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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Editorial Boards are often forced into taking agonizing decisions when several commemorative events intersect, or converge, within a brief time-span. 1998 marked fifty years of Sri Lanka's Independence from Britain; this double volume *of The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* includes its twenty-fifth issue; and the publication will appear in the year 2000. Such occurrences are unique and merit recognition in several spheres including academic journals. Special issues cease to be "special" if they appear too often, however. The Editorial Board, therefore, resisted the temptation to publish three celebratory numbers separately; instead, it employed volumes 24 and 25 to commemorate all these events.

To structure an entire journal on a specific theme can be precarious because such practices often result in sameness and could even cramp the styles of individual writers. None of the contributors was required to respond to a topic set by the Board, but many of the pieces are, in their different ways, suitable for the occasions being commemorated. A.J. Wilson's essay, the first in the journal, examines the importance of the four constitutions that have governed Sri Lanka since Independence. Michael Roberts uses the riots of July 1983, by far the most traumatic period in the island's postcolonial history, as a point of departure for his study on "emotion" and the "person." B.S.S.A. Wickramasuriya's substantial contribution focuses on the Psychological Novel in Sinhala, which is essentially a product of the 20th century. Thiru Kandiah's paper on the "politics" of English in the postcolonial period contests many assumptions about the dissemination of English in the current context, explores the contradictions inherent in the nation's English Language policies, and suggests means by which English could become an integral part of the community without jeopardising the status of indigenous languages and culture. S.W. Perera's article on Shyam Selvadurai's *Cinnamon Gardens* investigates the pitfalls involved in re-writing a specific period of Sri Lankan history in the 20th century to discover reasons for the island's current crises and also analyses the manner in which the anxiety to achieve political correctness could hamper the novelistic task. H.A.I. Goonetileke, who contributed a Bio-Bibliographical Commentary on Robert Knox to the first ever number of *SLJH*, has fittingly brought his research up-to-date by providing an addendum to its 25th issue.

The essays that do not directly address any of the events being commemorated are equally valuable and relevant. Ranjini Obeyesekere illustrates, among other matters, the different ways in which women were "placed" in Buddhism over the years by analysing three versions of a 13th century poem to "see what variations have been introduced in the telling of it over an extended period of time." S. Pathmanathan's careful reading and reinterpretation of an inscription in Viharehinna provides fresh information on the inscription and the society it deals with. Ratna Handurukanda's "Sundry Notes on Fa-shien" furnishes new insights

into the life and work of this Buddhist traveller from China by perusing the commentaries, translations, and other material written on him. S.N. Arseculeratne, an emeritus Professor of Microbiology, approaches the concept of reincarnation from an unusual perspective. Merlin Peris's is a scholarly piece that unveils Aristotle's views on another Greek philosopher, Pythagoras. Chulani Rambukwella's research on the Early Iron Age socio-political landscape of the Mahaoya river valley discloses divergent forms of existence in regions that are adjacent to each other, and Nidhani de Andrado's essay is yet another attempt to understand the enigmatic character of Heathcliff in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*.

While the Board feels privileged that those associated with *The University of Ceylon Review*, the forbear to *SLJH*, and others who have contributed to this journal over the years chose to publish in this special volume, it is hoped that the first decade of the new century will bring forth younger academics who will both submit papers to this journal for possible publication and also take up Editorial positions. There can be no doubt that the University system still produces excellent academics; what is worrisome, however, is that recent generations of graduates who have chosen University teaching as their career do not generally conduct their research in English. Consequently, the number of scholars who have access to their work is limited; moreover, this diffidence results in these individuals receiving little recognition from the world "out there." One hopes that the kind of challenge posed by Thiru Kandiah in his essay will result in new approaches to English Language teaching in the new millenium which will in turn produce academics who can confidently publish their work in English in addition to the National Languages. Such changes of heart and policy are crucial if *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* is to maintain standards and indeed to survive over the next twenty-five issues.

SRI LANKA: A TALE OF FOUR CONSTITUTIONS

The Constitutions we will examine in this essay are (i) the Jennings-Senanayake Constitution of 1946-48 which lasted till 1972 (ii) the Sirimavo-Colvin R. de Silva Constitution of 1972-78 (iii) the Jayewardene Constitution of 1978 and (iv) the proposed changes to be enacted vis-a-vis the G.L. Peiris-Chandrika Kumaratunga proposals, for a new Constitution of 1999. They cover the entire period from independence (1948) to the present day.

The first Constitution lasted till 1972, a period of a quarter century. Perhaps it will be the Constitution that lasted longest. Its origins lie in what was called the Ministers' *Draft Scheme* of 1944. This was a change enacted in the aftermath of World War II when radical thinking or behaviour had still to surface and make their presence felt. The two men behind the 1948 Constitution were two conservatives, both enamoured by the classical Westminster model and slaves as it were to Victorian thinking. The *Draft Scheme* incorporated all the features of Westminster and its guiding hand was Don Stephen Senanayake (D.S. for short) who wore top hat and tails on ceremonial occasions and liked to posture as one of Her Majesty's Privy Councillors, and Sir William Ivor Jennings, a conservative, nineteenth century Fabianist in the best sense of the term. Jennings claimed that he was the draftsman, not the architect of the Constitution. But as Jennings admitted, the scheme of representation in Parliament was of his own making, his brainchild during a spell of malaria. What was left out, a second chamber and a bill of rights was on his advice. Jennings was rewarded with a knighthood by D.S., who went on to become the first prime minister. Jennings also became the *eminence grise* of the first government, a speech writer for D.S., and the latter's honest broker in all the dealings with Whitehall. It can be rightly said, in the considered view of this writer, that if not for Jennings, Ceylon would not have obtained independence in 1948, so very swiftly and smoothly.

The Soulbury Constitution of 1947-48 was short-lived and did not last more than a couple of months from November 1947 to 4 February 1948 when Ceylon was granted complete independence. This Soulbury Constitution was more or less a copy of the Ministers' *Draft Scheme* (1944) which it should be noted was architectured by Sir Ivor Jennings based on the thinking of D.S. Senanayake. The *Draft Scheme* was in the main a copy of the Westminster Model with modifications to meet local requirements. The latter had to do with legislative representation, the absence of a bill of rights and a quantum of discretionary powers vested in the governor. The Soulbury Constitution in addition provided for a second chamber, the Senate, and an all pervading clause 29 which prohibited Parliament from enacting any discriminatory laws against any of the minorities. It was also provided that the Governor will act as an impartial arbiter

whenever he felt the interests of a minority were being adversely affected by discriminatory legislation. Section 29 would be the barometer which would provide a test of the political temperature.

Section 29 read as follows:

(1) Subject to the provisions of the Order, Parliament shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Island.

(2) No such law shall

(a) prohibit or restrict the free exercise of any religion; or

(b) make persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable; or

(c) confer on persons of any community or religion any privilege or advantage which is not conferred on persons of other religions or communities; or

(d) alter the constitution of any religious body except with the consent of the governing authority of that body. Provided that, in any case, when a religious body is incorporated by law, no such alteration shall be made except at the request of the governing authority of that body.

(3) Any law made in contravention of subsection (2) of this section shall, to the extent of such contravention, be void.

This provision limited the powers of the Ceylonese Parliament. It was an entrenched provision. The highest judicial tribunal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, pronounced in an *obiter dictum* in 1964 in *Bribery Commissioner versus Ranasinghe* (66 N.L.R. 73) that Section 29 (2) (b) was *unalterable* because it entrenched "religious and racial [sic] matters" and represented the "solemn balance of rights between the citizens of Ceylon and the fundamental conditions on which *inter se* they accepted the Constitution". We have no documentation that the Ceylon Tamils accepted the "solemn balance of rights" or "the fundamental conditions on which *inter se* they accepted the Constitution". The assumption of such a compact from our point of view does not

therefore bear validity. The *obiter dictum* nevertheless caused a stir in political circles.

However, a United Front (UF) headed by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike claimed that the decision of a foreign body such as that of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was an invasion of the island's sovereignty. The Judicial Committee's decision caused an outcry and the left-inclined United Front alliance headed by Mrs Bandaranaike sought a mandate at the general election of May 1970 to frame an entirely new constitution, a constitution which in effect would be autochthonous. They went even further and demanded the replacement of the foreign British imposed Constitution and even suggested that the Soulbury/Independence Constitution be replaced with a new home-grown Constitution from which ultimately would emerge the Constitution of 1972.

The objective of D.S. Senanayake had been to attempt a transplant of the Westminster model on the Ceylonese polity. To the extent that the constitutional system functioned without a major crisis during the years 1948 to 1972, it could be said that Westminster was a success. Not only was it a success but in hindsight Westminster seemed a model worth emulating for it was readily adaptable and flexible to deal with any circumstance. What was significant was that under this model it was provided under Section 46, that there shall be:

> 46 (1) a cabinet of Ministers who shall be appointed by the Governor-General and who shall be charged with the general direction and control of the government of the Island and who shall be *collectively responsible to Parliament*
>
> (2) of the ministers *one who shall be the head of the Cabinet shall be styled the `Prime Minister'*; of the other Ministers one shall be styled the `Minister of Justice' and another shall be styled the `Minister of Finance'.

Thus the keystones of the unwritten British Constitution were enshrined in writing in the Ceylon Constitution of 1948, especially the enjoinment to the cabinet of ministers to be *collectively responsible* to Parliament and the reference to the *Prime Minister as head of the Cabinet*. To cap this all was the provision for the nominal executive in whose name all powers will be exercised to act in accordance with British convention; that is to say, to act in every instance on the advice of the Prime Minister (Section 4 subsection 2). There were only two instances of Ministers being forced to resign at the request of the Prime Minister concerned and that because, in the first instance, the Minister concerned (Mr. C. Suntheralingam) walked out of the chamber when in 1949 the vote on a significant piece of legislation, the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Law, was being

taken and the second in 1975 when Dr. N.M. Perera, the Minister of Finance was requested by Prime Minister Mrs. Bandaranaike to resign for making allegedly disparaging remarks about the assassinated Prime Minister, the late S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. These examples were by no means any attempt to maintain collective responsibility as the guiding principle of parliamentary government in the context of a rapid disintegration of ministerial responsibility. More they serve as illustration of the primacy of the Prime Minister and no more. The worst of the crises was in early 1959 when the right wing section of the cabinet of Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike refused to attend, or deliberately boycotted meetings of the cabinet until such time as the prime minister dismissed the two left wing ministers in the cabinet. The prime minister eventually succumbed to the pressure.

But more relevant was a principal issue in relation to the successful conduct of parliamentary government. This was the vital question of the need for there to be an *agreement on fundamentals*. There cannot be democratic government if government and opposition are at odds on how the state apparatus should be operated. And this is precisely what happened in the first two Parliaments (1947-56). The leading Opposition Party was the Trotskyist LSSP led by the constitutional expert on parliamentary procedure, Dr. N.M. Perera. But the LSSP along with its splinter, the Bolshevik Sama Samaja Party (BSP) led by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, and the pro-Moscow Communist Party were wedded to the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and moreover the latter two were unwilling to concede the position of Leader of the Opposition to the LSSP leader, Dr. N.M. Perera on the score that none of the three Marxist parties were committed to the concept of the leadership of Her Majesty's alternative government. Thus on both grounds, the commitment to a revolutionary dictatorship and Her Majesty's alternative government, the Marxist parties were at variance with the Westminster-oriented United National Party (UNP) government of D.S. Senanayake. The government consequently ignored the Opposition, by and large, on the arrangement of parliamentary business. Their excuse was that if the opposition were in office, the UNP would obtain short shrift. So why should they respect the opposition's wishes? The same treatment resulted during the Prime Ministership of Sir John Kotelawala. The situation improved somewhat when Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike crossed to the opposition. His solid democratic Sri Lanka Freedom Party openly proclaimed that they respected parliamentary government and were therefore committed to operating it in the same way as the UNP government.

In all probability this method of government would have gone on indefinitely but for the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1964 in *Bribery Commissioner versus Ranasinghe* where their lordships held that Section 29 (2) (b) of the Constitution was *unalterable* because it entrenched "religious and *racial (sic)*

matters". The Opposition parties constituting the United Front loudly protested that such an *obiter dictum* implied an erosion of the sovereignty of the Ceylonese Parliament and the Constitution must therefore be replaced with a home grown one. The UF campaigned at the general election of May 1970 for a mandate to effect the proposed change. The UF received such a mandate and accordingly proceeded to set up a Constituent Assembly which framed a new Constitution in 1972.

The Constitution of 1972 was in the end no more than a carbon copy of the 1948-1972 Constitution. The Westminster tradition tended to die hard and the Westernised, English-educated middle class judged severely deviations from British conventions that were the prevailing orthodoxy in the nineteenth century. However, the recent changes in Westminster have not been carefully noticed by members of this class. Consequently Westminster in Ceylon was cast in a very rigid mould. This explains how and why the island made the quantum leap in the dark when the Gaullist constitutional framework was introduced via the Constitution of 1978.

The adoption of the Gaullist style executive presidency was due to what was felt were three vital shortcomings in the Westminster model. First it was realised that the Prime Minister could not function as a stable executive given the unpredictable political climate in which he operated. There were four prime ministers who came to grief on account of the loopholes in the cabinet system. In 1957, the Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was forced to unilaterally abrogate his pact with the Tamil leader S.J.V. Chelvanayakam owing to the sheer intimidation by Buddhist monks who demanded that he abrogate his pact or else face dire consequences. In 1965, the Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake concluded a similar agreement with Chelvanayakam but when a bill was prepared to implement the pact, Mr. Senanayake was faced with a revolt from his backbenchers and so decided that discretion in this instance was better. In 1962, the Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, faced the threat of a coup from dissatisfied military and police officers and possible dismissal by the governor-general. She successfully foiled both these manoeuvres. Then in 1965 (December) she fell a victim to a group of dissident MPs led by her deputy (Mr C.P. de Silva) who engineered her downfall by voting with the combined opposition on the division on the Vote of Thanks on the throne speech.

Thus with these examples to go by, there was a realisation that only a stable executive serving a fixed term and with overall control of the sinews of government could ensure political stability for any success in dealing with the growing dissent of the Tamil minority and ensure opportunities for foreign investment and economic development.

The second source of dissatisfaction was the tendency for governments to

collapse on the whim and fancy of dissenting members of the Opposition. Apart from the iron law of the executive presidency, a sword of Damocles hung over the heads of all MP's (1978) under changes introduced in the 1978 Constitution. If after election, an MP decided to change sides, he became liable to expulsion from his party. This was rendered more facile in the case of crossings over to the government side than the other way around. The insertion of this clause in 1978 meant that members voting against the government would cease to be MPs. In this way a government's majority was secured *ab initio*.

The third area of change was in regard to electoral procedure. Here again it was proven that a government was elected to office on a minority of the total votes cast. The Opposition party despite winning a sizeable vote failed to obtain seats in Parliament strictly in proportion to its total vote in the country. This was thought to be undemocratic. The governing party or coalition could muster adequate votes to force through Parliament far reaching legislation notwithstanding the stiffest opposition from oppositional parties. There was thus a threat to the foundations of the state, a sharp disagreement on its fundamentals.

These three shortcomings were the catalyst for the change of constitution in 1978. However, the foundations for the change were laid in the much publicised previous autochthonous Constitution of 1972. The 1972 Constitution had concentrated all powers, executive, legislative and judicial, in a single institution, the Cabinet of Ministers. The Prime Minister, who had been pivotal in this style of government, was the beneficiary. With the concentration, the Prime Minister's authority and powers approximated to those of an executive president as in the 1978 Constitution. The actual source of the change in 1978 was the Constitution of 1972.

The rationale for the 1972 Constitution was quite different from that of 1978. The chief motivation as we have stated in the above paragraphs was that the 1948-1972 Constitution had shortcomings which needed change given that it was meant for a post-colonial set up. 1972 was to be more a post-modern Constitution designed to meet the requirements of a developing economy. It was understood that Ceylon was entering a post-industrial phase and in such a context, the constitutional framework needed to be geared to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world. But there was doubt that the new constitution should be consensual. Consensus was obtained at the elite level of the Sinhalese middle class but the leading Tamil Federal party refused to cooperate and so did the main Opposition party, the UNP.

In the end the 1972 Constitution bore the stamp of its principal draftsman, the Trotskyist leader, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, but even he had little room for manoeuvre

given the stiff right wing opposition from within the ruling coalition. The expectation of a liberal and carefully executed work of perfection soon gave way to the fear that uncontrolled power in a single institution, the legislature in which the latter would be the beneficiary at the expense of all the other institutions of government constituted a danger to democratic government. There was no trace of the liberalism that the Ceylonese Trotskyists were noted for. Not even Dr. N.M. Perera, their parliamentary leader, the recognised constitutional expert on comparative parliamentary procedure, seems to have provided much input. And so a Constitution which was intended to be groundbreaking failed to make the grade. Both the UNP and FP rejected the Constitution.

The left oriented United Front headed by Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike had asked the electorate for a mandate

> to permit the members of Parliament you elect to function simultaneously as a *Constituent Assembly* to draft, adopt and operate a new Constitution. The Constitution will declare Ceylon to be a free, sovereign and independent *republic* pledged to realise the objective of a *socialist democracy*; and it will also secure *fundamental rights* and freedoms to all citizens.[1]

There were to be four guiding principles in the new set up, a Constituent Assembly which will be identical as the newly elected Parliament, the only difference being that a Constitution was being drawn by a body which had derived its power from the people.

The second most significant feature of the new status quo was to rename Ceylon the Republic of Sri Lanka, and with it to sever all ties with the British Crown. Sri Lanka ceased to be a monarchy with a Governor-General as the monarch's representative and became a republic with a president as the ceremonial head of state. The president would not be elected by the chambers of government but appointed by the prime minister.

Thirdly Section 29, the catalyst of change was thrown out lock, stock and barrel notwithstanding the *obiter dictum* of their lordships of the Judicial Committee of the

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[1] The reference is from "Party Manifestos" as published in The Ceylon Daily News, Seventh Parliament of Ceylon 1970 under Party Manifestos, "The S.L.F.P. in L.S.S.P. - C.P. United Front: Constitution" p. 173 (Colombo, The Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Limited, Lake House), nd.

Privy Council. Thus was removed "the balance of rights" with the minority communities of Sri Lanka. In its place was inserted a statement of justiciable fundamental rights but its provisions were rendered dysfunctional because of a qualifying proviso that these rights were subject "to national interests, national harmony, national economy" and so on.

Fourthly while the independence of the judiciary was safeguarded, a more malleable instrument, a Constitutional Court, was introduced for the purpose of determining the constitutionality of legislation. The Court had to give its decisions within a fixed period of twenty four hours in the case of urgency or two weeks in other instances.

Lastly the new Constitution validated the foundations of the Sinhala Buddhist state. The Sinhala language was entrenched and the state was required to foster and promote Sinhala *Theravada* Buddhism. In this way the foundations were laid for future conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities--the seed bed of the bloody civil war that has torn the island apart.

The Constitution functioned for six years with Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike as prime minister. Presumably, unknowingly she appears to have been manipulated by higher civil servants and scheming cabinet ministers. It was on the advice of bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education that the prime minister sanctioned the racial quota scheme for university admissions, a racial quota scheme which angered the educated youth of the Tamil community, which in turn precipitated the Sinhala-Tamil civil war now raging at tremendous cost to the government. For another, the prime minister could not bring under her control ambitious and communal-minded Sinhalese bureaucrats.

The Constitution failed in two respects. It did not ensure political stability. Promulgated in 1972, the Constitution was in the doldrums with the most significant component of the United Front, the Trotskyist LSSP, being expelled in 1975 and in its last stages, the pro-Moscow Communist Party's withdrawing support. The government was faced with massive labour unrest during 1975-6, stirred no doubt by the LSSP. Mrs. Bandaranaike's government shortly after 1975 came to a grinding halt. Not even the 1972 Constitution provided the much needed political stability.

With her unprecedented defeat by a huge majority at the general election of 1977, Mrs. Bandaranaike ceased to be prime minister. Her place was taken by Mr. J.R. Jayewardene. The latter served as prime minister for around a year and then ascended to the position of the first executive president of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. A highly knowledgeable J.R. Jayewardene with a veteran's parliamentary

experience of more than forty years at the time of his ascendancy, J.R. Jayewardene understood very well the primary weaknesses of parliamentary government. First, he realised the necessity for firm and stable government, and secondly, he understood that for the ship of state to take the direction that he and his party had planned for during their years in the political wilderness, there was the compelling need for a strong and stable executive to ensure the continuing support of members of parliament belonging to the party with a majority in Parliament. Such a stable executive should be in overall charge of members of the cabinet who would henceforth be his lieutenants, not his colleagues; they would in effect obey directions given by a strong executive; the latter would also bring the bureaucracy under an iron grip so that it would not subvert policy directives and governmental plans. The new system was intended to achieve all these objectives.

The executive presidential system, inaugurated in 1977, has to date been operated by four persons and not anyone of them has had a primrose path, especially in relation to the Cabinet. The relationship worked well with President Jayewardene and his cabinet of ministers but it fell to appalling depths with President Premadasa. The latter's successor, Wijetunga, functioned only for a few months after the former's assassination and was therefore an interim and lame-duck president. He was an embarrassment to his party with his occasional intemperate and ill-advised public pronouncements. The unsatisfactory workings of the presidency, especially under R. Premadasa, led the Opposition People's Alliance to seek a mandate to revert to Westminster. Premadasa operated the system in a thoroughly authoritarian manner, hastily suppressing any opposition to him, thus provoking his senior cabinet ministers to unsuccessfully initiate moves towards his impeachment. With the cabinet ranged against him, Premadasa's government was virtually paralysed and the President who had visions of launching a new era found himself stifled. The present president, Chandrika Kumaratunga, came to power obtaining a mandate to abolish the presidency and to revert to Westminster. Her government has presented proposals for the switchback. Since the proposals are linked with an offer of autonomy for the Tamil minority, they have not found favour with the main opposition as well as with Sinhalese extremist groups in the country.

The principal feature of the 1978 Constitution which undoubtedly followed the Gaullist model of the 5th French Republic, is the stable position of Executive President. He or she will remain in office for a fixed term, regardless of whether the cabinet of ministers is defeated on a motion of want of confidence in the National State Assembly. If faced with a contradictory majority in the Assembly, the President and the hostile government will have to learn to cohabit.

The second significant feature is that members of a political party, and in this case the rules are loaded against members on the government side, will face expulsion and be replaced if they breach party discipline and vote against the government. A member of an opposition party will not face such dire consequences, for the governing party will only be too ready to welcome him or her to its side. It is a committee with a majority of government members that decides whether a member's conduct warrants expulsion from Parliament and replacement.

Thirdly, the first-past-the-post system of election has been replaced with proportional representation. President Jayewardene and his senior ministers realised that despite the large proportion of votes their party polled at a general election, if the party went down to a defeat in the country, it ended with an insignificant proportion of seats in the legislature. The winning party obtained such a huge majority that it could master the required majority to even amend the constitution or replace it.

