peradeniya, 1992, pp. 275. Hardcover Rs. 550/-, Paperback Rs. 475/-

In July 1942 the Ceylon University College and the Ceylon Medical College, which used to be separate institutions, were formed into the University of Ceylon. In 1952, some of its faculties and the administrative offices were shifted to Peradeniya though certain faculties still remained behind in Colombo.

The Golden Jubilee of the University of Ceylon was celebrated by the University of Peradeniya in the period from July 1991 and to June 1992. Several faculties of the University contributed in many ways to celebrate the jubilee and the Faculty of Arts, among other programmes, held a two-day seminar on the theme, 'More Open than Usual? : Fifty years of University Education in Sri Lanka'. The present volume consists largely of the papers presented at this seminar held in December 1991. The main title of the volume 'More Open than Usual', may arouse curiosity in the minds of the readers who may not be familiar with the Peradeniya environment. This is a phrase inscribed on the plaque in the wall just above the flight of steps leading to the Senate building of the University. The learned editor has taken great pains in the Preface to explain the reasons for borrowing this phrase for the title of the volume.

The present volume consists of sixteen articles, most of which have been contributed by the members of the academic community of Peradeniya,while the rest are the work of some eminent alumni of the university. As the editor himself has noted, "what is presented here is partly historical reconstruction and partly analysis with a view to understanding the nature of noteworthy changes in the history of the University". The themes covered in the collection range from those relating to the historical background and the development of the university to problems faced by the Sri Lankan Universities today.

Of the sixteen articles, the one on 'The Battle of the Sites and the Establishment of the University of Ceylon at Peradeniya', contributed by K.D.G. Wimalaratne, while surveying the background to the establishment of the University of Ceylon sets out the nature of the debate over the selection of a site for the University. Apart from being a very informative paper on certain little known aspects of this long and sometimes heated debate, it also shows how this 'Battle of Sites' at times even overshadowed the important issue of constitutional reform. The next article, 'Access to University Education during the Past Fifty Years, 1942-1992' by A.D.V. de S. Indraratne, while reviewing the criteria used in the selection of students for universities in general, describes how university eduction in the Island has expanded over the last fifty years.

Amal Jayawardane's paper 'Jennings on University Education' is one of the most interesting and well researched papers in the volume. As is well known, Sir Ivor Jennings was a formidable force behind the establishment of the University of Ceylon. He played a leading role in this process while serving first as the Principal of the University College and then as the University's first Vice-Chancellor. Jayawardane outlines many aspects of Jennings's views and his vision of an ideal university. Jennings was also a great proponent of university autonomy and, as Jayawardane shows, how difficult a task it was, even for a person of Jennings's standing, with all the power and right connections, to safeguard university autonomy against political pressures and interference.

S. Pathmanathan, in his contribution 'The University of Peradeniya : Expectations and Achievements', brings out the higher ideals and goals set by the founding-fathers of the University and highlights the present problems faced by the island's university system in general. He shows how government interference in university affairs, which Jennings had done much to prevent, led to the deterioration of the quality of education and administration in the universities.

Shanta Hennayake, writing on the 'Role of the Junior Teacher in the University', discusses the contribution of the junior lecturers to university education and highlights the problems faced by them in performing their duties as teachers and researchers. Gamini Samaranayaka's paper on 'Changing Patterns of Student Politics in Sri Lanka : A Case study of the University of Peradeniya' reviews the nature of student politics in the University, paying attention to different stages in its history and tries to identify the causes of student unrest in the country. Here, Samaranayaka lays great emphasis on the two youth uprisings of 1971 and 1988-89 and the role of the university students in these rebellions is also brought into focus.

Although the University of Ceylon did not have an Institute or even a Department of Aesthetic Studies, the University has made a profound and lasting contribution in this field, mainly as a result of the untiring efforts and dedication of a group of academics. K.N.O. Dharmadasa's article on 'The Peradeniya School : the Origin and Consolidation of a Literary Movement' and D.P.M. Weerakkody's article on 'Music at Peradeniya' deal with the University's contributions in this field.

K.N.O. Dharmadasa's article attempts to trace the origin and growth of the so-called 'Peradeniya School'. The author identifies many writers who were associated with this literary movement and argues that the Peradeniya School was founded on the groundwork prepared by Martin Wickremasinghe, the most outstanding of Sinhalese writers, although he did not have any direct academic link with Peradeniya. Though Dharmadasa attempts to evaluate such personalities like E.R. Sarachchandra, Siri Gunasingha and Gunadasa Amarasekere, the last part of the article is more a catalogue of names of writers and artists, in his opinion, belong to the Peradeniya School, rather than a critical assessment of their contribution.