This Gaullist-style presidency has successfully tackled the problem of instability by what seems draconian methods. President Jayewardene went so far as to obtain undated letters of resignation from all government MPs and used it to coerce his party members to support the unpopular Indian-imposed thirteenth amendment, which provided for a measure of autonomy for the Tamil minority. In the earlier phase it enabled the President to switch his country from a restricted economy to a free market and liberal one. Along with these major changes, a solution to the national question was almost achieved but for the dithering of the president.

To date, since its inauguration in 1978, no government has faced the problem of a dwindling majority nor has any government been threatened or undermined by the crossings over of MPs. The likelihood of the latter happening is only if a group of members cross *en masse*, but so far this route has not been taken or even contemplated.

All four constitutions retained in them the Westminster principle of cabinet government, in short collective responsibility and answerability to Parliament. But with advancing years, there was erosion of this principle till under the executive presidential system of 1978, it wore thinnest. The differences between ministers became increasingly sharp and not seldom public. The base line required ministers to vote with the government. So long as there was no violation of this code, ministers could go public on any other matter and air their differences even in Parliament. It was the President to whom they were answerable, no longer to the Prime Minister.

With the second De Silva-Mrs Bandaranaike Constitution (1972-78), the state increasingly leaned towards being identified with Sinhala Buddhism. The minorities, in

particular the Tamils, felt increasingly sidelined, and consequently, where a constitution could have built bridges, none of them, 1972, 1978 or 1998, gave the minorities a sense of reassurance. So that it could be rightly said that far from being bridge-builders, constitutions only opened the flood gates of ethnic conflict. Essentially these constitutional experiments indicated evidence of an inward looking Sinhala and Buddhist middle class virtually deaf to the cries of a dissatisfied Tamil minority. Had any of these Constitutions but indicated a desire to share power, the island would not have come to such a pass as it is in today. Only the Peiris-Chandrika Kumaratunga constitutional proposals of 1998 provide for the sharing of minimal powers with the Tamils. But these are a classic case of the stable door being locked, of concessions having been denied until too late and lost their grace, of what it is in vogue to describe in the contemporary vocabulary of Sri Lankan politics of being too little and too late.

What is actually being witnessed by the modern bourbons has been the escalation of Tamil demands which could have been satisfied at a much lower scale several decades ago. The B.C. Pact of 1957 and the D.C. Pact of 1965 would in all probability have been reassuring enough to the Tamils to enter the mainstream of politics and feel equal partners in a joint national partnership. Even the very much watered-down version of President J.R. Jayewardene's district development councils may have given the Tamils the opportunity of being convinced of the Sinhala Buddhist leadership's *bona fides*. But refusal to make concessions was followed by escalation in demands, first regional autonomy through regional councils, then constitutionally entrenched provincial Councils as embodied in the Thirteenth Amendment, preceded by the universally disliked Indian intervention, and finally a "do or die" all out war for a separate sovereign Tamil state.

That we should spend most of our space and time in discussing the Sinhala-Tamil relationship in the context of constitutional experimentation is proof enough of how central this national question has become to the political life of the island. Other factors no doubt need to be considered. How much did the distribution of the limited pie have to do with the exacerbation of Sinhala-Tamil rivalries? Certainly it contributed in regard to assigning racial quotas to university admissions and in the allocation of jobs in the public and private sectors. The blame lies entirely here with a self-seeing, power hungry leadership. The Tamils were forced to adopt the posture of a defensive nationalism to confront the juggernaut and the pogromization of Tamils that all along accompanied it.

Is there any hope for the future? Only a second Indian intervention at considerable expense to life and property will perhaps restore equilibrium. Possibilities of national reconciliation there are none. The idea of a Tamil homeland has vanished

forever, and the death, destruction and disease to which a whole people has been exposed to makes one wonder whether this is in effect a genocidal strife intended to kill a whole nation and an ancient civilization of more than two thousand years.

ALFRED JEYARATNAM WILSON

WOMEN IN BUDDHIST STORY: INSIGHTS FROM A 13TH CENTURY SINHALA BUDDHIST TEXT

There is a growing body of literature today and considerable debate on the topic of Women and Buddhism, the role or place of women in Buddhist doctrinal tradition, their inclusion or exclusion from Buddhist institutions, the patriarchal underpinnings of those institutions, the androcentric nature of the scribal tradition and its impact on the textual tradition as it was handed down over the centuries.

I.B. Horner[1] in one of the earliest studies of women under Buddhism made some interesting general statements on the basis of references to women in the *Thēri gatha* and the Commentaries.

Paula Richman makes an intensive study of a single text, the Tamil Buddhist text *Manimēkalai* by Chattanar, and provides insights into the gender constructions of the time and text.[2] Rita Gross in her book *Buddhism After Patriarchy*[3] tries to find "strategies for a Feminist Revalorization of Buddhism"[4] and looks to the texts for role models for modern Buddhist women.

Perhaps one other way to throw more light on Buddhist attitudes to women and the shifts as well as the continuities that must necessarily be reflected in Buddhism as it spread and accommodated itself to different societies and cultures, is to look at a single story in its different versions over time.

There is an early collection of poems by women, that has been handed down as an integral part of the Buddhist canon, and a subsequent commentary about the lives of those women poets. As there are also later commentaries that retell those same stories, we have a useful source for a comparative analysis. What I intend to do in this short paper, is to take one of the stories as it appears in three versions or texts and see what variations have

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1 I.B. Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, 1930.

2 Paula Richman, *Women, Branch Stories, and Religious Rhetoric in a Tamil Buddhist Text*, 1988. "Gender and Persuasion: the Portrayal of Beauty, Anguish and Nurturance in an Account of a Tamil Nun" in *Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender*, ed. Ignazio Cabezon, 1992.

3 Rita Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy*, SUNY 1993.

4 Rita Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy*, SUNY, 1993.

been introduced in the telling of it over an extended time frame.

That a body of poems written by women (or certainly perceived as such) was considered important enough to be included in the Theravada Buddhist doctrinal canon, and that they were handed down as a part of that canon for a period of over two thousand years, does say something about the *inclusion* of women in the Buddhist doctrinal tradition and the significance of that inclusion. The persistence of stories about the spiritual achievements of the female nuns or theris, achievements considered in no way inferior or second to that of monks, is further highlighted when one takes into account the increasingly male dominated, androcentric, sometimes misogynist nature of the Buddhist monkhood as it became institutionalized over the centuries. In spite of such shifts, and in spite of the fact that the authors of the commentaries were monks and the scribes were also males, these womens' poems remained an integral part of the canon and their stories were told and retold to generations of Buddhists.

My interest in these stories was triggered by my work on the 13th century Sinhala *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* (henceforth referred to as SR). Story collections like the *Jātakas*, the *SR* and others, have always been considered an important part of the Buddhist commentarial tradition. They were read, related, told and retold by monks and elders, in sermons and stories, to successive generations of Buddhists and even trickled down into the folk repertoire. In Sri Lanka these story collections were considered intrinsic to an understanding of the religion. They were the means by which the abstract concepts of doctrinal Buddhism were made accessible, given an immediacy and made relevant to the day to day lives of ordinary people. The actions and characters of these heroes and heroines of stories provided the role models for lay men and women in the context of daily living.

Several, though not all of the womens' stories in the *SR* are woven around the *Thēris* (nuns), who appear so fleetingly but vibrantly in the early poems. They retell their stories in another genre, as biography, (perhaps even fictional biography), fleshing out the plot line, giving the characters a context and an every day reality from which to make their statement. The stories were *perceived* as quasi historical, biographical rather than fictive or allegorical. Thus while shifts and changes of emphasis may have occurred in the telling, over the centuries, they still maintained their connection with that quasi-historical past and the basic core story line remained clearly identifiable if not fixed.

We are only too well aware that any record of the past "is always a *selection* from the past and the past is always constructed when it is recounted."[5] Thus generations of Buddhist monks retelling and re-inscribing those stories, could not but recount them in terms of the concerns of their time, adding, glossing over, minimizing, emphasizing what they considered important. Equally significant would be those core aspects of the story that survive the shifts of time and of genres.

I will discuss three versions of the *Kundalakēsi* story.

The first version, (V.1), is from the commentary to the *Thēri gatha* (Poems of the Nuns) believed to be by a South Indian monk, Dhammapala of Kanchipura[6] translated by Mrs Rhys Davids. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids, Dhammapala drew on "the unwritten expository material constituting the then extant three *attha-katha*'s (commentaries) on the psalms".[7] Therefore, though Dhammapala's Pali commentary dates from about the 5th century it was clearly based on earlier accounts, possibly from Sri Lanka. It seems to be the earliest version that we have of the Kundalakēsi story.

The second version (V.2), is also from a 5th or 6th century Pali work familiar to the Buddhist world as the *Dhammapadatthakatha* (Dhammapada Commentary) translation by Burlingame. I shall refer to it for convenience as the DA. This was a collection of stories used to illustrate or contextualize stanzas attributed to the Buddha that were known as the *Dhammapada* (Stanzas on the Doctrine). The Kundalakesi story was used to contextualize stanza 3 of section 8 of the Dhammapada verses.[8]

The author of the DA does not give his name but says in the colophon to his work that he was sent to Sri Lanka (probably from India) with instructions to translate into Pali, an important Sinhala commentary. The original source seems to have been a *written* text since the translator comments, disparagingly, on the diffuse idioms of the Sinhala language. The original of the DA was therefore a written source and probably later than the oral sources on which Dhammapāla of Kanchipura based his commentary. The

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5 Gross, 1993, p. 20.

6 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Buddhists: The Sisters*, Pali Text Society, 1980.

7 Ibid, p. xvi.

8 See J.R. Carter and M. Palihawadene, *The Dhammapada*, OUP 1987, p. 30.

Kundalakēsi story was very likely in circulation first orally and then later in written form, prior to the 5th century A.D. Thus although V.1 and V.2 were roughly contemporaneous Pali works and both, very likely, by Indian monks, they are very different in their treatment of the social context of the story. The oral sources of V.1 seems to reflect a period earlier than the world of the DA text (V.2).

The third version, (V.3), is from the *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* (SR) a 13th century Sinhala text by a Sinhala monk named Dharmasena (translation by R. Obeyesekere). It in turn, claims to be a translation (but is in fact a transformation) of the 5th century Pali DA.

V.1, Dhammapala's version, is a brief spare account of the life of the nun Kundalakēsi. It was intended merely as background commentary to the poem and so was probably no more than a writing down of its oral sources. V.2 and V.3 are longer than V.1 and the authorial voice is more pervasively present in those texts.

The SR and the DA texts claim a specific connection even though they are six or seven centuries removed from each other and their authors come from two different cultural contexts -- the Indian and the Sri Lankan. The SR claims to be based on the DA even though it is a longer, more elaborate version of that text. All three versions relate the same story. We thus have three time frames, contexts, and perspectives, and can compare what changes have been made, and what the additions, accretions or omissions tell us about shifts or changes in the attitudes and perceptions of the tellers and their audiences. In doing so we might also get a sense of what core doctrinal beliefs have not changed over time.

I do not imagine that from these tenuous time and narrative fragments we can construct any overarching generalizations about the place of women in Buddhist society or history. But at least we might get a sense, however fragmented of the shifting perspectives of writers and audiences as they handled a given body of material.

Let us take the story of *Kundalakēsi*.

The first appears in a five stanza poem (in the *Thēri gatha* collection of the Pali canon written down in the 1st c. B.C.) as Bhadda, the ex-Jain nun. In Dhammapala's commentary which gives "an account in outline"[9] of the lives of the Theris who wrote those verses, we are told how, in a former birth,

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9 *Psalms of the Early Buddhists* I. by Mrs. Rhys Davids, Pali Text Society, 1980, p.3.

> She sat listening to the Master (the Buddha Padumuttara) and hearing him place a Bhikkhuni at the top of those whose intuition was swift, she vowed that this rank would one day be here. . . For twenty thousand years she kept the precepts, and built a cell for the Order. Finally in this Buddha era she was born at Rajagaha, in the family of the king's treasurer, and called Bhadda. [V.1, 63-64].

[She was named Kundalakēsi (Curly Locks) only after she became an ascetic and plucked out her hair which later grew back in tight curls.]

> Growing up surrounded by attendants, she saw, looking through her lattice, Satthuka the chaplain's son, a highwayman, being led to execution by the city guard by order of the king. Falling in love with him she fell prone on her couch, saying, `If I get him I shall live if not I shall die.' Then her father, hearing of her state, out of his great love for her, bribed the guard heavily to release the thief, let him be bathed with perfumed water, adorned him and let him come where Bhadda adorned in jewels waited upon him. [V.1, p.64]

But Satthuka covets only her jewels, plans to kill her and takes her up to the mountain `Rubber's Cliff' on the pretext of keeping a vow he had made to the deity there.

> By his behaviour she discerned his plot. Then he bade her take off her outer robe and wrap in it the jewels she was wearing. She asked him what she had done amiss, and he answered:`You fool, do you fancy I have come to make offering? I have come to get your ornaments.'
> `But whose then dear one are the ornaments and whose am I?'
> `I know nothing of that division.'
> `So be it dear. But grant me this one wish: let me, while wearing my jewels embrace you.' He consented saying `Very well.' She thereupon embraced him in front, and as if embracing him from the back, pushed him over the precipice. [V.1, p.64]

She then decides, "I cannot in the course of events go home; I will go hence and leave the world." [V.1 p.65]

She joins the order of Niganthas (Jainas), chooses to undertake its most severe practices, (such as tearing out her hair from its roots) and learns their doctrines. Finally, concluding that

> "So far as they go, they know, but beyond that there is nothing distinctive

> in their teaching," she leaves and "going wherever there were learned persons she learned their methods of knowledge." [V.1, p.65]

Soon there were none equal to debate with her. She wandered through towns and villages setting up her rose apple bough on a sand pile outside a city as a challenge to anyone to debate her. One day she meets the Buddha's chief disciple, Sariputta, they debate, she loses, he teaches her the Doctrine and sends her to the Buddha.

> The Master discerning the maturity of her knowledge said: `Better than a thousand verses, where no profit wings the word, is a solitary stanza bringing calm when heard.' And when he had spoken, she attained Arahantship together with a thorough grasp of the letter and the spirit. Now she entered the Order as an Arahant, the Master himself admitting her. [V.1, p.67]

Her exultation on achieving enlightenment is expressed in the poem that is recorded in the canon.

Let us look at the same story as retold in the 5th c. DA. Already the personal names Bhaddha and Satthaka are lost. Nor is there the preamble about her efforts in countless rebirths to acquire the intellectual capabilities to be "a Bikkhuni at the top of those whose intuition was swift". [V.1, p.63]

The DA version begins as follows:

> A rich merchant of Rajagaha, it seems, had an only daughter who was about sixteen years of age and she was exceedingly beautiful and fair to see. (When women reach this age they burn and long for men.) Her mother and father lodged her on the topmost floor of a seven storied palace in an apartment of royal splendour and gave her a single slave woman to wait upon her.[10] [V.2; DA p.227]

Note the explicitly derogative comment on female sexuality in the parenthetical remark, not to mention the fact that the young woman is now lodged in the topmost floor of a seven story palace. Implicit is the suggestion that the isolation is to preserve her virginity and

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10 Version 2 refers to *The Dhammapada Commentary* as translated by E.W. Burlingame, in *Buddhist Legends* part 2, 1979, p. 227. All subsequent references to this text will be given as DA with page number.

that such action is right and socially acceptable. Version 1 which I quoted earlier has no reference to this practice. The young woman is merely described as "growing up surrounded by attendants and saw through her lattice . . ."

The 13th century SR version, (intended as a translation of the DA) goes as follows:

> In the city of Rajagaha there lived a very beautiful young woman of noble family. She was about sixteen years old and extremely attractive. Young women of that age are often intoxicated with their youth and are attracted to men. To prevent any loose behaviour, her parents shut her up in a room on the topmost floor of a seven storied apartment, with only a serving maid to attend on her. It was as if she was imprisoned for being born beautiful.[11] [V.3; SR p.1]

There is a definite shift here in the authorial tone. Instead of an outright dismissive condemnation of female sexuality that appears in the DA text, the Sri Lankan monk attempts to explain the `incarceration' of the young woman. There is a note of sympathy for youth, a subtle irony and an implicit criticism of parents who imprison a child "for being born beautiful".

Comparing the three texts one may read the DA's author\translator's self conscious interpolation as the personal views of a misogynist monk\scribe who couldn't repress his anti-feminist feelings; or alternatively, as an author trying to accommodate his text to the values of his post 5th century Indian readers socialized in Brahminic values. His readers\listeners might have found it difficult to accept that parents could agree to, even aid and abet, (as the original story indicated) their daughter making such a socially unsuitable marriage! By contrast, the mildly ironic comment of the 13th century Sinhala monk seems an attempt in the reverse direction -- to qualify that sexist interpolation and perhaps bring it in line with the sympathies and expectations of his medieval Sinhala audiences.

We know from sociological accounts of medieval Sinhala society that while there were periods when Indian brahminic values influenced Sri Lankan society, yet, by and large, the rigid sexual codes of brahminical Hinduism did not operate in Sinhala society. Robert Knox describing sexual mores as they existed in Sinhala village society in the 17th century comments, (with no small degree of shock and disapprobation, good Puritan that

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[11] Version 3 refers to the story as it appears in the Sinhala *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*. The English translation is by R. Obeyesekere, (unpublished).

he was!) that Sri Lankan village women freely chose their sexual partners and had a great deal of liberty and opportunity to engage in sexual relationships outside of marriage.[12] He comments too that a Sinhala woman was free to leave her husband if she so decided, taking with her anything that was given as dowry.[13] While there must surely have been changes in society between the 13th and the 17th century, yet there must too have been certain continuities, especially when we consider that right up to the 20th century, before the proliferation of Victorian puritanism and `protestant' Buddhism, the norms described by Knox were prevalent in remote rural Sinhala Buddhist villages of the central regions.

The parent daughter relationship is also revealing in the manner in which it is related. In Version 1 the text reads:

> Then her father hearing of her state, out of his great love for her, bribed the guard heavily to release the thief. [V.1, p.64]

No qualifications are needed, the father's action is simply explained in terms of his love and concern for his daughter.

In the DA version the mother remonstrates,

> Do not act in this manner my dear daughter, you shall have someone else for your husband, someone who is your equal in birth family and wealth [V.2, DA p. 227]

It is clear the parents feel they and not she, must make the decision.

The SR version follows the earlier text but again with a subtle variation in the tone.

> The mother asks, `Dear child, why do you say that? Do you think we

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12 Robert Knox, *A Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*, London 1691, reprinted New Delhi, 1983, p.91-92.

13 "But their marriages are but of little force or validity. For if they disagree and mislike one the other; they part without disgrace. Yet it stands firmer for the man than for the woman; howbeit they do leave one another at their pleasure.They do give according to their ability a portion of cattle, Slaves and Money with their daughters; but if they chance to mislike one another and partasunder,this portion must be returned again, and then she is fit for another man, being as they account never the worse for wearing."Ibid. p.93.

> intend to keep you confined in the house now that you have reached maturity? We will find you a husband, one suited to you in birth and status.' . . . The father too tried but failed to make her change her mind and wondered what he should do in the circumstances. Then secretly he sent a thousand gold coins to the executioner with the message, `Take this money and do not kill the man. Release him and send him to us.' [V.3, SR p.2]

If we compare the three passages one might say that in V. 1 considerations of affection and concern for the daughter are the important factors. In the DA account, V.2, social considerations are explicitly raised. Issues such as the seclusion of young females in order to preserve their virginity, strategic marriages to preserve birth and clan status, now appear in the story as accepted norms. The father's action is explained as being done in the absence of any alternative.

In the SR Sinhala account, V.3, parental affection and concern once again surface but social concerns also play a role. We know that in traditional Sinhala society cross cousin marriages were the preferred form allowing for close kin relationships to be further strengthened in the marriage relationship. However strategic marriages among the elites were not unknown. The shifts of tone and in the manner of the telling may then perhaps reflect shifting concerns and social norms of the worlds of their readers\listeners -- the one Indian, (functioning in a mainly Brahminic society,) the other Sri Lankan in a more permissive Buddhist society.

As the story continues the relationship between the young woman and her husband is filled out. Here the three versions vary only slightly.

V.1: . . . Bhaddha, decked in jewels waited upon him.

V.2 expands this to:

> She resolved to win the favour of her husband; and from that time on, adorned with all her adornments she prepared her husband's meals with her own hand. [DA p.228].

V.3 the 13th century Sinhala version is the most expansive:

> In order to win her husband's affection, she would adorn herself in all her jewellery, prepare his meals herself, feed him, give him to drink, wash his hair and bathe him. [SR p.2].

There is a hint here, in the elaborate specificity of the account that these were not just wifely duties, but slightly excessive (almost servile) tasks taken on by an infatuated young woman in order to win her husband's affections. But the robber husband, untouched by all this, feigns illness, takes to his bed and schemes to kill her.

Both the DA and the SR versions give a dramatic account of the journey up the mountain, the conversations between husband and wife and the final battle of wits between them. At the crucial point Kundalakēsi decides: (I quote from the most elaborate version which is the SR.)

V.3 This fellow is truly wicked. Intelligence after all is meant to be put to use. It is not there to be eaten. Therefore, irrespective of whatever I may have thought or done in the past let me now unflinchingly do to you what I must. She then said to him, `Dear husband some time back when I saw you being taken for execution I told my parents. They paid a thousand gold coins, saved you from death and gave you to me in marriage. From that moment I have been totally devoted to you. Now just because you might kill me can I hate you? Please do me one favour. Grant me, who am about to die, the opportunity to make my obeisance to you in whatever way I choose.' [SR p.5]

Note the contrast with V.1 and how the scene and the dialogues have been elaborated. The husband agrees to her request. She circumambulates him three times making obeisance from the four directions. Then she says,

V.3 `Dear husband, this is my last obeisance.[14] From now on you will not see me again, nor I, you.' So saying she embraced and kissed him first standing in front and then standing behind. As he stood at the edge of the cliff, lost in thought, she went up to him from behind, put one arm round his neck, one in the small of his back and hurled him over the precipice. Her sharp intelligence proved a match for his physical strength. He was smashed to pieces by his fall becoming himself the sacrificial offering. [V.3, SR p.5]

The author of the SR does not seem to waste much sympathy on the male victim! In contrast to V.1 which merely records the facts:

She thereupon embraced him in front, and then, as if embracing him

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14 There is a play here on the word *dakma* meaning offering and *daka or dakima* from the word to see. The line could also translate: "This is my last sight of you."

from the back, pushed him over the precipice." [V.1, p. 64]

the elaboration of the account in V.3 suggests the author's ready acceptance, even approval of the woman's action.

At this point all three versions have a verse interpolation that was no doubt an element in the early oral account which has remained as an integral part of the story. Let us compare them. In V.1, the deity living on the mountain

> Saw her do this feat and praised her cleverness saying,
> `Not in every case is man the wiser ever,
> Woman too, when swift to see, may prove as clever.
> Not in every case is Man the wiser reckoned
> Woman too is clever an she think but a second.'[15]

In V.3 "the deity observed the actions of the two and applauding the woman uttered the following stanza:

> Wisdom is not always confined to men
> A woman too is wise and shows it now and then" [DA p.229]

V.3 replaces the verse with a prose comment:

> Do men always know best what to do? No. Sometimes women too know what to do. [V.3, SR p.5]

In spite of the varying styles of the English translations all three texts clearly state that wisdom is <u>not</u> the sole preserve of the male, but that women too can and do lay claim to it.

V.3 adds a further rationalisation of the woman's action by bringing in the karmic argument.

> The young woman hurled the robber down from the rock with the help of his enemy his own bad karma and herself escaped death by the grace of her friend, her own past good karma. [SR p.6]

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15 Rhys Davids translation.

Kundalakēsi continues to give proof of her intelligence by anticipating reactions at home.

V.3 She thought, `If I go back home they will ask "Where is your husband?" If I say I have killed him they will say, "Why you loose woman, you paid a thousand gold coins to obtain him and now you kill him.?" If I say that he tried to kill me they will not believe me and say "why would he want to kill you?" Whichever way one looks at it there seems to be no point going back.' She realized too that it would be unsafe to travel alone wearing her ornaments so she left them all, right there, and set off into the forest. [SR p.6]

In the account of her career as a mendicant nun the three versions do not differ too much. In V.1, Bhaddha, in keeping with her character of critical inquiry, is not fully satisfied with the ascetic teachings she has learned. She says "There is nothing distinctive in their teachings" and decides to go seek more knowledge for herself.

By contrast, in the DA and SR versions it is Kundalakēsi's fellow nuns who send her out with a rose apple bough and the following advice:

V.2. Go forth sister; if anyone who is a layman is able to match question and answer with you, become his slave; if any monk, enter his order as a nun. [D.A. p.230]

The SR version follows the DA closely with one slight variation:

V.3. If a layman defeats you in debate, become his wife, if a monks wins in debate then join his order. [SR p.6]

Implicit in the two later versions is the suggestion that Kundalakēsi is likely to be defeated by a man, monk or layman. If version 2 suggests she becomes his slave, version 3 suggests the (perhaps slightly kinder fate) of becoming his wife!

As regards her intellectual and debating prowess, however, the story line is maintained unchanged and both versions refer to the fact that

V.2 No one was able to match question and answer with her; in fact such a reputation did she acquire that whenever men heard the announcement `Here comes the nun of the Rose-Apple' they would run away. [DA p.230]

Contrary to the general opinion among scholars, this story seems to suggest that female ascetics who proved their skill could elicit the same standing and respect in the lay society

as their male counterparts. They also seem to have had the freedom to travel the length and breadth of the country alone, just as male ascetics did.[16] As the Rose Apple Mendicant, Kundalakēsi acquires a considerable reputation for her powers of debate and mastery of philosophical discourses. She has taken on and defeated many male ascetics and teachers in debate and she is supremely confident of her powers.

In V.1, when she is told the children have trampled her rose apple bough on the instructions of the Elder Sariputta, she confidently decides to take him on, and that, before a large audience. She declares,

> `An unsupported debate is not effective,' and going back to Savatthi she walked from street to street saying, `Would you see a debate between the Sakyan recluses and myself?' Thus with a great following she went up to the Captain of the Norm who was seated beneath a tree and after friendly greetings asked, `Was it on your orders that my rose apple bough was trampled?' `Yes on my Orders.' `That being so let us have a debate together.' `Let us Bhaddha.'[V.1, p.66]

In the DA version it is not Kundalakēsi who gathers together her supporters for the debate. People gather because they are interested in the intellectual confrontation.

> As the shades of evening drew on she went to the Elder's residence to put her questions. The entire city was stirred up. The people said to each other, `Let us go and hear the talk of two learned persons.' Accompanying the nun from the city to the Elder's residence, they bowed to the Elder and seated themselves respectfully on one side. [DA p. 231]

The SR version is very similar.

V.3. That afternoon the female ascetic went to the place where the monk Sariyut resided in order to put her questions to him. The city was agog like the city of heaven when the Asura demons invaded it. Eager to hear the debate the citizens

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16 It is interesting that many centuries later, during the 19th century Buddhist Revival movement, when attempts were made to reinstate the order of buddhist nuns that had died out, perhaps taking her cue from Kundalakēsi, "a laywoman [mendicant] named Jitadharmaduta Silavati upasika . . . made a pilgrimage to Anuradhapura [the sacred city] from Galle,[the southernmost city] in a rickshaw, stopping at resthouses and exhorting the crowds." quoted by T. Bartholomeusz (1992)

> accompanied the female ascetic to where the Senior monk was and stood respectfully on one side. [SR p.9]

The shift of perspective is very subtle. The citizens who accompany the nun in V.1 are her supporters; in V.2 and V.3 they are merely interested onlookers.

Important however is the fact that in all three versions, in the encounter between monk and female mendicant, there is no suggestion of deference on the part of the woman for the man. She takes the monk on as an equal -- questions him and is questioned by him as an equal. When she cannot answer his question, she is not chagrined by defeat in the debate but instead, eager for new knowledge, responds, "I'm keen to learn so please tell me about it." [SR p.10]

Neither the early male commentator on the *Thēri gatha* nor the subsequent male author\translators of the DA and SR seem to have too much difficulty accepting the fact of a woman's prowess as a debater, and her unquestioned superiority over her male counterparts. Does this ready acceptance indicate something about the deep rooted Buddhist belief in the primacy of intelligence, wisdom and learning and the doctrinal position regarding the absence of any gender link in how that intelligence is distributed? To give some substance to the suggestion that Theravada Buddhist societies had fewer social blocks to female education, I will quote again from the Sri Lankan example. There are graffiti poems by women among the collection found on the rock wall of the 4th century A.D. fortress at Sigiriya. These poems were the spontaneous expressions of visitors on seeing the wonders of the fortress and the beautiful frescoes of women that decorated the rock wall. The fact that, between the 8th and 11th centuries a.d., men *and women*,[17] from different walks of life, left their poems and in some cases their specific identities scribbled on the rock wall (unedited and unexpurgated by later scribes) does make a significant statement about the prevalence of a degree of literacy among women in medieval Sinhala society and a public acceptance of it. Coming down to more modern times there were also well known women poets such as Gajaman Nona and Ranchagoda Hamine whose work was in circulation in the 19th century. These may seem isolated examples but they could not have existed in a vacuum. The most powerful argument however, is that when, after Independence, the Sri Lankan government introduced free education, women quickly entered the system and filled more than fifty percent of the slots in schools, universities and most professional institutions. Nor were these women from just the elite classes. The majority were drawn from the Sinhala rural peasantry who seem to have little or no problem with regard to education for females.

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[17] I am Bati a young widow climbing Sigiriya looking for words to stitch into a song.

To get back to the story:

V.1 ends with Bhaddha going to the Buddha, who "discerns the maturity of her knowledge", recites a single stanza hearing which she attains arahantship, "together with a thorough grasp of the letter and the spirit. Now she entered the Order as an Arahant, the Master himself admitting her." [V.1, p. 67]

In the DA version there is a shift. It is not the Buddha or even the Elder Sāriputta who ordains the woman.

V.2. The Elder sent word to the nuns and had her admitted. After being admitted to the Order she made her full profession, took the name Kundalakēsi, and after a few days became an Arahant endowed with the Supernatural faculties. [DA p.232]

The SR version follows closely the DA account. By the time of the DA the institution of nuns was probably well established with the pattern of ordination only by fellow nuns. If, by the time of the SR the institution of nuns did not exist (it is believed to have died out in Sri Lanka by the 11th century), it was still very much a part of the Buddhist imagination. Thus while Bhaddha in V.1. could be ordained by the Buddha, subsequent versions of the story had to bring it in line with contemporary institutions and practice. The Elder sends word to the nuns and it is they who admit her to the Order. Nor does the story end with Kundalakēsi's enlightenment as does the first version. Both DA and SR versions have a further significant qualification.

V.2. In the Hall of Truth the monks began a discussion of the incident. `Kundalakēsi heard little of the Law and yet she succeeded in being admitted to the Order; moreover, she came here after fighting a fierce battle with a robber and defeating him.' The Teacher came in and asked `Monks what is it that you are sitting here discussing now?' They told him `Monks measure not the Law I have taught as being little or much. There is no superior merit in a hundred sentences that are meaningless; one sentence of the Law is better. He that defeats all other robbers wins no victory at all but he who defeats the robbers that are his own Depravities, his is victory indeed. [DA p. 232]

The story of Kundalakēsi, the female ascetic, who so brilliantly and quickly entered the Order and achieved Enlightenment, must have been difficult to assimilate into an increasingly androcentric monastic tradition. It must have been more so on the sub-continent with its strong Brahminical patriarchal culture. Hence the questions raised, and the answers that do not directly address the issue.

It may be pushing this kind of detail but I find it interesting that the author of the Sinhala SR, while keeping basically to the DA version, adds a mildly self deprecatory aside and a

quick rationalization of the monk's talk.

V.3. Monks are expected to either engage in doctrinal discussion or remain silent, but as this discussion was not entirely unconducive to attaining Spiritual Attainments, they stood around talking. [SR p.10]

It is as if the SR author is aware that this kind of talk can be seen by the reader\listener as a little like gossip and somewhat unbecoming among monks, but he justifies it as being the trigger for a sermon that then helps many to reach enlightenment. The precise question that is raised concerning Kundalakēsi is answered only metaphorically not in the terms in which it was couched. The raising of the question is none the less significant and leaves a whiff of androcentricism in the air.

The evidence of the texts, the *Thēri gatha,* and the numerous stories of women achieving enlightenment indicate that the doctrinal position on this issue did not change over the centuries. In spite of the social and institutional changes Buddhism underwent as it spread to different parts of the world, and in spite of the fact that male monks were the authors who handed down the tradition, this core element of the stories remains unchanged. Gender distinctions are not a factor in achieving enlightenment. Theravada Buddhists, we know, did consider it a necessary condition for Buddhahood, but in none of these stories of women is that issue specifically raised.

I would like to end with a few comments about the Buddhist tradition of a written literature in the vernaculars.

While story-telling is an art as old as time, the *writing down* of stories that illustrate Buddhist doctrine, and then the *reading* (often aloud) and the re-writing of those stories, became very early, a Buddhist activity. While the story line remained fixed, a wide range and flexibility was permitted in the re-telling\re-writing of these stories. These written texts then became a part of the commentarial literature of Buddhism, and in turn, were translated back and forth, from the vernaculars of different lands into Pali, and vice-versa.

The doctrinal canon remained in Pali (and if translated was rendered meticulously close), but the flexibility permitted in the translations of the commentarial literature made them reflect in interesting ways, the worlds, values, and linguistic emphases of the times when they were composed. Thus the DA author in a seemingly cavalier treatment of his original states: "Therefore I shall discard this dialect and its diffuse idioms and translate

the work into the pleasing language of the Sacred texts."[18] The SR author not to be outdone says, "we have abandoned the strict Pali method and taken only the themes in composing this work" and perhaps as an ironic jibe at his predecessor he goes into an elaborate long winded metaphor, full of dependent clauses and ends with the admonition that his work "may have faults and stylistic shortcomings but you the reader should ignore them."[19]

As we can see from the above quotation the authorial voice was often present in these works and even the names of the author monks sometimes given at the beginning or end of a text. Thus, in the SR, we have a text, an author (with a strong authorial voice), and a stated connection to an earlier text, which in turn links it to other texts.

There is also the suggestion that a close relationship existed between the authors and the readers\listeners of these texts. The Sinhala SR for example, is a curious blend of colloquial and literary styles. It was considered a part of the written literature (and therefore had certain elements of classical literary style,) but it also had many of the characteristics and rhetorical devices of sermons, drawing images and analogies from the everyday world of its time.

The Buddhist story I have discussed belongs to this tradition, and therefore such stories, written and rewritten over time, with specific audiences in mind, must reflect, to some extent, the concerns and attitudes of the periods of their composition.

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RANJINI OBEYESEKERE

RE-VISIONING, REVOLUTION, REVISIONISM: ENGLISH AND THE AMBIGUITIES OF POST-COLONIAL PRACTICE[1]

Tis well an Old Age is out
And time to begin a New
John Dryden "The Secular Masque"

And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?
William Butler Yeats "The Second Coming"

Perhaps
The man-hero is not the exceptional monster,
But he that of repetition is most master.
Wallace Stevens "Notes towards a Supreme Fiction"

In the second half of 1985, Qadri Ismail published a series of articles in *The Lanka Guardian* in which he launched a furious assault on the Department of English at the University of Peradeniya. His ultimate target, though, was the tradition of English studies that the great English Department of E.F.C.Ludowyk, H.A.Passé and Doric de Souza had brought into being, nurtured into strength and bequeathed to students, to the successors of these teachers and to the nation. It is reasonable, therefore, to see Ismail's action as yet another call for a fundamental re-conceptualisation and revaluation of English within our post-colonial nation. "Yet another", because, it appears, English is predestined to perpetual re-examination and re-negotiation within such nations in terms of issues of coloniality and post-coloniality. The ambiguous insider-outsider status that English increasingly began to assume within these nations from early times, combined with the equally ambiguous positive/negative potential it has always shown therein, has contributed to placing it within what might be called a "multiple dialectic" in such contexts (Kandiah, to appear). This maintains it destabilisingly in a state of near-constant crisis which makes a reassuring comfortability impossible and unremitting vigilance inescapable. The "problem of English", it appears, is something that post-coloniality is destined to live with.

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[1] This paper sets down, in a more complete form, the actual argument which was presented by the author at the Ludowyk Memorial lecture he delivered at the University of Peradeniya on 19 October, 1999. It replaces the printed text which was distributed during the lecture and which, hurriedly written to a deadline, does not represent the argument accurately.

My paper, written against the background of that sobering thought, and with the dialectic that lies behind it very much in mind, is an attempt to address this "problem of English". Its main concern is to offer a re-conceptualisation of English in Sri Lanka today. The need for such a re-conceptualisation, and a major one at that, is desperate, I feel. Curiously (?), it hardly appears to be perceived, at least not in the way it seems to demand to be. As it happens, Ismail's comments on the tradition initiated by Ludowyk, Passé and de Souza provide a useful springboard to the task. For, they challenge us to a re-examination of that tradition which, when undertaken, calls attention to large matters which, I believe, his account misses. Recognition of such matters will be seen not just to permit more satisfactory understandings of the tradition but also to allow the re-conceptualisation that is the concern of my paper to be more adequately pursued. More significantly, it will, we might reasonably hope, allow understandings of English in colonial and post-colonial contexts to be retrieved out of the specificities of Sri Lanka's unique situation that are more insightful than those that appear to be current in academia in general.

Returning to Ismail, while his reach was long, it was, nevertheless, the Department of English as such that emerged as the immediate object of his attack. This was presumably because he saw it as a near-icon of the entire privileged Lankan world of English, one which, moreover, provided ballast and legitimacy for that world through its embodiment of a certain dominant epistemology derived from the colonial Centre. Ismail's specific complaint against the tradition of English studies built around that epistemology was that it simply reproduced and passed on the literary thought of the Centre in, worse still, a diluted form. In doing so, it evaded the challenge to radically redefine that thought to enable those who adopted it to see the significance of English (literature and language) to the Sri Lankan reality within which they belonged. It thus rendered itself meaningless and irrelevant to the life of the context in which it was now applied. Even more blame-worthily, by alienating its practitioners from this life, it reinforced the role of English as an instrument of the dispossession of the majority of (non-English-using) people who occupied that context. All of which only confirmed the "colonial" nature of English and the tradition of study associated with it in the country.

It would appear that what Ismail was calling for within the field of English studies in Sri Lanka, both from its then-current occupants and from its founders, was a quite radical break with what had gone before. It would be a break that would, presumably, exemplify a revolutionary paradigm shift of the kind which, for instance, Thomas Kuhn talks about in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970). Kuhn argues that scientific paradigms or theoretical systems that prevail at any given time tend, in the face of anomalies that inevitably and increasingly begin to challenge them, not to refashion themselves radically but, rather, to make local adjustments to themselves in an effort to meet these challenges. At some point as they so extend their lives, generally beyond the point when they can in fact accommodate the

anomalies, they are simply replaced by completely new paradigms. These, striking out on entirely new terms, show "no coherent direction of ontological development" from the paradigms they replace (p 206). They take over because they engage more satisfactorily with the various questions and problems that the replaced paradigms had concerned themselves with even while addressing other, new questions and problems which those paradigms had had no particular awareness of.

The anomalies which Ismail argued may be found in the then-prevailing tradition of English studies are characteristically those related to the task of post-colonial recovery and reconstruction. The significance of the task to countries like Sri Lanka cannot be overestimated. Colonialism, intimately responsive to the structuring demands of the developing global capitalism, did not just create the contemporary global order within which all countries and nations cannot but have their being. It simultaneously also rendered the colonies and their people faceless and voiceless (except, if at all, in some devaluing orientalist way), dispossessed them and consigned them to the insignificant margins within that order. It is through the task of recovery and reconstruction that the former colonies are now seeking out their legitimate place within their global home on a footing of equality and dignity, self-empowered in terms of what they distinctively are in their own right.

A major dimension of the task for a country like Sri Lanka was the transformation of the state conferred on it by history into a nation (see Roberts 1979). This very crucially included, among other things, the rediscovery and reconstitution of a national identity which would serve as a kind of base from which the country could viably make its post-colonial claims. The national identity would emerge, considerably, through the recuperation of the indigenous cultural traditions which had lain neglected for so long. Such recuperation had necessarily to be democratic in nature, for it involved the mobilisation of the ordinary people, true subalterns as we need to recognise them to be, whose lives sustained and were sustained by these traditions. And, since the traditions were inextricably bound to their own defining languages and the ordinary people did not in any event know the language of the withdrawing colonial power, it was entirely to be expected that the endeavour would be marked by an intense preoccupation with language. Equally expectedly, English drew a particularly large degree of attention to itself. For, not only was it the symbol and major linguistic means of the colonial imposition, it was also the emblem of a complicit middle class elite who had never shown themselves averse to playing the comprador to the erstwhile rulers. Moreover, even as the latter withdrew, the language emerged as the instrument which maintained that elite in a position of dominance over their compatriots within the polity (see Kandiah 1984). It appears to be in terms of such characteristic post-colonial considerations that we need to contextualise Ismail's claims.

The earlier nationalist remedy for the problem of English that such matters defined, the remedy which in fact anticipated some of what was to emerge later as the post-colonial effort, was as straightforward as it was stridently expressed. This was to reject English and all it stood for outright and to try to revert to a pristine pre-colonial state of language and culture. More reaction than response, the remedy consisted of a simple reversal of the Centre/periphery relation predicated on a straightforward, intransigent opposition between two self-contained, essentialist entities, the native Self and the alien Other. However, the historical realities of post-colonial countries appear to indicate that such binarism as we see here is simplifying, a marker of what may be termed "adolescent nationalism" (Kandiah 1989). Frantz Fanon (1968: pp. 218-227) enlightens us on what that nationalism needs to recognise for growth:

> . . . (the native intellectual), when he comes up against the need to take on two nationalities, chooses. . .the negation of one of these determinations. . .This. . . is due. . .to a begging of the question in his internal behaviour mechanism and his character. . . .suddenly the language of the ruling power is felt to burn your lips. . .going back to your people means. . .to go native as much as you can, to become unrecognisable, and to cut off the wings that before you had allowed to grow. . . .(all of this) is strangely reminiscent of exoticism. . .(the) intellectual behaves in fact like a foreigner. . .the ideas that he expresses and the preoccupations he is taken up with have no common yardstick to measure the real situation which the men and women of his country know. . . .This is why the intellectual often runs the risk of being out of date. . .(he) forgets that the forms of thought and what it feeds on, together with modern techniques of information, language and dress have dialectically reorganised the people's intelligence. . . .The truths of a nation are in the first place its realities. . . .It is not enough to try to get back to the people in that past out of which they have already emerged. . .

Such recognitions point to "the fallacy of the totality" of either Otherness or Selfhood (Suleri 1991: 13). Both have been intimately implicated in each other by the dialectical movements of history, making it impossible to confine either to dichotomised water-tight compartments from which the other has been excised. The kind of experience, thought and sensibility which emerge from that history is something which may be described as symbiotic. That is, they hold within themselves elements of both or all of the different cultural inputs, in varying proportions among different segments of life and society. The elements exist sometimes in harmony, at other times in tension or even overt opposition with each other. But together they define the inescapable realities of being, existence and knowledge in the community (see Kandiah 1981: 1989). All of which, of course, means that the national identity

which post-colonialism was striving to retrieve and the idiom in which it would express itself could hardly assume some presumed pure, pre-colonial nature. Rather, they would manifest the creative transformation of the indigenous traditions and their enduring intrinsic features in dynamic interaction with very many of those other features which had come in from outside during colonial times to become a necessary part of reality they now belonged within.

The most literal, though by no means the only, manifestation of the immediate involvement of the presumedly alien Other within the intimacies of the life of the re-emerging post-colonial Self is at the material level. Modernisation, associated originally with what entered the indigenous world from a Centre that was very different from it, is an essential part of the development strategies to which post-colonial nations are strongly committed. These form, alongside the recovery of the indigenous traditions, a second vital component of the post-colonial effort, precisely because they are directed towards the kind of material advancement on which reconstruction may purposively be based. No nationalism which has attained any degree of maturity can possibly dispense with the major linguistic mode through which the necessary apparatus of modernisation may be accessed, namely, in the case of Sri Lanka, English, for the cost will be stagnation and a prolongation of the material backwardness created by colonialism.

At the same time, the historical realities Fanon calls attention to will lead us to recognise that modernisation and development can hardly themselves assume a very separate, alien status. Whatever is associated with them, as it enters the post-colonial context, filters through the consciousness that is already there, one based fundamentally on the original indigenous traditions, and begins to cohabit in various ways with these traditions. It emerges, therefore, in a form that is appropriate to the specificities of that context, altered, adapted, added to from within the context and, often, turned around. That is to say, it may be seen as a modernity that is unique to that context (see Appadurai and Breckenridge 1995).

Given what has been stated here and above, we will be able to recognise that there always has been and will be a reciprocal exchange between the two apparently separate components of the task of post-colonial re-construction. While bringing the two together, it also creatively transforms both in a manner which invests them with the relevance, strength and viability that enable effective praxis, within the immediate context of post-colonial society as well as within the larger global order to which it belongs.

Ismail, we might note from his comments, appears to be quite aware of such complexities and to recognise that they make it necessary both to examine the "problem of English" and to situate that examination firmly within them. Thus, he opts not for the simple-minded solution of eliminating the language but for the far

more difficult one of demanding a fundamental re-conceptualisation of it that would render it meaningful within its contemporary Lankan context. At the same time, it does not seem that he fully realises how complex the complexities are. Some evidence of this is provided by Arjuna Parakrama, in his considered response to Ismail entitled "More or less about English" (*Lanka Guardian*, 9 and 15 May, 1986). Parakrama points out, for instance, that Ismail assigns a "special place" to the Department of English "within the scheme of things", treating it as having "parity of status" with the whole of the rest of "the social system". As a consequence, Ismail's argument reveals "an implicit valorization (of the Department and of the Lankan world of English) which runs counter to much of what is explicitly stated" (see below, however, for a somewhat different take on this).