In his article on 'Music at Peradeniya' Weerakkody makes a painstaking effort to put together very useful information on the University's involvement in the field of

music, though it was not a subject included in the academic curricula. Weerakkody must be commended for his excellent contribution for collecting extremely interesting and valuable but little known information on this subject.

The other articles in this collection deal mainly with the functions and achievements of seven academic departments of the University. Ashley Halpe's article the 'English Department and the University' is mainly an attempt to trace the history of the English Department while highlighting the contributions of such luminaries as E.F.C. Ludowyk in preparing a "generation of well-read and discriminating young intellectuals". According to Halpe, it was Ludowyk who initiated the change in the English teaching in accordance with the new trends in writing and literary criticism.

The two articles, 'Some Aspects of the University's Contribution to Tamil Studies in Sri Lanka' by S. Thillainathan and 'The University of Peradeniya and the Development of Tamil Literary Criticism in Sri Lanka' by M.A. Nuhuman deal with two different but related aspects of Tamil studies in the University. Both writers have referred to the contributions made by such eminent academics like Swami Vipulananda, V. Chelvanayagam, S. Vithiyananthan and K. Kailasapathy and their successors in the Department of Tamil.

G.P.S.H. de Silva's paper on 'The Study of History of Sri Lankan Schools and the University' outlines the history of the teaching of the subject of History, first at school level and then at the university level. In this discussion, the author refers to the place occupied by the subject of History in the school curriculum under the British rule and in the subsequent period. The author very correctly points out that one major factor behind the steady decline in popularity of the subject of History both at school and university level is the nature of the changes that were introduced in the school curriculum, particularly after 1972. However, the general apathy shown by the policy-makers in education towards the subject of History in the eighties is something that has escaped the notice of the author.

'The Study of Political Science in Sri Lanka' is S.U. Kodikara's contribution to the present volume. As Kodikara mentions, Political Science did not find a prominent place in the university curriculum in the early stages. In fact, for a long time, this important branch of study remained as a part of the Economics curriculum and it was only recently that a separate department of Political Science was created. The author then goes on to explain why the progress of this discipline was so slow when compared with that of other disciplines at the university level. However, the main part of the article is devoted to the University's research contribution in this field. The important role played by the University in producing professional teachers is the subject of P.H.A.N.S. Jayasena's paper on 'Professionalization of Education : The Contribution made by the University of Peradeniya to the Upliftment of the Teaching Profession in Sri Lanka.'

Though the University of Peradeniya at present consists of seven faculties of study, only one article - that by H.P.M. Gunasena - in this volume deals with the contributions made by a department of study outside the Faculty of Arts. Gunasena, in

his paper on 'The Development of Agriculture Education in Sri Lanka', while trying to trace the history of formal teaching of Agriculture in the island, goes back to the days of the establishment of the Farm School in 1916 and shows how a department of study was set up in the University in 1948, which subsequently developed into a full-fledged faculty. In this study Gunasena advocates a greater involvement by the University in post-graduate studies and research in the field of Agriculture.

Although the present collection of essays covers a wide variety of topics on the University's history and its functions, one glaring lacuna is, as mentioned, the absence of any contribution of members of faculties outside the Faculty of Arts, except for the sole article by H.P.M. Gunasena. It is perhaps understandable that as this is a project undertaken by the Faculty of Arts most of the articles should deal with that faculty. However, if at least one article covering each faculty's contribution to the university life had been included in this volume, it would have made the present work a more comprehensive one. At least an article on the Faculty of Oriental Studies - which was one of the first to be formed in the University and one that has made a lasting contribution to it (though later absorbed into the Arts Faculty) would have enhanced the value of the publication.

However, the present volume, which consists mainly of essays written by eminent scholars in their chosen field, is undoubtedly an important addition to our knowledge on the history and functions of the University. The contributors were free to express their personal views and impressions and to provide analyses and critical appreciations in keeping with ideals of this great academic tradition which they have inherited. The editor must be commended for the skilful job he has performed by putting together the ideas, impressions and experiences of scholars belonging to diverse academic backgrounds and bringing out this excellent volume to commemorate this significant event in our history.

P.V.B. KARUNATILAKA

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