It remains for H.A. Passé to call attention back to the dimension that escapes recognition here, in a response he made in the *Ceylon Daily News* somewhere in the mid- sixties to a critique by John Halverson of his work on Ceylon English (as it was then known). Passé reminds his detractor, with a graciousness and civilised decency that the 1985 attack could not but have greatly benefited from, that his work was produced "in another place and another time". His words did not just make a courteous plea for understanding. Rather, they robustly affirmed not only how inescapable socio-historical situatedness was for the comprehending evaluation of any work, but also how equally inescapable it was to recognise *all* of the complex dimensions that such situatedness called attention to.

Such an approach to the work of Ludowyk, Passé and de Souza would have led to the recognition that within the socio-historical realities of their own colonial context they carried out the only kind of revolution that those realities made meaningful. This certainly could not be a Kuhnian kind of revolution, which, as critics of Kuhn have pointed out, does not provide for essential continuities of the kind that the realities call attention to. But it was nevertheless a major revolution. For, the tradition of English studies they inherited from the Centre and laboured to establish in their country finally liberated these studies, the world of English in Sri Lanka, and also by extension the larger Lankan context within which they existed, from the doom that Lord T.B.Macaulay had laid on them through his influential minute of 1835 on education in India, if anything a recipe for the permanent calibanisation of the colonial Other.

As we will recall, Macaulay had in that minute urged the promotion of English education with the aim of forming "a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern–a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect" (Sharp 1920: 116, cited by Kachru 1983: 22). The appointed hegemonic teleology of the strategy, based as it is on an absolute dichotomisation, is transparent. The Centre remains the one, axiomatic certainty, assured, stable, enduring, ineluctable, which defines just by

being what it is the unquestionable norms by which all around it are to be judged as, inevitably, lacking. Out there, in the very broad periphery, are the subaltern masses who, so judged, are to be enlightened into seeing, understanding, appreciating and accepting what the Centre is and does for and to them. Enabling the process are the people in-between, the complicit comprador middle class. They fit themselves to their historic commission by compliantly allowing themselves to be effaced and remedially remade in the image of the Centre, through the adoption of whatever it is that the Centre determines and on terms controlled entirely by it.

Yasmine Gooneratne (1968) and Sarathchandra Wickramasuriya (1976; 1986) trace some of the more significant processes by which the strategy was pursued in the crucial field of education. Homi Bhabha would have us see these processes as involving "mimicry" of the colonising Subject at the Centre by the colonised Other, something which takes place in the "disturbing" "hybrid space" between the two (pp. 45, 58). Through such mimicry the latter endeavours to "normalise" itself, by "repeating" the former's norms, values and behaviour. But, what is thus repeated invariably emerges as something *different* (p.111), which thereby "disavows" what it repeats (p.45). Consequently, it destabilises both imitator and imitated, and becomes, among other things, a "strateg(y) of subversion that turn(s) the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power", unsettling it (p. 112). Given what Wickramasuriya (1976) argues, however, it appears less than easy to endorse Bhabha's claims. It is not the destabilisation but, on the contrary, the consolidation of the hegemony of the Centre that such mimicry appears to have achieved, through the dispossession and inferiorisation of the colonised Other. For, deprived by the historical circumstances of access to the sources of its own indigenous strength, the latter would always be seen as falling short of the standard it was obliged to aspire to. (See also my comments on Bhabha's position in Kandiah and Sankaran To appear.)

What is missing in Bhabha's account, confined as it singularly is to an uncontaminated textual hermeneutics, is an adequate appreciation of the *material* significance of the unequal nature and distribution of the educational weaponry with which the battle of hegemonic imposition and contestation could not but be waged in those circumstances. Within their realities, effective resistance, non-binarily conceived, appeared to demand that the Other, far from just imitating the Centre, wrests the current instrumentalities of hegemony away from its exclusive control, takes them self-empoweringly into its own hands and turns them to its own purposes as the central means of subverting the "eye of power". The magic of Prospero needed, in other words, to be appropriated by the colonial Other. But that by itself could not suffice. The colonial Other, unlike Caliban, had historically been in possession of its own sophisticated magic, and, notwithstanding the realities of the time which rendered that magic less than consequential, its existence could not be disregarded in fashioning the magic appropriated from the Centre into a powerful contemporary instrument of liberation.

That Ludowyk was very sensible of the complex nature of the challenge is evident in the extremely sensitive Introduction he wrote to his *Marginal Comments* (1945). He laments that Lankan students have no knowledge of their own indigenous literature, something "beside which" English literature may be placed, and warns us that "we should, if it (English literature) is to be of any value to us, remember at all times that it is the expression of a culture very different from ours" (pp. iii-iv). And in his Preface to *Understanding Shakespeare* (1962), he declares, "I am conscious, too, of all I learnt from classes in Ceylon in the twenty-five years of trying to understand Shakespeare there" (p. x).

But such recognitions did not lead him to any kind of facile, patronisingly tokenistic concessions to the marginalised indigene. He was clearly only too aware that within what might be termed the protocols of his times, the act of resistance required not such enfeebling gestures but a praxis which ensured, as far as possible, parity in the instrumentalities of the struggle. That could be achieved only by the indigenes grasping the primary linguistico-cultural weapon realistically available at the time firmly in their hands in the plenitude of its powers–which explains his absolute commitment to the rigour of the standards and the power of his discipline of studies, even while he acknowledged the immediate context within which he cultivated them. The weapon that he was enabling his people to appropriate had, after all, to be equal to the large demands that were being made of it.

It is, therefore, somewhat ironic that in later times some of the very people who had so benefited from his legacy of appropriation as to be able to ask the relevant questions with searching force should see the whole process as evidence of "dilution". Even more curious is the view that his work was lacking in the kind of concern with elements of his environment outside the world of English that would, presumably, guarantee the relevance of his work to the nation. The titles of three of his books, *The Footprint of the Buddha* (1958), *The Story of Ceylon* (1985) and *The Modern History of Ceylon* (1966), published, interestingly, *after* he had left Sri Lanka, would of themselves serve to dispel any doubts on that count.

The power of the kind of context-sensitive thinking he developed inspired, too, the other members of his team, Passé and de Souza, who helped Ludowyk firmly establish the Lankan tradition of English literary and linguistic studies. Passé's pioneering work on Ceylon English was among the earliest to demonstrate the systematicity of New Englishes, thus helping found and validate a field of linguistic study which today has assumed considerable significance in the academic retrieval of the post-colonial. It needs also to be observed that his 1948 PhD thesis, *The English Language in Ceylon*, while written within the models of his time, still remains one of the more solid and comprehensive descriptive accounts available of the phonology of any New English. De Souza's vast academic contribution in applied language study was made less through actual writing (see his classic series of articles, de

Souza 1969, though) than through the highly innovative thinking he developed and communicated on the problems of English in Sri Lanka's specific post-colonial context. But, looking at some of the post-colonially relevant work that is being done in language study across the world today, it may justly be said of the thinking that he passed on to the Lankan world of scholarship that it often moved "in the direction of solutions well before scholars elsewhere, working under far more advantageous conditions, had even begun to see the problems" (Kandiah 1987: 31).

Little wonder then that the tradition of English studies which these people founded had a positive impact that was quite out of proportion to the small size of their Department. The impact was felt not only in the Lankan world of English within which the Department occupied a symbolically significant place, but also, indirectly through this world, even in the wider context. While it is clear that influences of this large kind can never be adequately characterised in terms of the impact made by the work of individuals, one cannot forbear calling attention to the contribution made in a range of arenas of the national context by an outstanding set of personalities who had come out of Ludowyk's English Department. An utterly incomplete list of some of these people would include such exceptional figures as Karan Breckenridge, Kenneth de Lanerolle, Lakshmi de Silva, Mervyn de Silva, Chitra Fernando, Yasmine Gooneratne, Godfrey Gunatilleke, A.J. Gunawardane, Ashley Halpé, G.K. Hatthotuwegama, C.R. and Pauline Hensman, Haig Karunaratne, Gananath and Ranjini Obeyesekere, Regi Siriwardena, Douglas Walatara and Batty Weerakoon, among many others. All of these people have made an irreplaceable positive difference to the quality of thinking, action and life in their different fields, which would be much the poorer without what they put into them.

But, we are forgetting the other strand of the dialectic. The ambiguities generated by the play of historical forces at the time did not allow the tradition to remain unidimensionally positive. For most of the English-using middle class and, particularly, for very large numbers of its powerful elite, it provided a means of re-affirming their separateness from the people among whom they lived and asserting their superiority to them. This, combined with the pre-eminent role that the language played in some of the most significant arenas of the polity, made it the dominant language at Independence and the language of hegemonic imposition and control.

Clearly, therefore, the "problem of English" needed to be confronted anew. And it was, by means of what is generally known as the national bourgeois revolution, which overtly began in the mid-'fifties and is still in fact in progress. [I need to observe before I go on that I am more than aware that labels such as "national bourgeois(ie)" are fraught with definitional problems. While recognising the complexities, however, one is not simultaneously obliged to succumb to the kind of positivistic, empiricist thinking which is often used to discredit such terms, generally at the cost of diverting attention from crucial social forces which are

commonsensically known by people to actually be in operation. Therefore, I shall below continue to use the term as a convenient and useful descriptive label to refer with a certain degree of legitimacy to social forces which are widely and familiarly recognised.] As far as the formal status of the language was concerned, the decisive change came with the passage of the Sinhala Only Act in 1956, which made Sinhala the sole official language, thus displacing English from the dominant official position it had occupied for a century and a half. Far more decisive from the point of view of the place of the language within the polity were, however, the other successes of the national bourgeois revolution, which were nothing short of spectacular.

The extraordinary mobility of the population which we see all around us today and which contrasts dramatically with the situation that prevailed in, for instance, the forties, attests to some of the most significant of these successes. The ordinary people or the subalterns, who had earlier remained invisible and unheard in the insignificant margins of society, now acquired faces and voices of their own, and a presence which made them recognisable within its contemporary everyday arenas. Their role within the public sphere (that indispensable "domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed" [Habermas 1989 (1973): 231] and which was established in that form in Sri Lanka under British rule) became, therefore, indisputable. For, under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie who had appropriated that sphere, they began to enter more prominently into the scrutiny and discussion of public affairs than they had done before. Many of them in fact, who in earlier times had been confined to entirely passive recipient roles within the polity, now began to participate actively in proliferating initiatives directed towards their improvement and advancement. Not infrequently, particularly in various localised places, some of them even entered very impressively in dynamic leadership roles into the processes of conceptualisation, decision-making and administration that the initiatives involved.

Together with these changes came the restoration to centre stage of the indigenous cultural traditions which, through the colonial centuries of neglect and devaluation, had still given and received meaning from the lives of these people. The remarkable efflorescence of the arts in the mid-fifties and after, associated particularly with the theatre of Ediriweera Sarachchandra but defined also by the invigorating work done even from earlier times by a host of outstanding personalities in virtually every field of creative endeavour, gave expression to the depth and scale of these developments. A noteworthy feature of the efflorescence was that it anticipated by some years the massive outburst of post-colonial creativity right across the globe which is generally taken to have begun in the sixties.

All of these momentous changes were inseparably associated with the emergence to prominence of the national bourgeoisie. They could not, however, have achieved any of it unless they had been able to successfully mobilise the traditional

indigenous elites and others who had received education in the media of the indigenous languages. These included the monks, the school teachers, the ayurvedic physicians and so on, who had languished in the backwoods during colonial rule and who now recognised the opportunities the emerging new situation was opening out to them for retrieving and securing some of their own accustomed positions within the structures of power. The importance of the traditional elites for the national bourgeoisie was as a means of mobilising, in turn, the ordinary people, the subalterns, with whom these elites had maintained close, mutually sustaining, links. This was vital, for within the democratic kind of political organisation which the vacating colonial rulers had left behind, these ordinary people defined the crucial mass base of power.

An inevitable consequence of such developments was what appeared, at least at an overt level, to be the erosion of the old Britain-oriented middle class and the displacement of its elite representatives from the undisputed positions of pre-eminence they had hitherto occupied within the structures of power in the polity. The national bourgeoisie emerged as the dominant class, and the positions vacated by the old elite came gradually to be filled by its leadership, who thus began to assume the positions of dominance within the developing structures of power in the polity to emerge as the new elite. Concomitantly, there took place what could clearly be seen as a retreat by English and the local world of English it defined. Presumably, then, the revolution had been accomplished, the "common man", as he/she began to be called, came to be rehabilitated, and the "problem of English" finally solved.

The ordinary people, the subalterns, however, refused to acquiesce in this seemingly entirely natural conclusion. They came up with a contumaciously incommoding term *kaduva* in talking about English which, when deconstructed, was seen to name not just the language but a whole underlying complex of disturbing socio-political-ideological issues that seemed to dispel the possibility of complacency. The issues are too well known to require repetition here, but essentially they revolved around the class-based nature of English and its role in maintaining the middle class in the controlling positions of power.

However, as far as mainstream thinking and practice were concerned, the issues appeared to remain below the level of conscious awareness until the problematisation of the term by, ironically, one of Ludowyk's very last Lankan students (see Kandiah 1984). Such overt formulation was necessary in order that the issues might be explicitly and purposefully engaged with in academic, educational and other terms. The fact that it did not come from within the ranks of the now-prominent national bourgeoisie is not, I believe, insignificant. For, it points to what appears to be a strategic blind spot in the self-perceptions of the leadership of this class. It is a blind spot which seems to define a useful starting point in moving towards the major new re-conceptualisation of English that our current realities

appear urgently to be demanding. Certainly, it appears to be more adequate for the purpose than just the now readily repeated issues raised by the term *kaduva* itself, which tend to unchangingly formulate themselves in terms relevant to the operations of the old elite in the somewhat less complex times of about two decades ago.

The point is that a very decisive and effective segment, and a large one at that, of the leadership of the national bourgeois revolution came, particularly at the outset, from among the anglicised metropolitan Lankans. This is not to say that this segment was identical with the old English-oriented bourgeois elite, even though it is true that considerable numbers of the latter did transmogrify themselves into *national* bourgeois people. The reason why one cannot say it is that many of the members of the segment, even while they commanded English, had deep roots in and real concern for the traditional indigenous. Nor is it to say that the role of the traditional indigenous elites in drawing into the national bourgeois revolution long-existent and deep-rooted energies of resistance among the ordinary people (see Parakrama 1990) was anything less than major. The fact remains, though, that within the socio-historically constituted realities of the time, it was not the monolinguals but the people who controlled English effectively who were able to assume decisive leadership in the rehabilitation of the indigenous and the restitution of the subaltern. For, it was they, rather than the others around them, who had the two crucial bits of equipment needed for the struggle at the time. Not only were they able to easily access powerful indigenous resources of strength through, among other things, their command of the indigenous languages, they were also able to draw effortlessly on whatever resources the local and external world of English made available to the polity for effective resistance, contestation and retrieval.

We run here once again into the paradox which the dialectical movements of history mentioned earlier bestowed on post-coloniality. Coloniser and colonised are inextricably implicated in each other and no exclusive oppositionality between them is sustainable. Indeed, if Gayatri Spivak (1988) is correct, it is largely owing to this mutual implication of the two in each other that, often, the Subaltern is able at all to speak. Within the emasculating conditions in which history has placed the Subaltern (Spivak is looking at desperately marginalised rural Indian women subjected to *sati*), he/she generally "has no voice"–except that mediated by the radical, often metropolitanised protestor. Indeed, the very term "mobilisation of the mass base" suggests a kind of leadership role which can be discharged only by those equipped for it. This is why, Spivak points out (p. 271), some of the most radical critics tend to express "an interested desire to conserve the subject of the West"–which in turn will (at least part exoneratingly?) account for the valorisation of English which Parakrama censures Ismail for.

Such considerations also created an opportunity and a space for the remnants of the old, English-oriented bourgeoisie to salvage what they could from the situation

even as they were being displaced from the overt positions of prominence they had earlier occupied as a matter of course. Many of them now sought to ensure that their previously shaky knowledge of the indigenous language and culture was made good, and, often, reconstituted themselves in a more national image. Their now firm control of both the decisive linguistico-cultural instruments of effective action in the polity allowed them to assume significant, even privileged, roles within it, as in fact part of the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. Others remained out of immediate public view, but in the assurance that, by virtue of their command of English, the change that had taken place did not mean that they had to yield their places of privilege entirely. The various responses were implicitly conditional on these people acquiescing in the national bourgeoisie-controlled dispensation, and since the many who did not seek escape from it by emigration had no choice in any case, they readily did so. Moreover, there were many who, recognising the desirability or even inevitability of the changes that had been taking place, or fearful that any effort to stand up for what mattered to them might be misconstrued as a sign of disloyalty or non-Lankanness, concurred, often out of a certain pragmatic timidity. Not all of this was done with cynical opportunism or a total lack of concern with the people and reality around them, though, and the contribution which many of them continued to make very often remained valuable.

Such factors, taken all together and seen under the light of the matters to which Fanon and Spivak call attention, explain, to a considerable extent, what must be seen as the double identity of the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. History does not apparently permit them any other kind of identity. But, there were also strategic reasons for this double identity. The privileged role of leadership and power they claimed was crucially dependent on their possession of both originally indigenous resources as well as English and its accoutrements. However, the very nature of their endeavour made it imprudent to draw too much attention to this latter dimension of their self. This was not just because it might appear to be inconsistent with the nationalist dimension of the task they were pursuing. Even more significantly, it was because they were aware of the importance to their position within the structures of power of the popular mass base on which it rested and of the traditional indigenous elites through whom they could reach out to the ordinary people who made up that base. Since neither of the latter had ready access to English, this second major instrumentality of the struggle for recovery needed to be projected by the leadership not as something that was part of their internal composition but as a symbol of all that they were committed to reversing. As a consequence, it was but politic to deny assiduously part of who they necessarily were and to divert attention from it.

All of the considerations just mentioned explain why insight into the *kaduva* phenomenon could not come from within the ranks of the national bourgeoisie as such. Such insight required too close attention to matters within themselves which

they preferred not to have noticed by too many people. The processes of evasion by the national bourgeoisie were enabled by a further ploy. Rather than deny the existence of the class-based inequalities focussed on by the term *kaduva* they showed great readiness to acknowledge them. But they then quite nonchalantly passed all the responsibility for it to the continued presence of the old, English-oriented elite whom they had brought to heel. Indeed, the utter unselfconsciousness and lack of self-reflexivity with which members of the national bourgeoisie pass the blame for the problems created by the classed nature of English exclusively onto the latter are nothing short of extraordinary.

If they have been able to get away with it, this is partly because of the dramatically conspicuous positive triumphs they *did* achieve in their nationalist roles, which convincingly legitimised the self-images they strove to project. But, even more effective perhaps was their adoption of a hortatory rhetoric and strategy of public action, including the overt projection of a conspicuous nationalist self-image, that gave strong expression to an exclusivist dichotomous thinking embedded in the familiar duality of margin and centre. It was a thinking, it needs to be noted, that was extended beyond simply the relationship between the indigenous languages and English to all spheres of the complex multi-linguistic, multi-cultural polity they occupied. In the democratic context they belonged to, this was a powerful means of mobilising the mass base in support of their position at the expense of their rivals in the polity and persuading it, in Gramscian terms, to consensually assent to their hegemony.

As already indicated, such binarism was out of phase with the historically constituted realities. It was discrepant in at least two prime respects, only one of which, however, is of concern to my paper. The other, which, since I have mentioned it, I am now obliged to briefly characterise before reverting to the one which is the focus of this paper, concerns the definitive multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic nature of the polity. In the face of that reality, the internal logic of unyielding exclusivity has led inevitably to mutually mirroring positions of self-construction and othering among the ethno-linguistically differentiated constituents of the polity. From such positions has arisen the conflictual predicament in which the polity is seemingly inextricably embroiled at present.

But it is English with which we are concerned. The implication of English in the lives of the leadership made the process of othering that the exclusivist rhetoric entailed less easy in its case than in the case of ethno-linguistic identity. In any event, the *kaduva* phenomenon made it very evident that the "problem of English" was still very much around, and that it needed to be resolved if the *status quo* which kept the leadership in their positions of dominance was to be maintained.

Faced with such vexatious challenges, the leadership groped their way over the next few years to what turned out to be, at least on the surface, a very effective response. It was a response which was based on a drawing out of the implications of the second descriptor which the compound name applied to them, *national bourgeoisie*, contained. This descriptor brought them face to face with their true nature as a class and reawakened them to an awareness of their place in relation to the structuring role of capitalism across the present globe. This was something they had somewhat let themselves lose sight of in the earlier days of post-colonial recovery, as they sought to pursue some of the equalising initiatives that the task seemed to make necessary, through a form of socialist planning and welfarist measures. By the late 'seventies it had become evident that such initiatives had not procured either for them as a class or for the country as a whole what they had been designed to procure. Responding to the pressures of the global economic order which were at least partly responsible for the failure, the leadership opted, therefore, for an "open economy", which made to undo, though not entirely, some of the earlier initiatives. This opened up more than the economy. For, it also brought into the open the commitment of the national bourgeoisie to the particular hierarchical distributions of social relations, social control and divisions of labour that global capitalism decreed, and their acceptance of the special role and functions that it assigned to them within its modes of production.

One obvious manifestation of the commitment was the move to restore primacy to the private sector as an engine of economic growth. The justification for the shift was voiced in terms of the need to pursue economic development and modernisation, both of which were crucial elements of the task of post-colonial recovery and both of which few people would be inclined not to assent to. As it happened, development and modernisation had to be pursued within the realities of a contemporary global order in which English has been assigned by history the role of *de facto* first language. This meant that the language needed to be accorded an even more significant place in the scheme of things than before.

But, given particularly the nature of the dichotomising rhetoric they depended so much on, that raised a massive contradiction which carried the potential to seriously undermine the credibility of their claims to be the driving force of the nationalist revival. However, neither commitment, the prominently nationalist one or the English-oriented one, could possibly be dispensed with. Acutely aware of how crucial both were to their positions within the structures of power in the polity, the leadership came up with a resolution which allowed them to hold both non-confrontationally together at the same time. The resolution took the form of what seems to be best described as an extension to English of the *jathika chintanaya* approach which had been proposed by some sections of the national bourgeoisie as a remedy for the ethnic problem. The approach was one which was based on a powerful reaffirmation of the dichotomy of Self and Other within the internal national

arena. As far as the ethnic distribution of power was concerned, it sought to install the majority community as the exclusive and indisputable Subject Self at the Centre. Concomitantly, the position of the minority Others within the polity was reconstituted not as an entitlement but something that was contingent upon the goodwill of the majority.

In the sphere of ethnic relations, the formula, which placed the Others in a position of permanent dependence on the dominant Self, raised immense reservations. When applied to the relation between the indigenous language and English, however, it seemed perfect. The former could be maintained intact and undisputedly supreme at the Centre occupied by the Self. The latter, constituted as the alien Other, could be freely and significantly admitted in on terms which, decided presumably entirely at the Centre, would not destabilise the position of the Self. The constitution of English as the outsider language was already not too difficult by virtue of its foreign provenance. But the process of making it an acceptable, non-threatening outsider was further facilitated by reducing it to almost purely pragmatic, instrumental and utilitarian dimensions, as the language of international commerce, technology, increasingly available foreign and local jobs, international dealings, and suchlike. This view of English received conviction from the ways in which the open economy fuelled developments which created the relevant needs. The fact that this formerly exclusive language of a small powerful coterie was now made far more widely available to ordinary people, who needed to be enlisted to supply some of these needs, helped provide further reassurance. [For the purposes of discussion let us call the approach to English described in this paragraph the (national bourgeoisie's) amended response (to the language)].

This time round the "problem of English" did indeed appear to have been conclusively solved. So much so, in fact, that British Council consultant and Chief Advisor to the Higher Institute of English Education in Sri Lanka, James Drury was able to confidently declare (1989) that the language had "come clean" and that the "hangups" associated with it had been put behind. He was thus able to fully endorse Lakshmi Cumaranatunge's claim (1989) that the language was now seen by everybody, including those who had previously been intimidated by its hegemonic potential, "not as a privilege, but as a utility which could hardly be dispensed with". Presumably, the sword had at last been blunted, and the term *kaduva* might finally be laid to rest.

Developments since the two papers just mentioned were presented seem only to confirm that conclusion. Not even a change of Government which brought back into power the party most immediately associated with the national bourgeois revolution, socialism and welfarism has affected what can only be described as a clamour for English. Not a day passes without several affirmations of the importance of English by various important figures. Pronouncements about the language and the

need to teach and learn it emanate from the most significant official figures and institutions, and are then given real substance in the forms of plans, strategies and so on the implementation of which is seriously pursued. "International schools", which allow those who have the money to pursue their education outside the regular official indigenous language education system, proliferate. Institutions like the British Council and various NGOs offer well-planned English courses for a fee. Students of all backgrounds, ages, income groups and so on flock in large numbers to mushrooming private tutories. The horrendous quality of many of these led a member of the old elite turned new elite to christen them, with perishing old school saltiness, *takarang academies*. English had, presumably, at last come to terms with the country and earned itself a prominent place within it that generated no insecurities, and everybody assented.

But the perpetual dialectic surfaces again, and we are once more led back into the cycle of critical interrogation, deconstruction and re-formulation. The provocation on this occasion is a set of nagging paradoxes or anomalies which surround the language and its circumstances in the country. These do not appear to rest quite easy within the celebratory matrix. They suggest that in spite of a massive declaration of commitment to English, the language and the effort of learning and teaching it are not taken as seriously as that commitment warrants. Among such anomalies are the following.

Over several years in the universities, a repeated complaint by teachers has been that, generally, except when some kind of compulsion associated with penalties is imposed, attendance at the carefully planned classes which are provided is far from what is expected. The English classes in any case almost invariably come out the loser when they have to compete with rival events, like student meetings or talks or shows. Inexplicably, many of the same students who miss classes, when they come close to the end of their University careers, register for classes with private fee-levying tutories which often serve them with utterly unsatisfactory materials and instruction. A separate problem is that students who know very little English and, therefore, cannot do essential reading in their specialised subjects which is not available in their own language, are still able to procure exceptionally good results in their examinations in these subjects. Moving on, the English language teaching units are not treated with anything like the respect which the presumed importance of the work demands. No serious effort has been made to build a sound academic tradition of language teaching studies within these units, little encouragement is given or opportunity opened out to the teachers to familiarise themselves with the great deal of the exciting thinking that is going on in their field across the world, and their status as University academics is denied. A comparatively high ranking University administrator gave revealing expression to the low esteem in which the units are held. Responding to a request by the teachers for some academic privilege, he is reported to have said, "If we grant it to them, we might as well grant it to our gardeners too"!

One cannot resist observing that perhaps if the gardeners themselves were not subjected to such classed devaluations, the gardens of some of our Universities might look far better than they actually do!

There are also other kinds of paradoxes and anomalies. In spite of the widespread public and institutional endorsement of English, there is a revealing division of labour in the way English is distributed between public and private sectors. English is associated with the private sector and with desirable jobs in it locally or overseas, the indigenous languages with the government sector and comparatively less desirable jobs within it. Even in the private sector, very many of the jobs do not seem to absolutely require a knowledge of English and in fact a lot of them are not done in English. Nevertheless, the private sector places a special premium on English when it comes to employing people. The jobs that students who depend on classes to learn English generally seem to aspire to are those in the private sector, but the jobs they do eventually get are almost invariably in the government sector. Turning to a further matter, there is a huge demand for spoken English, even in the Universities, where English is most immediately needed for reference work. This relates evidently to their hope of jobs in the private sector, at, clearly, the higher levels which their qualifications seem to warrant. Yet, the chances that these students will learn in the classroom the kind of spoken English that is needed for selection to these jobs are virtually nil. Yet another anomaly relates to the widespread perception that the standards of English usage have declined, evidence for which is seen plentifully all around. Nevertheless, almost all teachers to whom I have spoken are certain about how very successful their classes are.

There are more overtly unsettling anomalies. In the midst of the declarations of enthusiasm for English, we regularly run into expressions of the old resentments that have supposedly been dispelled. Very often, these come from those who are already in employment in any case. Some of them in fact, coming from backgrounds which gave them little opportunity to learn English, have been able to procure this employment precisely by taking control of the language by their own, quite admirable, efforts. Particularly disturbing is the readiness of some of these people to express their resentments in terms of the presumably outdated dichotomies. In the face of the reality that it is now the national bourgeoisie who are calling the shots, they are more than willing to blame the displaced English-oriented elite for whatever it is that is felt to be wrong (for instance, Christians are accused of knowing English).

All of this, one cannot help feeling, must be related to a further anomaly. To frame the issue somewhat provocatively, if we look around and move across the reality we actually occupy, and then ask the question "Do most people really need English at all?", the answer surely must be "No". The point is that, in one sense, the Lankan national bourgeoisie appear to have pursued their restorative nationalist commitments with far greater seriousness of purpose and consistency than, for

instance, their counterparts in the neighbouring sub-continent. So much so, in fact, that as far as the vast majority of people are concerned, almost everything of consequence which they want to do can be satisfactorily done in just the indigenous language. Indeed, in most of everyday activity, English might even prove to be a positive disadvantage, as in most places, the minority language certainly does. Why then English and this fuss about it?

These and many other such matters seem to suggest that perhaps the current optimistic discourse of English which the polity is operating with is based on a notion of the language and its role that is not quite in touch with the realities. The problematisation of the language that this recognition makes necessary is, however, inhibited by the overpowering rhetoric of pragmatic common sense in which virtually all discussions of it are carried out. English is for jobs, it is for utility, it is for practical ends, and any attempt to look beyond and beneath such concerns to qualitative or ideological or suchlike matters which are central to explanation and understanding will fall outside the closures that the discourse has effected and look perverse or weird. However, the anomalies just noted, by suggesting that the "problem of English" is by no means defunct, leave us with no option but to take a closer and deeper look at it in an effort to understand the situation.

One of the first things we will see when we do so is that, under the aegis of the national bourgeoisie's amended response to English, the language began to function as a far more ingenious and subtle selector of the distribution of privilege than it had ever done earlier. The practical material benefits the response was designed to bestow on the ordinary people under the new economic dispensation consisted considerably of access to jobs newly created or made salient within the social system. These were often not jobs that had the highest value in terms of current hierarchical distributions. Prominent among them were jobs as West and Southeast Asian labour and housemaids, local taxi drivers, waiters and other tourist service personnel, fax machine operators, and so on. Social valuation apart, there is no doubt that such opportunities did provide to the beneficiaries a desirable means of entering into the patterns of livelihood and consumption generated by the consolidating capitalist economic regimes. At the same time, we need to recognise that they also helped fit these people into the modes of production that were a defining part of such regimes, as necessary cogs in their machine. (In this respect, it would be instructive to look at the comments made on functional literacy in some of the essays in Graff (ed.) 1981.)

Perhaps even more important, the kind of English which most of these jobs needed represented what Basil Bernstein would call a "restricted code" (1971). This is a code which, to put it over-simplifyingly, is made up from a comparatively restricted range of choices from among the resources of grammar, vocabulary and so on that a language system offers its users for the purposes of making their meanings

and acting in and on their situations. In the real world, such codes, which are typically manifest in, for instance, working class speech, disadvantage their users, by denying them entry into the privileged arenas of decision-making and power. What goes on in these arenas depends crucially on the use of "elaborated codes", which draw on the linguistic potential of the language in far-reaching ways which allow the kind of abstract thought and argumentation without which such activities cannot be carried out. It requires little acumen to see that, within the situation created by the national bourgeoisie's amended response, the ordinary people will be kept firmly out of the arenas of influence. Their consequent disempowerment is even more pernicious than this account of it makes it seem. The restricted codes of the English-using working classes in countries like Britain were at least adapted to the expression of meanings and actions that their actual lives made significant. However, in the case of the ordinary Lankan people we are looking at, the restricted code of English they are equipped/saddled with reflect only what those who orchestrate the system and determine what subordinate role these ordinary people are to play within it deem necessary for them. And that, needless to say, had little to do with goals relating to their own independent growth or their self-advancement and liberation as individual people.

The decisive arenas of influence and power are, under this dispensation, the preserve of the leadership of the national bourgeoisie. But the amended response calls for more careful analytical discriminations to be made than even that recognition might suggest. As a consequence of the various considerations just discussed, the national bourgeoisie themselves emerged as an interesting two-tiered kind of phenomenon. The higher tier represents the levels at which the truest exercise of power takes place. It is the preserve of the bilingual leadership of the national bourgeoisie (this will include previous old elite people turned new) and the remnants of the old elite who have, opportunistically or otherwise, fitted themselves into the new dispensation. Most of the occupants of the higher tier are what have come to be called "co-ordinate bilinguals" (Weinreich 1964). These are people who command both their languages so well that (if I might use the popular, if simplifying, characterisation) they may be said to be able to think in either of their languages, quite independently of the other. As far as English is concerned, they control it in its elaborated form, just as they do the indigenous language. They thus possess exactly the linguistic equipment that is needed for the thinking, decision-making and other major activities which take place at these levels and, it follows, for the secure maintenance of their positions therein.

But that is only part of the picture. Equally essential to the undisputed position and authority of this elite is the weighty ballast of a very large underlying second tier of the national bourgeoisie. The emergence of the second tier may be explained as follows. The maintenance of the hierarchical relations determined by the social-economic-political order was, as always, dependent on the process of self-

reproduction characteristic of all hegemonic classes. Self-reproduction in this case involved to a not inconsiderable extent some knowledge of English, among other things. However, the socio-linguistic conditions generated by the amended response guaranteed that English would not now, in the far wider area over which its net was being cast, be acquired with the same ease as before, or in the same form and with the same control of its wide range of resources. Most of those who might be recognised as making up the second tier, including fresh entrants who had been co-opted from among the traditional elites and other influential segments of the indigenous populace, had previously been (virtually) monolingual. But, the kind of exposure to English that would allow acquisition of it in the earlier versatile manner was now available only to a comparative few.

At best, therefore, the majority of those who did now acquire the kind of control of English that enabled them to move into the second tier emerged as what are known as "subordinate bilinguals" (Weinreich 1964). To resort once again for purposes of explanation to prevailing popular notions, these may be considered to be bilinguals who think in just their own indigenous language even in the course of using their other language, in this instance English. Often, they draw not on the whole wide range of the linguistic potential of the other language, but on just a sub-set of it. In the case of the bilinguals under consideration, this enables them, when using English, to communicate their meanings with adequacy for certain limited purposes, but not to challenge in any effective way those who confidently occupy the first tier. We observe a fairly wide range of linguistic attainment in this respect, with those who have a somewhat fuller command of English occupying the "higher" rungs of the second tier. The many who have at best only a comparatively bare knowledge of the language are then consigned to its "lower" rungs. As it happens, very many occupants of these lower rungs do not even have any kind of command of English. Nevertheless, they are guaranteed their places within the ranks of the dominant national bourgeoisie by their value to the system which maintains the leadership in their pre-eminent position. It is a value that derives often from their economic clout, as well as from the influence they traditionally enjoyed among the populace. At the same time, by virtue of their occupation of even the lower rungs of the dominant class, they are, also, hierarchically separated from the ordinary people.

Special note needs to be taken of the role of the traditional indigenous elites within the scheme of things. As mentioned earlier, the value of these elites to the national bourgeois leadership was immeasurable. Where the nature of such elites made it possible for them to fit into the contemporary social order that the leadership were in the process of helping fashion, they became part of the new dominant class. Thus traditional indigenous language teachers, business people and others were absorbed into its ranks, though only the most powerful of them were actually able to influence the leadership. But, some of these elites, particularly in the specifically cultural, religious and such spheres, had their immense traditional influence defined

considerably in terms of pre-existing, often feudal kinds of arrangements. This prevented direct incorporation of them into the class, though it in no way reduced their value for the socio-political arrangements and distributions of power the leadership were in the process of establishing. With watchful attention to their interests and concerns, therefore, the leadership restored them to prominence and helped maintain them in more or less their traditional manner, thus procuring their vital support for the process even as they kept themselves ultimately in charge of the proceedings.

What we see then in all of the various adaptive measures and strategies pursued by the national bourgeois leadership, including language planning measures such as the amended response, is a play of ideological and political forces acutely responsive not just to issues of national recovery, resistance, liberation, and so on, but also to self-aggrandising motives of power, domination and control. Doubtless, as emphasised earlier, much that was positive has been achieved by the measures. But, the eternal dialectic does not allow us to close our eyes, in the way that the dichotomising rhetoric would induce us to, to the fact that closely worked into the agenda of liberation the leadership were overtly pursuing was a covert, yet unmistakable, act of revisionism. The old familiar battle for power and hegemony repeats itself, in (as it often happens in democratic societies) the areas of language and language planning (Tollefson 1991; see also Kandiah 1994), subordinating most other matters to itself and reducing them to its limited and limiting scale.

Not unexpectedly, the effect of this on the all-important task of post-colonial reconstruction has been less than salutary. As we have already noted, the task had two crucial dimensions, one relating to the recovery and restoration of the indigenous traditions and the other to the pursuit of development and modernisation. Given the dialectically reconstituted realities of contemporary times, the former could hardly be accomplished by an unimaginative and literal-minded transportation of the traditions in rigidly unchanged or unchangeable form. The need, it is worth reiterating, was not simply to carry out what T.S. Eliot would have called a pleasing archaeological reconstruction. Rather, it was to retrieve the fundamental cultural truth and meaning of the traditions, their genius (if you will allow me to resort to such an old-fashioned term) and the strength they had in their own time showed themselves to be possessed of, along with those practices which essentially sustained them; and, beyond retrieval, to transformatively regenerate them in a form and manner which gave them immediacy, viability and power within the realities in which they now had to operate. The great cultural efflorescence of the fifties eloquently illustrates the process.

But, it also reminds us again of the inescapable, historically-determined implications of the traditional indigenous with what had originally come in from outside to become so integral a part of the everyday experience of the lives of the people, and of the perpetual intimate encounters they were on-goingly having with

each other within their modern existence. A great many of these other things, far from being dispensable, were in any event central to the second major concern of post-colonial rehabilitation mentioned above. They included a host of practices, procedures, institutions, objects and so on relating to all of those innumerable facets of modern life–governance, administration, justice, science, technology, engineering, transport and communication, commerce and banking, industry, education, health care, diplomacy, military matters, entertainment, whatever. To these must be added modes of international relations, co-operation and interaction manifested often in the forms of agreements, conventions and so on which required adherence to them by nations across the world. Even as they were accepted, we might usefully remind ourselves again, all of these several things, if they were to be turned into account in ways that served the post-colonial effort, also needed to be subjected to searching scrutiny under the light of the renewed indigenous insights so as to suitably adapt them to their new context.

However, that cannot prevent recognition of the fact that every one of them came along with certain kinds of understandings of material reality, certain disciplines and habits of seeing, thinking, knowing and acting, certain attitudes, without which it could not be properly and gainfully applied, whatever the context. And this is exactly where the rub lies. Three anecdotes from a huge stock I have accumulated from personal experience will speak the problem more effectively than mere exposition. In doing so, they will confirm a recognition that scholars around our world are increasingly awakening to. This is that the stories of people's lives often rehearse more immediately and revealingly the ontological and epistemological narratives of their human condition in their context than positivistic argumentation of the kind so valued by scholarship at one time.

The first involves an attempt by me to start a savings account with a leading government bank which, at that time some years ago was just moving into computerisation. The very courteous indigenous language-dominant bilingual executive officer who dealt with my case, transcribing my surname into the permanent official records of the bank from off the card I had filled, spelled it wrong. When I pointed this out to him, he did not make to correct the error, but very accommodatingly told me, in his primary language, "No, it doesn't matter". The problem was not language or spelling as such, but, rather, the whole understanding of both the demands of accuracy in keeping modern banking records and of the way in which computerisation works. The second anecdote relates to an effort by me to have a photocopy made of an academic article. The machine began to play up as the job was being done, but the indigenous language speaking operator persisted with her efforts and, after a consequently very long delay, delivered pp. 1-3, 7, 12-14 and 22 of the article to me with a bill. As far as she was concerned, she had done whatever part of my job that her defective machine had allowed her to, regardless of whether it was of any use to me, and she was entitled to payment for it. Again, what is at stake

is an issue of understanding, relating to how the institution of photocopying functions relative to the demands, academic or otherwise, made of it in modern times. The third account places me inside the library of one of our leading Universities, which are committed to the increase of knowledge through increased access to it. On the shelves, there was displayed a book by Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren, the title of which, prominently embossed on its brand new binding, read *Understanding Betny*. In times past, it read *Understanding Poetry*. A few shelves away, some excellent books on theatre and theatre technique and lighting lay cheek by jowl with a series of books on how to be successful at basketball, with the classificatory numbering on all of them indicating that the arrangement was intended. And yet further on, Chaucer and some other English poets had been conferred American citizenship and placed in the company of American writers.

The issue in all three cases did not pertain just to the control of the mechanics of the English language. Innumerable examples of the same kind can be provided out of contexts which entirely involve the indigenous language. The point is that for the success of the nation's essay at modernisation and development in pursuit of its post-colonial goals, it is not enough simply to cart in the paraphernalia of modernity. Even more important is the cultivation and development of certain specific modes of thought and rationality, certain specific kinds and resources of understanding, perception, interpretation, attitude and action, that essentially define the objects of modernity, govern their functionings and enable them to be rendered effective and turned empoweringly to account. It surely is a disturbing insensibility of or unconcern with such matters and the nature of their demands that the above examples display?

The consequences manifest themselves epidemically around us, in the aggravating malfunctionings and breakdowns that afflict so much of what ought to be taken for granted in the everyday workings of our modernising society. Repeated electricity failures, ubiquitous overflowing rubbish dumps, filthy drains, atrocious road surfaces, inefficient and unreliable transport systems, faulty construction, defective plumbing, undependable mail, botched communications, blatant noise and sight pollution, disrespect for public property, disorderly driving and even walking, monstrous administrative hassles, delays, blunders and failures, indifference or worse to service obligations, contractual violations–the list is unending and the complaints about them from people unceasing. There is a too-great readiness in talking about them to shunt all of these phenomena into the public or government sector. But my own experience over the last fifteen months, when I have had close dealings with several private institutions of high repute and also several higher ranking professionals, conclusively demonstrates that the kind of problem they manifest is equally prevalent among these too.

Altogether, they manifest an appalling picture of monumental incompetence, ineptitude and unconcern. In the light of what has been mentioned earlier, what we seem to be seeing here is a profound illiteracy in the reading of the requirements of modern society, a fundamental failure of intelligence and understanding, the kind of intelligence and understanding that the conduct of such a society needs.

If the argument that has been developed above has anything to it, a great deal of the responsibility for this state of affairs must fall on the amended response and, particularly, the dichotomous thinking that lies behind it. The exclusivist reductionism of that thinking and the parochialising closures it effected on a great deal of the actual historically constituted realities within which it was being applied no doubt fitted it perfectly to the opportunistic pursuit of position, power and hegemony. But, they also rendered it utterly inept in the face of the complexities of a reconstructing modern post-colonial society. Worse, it led it to take on a very destructive function within the realities of that society, evidence of which we see all around us today. It did so partly by preventing the two major concerns of post-colonial rehabilitation mentioned above from being pursued in the ways they needed to be. Thus, the recovery of the traditions was too often carried out not in the transformative way mentioned earlier but in backward-looking mono-dimensional ways of the kind that Fanon warned us against. The result was that they were not always brought into immediate dynamic phase with the contemporary realities, so that their intrinsic strength and intelligence could not be turned to sophisticated account in handling these realities and their demands.

Similarly, the other major concern of post-colonial rehabilitation, relating to development and modernisation, was also served badly by this kind of thinking. Partly, this was because of the kind of conceptualisation that it led to of the language most immediately associated with that concern, namely English. The point is that English is the most readily available linguistic instrument through which we may access, appropriate and make our own, the modes of thought and perception, the habits of mind and action, the kinds of rationality, whatever, that make it possible to turn the objects of modernism and development that have been transferred to our context to positive account. Together with the powerful resources provided by the indigenous traditions and in close interaction with them, these define the equipment that enables the effective conduct of life in our modernising post-colonial societies. More than just that, it also enables purposive and effective participation in the global community outside of which the modernising post-colonial nation cannot exist.

None of this is to claim any intrinsic superiority for the language, but merely to recognise historical reality. History has formed the modern global order in certain determinate ways and together with it the kind of thinking and understanding needed for effective action within it. That same history kept our nations out of participation in the processes of their formation, even while selecting English as the *de facto* first

language of that global order. At the same time, it also placed this language in our hands, rather than any of the others which, like it, also grew in tandem with the emergence of the modes of thinking and understanding we are talking about. It now remains for us to take possession of it and fashion it into the kind of instrument we need for our own purposes. As suggested earlier, this would clearly involve subjecting it to the other crucial realities of our historical experience, filtering it through the perspectives derived from what we were and are from our traditional heritage and adapting it to our post-colonial purposes. The resulting instrument would be one which would allow us to self-empoweringly take hold of the resources which it offers us and make them serve us as we need instead of imposing on us.

To fully understand the workings of English within this way of conceptualising its role within the post-colonial endeavour, we need to look more closely at the ways in which a language relates to thought and action. If the language is to function as a means of appropriating the requisite modes of contemporary thinking, understanding, action and so on, it cannot be seen just as a kind of passive receptacle which will carry across to us some kind of pre-formed body of knowledge and thought which exists outside of it, in some essentialist space "out there". This is to misconceive the very nature of language and, for that matter, of thought itself. A language is not just a set of words, grammatical structures and so on, which carry a separate object called thought. Its systematic linguistic resources, grammatical elements, rules, procedures and conventions enter actively and dynamically into the very construction of thought and its processes, and of the ways in which these lead us to see the reality that surrounds us. That is, they play "a vital role in what has been called 'the social construction of reality' (Berger and Luckman 1967)" (Kress and Hodge 1979: 5). Which also means that they have a crucial bearing on the praxis which might be pursued within that reality–the way we see and understand it guides us on how we might act within it. The medium, in other words, is not something that is separate from the message. To take control of the latter with a view to conceptualising our reality and determining how we might act within it is also to take control of the former.

If this is so, then those who want to access that thought and enter into it and make it their own in ways that will allow them to use it empoweringly, will need to have considerable control of the linguistic resources of the language through which they do it. It will be a kind of control that very certainly extends beyond the bare vocabulary and structures that suffice for the comparatively low-level roles assigned by the amended response to most new learners of English coming from disadvantaged indigenous backgrounds. The English that these people will be confined to can only re-affirm their subordinate position within the determined scheme of things.

The kind of empowering control of the resources of language we are talking of, that which will permit effective appropriation of its epistemological potential, is

also well beyond that shown by the majority of the subordinate bilinguals who constitute so large a segment of the dominant national bourgeoisie. The empowerment they seek from English has little to do with the kind of empowerment talked about above. Their contemporary subjectivities evolved partly in relation to a characteristic self-reproductive strategy of power based on a dichotomised thinking that encouraged an inward-looking parochialism. This constituted the language not as an empowering instrument of thought and perception, but as a philistinised, conceptually impoverished commodity, to be seized in the most minimal form that would allow the maintenance of their position in the social hierarchy and little more. Thus they had little sense of what Alton Becker (___) marvellously terms its "wordscape" (let us add also, with less aesthetic circumspection, "grammarscape"). These would involve the history which anything one says in a language will have, the "aggregate of remembered and half-remembered prior texts" it inevitably carries. Such texts define the richly spun memories, resonances, sensitivities and experiences which fill the language out and give it its life and conviction and personality and strength. The focus here is not on language as a static set of forms and words but as a kind of dynamic process, "languaging" rather than "language", which is what allows its practitioners to conceptualise, understand and orient themselves to their contexts–past, current, new, developing–as successfully as possible.

But such were exactly the kind of matters that too many of these new learners were not, or were encouraged not to be, concerned about. Little wonder then that in bringing the language in along with the paraphernalia of modernisation, they were quite satisfied not to bring along with it the kind of thinking, perceptions, understandings and attitudes necessary for properly administering and prosecuting these paraphernalia. Nor were they concerned about the need to make these resources available to the people among whom they had deposited the paraphernalia, even in their own language, as an invitation to them to enter and participate self-empoweringly and sophisticatedly in the processes of modernisation and development.

The last sentence reminds us of an observation made by the Halpé Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English in Sri Lanka about a couple of decades ago. The point is that within the contemporary realities of the country, many people do not in fact themselves need a command of English to lead satisfying lives. There are going to be very many people who will not learn or want to learn English, while many of those who acquire it cannot realistically be expected to grasp it in the ways here suggested, in the plenitude of its powers, as it has earlier been characterised. In any event, no classroom by itself can explicitly introduce learners to much more than a very small subset of the immense resources of any language. Given that so many people are dependent on the classroom to get their acquaintance with English going, this reminds us of the need to be clear-headed and to keep our feet firmly planted on the ground. It clearly is necessary to work out expectations with regard to the acquisition of English among different groups of people that are reasonably

attainable. Such considerations will indeed affect practical measures of implementation in making the language available to people as well as the pedagogies that are adopted.

At the same time, it appears that only a conceptualisation of the language that moves it well beyond the scales and proportions to which the hegemonising strategy of the national bourgeoisie would reduce it would allow any kind of effective response to the problem of English in our midst. Socio-historical forces will determine those who are selected for indigenous language-English bilingualism. But all of them will need to aim at grasping the resources of English in as full a way as possible in their particular situation, so that it would become to them an instrument of personal growth and empowerment rather than one which keeps them permanently dependent on other people. Through taking control of the dynamic process of languaging mentioned above, they would, finally, in whichever field they are called upon to apply the language or whichever limited purpose or job they are expected to carry out by its means, be able to take charge of it for themselves and do with it things that lie beyond those limits. To put it differently, they would be able in their spheres of operation to, as it were, take on jobs that have not yet been invented, tackle problems that have not yet been defined, and work out ideas and modes of action which have not yet been conceived of. Then and then only can the resources of the language filter through them to the country as a whole, even to the many who might never learn the language, and begin to serve it in the ways that are needed, as these have been implicitly outlined above.

However, as always, the inescapable dialectic calls us back and reminds us also of the great dangers that, equally with the positive possibilities, are inherently woven into the process of taking the language on board in this manner. We have already recognised how, within a post-colonial polity, the language once allowed in can be made to serve within revisionist agendas of the kind the national bourgeoisie are pursuing to keep both themselves and the underpersons in their appointed place. There is, further, the possibility of the exploitation of the language by the remnants of the displaced elite, who may see in the process an opportunity to subvert some of the gains of the national bourgeois revolution. Indeed, there seems to be re-emerging, noticeably among younger people, a tiny group of very affluent English-using people who display a near-total disregard for any of the concerns of post-colonial recovery, and who orient themselves quite single-mindedly to the latest movements of popular culture in Europe and, particularly, North America.

The dangers from outside the polity are less immediately discernible and, therefore, all the more to be watched. For, in adopting the modes of thought which English historically built into its linguistic structures and practices in the process of bringing this thought into being, post-colonials open themselves to being co-opted into ways of conceptualising reality that hegemonically privilege their creators at the

(erstwhile?) Centre. The result could well be the crippling subversion of the whole post-colonial endeavour. Kandiah (To appear) discusses this very real problem and the dilemmas in which they place post-colonials. Since no dialectic allows easy escape from either of its strands, this places a great responsibility on people to work out, however difficultly, responses that address the dangers. The one which is most promising is the development of a Freireian kind of critical awareness. Based on an interrogation of the language which allows conscious recognition of the implication of the concerns and interests of its original "owners" in its empowering resources, this can lead to its transformation, even as one is taking control of it, into an instrument of what Michael Halliday (1990) calls "active defence" against itself. But even this will still require as full an understanding and control of the resources of the language itself as the various people in their different situations will be able to develop. Of course, the assured presence in Sri Lanka's context of elaborated indigenous languages projecting their own sophisticated contemporary modes of thought and experience which can define a significant point of reference will give strength to this process of turning the language against itself.

Unfortunately, those who are most equipped to devise the kind of creative response that the complex challenges demand, namely the co-ordinate bilingual leadership of the national bourgeoisie, seem to be less than inclined to do so. The reason is not difficult to guess. For, their entire revisionist strategy of power rests on the amended response and, especially, the dichotomous thinking which underpins it. These allow them to have it both ways at once. English *will* be brought in, but not in any way that would destabilise anybody. The high profile nationalist image that they project under the strategy is reassuring in this respect. It induces even the ordinary people to consent to their hegemony. This, in spite of the fact that these people benefit comparatively little from the strategy and, worse, even have to pay the heaviest of the social and other prices that it can all around be seen to exact. The availability of English to those who find their way through it to new kinds of jobs which, however lowly they may be, still allow them to enter the order of consumption which capitalism defines, causes them too to consent in this manner.

The way in which the new emphasis on English motivates the all-important second tier of the national bourgeoisie to collaborate in the designs of the leadership is more interesting. The restricted codes of English that the situation allows or encourages them to acquire do not equip them to challenge the leadership. But, they suffice to distinguish them from the mass of the ordinary people, as members of the dominant national bourgeoisie, and that is its own reward. These people in any event find it less than easy to take control of the language in the way that the leadership has done. Yet, they are induced to remain satisfied with the situation through the use of the rhetoric of pragmatism which accompanies the amended response to promote a certain relaxation of standards in the learning and use of the language. "People's reach must exceed their grasp, or what's heaven for?" Oscar Wilde is supposed to

have said somewhere. But heaven is not for these people, who are made to believe that they could get away with just the very least they are able to achieve, if not less. Indeed, efforts to insist on the maintenance of the integrity and rigour of quality, efficiency and standards (this, we need to insist, is a separate matter from the valorisation of *the* standard language–see Parakrama 1995) are often implicitly and explicitly characterised as an attempt to inflict the "cultural baggage" of an alien language on innocent indigenes and dismissed as a pernicious (old style) elitist ploy. What we need, so the argument goes, is as many people as possible with English, never mind what kind of English. This position is cultivated not only by upwardly mobile people who find high standards a hurdle to their aspirations to climb higher within the ranks of the national bourgeoisie, but also by many co-ordinate bilinguals whose command of English is much the same as that of the old elite. Which is not too surprising, given that it helps reinforce the position of these co-ordinate bilinguals as a kind of super-elite who are beyond challenge.

The minimalist, least-effort principle which is here enshrined reflects a populist strategy which extends far beyond the arena of language. We might label it "apé ānduism". Its effect, as it is generally encountered across the country as a whole, is to persuade people to believe, in the face of all the practical evidence to the contrary, that it is they who make the decisions which are in fact made by a leadership motivated by their own interests. Generally speaking, it achieves this effect by setting itself against any quality, standards and higher aspiration, and installing mediocrity as the principle of action. It is considerably to the resulting philistinisation of society that we must attribute the mishaps of modernisation mentioned above. These are not its only consequences. More significantly, it disables the necessary effort by people to retrieve the best in their own traditions in ways that will allow it to be revamped and applied viably in terms of the current realities, in exciting encounter with the features of modernisation operating at their own best.

There are even more disturbing consequences of the dichotomised thinking we are talking of from the point of view of the re-constructive post-colonial effort. In its philistinising mono-dimensionality, it and its offshoots deprive people of exactly those modes of rationality, thought and action that are integral to meeting the challenges of a modernising post-colonial society. These modes derive from both originally indigenous and outside sources, but they are crucial to existence and action within the complex multi-dimensional realities that history has created in the land. Without them people lack the primary means of rationally resolving the innumerable issues of difference that the realities raise, by seeing such issues as defining a welcome enriching potential rather than something to be opposed and put down. The only option then, and one which is absolutely consistent with the least-effort principle, is violence or meaninglessly disruptive action. This is the inevitable correlate in praxis of what I might term the ingrained epistemological fascism of the dichotomous

thinking and its exclusivity, particularly when these are brought to the service of the reductive strategy of power mentioned above. The consequence is the horrendous culture of violence that is devastating our country. Closely associated with that is the erosion of all values that make human life endurable and the grievous degeneration of morality that is daily lamented by concerned people on all kinds of platforms.

For those who control the structures of power, these consequences of their strategies cannot be of very much consequence, it is only what it brings them that matters. Human nature being what it too often is, there are many who see in the situation only an opportunity they would not otherwise have had to make something out of it. The obvious course of action for them is to cynically avail themselves of it, regardless of the cost to the others around them–which explains the charges of overwhelming selfishness that people frequently make. But there are also large numbers of people who hate the situation in which they are trapped but who, feeling that any resistance will be futile, become mere survivalists, lapsing either into indifference or into a stoical listlessness. Others among them, nursing a sense of their helplessness in the face of the plight that their country has been reduced to, grievingly await the day when things might change. For, as always, it is those who care the most who suffer the most. Ludowyk, looking into the future from where he stood, seemed to have seen what these helpless people see, and so he went away. However, we can believe that had he seen also the handful of people who are bravely striving against all odds to maintain and affirm the integrity and rigour of the high standards of intellect and morality they are committed to, as he strove to do in his day through the tradition of English studies that he helped establish, he would have approved.

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THIRU KANDIAH

EMOTION AND THE PERSON IN NATIONALIST STUDIES *

Perhaps the most dominant strand in the analysis of ethnicity and nationalism within social sciences has been that which can be described as "utilitarian," "transactionalist" or "instrumentalist." The means:ends relationship construed in terms of economic (and thus political) advantage is the dominant principle in capitalist rationality, so this is not a matter for surprise. The instrumentalist perspective comes in several variants. In one version, favoured especially by those emerging from the social sciences in the U.S., ethnic groups are viewed as interest groups (e.g. Paul Brass 1974 and 1991). Another version is found within the transactionalist emphasis favoured by several anthropologists who emerged from British universities, such as Fredrik Barth (1975), Freddie Bailey (1966 and 1969) and Abner Cohen (1969 and 1974).

Let me use Cohen's work to elaborate upon the theoretical slant associated with this approach. Cohen's ideas were initially clarified through his ethnographic monograph (1969) on Hausa migrants in the Sabo quarter of Ibadan, Nigeria, a region where the Yoruba were the host majority. His subsequent essay *Two-Dimensional Man* (1974) provides a considered and convenient summary of his position. In keeping with the dominant paradigm in British social anthropology Cohen adheres to a structural functionalist line:

> . . . although ethnicity involves the extensive *use* of old customs and traditions, it is not itself the outcome of cultural conservatism or continuity. The continuities of customs are certainly there, but their functions have changed. Within the contemporary situation ethnicity is essentially a political phenomenon, as traditional customs are *used* only as idioms and as mechanisms for political alignments (1974: 3-4, emphasis added).

Thus, the Hausa in Sabo are presented as an "ethnic group [that] adjusts to the new realities by . . . developing new customs under traditional symbols, often using traditional norms and ideologies to enhance its distinctiveness within the dynamic contemporary situation." In such a context men may ridicule the customs of the other tribal/ethnic groups, but they "do not fight over such differences alone. When men do ... fight on ethnic lines it is nearly always the case that they fight over the distribution of power, whether economic, political or both, within the social system in which they take part" (1974: 93, 94). On the foundations of his case study Cohen then proceeds confidently towards an universalist proposition: "ethnicity in modern society . . . is the result of intensive struggle between groups over new *strategic positions* of power within the structure of [a] new state" (1974: 96, emphasis added).

What we have, then, is that universal figure, the Strategising Human. Such a line of emphasis could mesh neatly with the interest group theory favoured by the social sciences in North America during this period. This is revealed, for instance, in the work of Cynthia Enloe (1973) and Judith Nagata (1974); and in all those writings that regard the play of ethnic identity as "situational" -- sometimes to the extent that it is treated as if it were a garment that could be discarded or draped on by actors as a matter of strategic choice (e.g. Okamura 1981; Vincent 1974).

The emphasis on situational fluidity is also in tune with more recent post-modern writings that stress "rupture" and "fragmentation"— though post-modernist readings of the world in anti-holistic ways would not be comfortable with the highly structured schemata favoured by Abner Cohen et al. However, what I would like to highlight here is the continuing force of a more venerable intellectual tradition, namely that of Marxist orthodoxy and its different but related form of instrumentalism. A classic case is Eric Hobsbawm. His writings on the subject (1972; 1984, and 1990: 54-57, 89, 117-19, 155-62) are permeated by a form of utilitarian functionalism as well as a fatal effort to reach sociological universals from empirical material assessed in positivist as well as a-sociological ways (e.g. 1990:5ff).

In describing the emergence of nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe from 1870 onwards, Hobsbawm lays particular emphasis on the role of those whom he calls, variously, "the lower middle strata" or "lesser middle strata" (1930:116ff). In this view, linguistic nationalism is a vehicle for their advancement. It is a means:end issue. Little weight is attached to the emotional attachment to a vernacular, a vernacular that was, more often than not, viewed by the literati of Western Europe as inferior to the languages of the so-called "historic nations" in Europe – an attitude of superiority that could only rouse the ire, and thus the nationalist sentiment, of those attached to their folk languages.

Typically, Hobsbawm seizes upon Kumari Jayawardena's work to extend this thesis to the emergence of Sinhalese nationalism in the mid twentieth century and the ensuing Sinhala:Tamil conflict (1990: 158; also see p.vii). Jayawardena had in fact anticipated Hobsbawm's thesis in arguing that in Sri Lanka "language was mainly connected with *certain class interests of the petty bourgeoisie*" (1984: 164ff). In this view the adoption of a Sinhala-oriented language policy was a means by which the Sinhalese petty bourgeoisie could secure "the prestigious posts held by the English-speaking elite."

Unlike Hobsbawm, however, Jayawardena is aware of the emotions attached to the language issue,[1] but only touches upon it (1984: 165). In other words, her awareness remains subordinated within a rigid Marxist schema and its

reflectionist view of ideology. Thus, it is asserted that neither the big bourgeoisie nor the working class and peasantry had a deep interest in the Sinhala Only programme (1984: 164-65).

The latter part of this argument misrepresents the complexities of the situation, and fails to grasp the ramifying implications of the language issue -- implications which reached into the pores of working class subordination just as much as they stimulated the anger of idealists drawn from all classes and/or status groups. This is not the occasion to develop my counter argument (see Wriggins 1961 and 1960: 215-70 & 326-69; Kearney 1967; Farmer 1965; Gunatilleke 1962; Roberts 1978 and 1979: 39ff, 59-64 & 70-83; and Roberts et al 1989: chap 1 for elements supporting this position). What interests me here is Jayawardena's instrumentalist and materialist emphasis. Implicitly, the reasoning is that where there is no economic advantage in a language programme -- "advantage" that is defined by the analyst with limited evidential support from the thinking of the protagonists -- there can be no genuine commitment to a cause. In this vulgar Marxist line of reasoning,[2] I should stress, Jayawardena has not been alone among the Asian scholars grappling with what is called "communalism."[3] The writings of Bipan Chandra and Ashgar Ali Engineer, for instance, are framed on the same lines (e.g. 1979; 1984 and 1987).

The instrumentalist interpretation of ethnic conflict is also widespread in popular 'explanations' of such events in the twentieth century. It is a venerable part of Sri Lankan historiography. Ever since G.C. Mendis, from within a non-Marxist perspective, attributed the "communal conflict" to competition for jobs and political clout among "the middle class" (1943), a long line of scholars have emphasised the significance of economic competition in generating Sinhala:Tamil conflict -- without, however, necessarily seeing it as the primary factor and without necessarily seeing it as an issue confined to "the middle class" or the "petty bourgeoisie" (e.g., Wriggins 1961: 314; Kearney 1967 and 1973: chap 5; Tambiah 1955; Fernando 1970; Wilson 1979; and Roberts 1979: 70-79. Also cf. K.M. de Silva 1981: 496-503, 510-24).

What we have here, then, is a loaves and fishes argument. Such an evaluation is often based on solid evidence, just as the popular wisdom on this point is based on experiential knowledge. Likewise, such instrumental objectives can be discerned within the incidents of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka known as "riots." The best known of these are the Sinhalese attacks on the Mohammedan Moors in 1915 and the attacks on Tamils in 1958, 1977 and 1983. In each of these "riots" one has to allow for regional variation in the pattern of attacks. In all these "riots," there was significant populist involvement, though state agents are widely believed to have participated in the violent activities of 1983.

Among the populist actions in all these "riots" was the practice of looting of immoveable property belonging to the victimised community. In Ratnapura District in 1915 looting was so predominant that a British administrator described it as "the loot" (Thaine 1916).[4] Even in 1983 looting was a facet of the assailant activity,[5] and investigations in Colombo indicated that on occasions policemen participated in looting as well.[6]

No scholar has reduced such "riots" to the looting objective. Quite rightly so. Many scholars, however, have emphasised the economic goals and the instrumental objective of Sinhalese seeking to weaken their competitors in trade and other business. Thus, with reference to the "riots" of July 1983, Newton Gunasinghe underlines the "organised attempts on the part of certain chauvinistic elements, both within and outside the regime, . . . [to break] the economic base of Tamil entrepreneurs," a programme which resulted "not only in attacks against small Tamil shop-keepers but also in attacks against major industrial establishments." Gunasinghe then draws "a co-relation" between the open economic policy" initiated by the U.N.P. regime in 1977 and "the frequent occurrence of rioting" from that date (1984: 198).[7]

Again, in analysing the "riots" of 1958 James Manor has called attention to the economic jealousy directed against Tamils for their relative success in securing government jobs, and the interests of Sinhala traders in looting the premises of their Tamil business rivals, as being among the factors contributing to the attacks (1989: 292-93). Likewise, with reference to the anti-Moor riots" of 1915, a number of scholars have pinpointed the economic advantages to Sinhala traders in burning the goods and premises of Moor traders; and the generalised hostility to the Moor traders and moneylenders for what many Sinhalese deemed to be "rapacious" business activity (Jayasekera 1970: 100-11, 271ff, 281ff & 321; Kannangara 1984: 132, 140; Jayawardena 1970: 228-29; Scott 1989).

That such instrumental goals directed the activity of some Sinhala activists who participated in the attacks on the Moors in 1915 is undeniable (Roberts 1994: 189-201). But the relevance of this argument should not be built up in ways that obscure or underplay the emotive force of procession disputes over the making of music in front of mosques. These disputes date from the 1890s. In an era marked by a religious struggle for hearts and minds, the several confrontations on this issue created intense resentment among some Sinhalese Buddhists. They considered the demands of the Moors, and the British policy on this point, to be an injustice (*ayuttak*) which interfered with their traditional practices of *sabda pūjâ* or "noise worship" (Roberts 1990 and 1994: chap.7).

The different perspectives which induce George Scott and Kumari Jayawardena, the one transactionalist (Scott 1989) and the other Marxist (Jayawardena 1970: 223-24, 228-29 and 1984: 122-24 & 133), to

underestimate the force of the religious issue and the intense concern it caused[8] in the years 1899-1915 is a pointer to the shortcomings of the instrumentalist lines of reasoning. The need to dwell on these shortcomings is rendered urgent by the complacency with which influential scholars take the primacy of utilitarian motivations as givens: "There is . . . a broad consensus amongst scholars that communal competition is grounded in competition of material interests," affirm Hamza Alavi and John Harriss in their edited work on *South Asia* (1988: 171) -- surely a classic instance of self-referential confirmation supplied by one's very own network of intellectual affines.

This essay seeks to displace rather than replace the instrumentalist line of causal reasoning. It is an exercise in displacement. It is an invitation to readers to step outside the means:ends rationality which permeates our world today and to *also* attend to the force of emotion during moments of ethnic tension.

In itself, attention to affectivity and emotion in the world of ethnic interaction is not novel. A.L. Epstein, among others, has developed this emphasis (1978: chaps 1 & 3; also see Nash 1989: 5ff, 33-39, 84-85) in what is in many ways a debate with his friend, Abner Cohen, an instrumentalist and materialist par excellence. Again, Kapferer has explicitly addressed this issue in his comparative study of Sinhalese and Australian nationalism (1988 and 1989).

Kapferer's narrative mode, however, is highly cerebral. It is cast in the clinical mould of semiotic structuralism and Western philosophy, albeit modified by phenomenological emphases. In consequence, the intersubjective experiential world of actors, of assailants and their victims, appears in a relatively subdued manner in his book.[9] Thus, in publishing an essay recently on "The Agony and the Ecstasy of a Pogrom: Southern Lanka, July 1983," I presented it as an alternative mode that nevertheless complements the approaches of a Kapferer or a Richard Handler – as well as, say, the more empiricist perspectives embodied in a range of analyses of the 1915 pogrom (e.g. Roberts 1994: chap.8; Kannangara 1984; Rogers 1987: 188-94). "Agony" illuminates the range of passions that inspire "riots." It is a move in the direction of understanding zealotry, while yet rendering vivid the agential complicity and the horrors perpetrated by chauvinists and all assailants. It is part of an ongoing project that is seeking to understand the social conditions and social relations which can so transform an individual as to overwhelm his/her body with emotions of rage or whatever -- so that the emotion has manifest, felt, bio-physiological components which unify mind and body in powerful ways. I am thinking, here, of anger that inspires rapid-fire vituperation, of grief which induces total collapse, of fear which turns one's legs to jelly, of rage which pushes one into acts of *amok*[10] and of a Muslim in England whose body was overtaken by cold tremors when he heard what Salman Rushdie had said in his *Satanic Verses*.[11]

The latter, that Muslim, I shall call the "True Believer." There were other such Muslim true believers, though -- and this is important -- not all Muslims in England were so transformed. The point here is that the activity of assailants during the riots in Sri Lanka was promoted by atrocity stories which circulated during the course of the riots, and perhaps even preceded the catalytic moment. The significance of such rumours has been brought out in both my previous essay on the subject (Roberts 1981) and Kannangara's important article (1984). Rumours are also known to have had devastating effects during several communal riots in India – for instance, before and during the anti-Sikh pogrom of November 1984 (Srinivasan 1990: 316; also see Spencer 1992: 267-71). My interest in zealotry, therefore, encompasses the conditions that made (make) some people, both men and women, receptive to the atrocity stories (mostly fabricated) which circulated (circulate) at the height of tension. My interest is in the openness to such stories, how a person becomes "wounded by hate" (a phrase borrowed from Pete Seegar) and how these emotions empower the retailing of such stories from true believer to receptive others. And thence leads, en masse, to arson, destruction, assault and massacre by the males.

In pursuing this interest my first step has been to jettison the label "riots" (Roberts 1988 and Roberts 1994: 184-85). This word has been part of the British legal lexicon for several centuries and historians have slavishly followed this terminology. "Riots" draws no qualitative distinction between a sustained assault on a segment of the population and a minor affray for an hour or so involving a few score people. The term "riots" must be replaced with that of "pogrom" -- in the pre-Auschwitz sense of the term as it was widely used in Europe. In that usage, as a dictionary would tell us, "pogrom" refers to the organised massacre, often state sanctioned and/or inspired, of Jews (see K.M. de Silva 1988: 67). But the *Oxford Dictionary* was "compiled effectively from the 1880s to the 1920s" (O'Connor 1989: 53). And it does not tell us that the English word "pogrom" derives from an old Russian word that simply meant "destruction" and that, over time, this meaning was lost and "the word came specifically to denote the destruction of Jewish life and property" (Kochan 1957: 12).

My usage does not depend solely on considerations of etymological origin. Rather I am situating myself self-consciously in the 1990s, with all its retrospective advantages, when I propose a metaphoric extension of the label "pogrom" to describe widespread and/or intense attacks on a subordinate segment of the population by a dominant section[12] (with a further distinction being drawn between "pogroms" on the one hand and "genocidal programmes" of the sort perpetrated by the Nazis and the Khmer Rouge on the other). This extension is deployed as an act of consciousness raising; and endorses the use of this term by other writers on the subject (e.g. Piyadasa 1984; and Newton Gunasinghe and Shelton Kodikara in newspaper articles in

Sri Lanka). The extension applies beyond Sri Lanka. Several events described as "race riots" by the historians of U.S.A., where Whites assaulted Blacks in a sustained manner (e.g. at Atlanta, 22 September 1906: see Crowe 1969), should, in this view, be re-categorised as pogroms. So, too, is the massacre of Sikhs at Delhi in November 1984 a pogrom (see PUDR 1984; Srinivasan 1990; Das 1994; Van Dyke 1996). It is likely that many such massacres, in the Balkans, in Turkey (of Armenians, Greeks), and elsewhere could also be so redefined.

The second step is to qualify the spirit of positivistic empiricism that governs the work of so many historians who investigate such events. Hobsbawm has recently asserted that a Fenian or an Orangeman could not produce "a serious study of Irish history" (1990: 13). I read this as a clarion call for dispassionate analysis, for distancing acts. Such distancing is also effected by forms of bourgeois respectability and/or intellectual rationality that lead both journalists and scholars to describe the assailants in pogroms as "bloodthirsty hoodlums," "thugs," "paranoids," "rabble," "savages" (e.g. Vittachi 1958: 67, 69: Engineer 1984 and 1987).

This is the language of separation by stereotyping, a displacement and a casting of responsibility upon those beyond the margins of normality. This method of separation, or displacement, is supported by the general tendency among so many people, whether victims, witnesses or commentators, to describe the crowds of assailants as "the mob."

It is my contention that such a separation is misleading. *Under specific conditions*, killing is a potential within a normal human being, a pogrom is a potential within the normality of social relationships, a capacity within the human, "politics and peace by other means." Thus, to side with Jonathan Spencer, some episodes of ethnic violence can be "one moment in a longer political process." And some facets of killing and destruction, "far from being an irruption of unreasoning pre-social passions [may] display ... a logic that is both moral and collective" (1992: 266, 271).

To grasp this, to address the specific conditions that draw out these potentialities and render it a practice, an analyst should attend to those occasions (if any) when he/she could have assaulted, and thus come close to killing, some other; or when he/she vituperatively wished the death of A.N. Other – and even fantasised the wish. Let me note here that, having indulged in such fantasies on the odd occasion, *that* has been my starting point.

This starting point may also assist one to qualify the belief, so pervasive among the intelligentisia, that the assailants in a pogrom are in a state of frenzy. In fact the range of emotions expressed by assailants in pogroms would seem to be quite varied. There are assailants who move about in a cool, calculated style, doing their job or work (see Roberts 1994: 317-

19). There are moments of ecstatic, ebullient action. There are moments of rage, frenzy.[13] Indeed the evidence from lynchings and race riots in southern U.S.A. suggest that some individuals move through a range of passions from rage to euphoria as the killing caps off the hunt (see Ginzburg 1961 and Crowe 1969).

To use one's own experience to understand, albeit in part measure, the embodied emotions of zealots is not to be subsumed totally in their cause (as Hobsbawm seems to understand this course). Even should this come to pass, Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (1963) and *Black Skin, White Masks* (1968) reveal the insights that can emerge from such involvement. One does not, however, have to go as far as Fanon. A *modus vivendi* is feasible, as Renato Rosaldo has sensitively revealed in his *Culture and Truth* (1989).[14] In writing "Agony" I set out on such a journey in a highly engaged manner -- a journey which I commenced in Virginia in the autumn of 1991 well before I read Rosaldo, a journey into which I was driven by an urge within me, rather like the "thirst" which inspired Basil Fernando to pen his indictment of the 1983 events in blank verse (see Wijesinha 1988: 21-24 or Roberts 1994: 320-22; and letter from Fernando to Roberts, 19 Jan. 1991).

Two moves have been outlined thus far in this attempt to comprehend the inspirations that motivate and condition the violent activities of nationalist chauvinists and zealots – namely, their receptivity to atrocity story and their subsequent perpetration of atrocity. There is yet another step, less essential perhaps but useful. We require a narrative mode that goes beyond the typical empiricist commentary that is widespread today.

The latter, speaking broadly, is of two types, types that sometimes overlap. There is, on the one hand, the annalistic reportage of "what happened" by journalists and other historians, reports which usually adhere to a chronological framework (e.g., Sinha Ratnatunga 1988: 26-69; Piyadasa 1984: 78-98; Hyndham 1984; PUDR 1984). There is, on the other hand, the analytical coverage provided, with varying measures of insight, by social scientists, for instance Blackton 1970; Jayawardena 1970; Jayasekera 1970; Ameer Ali 1981; Kannangara 1984; Rogers 1987: chap.5; Tambiah 1996: chap. 3; and Roberts 1981 & 1994 for the 1915 pogrom; and, for aspects of the 1983 pogrom, Obeyesekere 1984; Tambiah 1986 and 1996: chap. 4; Jeganathan 1997 and Kapferer 1988. That such narratives can be contribution to knowledge is attested by the degree to which I have been aided in my understanding of racial violence in southern U.S.A. by essays written in this empiricist style by Crowe (1969), Prather (1984) and Williamson (1984); and by the insights on communal violence in India provided in the articles by Srinivasan (1990), Veena Das (1994) and those within the covers of the book edited by Paul Brass (1996).

But having granted this, my project here is directed towards urging the social science community to make itself open to other modes of representation -- as ways of telling that complement empiricist tales, semiotic decodings and other abstract approaches by literally laying bare, revealing, the agential engagements in ethnic violence. One obvious path is that of the poem (e.g. Krysl 1997, Fernando in Wijesinha 1988). Another would be that of collages made up of visual scenes, eyewitness tales and commentary.[15] But there also are narrative forms of the sort essayed by Taussig (1987), Trawick (1990 and 1997), Sarvan (1998), Daniel (1997) and myself (1994: chap. 13).

It is the latter essay, "Agony," drafted initially in 1991, which has inspired me to make this plea. It is not that I self-consciously set out to work up a different style of prose narrative that was a counterpoint to the conventional academic analyses of riots and pogroms. I was not moving in a reasoned way towards a vivid literary evocation. It is only in retrospect, in part prompted by the responses from a range of scholars (mostly non Sri Lankan: see fn. 16), that I contend that "Agony" represents one of the alternative modes of telling, something that is in the line of old-fashioned storytelling, able thereby to recapture the immediacy of the moment of pogrom. "Agony" depicts the searing currents that run through a pogrom by presenting vignettes, chilling vignettes, from that of July 1983. These cameos, hopefully, should sensitise readers to the force of emotional affect -- thereby foregrounding the limits of instrumental rationality in comprehending such affects.

These are immodest claims. The issues surrounding ethnic violence are too critical for modesty to submerge the paths to better understanding. What needs emphasis, here, is that I did not set out in deliberate fashion to carve out a telling literary representation. "Agony's" effects are accidental. Its moral, nevertheless, lies in the medium. The narrative style is itself an argument. When I penned those lines, I felt urgent.[16] I was a driven person. If it has succeeded in moving its readers, if it has conveyed some sense of the immediacy and horrors of that week in July 1983, it is because there was fervour in my storytelling.

NOTES

* This article was initially drafted circa 1994 for seminar purposes. I have retained that foundation and the embellishments that take note of subsequent publications are limited.

1. No Sri Lankan who had lived through the 1950s would be unaware of the force of emotion on this point. Ludowyk, for instance, pays

attention to this aspect (1966: 240-41 & 244). Also see Tambiah 1967: 216 and Wriggins 1960: 337.

2. Note the conventional Marxist elitism: "The urban working-class being weak and not having developed a proletarian consciousness was also amenable to the petty bourgeois chauvinism of the time" (Jayawardena 1985: 145). A similar position was adopted for British India by W. C. Smith in 1946 (quoted in Pandey 1992: 18) -- leading Gyan Pandey to take him and another strand of interpretation represenrted by J. McLane to task for "its rigid, *empirical* separation of the world of elite politics from that of mass politics" (Pandey 1992: 19).

3. On the relative legitimacy attached to the terms "communalism" and "nationalism," see Roberts 1978 or 1994: chap. 10. The electoral triumph of the Mahajana Eksat Peramuna led by the S.L.F.P. in 1956 converted "Sinhala communalism" into "Sinhala nationalism".

4. This emphasis should not be permitted to obscure the occurrence of deliberate destruction of immoveable property belonging to Moors, sometimes in a highly symbolic manner (e.g. Jayasekera 1970: 288; Police Inquiry Commission 1916: 64, 85, 129: Denham 1915: 2). And trees on some properties belonging to Moors were systematically cut down and devastated (Jayasekera 1970: 293).

5. See the pictures in *Tamil Times*, Nov. 1983. This is supported by the oral gossip I have heard. In other words, there was both the systematic destruction of immoveable property (Dissanayake 1983: 81, 85; and Kanapathipillai 1990: 323) and looting. Also see Jeganathan 1998.

6. Investigative work on the incidents in Colombo through conversations among slum, shanty and other working class folk conducted by Chandra Vitarana, April-June 1987. Note that I have also received fragmentary information from one working class participant as well as victims and bystander-observers.

7. This is a misleading argument, suggestive of Gunasinghe's ideological opposition to such policies and his partisan hostility to the U.N.P. The general elections were held in June 1977 and the "riots" of 1977 occurred within a month, in late July. The "open economic policy" was not in place and could not conceivably have had any influence on that pogrom (my information from a police source is that the rumours which sparked the populist action were deliberately disseminated by policemen after a fracas between some policemen and Jaffna youth at a carnival in the Peninsula).

Likewise, in 1981 the riots originated from a "typical" localised incident between Sinhalese and Tamils in the East, and prompted other incidents along the lines of rumour spreading to contiguous regions immediately south (Tissamaharama) and then along the Tissa-Ratnapura road. On this occasion the riots received sharp edges in specific localities in the Ratnapura and Colombo Districts because of the active involvement of U.N.P. party people in attacks on Tamil properties and/or people (personal knowledge). Allowing for this significant difference, the 1981 "riots" seems to be rather like the localised fracas between Sinhalese and Moors (Muslims) which took place in Gampola and Puttalum in 1976, in Galle in 1981 and in the Bentota locality in 1991.

8. See, for e.g. the various letters sent by the Kandyan spokesmen representing the Wallahâgoda Dêvâla in DNA 18/3461, 18/3462; and *Hitavâdi* 8 July 1914, 24 Feb. 1915. Also see Roberts 1990 and 1994: chaps. 7 and 8. Among those who have taken issue with writings that overemphasise the economic causes are Ameer Ali 1981; Kannangara 1984 and Rogers 1987: 190-91.

9. Cf. Michael Lambek's comments on Kapferer's earlier work. *A Celebration of Demons*: "Real events are swallowed up in a sea of abstractions; Kapferer manages to talk about 'experience' in the virtual absence of persons, himself included" (1985: 294). This is rather overstated, but not without foundation.

10. *Amok* is a term originating from the Malay world. In that world it has to be understood within its framework of usage (itself a changing usage). As incorporated into the English-speaking world, *amok* has presumably gathered different inflections. It is in this sense that I deploy the term.

11. This particular Muslim was participating in a demonstration (in Leeds? Bradford?) where the crowd was burning Rushdie's effigy -- when he was interviewed briefly by a reporter who provided quotations as well as a paraphrase. I recall reading this in a British newspaper. My memory bank is such that I cannot present that Muslim's exact words. I am now trying to locate the reference.

12. So phrased, it is technically possible for a ruling class to carry out a pogrom against a working class. Such an event would therefore have to be distinguished as a "class pogrom" as opposed to an ethnic pogrom or a racial pogrom (the 'normal' usage). In some places, of course, the lines of class and ethnicity are partially isomorphic.

13. Note the description of the scene which greeted a British district officer in Kandy on the 30 May 1915 when he reached a neighbourhood where the Moor houses had been devastated after a Moor had stabbed a Sinhalese: "I have never seen a crowd so excited -- men were crying from excitement and appeared to be demented" (Diary entry, G.A., Central Province, 30 May 1915, DNA 18/46 – see Roberts 1994: 188, 200).

14 S.J. Tambiah's book on *Ethnic Fratricide* is also significant for its relatively even-handed criticism of both Sinhalese and Tamil factions. It indicates that one can write as a concerned Tamil without being, so to speak, entwined within evasive rationalisations or blinding polemics.

15 One illustration of this style of arrangement is Clifford 1987, where the context is not that of violence but the confrontation of several viewpoints/claims at a court trial.

16 "I found . . . your project both urgent and compelling in ways that I had not understood before" (Rick Livingstone's written response, 17 Nov. 1991). Livingstone was among a small group of Research Fellows with whom I was interacting regularly over three months at the Commonwealth Center for Literary and Cultural Change, University of Virginia – where I wrote "Agony." Among those whose responses have encouraged me are Toril Moi, Libby Cohen, Christopher Healy, Radhika Coomaraswamy and Ravi Vamadevan, Ashis Nandy et al at the Centre for Development Studies, Delhi.

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MICHAEL ROBERTS

IN PURSUIT OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS: SHYAM SELVADURAI'S *CINNAMON GARDENS*

Although novels authored by Sri Lankans/Ceylonese living overseas have appeared sporadically since the beginning of this century, the Sri Lankan novel of Expatriation *per se* began with the publication of Michael Ondaatje's *Running in the Family* in 1982. Since then, Sri Lankans living in Australia, Canada, and England have proven Rushdie's thesis that "however ambiguous and shifting this ground [the positions that expatriate writers find themselves in] may be, it is not an infertile territory for a writer to occupy. If literature is in part the business of finding new angles at which to enter reality, then once again our distance, our long geographical perspective, may provide us with such angles" (16). The variety of patterns, themes, strategies and attitudes adopted, and the acclaim with which many of these novels have been received in the English-speaking world demonstrate that diasporic writing *vis-a-vis* Sri Lanka is both various and healthy. The novelists involved have written about Sri Lanka, sometimes with nostalgia and understanding, and at other times with anger and disapproval. The more sensitive writers combine these and other sentiments in their work which also on occasion appraises the island in relation to the country in which they are currently resident.

A constant in many of these novels is an obsession with the past which is often used to analyze the present and to draw lessons for the future. To cite a few examples, Barry Mundy's Australian experiences in Yasmine Gooneratne's *A Change of Skies* are at one level similar to his grandfather Edward's exploits in the antipodes many years before, but at another they are substantially different. A. Sivanandan, in *When Memory Dies*, generally contrasts the past favourably with an odious present. Gamini Salgado's memoir-novel, *The True Paradise*, begins with descriptions of Sri Lankan peddlers, palmists, balladeers, and snake-charmers that are almost orientalist in conception, but the work as a whole grapples with life in Sri Lanka which through "the treacherous haze of memory [. . .] seem[s] idyllic" (140) despite his "utter enchantment with England" (145). Romesh Gunesekera in both his novels plays with terms like "paradise," and "Eden" in writing about what has happened to Sri Lanka in recent years. And Shyam Selvadurai's first novel *Funny Boy* employs the *bildungsroman* tradition to describe events that had traumatized his growing up in Sri Lanka.

This exchange between the past and the present, then, is almost a given in Sri Lankan expatriate writing. This practice allows these authors to undertake the kind of project that Dolores de Manuel has identified with Asian writers in America:

> In writing of the balance between the exiles' physical departure from home and their imaginary returning there, Asian writers in America are working out a pattern of action, tracing a dynamic movement between closeness and detachment, assimilation and distancing. Through this movement, the characters in their works, have made for themselves, a variety of strategies that affirm all the types of sustaining connections between themselves and their homelands that they can find. (46)

Selvadurai's second novel *Cinnamon Gardens* marks a change in Sri Lankan expatriate writing, however. Since his intention appears to be to provide a revisionist account of a period in the island's history, he eschews the contemporary scene altogether. Still, this tactic does not prevent the novel from being "relevant" and the writer from "sustaining connections" between himself and the land of his birth through it. Selvadurai selects as his background the presence of the Donoughmore Commissioners in the island from November 1927 to January 1928 to make a "prolonged, exhaustive, and sympathetic study of Ceylon in all its aspects" (qtd. in Jeffries 48). The report that was compiled after their deliberations led to the break up of established political alliances and the institution of new coalitions. Their hearings, furthermore, provided an opportunity for those representing organised labour, women's movements and others who had thus far been marginalized in colonial society to articulate their grievances openly. Selvadurai's is the first Sri Lankan novel to be set in this period. His temporal distance from these events and his spatial divide from the island allows him to rewrite the socio-political and cultural scene in Ceylon/Sri Lanka from hitherto unexamined perspectives. In addition to examining issues like communal differences, class-consciousness, and the position of women that were concomitant with the period, he also explores the theme of homosexuality that had been his major concern in *Funny Boy*. To this expatriate writer, isolating such an important period in Sri Lanka's history, provides an opportunity to identify the beginnings of the problems that have led to the country's current crises, perhaps the factors which led to his family's immigration--the anguished tone that is evident towards the end of *Funny Boy,* when Argie contemplates the prospect of exile and a home that was razed to the ground by rioters, seems to support such a reading. The critic's task of course is to ascertain whether Selvadurai has translated this experiment into a successful novel.

When *Funny Boy* was published in 1994, readers responded favourably not merely because it dealt with homosexuality, a "sensational" theme in a Sri Lankan context, but for "its translucent surface, its unadorned style, and its conversational tone" (Kanaganayakam 1998: 1). Despite some attention to form, it read as a very personal, even spontaneous reaction to a traumatic period in Sri Lanka. This spontaneity is evident in all the episodes, and especially in those events that describe

Arjie's homosexual proclivities, his hatred of school, and the riots that led to his family leaving the island. *Cinnamon Gardens* is a much more ambitious and demanding book which apparently needed substantial research. This was inevitable given Selvadurai's decision to place his novel in the late 1920s. If Sivanandan has lived through more than half of the events chronicled in his tri-generational novel, Selvadurai was born in 1965; that is, more than three decades after the Donoughmore Report was published. While it would be untrue to say that in striving for historical veracity (through research and conversations with people who remembered the life of the times), Selvadurai has totally lost the pleasing qualities that Kanaganayakam identifies in *Funny Boy*, one must concede that the effervescence that characterized his previous novel is absent here.

My reference to Sivanandan is not incidental. In some respects, *Cinnamon Gardens* seems to be a response to *When Memory Dies*. Although Sivanandan's name does not appear in the long list of acknowledgments that is found at the end of Selvadurai's novel, students of Sri Lankan expatriate writing are sure to find commonalities between the two novels. In *When Memory Dies*, Sivanandan presents a cycle of events from the mid twenties to the present with special emphasis on the "lower classes" that are regarded with considerable sympathy. *Cinnamon Gardens* romanticizes the "lower classes," but does so usually through commentary and not action. It concentrates mainly on the upper middle class elite in Colombo. Sivanandan's novel focusses substantially on the industrial action taken by A.E. Goonesinghe who (according to him) eventually betrayed the Labour Movement and colluded with colonial administrators. Goonesinghe is a minor player in Selvadurai's novel but is treated with some approval, even admiration (183). This is not surprising given that the political climate that Selvadurai describes is greatly influenced by Kumari Jayawardena's *The Rise of the Labour Movement in Ceylon*, a book which valorizes labour leaders, like Goonesinghe, and uses every opportunity to belittle members of the Ceylon National Congress who belonged to the elite. Sivanandan's novel was noted for positing subaltern themes. Selvadurai, too, focusses on those who are at odds with upper middle class living and who resist it in small ways. The quotation from George Eliot's *Middlemarch* which serves as an epigraph is particularly important in this regard:

> . . . for the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts; and that things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rested in unvisited tombs.

Such an epigraph implies that Selvadurai's novel will foreground the actions of men and women whose important but "unhistoric" acts contributed to the well-being of the country. In *When Memory Dies*, men and women from various classes, castes, and

backgrounds fall in love with each other. It is a strategy that allows Sivanandan to suggest that such interrelationships will ultimately provide a more humane and egalitarian world. Selvadurai too makes use of such liaisons for similar artistic purposes. While it would be difficult to claim that Sivanandan has in some way influenced Selvadurai, the points of convergence between the two novels are striking.

In the essay quoted at the beginning of this study, Rushdie also says that "[t]he Indian writer, looking back at India, does so through guilt-tinted spectacles" (15). Such a claim could perhaps be made for other expatriate writers as well. But Selvadurai wears neither "guilt-tinted" spectacles nor ""rose coloured glasses" for that matter in perusing the Ceylonese elite of the 1920s in Sri Lanka. His condemnation of this class from which emerged the "patriots" who are honoured on "Independence Day" is searing, even vitriolic at times. The conclusion that could be drawn from a reading of this novel is that many of Sri Lanka's current woes could be traced to the parochial ideologies and chauvinistic actions of this gentry. The Mudaliyar and his peers are deemed to be self-centred, hypocritical, out-of-touch with the times, caste-ridden, tasteless, and determined to ensure that Sri Lanka after British occupation becomes an oligarchy rather than a democracy. Mudaliyar Navaratnam represents a patriarchal order whose decrees have to be followed at all costs. There is little that is endearing about him. He banishes his eldest son for wanting to marry a servant woman's daughter when he [the Mudaliyar] had used her mother for sexual gratification. He is appalled to discover that his second son Balendran is having a homosexual relationship with Richard Howland in England and he heartlessly destroys this relationship; still, he has no compunction in asking Balendran to have Richard intercede on behalf of the Tamils when Richard accompanies the Donoughmore commissioners to Sri Lanka. Navaratnam had been invited to the US on the strength of a dubious book he had written on Tamil culture and during this visit, as Sonia ruminates, he "had passed himself off as a great Hindu sage" (55) when he knew nothing about Hinduism or Tamil culture. Finally, he hires Miss Adamson to function as his secretary, ostensibly, but more importantly to serve as his mistress.

These are just some of the double standards that Mudaliyar Navaratnam is guilty of. As long as they refer to the Mudaliyar as an individual, the only quarrel that one could have with Selvadurai is that he has overdrawn a major character. It becomes patent before too long, however, that the entire Cinnamon Gardens crowd, of whom the Mudaliyar is very much a representative, is being castigated for the larger role its members played as leaders of their community and as politicians. Consider the Mudaliyar's response to the prospect of the vote being given to all:

> People like Dr. Shiels do not understand what it [universal adult franchise] would mean to an Oriental society like ours. It would put

> the vote in the hands of the servants in our kitchen, labourers, the beggar on the street. Illiterate beings to whom the sophistication of politics is as incomprehensible as advanced mathematics to a child. It would lead to mob rule. (70)

It is a truism, even a cliché, to declare that the British created a local elite to function as a barrier between themselves and the general populace. There is also no disputing that this elite was in many ways alienated from the "lower" classes. That the Congress voted to oppose the granting of Universal Adult Franchise has also been recorded in many historical and political commentaries. Selvadurai suggests in this novel that all Mudaliyars and Ceylonese members of the State Council who negotiated Constitutional Reform with the British were narrow-minded and self-seeking, however. Considered from an "enlightened," late twentieth century perspective, the objections to the granting of Universal Adult Franchise to the marginalized in Sri Lanka could be viewed in a pejorative light and Selvadurai is correct to point out that these objections were fraught. But in his anxiety to prove his thesis, the author is unable to capture the complexities of the issues involved. Many individuals who had fought relentlessly for progressive reforms in several spheres during the first two decades of this century were genuinely concerned that those "who had not yet reached an educational or cultural stage enabling them to take a responsible part in politics" (Jeffries 51) would not be able to exercise the vote properly and that they could be exploited by self-seeking politicians. Some of them also favoured a gradual system of enfranchisement; for instance, E.W. Perera (who appears briefly in the novel) uttered these sentiments in 1926: "Evolution rather than revolution is the creed of the Congress and a violent whirlwind agitation which will sweep like a tornado through the country, inflaming passion and against the government [sic] is the last thing the Congress would welcome" (qtd. in Jayawardena 261). Then again, even Sir Charles Jeffries who had worked in the Colonial Office and been involved with the negotiations that led to Independence from Britain in 1948 concedes that the "Civil Service Government" that administered the colony during the first third of the twentieth century "did little positively either to further the political education of the general population or to draw the several communal elements together into a nation" (33). Michael Roberts' claims, in fact, that the leaders of the Congress *had* examined ways of educating the masses. He says, "[It] would be erroneous to infer that no thought was given to the idea of politicising the populace and that the Congress leaders turned their backs on this notion as deliberately as they rejected militant or revolutionary courses of action during the period 1915--1928. Indeed the evidence is to the contrary" (cix).

Selvadurai, unfortunately, trivializes the positions adopted by members of the Congress. Their major representative in the novel Navaratnam enunciates the

views of this body in this pompous, neo-fascist fashion when he speaks to Richard on the assumption that the latter has some influence with the Donoughmore Commission:

> I have always felt that the problem with modern Europe is that it has forgotten its aristocracy and the obedience to its will. If every man's voice is to count equally, the voice of those who think will be drowned out by those who do not think, because they have no leisure to think. This position leaves all classes alike at the mercy of unscrupulous opportunists. (136)

Selvadurai chooses to ignore that the island would not have been on the verge of achieving Universal Adult Franchise with the Donoughmore reforms in 1931 (the first non-white British colony to do so) had it not been for the Manning and Manning-Devonshire Reforms instituted over the previous twenty five years or so which were made possible because of the initiatives taken and agitations carried out by the class that he is deriding. In what is supposed to be a sympathetic approach to the Mudaliyar's predicament, Balendran concludes,

> His father belonged to the old breed of statesman who had come of age at a time when even the mention of self-government would bring the mighty fist of the British Empire down on them. They had learnt to negotiate themselves within this tyranny. His father was like a prisoner who had spent so much of his life in a penitentiary that he was unable to accommodate himself to a life outside of it. (30)

The colonial encounter did of course produce lackeys and stooges, but Balendran's slanted account ignores that some of those who belonged to the " old breed" were not as effete as suggested here. When Buddhist leaders were wrongfully jailed by the British in the 1915 riots, Christians, Hindus and some Buddhists who were spared risked their well being (even their lives) in trying to have them released. Jeffries, in admitting the excesses of the Governor in 1915, adds

> Fortunately for Ceylon, she now had leaders who could speak with effect for her people in this emergency. The efforts of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Sir James Peiris, Mr. E.W. Perera, Sir Baron Jayatilaka and others met with a sympathetic response from Sir John Anderson, who succeeded Chalmers as Governor in 1916. (36)

Some of these individuals confronted the empire in its capital, alerted public opinion to what was taking place in the island, and achieved their objectives. As W. Thalgodapitiya asserts:

> Ramanathan returned to Ceylon in 1916, but E.W. remained in England to continue the struggle. He was joined there by D.B. Jayatilleke, and the two of them waged an incessant fight for redress, [. . .] . In their main task they were successful. The Buddhist leaders were released; the Governor Sir Robert Chalmers who blundered so miserably was recalled; Brigadier-General Malcom was replaced, and a great humane administrator Sir John Anderson was sent as Governor. (118)

These are hardly the actions of people who were crushed by the "mighty fist" of the British Empire. One could argue of course that Balendran's views are not necessarily those of the author. But it is apparent that Selvadurai uses characters like Balendran, Annalukshmi and Sonia occasionally to propound views that are consonant with his own. One way of discovering the points of convergence between the author and the characters involved is to read such pronouncements along with narratorial views that are not filtered through a character. Consider the following comment about the homes of the Sri Lankan elite:

> They were the homes of the best of Ceylonese society, whose members had thrived under the British Empire and colonial economy. This gentry had attained an affluence they never could have foreseen, through trade in rubber, coconut and plumbago, and--this a well-covered fact--the distilling of arrack. The drawing rooms of these homes were appointed with the best that Europe had to offer, the finest chandeliers, Waterford crystal, curtains from Paris, damask tablecloths, Steinway pianos. Everything that made the occupants faithful servants of the British Empire or, if not the Empire--as this was the age of agitation for self-rule--at least loyal to the principles of the colonial economy that had placed them where they were. (11-12)

The tenor of this passage is very much like that of the previous piece given to Balendran which makes it patent that the narrator (who is never shown to be "unreliable") and Balendran share similar ideological positions in their questioning of the probity and the motives of the elite.

In his essay on Selvadurai, Raj Rao proposes a reading of *Funny Boy* " from the angle of race, sexuality, and gender" which "show[s] that a subaltern identification exists in the minorities in these groups, who constitute the 'other' of the male fanatical self" (117). That such a binary is problematic was apparent from the discussion that ensued after Rao's expounding these views for the first time in a paper

he read at the ACLALS conference in 1995. Selvadurai's novelistic skills in *Funny Boy* are such that he is able to blur the "male fanatical self" and the "other." Such compartmentalization is problematic in *Cinnamon Gardens* , too. But there is a definite sense in which class (as opposed to race), sexuality, and gender are major themes in *Cinnamon Gardens* with received notions of heterosexual, patriarchal, and upper-class living being contrasted and compared with the views and actions of gays, those from the lower classes, and women with progressive views. Selvadurai does show that the origins of the current animosity between sections of the Sinhalese and Tamil communities could be traced to this period, witness the Mudaliyar's decision to identify himself with the Ceylon Tamil Association to oppose self government because

> [. . .] the arrival of this Donoughmore Constitutional Commission in two weeks makes it necessary that we Tamils unite together. It is rumoured the Commission will be granting greater self-government in the new constitution. This must be stopped. The governor must retain all the power he possesses. Otherwise, we will replace a British Raj with a Sinhala Raj, and then we Tamils will be doomed. (29-30)

Sinhalese members of the group are also suspicious of the Tamils' continuing demand for Communal Representation. Such feelings are articulated by F.C. Wijewardene and others at various times: "Slowly, slowly moving in that direction [towards the position held by the Ceylon Tamil Association]. Between you lot and the damn Kandyans wanting their separate state, you will split this country into a thousand pieces" (69), F.C. says to Balendran at one point. In dramatizing these conflicts, Selvadurai is here affirming the findings of those like Nihal Perera who contend that

> [t]he consciousness of Ceylon becoming a single state precipitated the reconstruction of cultural differences and identities within the society. This was manifest in the increased intra-group competition among the elite. For example, in 1931, the Tamil elite had shifted its policy of 1910, of having reasonable representation for Tamils in the Legislative Council, to wanting equal weight for Tamils and Sinhalese. (102)

While the "competition" was sometimes carried out for self-centred reasons, both communities had reason to view the future with some trepidation. The work of historians, like Jane Russell, suggests that the Commissioners, though well-intentioned, were misguided in acting as they did:

> The commissioners, on the other hand, optimistically believed that given a push in the right direction, the political divisions of the West based on economic class would prove axiomatic in Ceylon as well. The Commission's optimism on this point was proved by later events to be premature if not wholly mistaken. (18)

Although religion, caste, and class have influenced elections over the years, it is race that has been the bane of the island's politics and history ever since the Donoughmore reforms were implemented. But communal differences do not have the same impact in this novel because Selvadurai is more interested in showing how the upper crust of both communities was united in ensuring that others were not given access to the powers and privileges they enjoyed. As the Mudaliyar says, in defusing a potentially heated debate about communal representation between a Sinhalese and a Tamil, "Gentlemen, whatever our differences, we are agreed on one thing. Universal franchise would be the ruin of our nation" (70).

Although they enjoyed many privileges, women who belonged to the elite were marginalized in several ways. Women from other classes obviously fared much worse. Rao, in his essay on *Funny Boy*, makes the extraordinary argument that "[t]here is even a veiled implication that women, like the Tamil minorities on the island, need a militant movement to liberate them" (120). What becomes apparent in *Cinnamon Gardens* set in the pre-independence period (as opposed to Selvadurai's previous novel), is that women from *all* classes are capable of defending themselves without employing such drastic measures. True enough, *Cinnamon Gardens* pays considerable attention to women who are victimized. Nalamma has no voice in her own home and she is forced to suffer in silence the Mudaliyar's sexual escapades first with Pakkiam's mother, and subsequently with Miss Adamson. As for Pakkiam, who is brought to Brighton to take her mother's place when she is old enough to gratify his sexual desires, she would have suffered the same fate if Arul, the Mudaliyar's son, had not married her and left for India. Then again, Murugasu, though estranged from his wife and living in Singapore, pressurizes Louisa into making their daughter marry his nephew, Muttiah. His plans fail only because Annalukshmi runs way from home to avoid the marriage and her sister Kumudini chooses the intended groom as *her* partner. Such episodes, though overdone on occasion, effectively highlight the pressures and strains experienced by women in Sri Lanka. In addition to such victimization, Selvadurai also describes embarrassing incidents relating to proposals (especially those that fail)[1] and the plight of women who opt to remain single or are unable to find partners.

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[1] See the encounter between Louisa and Mrs Nesiah in pages 149-52. The theme of proposed marriages with its many references to dowries is also found in other novels

What makes *Cinnamon Gardens* different from many others by Sri Lankan writers is that here women do not always submit to patriarchal dictates but covertly and sometimes overtly resist the pressures that threaten to smother them. Unfortunately, the author has presented a whole cavalcade of characters for this purpose, a form of underscoring that is detrimental to the novel. Although Nalamma suffers the humiliation of her husband keeping a mistress in her own home, she is sufficiently "wise to the ways of the world" (314) to use this relationship to advance the cause of her children. It is her idea that Balendran should ask Miss Adamson to intercede on behalf of Arul. Louisa had married a Hindu despite parental objections. Sonia, Annalukshmi's English aunt, encourages her niece to think for herself; furthermore, she eschews her own privileged schooling where she was "trained to be a perfect society lady" (73) to involve herself in a programme to train women from depressed castes and classes to help themselves. Miss Lawton, the Missionary School principal, for her own part, shows what single women can achieve. Then again, Nancy, a girl whom Miss Lawton had adopted and educated to a level of sophistication that would never have been possible otherwise, marries Mr. Jayaweera, a clerk, against the wishes of her guardian, a major statement against received notions of upbringing. The most important woman character in this novel is Annalukshmi who will be examined later in another context. Suffice to say for the moment that she invites the censure of a very conservative society by riding a bicycle to work, in electing to further her career as a teacher, and in attending meetings of a society that is intent on securing franchise for women. Indeed, the women in this novel are victimized only for a brief period of time; they are so vocal that one of them can even denounce Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan who is regarded as a National Hero by Sri Lankans of all communities.[2] Annalukshmi, in arguing with Philomena Barnett on the need for women to be given the vote, makes this comment:

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dealing with early twentieth century Ceylon, like those of Lucian de Zilwa, (1917), (1919), and Ja[me]s de S. Wijeyeratne [n.d.].

2 Jane Russell states that "[t]he ageing Ramanathan, resembling the aged Gladstone whom he had so admired, took refuge more and more in oracular dogmatism delivered with such a patriarchal air that he became more like an Old Testament prophet than a politician" (19). While these and other pronouncements recorded in Russell's book seem to support Selvadurai's portrayal, the denunciation of Ramanathan as rendered in the novel gives the impression that Ramanathan and his peers were just hidebound, self-seeking individuals who had made no contribution whatsoever to the island's gradual emancipation from British rule.

> Mrs. George E. De [sic] Silva, who was one of the speakers, said that men like Sir Ponnambalam are narrow-minded and selfish, [. . .] She said that such men are swine and that women were the pearls and that good pearls cannot be crushed that easily. Even by men. (118)

Fortunately the novel does not provide too many instances of such facile iconoclasism. What is debilitating, however, is its inability to capture the inner struggles and the procrastinations experienced by women in taking such stances. Since these are not women on the verge of the 21st century but those inhabiting a 1930s Ceylon, the decision to challenge the establishment could not have been easy. Except for Annalukshmi's curiosity at the thought of entertaining a proposal, her reluctantly agreeing to dress up for the visit of the intended, and her anger and embarrassment when it is reported that the boy had eloped with an older woman, the author presents few instances in which she is less than correct in her actions, *vis-a-vis* challenging the dictates of a patriarchal society. Many of the other right-thinking women are equally strong with the possible exception of Miss Lawton who despite her pronounced views on the subject reacts negatively to Annalukshmi 's proposal that the school should admit bright non-christians (129-30) and to the prospect of her protégé, Nancy, marrying Jayaweera. To keep a sense of balance, Selvadurai fashions an idiotic, near-Dickensian character named Philomena Barnett as the major representative of conservative, Sri Lankan womanhood. Although she occasionally provides humour to a work that is generally devoid of the same, she is too obviously a foil to the others to be a credible figure.

David Hemenway declares that in Naipaul's fiction "sexual confusion is intended to reflect political confusion" (200). One could perhaps say that Selvadurai in this novel shows that sexual roles imposed on its members by a traditionalist society lead to sexual confusion. This process is in turn a metaphor for the confusion and misery experienced by the lower classes when their lives are planned for them or controlled by the elite. Although other Sri Lankan writers had touched on the topic previously, it was Selvadurai's honest, comprehensive analysis of what it was to be gay in Sri Lanka that made *Funny Boy* a seminal work. He adopts a different strategy in *Cinnamon Gardens*. In the previous novel, this author describes a teenager's growing awareness of his desire for those of his own gender; *Cinnamon Gardens*, on the other hand, portrays homosexuality in the adult world. The most fulfilling period in Balendran's life was spent in England where he had a homosexual relationship with Richard Howland. Although the author gives only occasional glimpses of their life together, it is apparent that they had pledged to remain partners for life. Such a future is not possible, however, because orthodoxy and paternalism totally disrupt their relationship. The Mudaliyar who had been informed about what was happening by F.C. Wijewardena, Balendran's best friend, travels to England, and

confronts Richard and Balendran in their apartment. Balendran runs away from the flat to escape parental wrath, and Richard recounts what had taken place in his absence to Mr. Alliston, thus:

> The moment the old man started in on us, Bala fled the apartment, without even a coat, in the middle of winter. When we were left alone, his father told me I was vile, that I had ruined his son. At first I tried to assert myself, to order him out of the flat. Then he threatened to have the police charge me with sodomy. [. . .] I was terrified. After all, it hadn't been that long since the Wilde trial. [. . .] Our lives are so fragile. One word to the law can shatter our lives into a thousand pieces. The old man saw his advantage and he broke me down. [. . .] Soon I was on my knees pleading with him not to go to the police. He even slapped me and I did not defend myself. [. . .] He ordered me to leave the flat. He was going to move in, take charge of his son. I obeyed his command. I left, went to my parents' home in Bournemouth. (141)

Selvadurai's use of words like "threatened" "take charge," "broke me down," and "slapped" to describe Navaratnam's actions and "terrified," "fragile," and "obeyed" to convey Richard's reactions not only shows that the "old man" was in command of the situation but also demonstrates the extent to which the patriarchal, heterosexual world that Navaratnam inhabits could dictate terms at the time. It is significant that the "law" appears to be on Navaratnam's side in this encounter and that Richard leaves for his "parent's" home, while the Mudaliyar remains to "take charge of his son."

One way that Balendran could be "redeemed" is by getting him married. Although the novel suggests that Sonia had actually fallen in love with Balendran, there is little to contradict the idea that Balendran, the ever-dutiful son, had married because it was expected of him. The early sequences that dwell on Balendran's life with Sonia in their house, "Sevena,"[3] promise much but do not fulfill that promise. The "anguish" he feels for the life he could have had with Richard, and the sense of "suffocation, lying next to his wife" (38) on a bed that he likens to "a funeral bier"

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[3] "Sevana" means both shade and shadow. While the "shade" that the home provides is a given (as opposed to the oppressiveness of Brighton), Balendran's past, and his sexual proclivities, cast an unmistakable "shadow" on this home.

(78) bring him little sexual satisfaction. The "formality [. . .] in their love making" (80) can only be relieved for him by surreptitious visits to the sea beach where a penniless young man provides him with sexual release. Selvadurai, unfortunately, has chosen to explore so many themes in this novel that some--for instance, the sexual/emotional frustrations that are experienced by Sonia and Balendran--are treated somewhat superficially. The passage of time, the arrival of a son, and the discovery that Sonia and he share many "liberal" views, allow Balendran to achieve some kind of equilibrium. Selvadurai takes considerable care to suggest a parallel between Richard's and Balendran's affair which was destroyed by Navaratnam through the connivance of F.C., and the role played by the British and the Ceylon Congress in victimizing the masses. Although the following analogy pronounced by Balendran to F.C. after he discovers that the latter had betrayed him is glib at best, and simplifies both the colonial experience in Ceylon and the role of the Congress in providing political leadership to the nation, it does demonstrate a parallel with the situation that Balendran finds himself in as an individual:

> Your Congress is ultimately no different from the British. You want power to do exactly what the British have done. Come in your high horse, think you know exactly what needs doing, meddle in other people's lives, makes decisions for them, because, after all, aren't you superior to them, don't you know what's best? I have nothing but contempt for people who are like that. (166)

Balendran's re-encounter with Richard is conveyed with even less conviction. Their trip to Galle, especially, reads like the sentimental twaddle that characterized S.J.K. Crowther's and Lucian de Zilwa's fiction produced in the early half of the twentieth century-- the only difference being that this is a homosexual relationship. Alli's resolution to visit India (obviously to provide time and space for Richard to sort out his feelings for Balendran) is contrived just as Sonia's sudden decision to leave for England soon after Balendran returns after his tryst with Richard is inexplicable. It seems glib to suggest that she shared Alli's motives. Balendran's decision to sever his relationship with Richard, coming as it does after a prolonged, passionate, and idyllic spell in an estate is even more implausible. The man who has begun to discover the background to his father's actions which had led to his severance with Richard many years ago, and is sufficiently emboldened to commence another chapter in his relationship with Richard, now responds sympathetically to his father's "begging for confirmation that his fears were unfounded" (204) when he returns from the "illicit" rendezvous. Soon after, his eyes focus on a photograph of Lukshman in which his son displays

> [. . .] a contended smile on his face, the sun in his hair. As Balendran stared at the photograph, he had a sudden vision of that smile leaving

> his son's face replaced by horror and repulsion at his father's crime. He thought of his wife. Sonia was so dependent for her happiness, her existence, on the life they had created together. Their house, Sevena, was all the world she had. How such a revelation would shatter her he could not even allow himself to imagine. (204)

It does not take a moment for Balendran to go to Richard's hotel room and break up with him for a second time just a day after they had completed their sexually and emotionally satisfying reencounter. The stormy scene that follows which includes an incident in which Richard "bent over and kissed him roughly, biting down hard on his lower lip" (206) concludes with Balendran saying "It's over, don't you see? It's all over" (207). Such a contrived, theatrical ending is surprising for a novelist of Selvadurai's talent. Balendran returns to his family, and Richard is apparently forgotten. At the end of the novel, however, Balendran, having pointed out some "home-truths" to his father, looked after Seelan's welfare, and seen his favourite niece growing up with an independent will, decides to write to Richard again and ask for his "friendship" (383).

The British play a curiously ambivalent role in this novel. In what George Goodin would have called a "victim-of-society" novel, the British (along with the local elite) would have been the antagonists or oppressors. That the local elite who belong to the Congress is given such a role is patent. Selvadurai chooses to ignore the elite's subordinate position *vis-a-vis* the British (including the notorious tactic of "divide and rule"), choosing instead to focus on their correspondences. Despite occasional negative references to British rule, however, the British are on the whole treated more sympathetically than the Congress which places his novel in the same category as those produced by Lucian de Zilwa, S.J.K Crowther, Leonard Woolf and others. It is interesting that a Tamil asserts, "[g]ive us a British Raj any day to a Sinhala Raj" (70); in fact, much of the criticism levelled at the British in the novel is articulated by the British themselves. Alliston says, in discussing the role of the Donoughmore Commission in Ceylon, "[t]hat's the British for you [. . .] Think they can barge in and tell everyone what to do. Then act put out when their brilliant solutions do not work" (108). He later adds, "[t]hey're trying to have their cake and eat it. Making it look they're being fair and treating the colonies well, while they rob them blind. Mark my words, this commission's recommendations will make sure the British continue to have their way" (108). Sonia who is British by birth concurs with much of what Alliston says. Other than these occasional criticisms, however, the novel presents few instances in which the colonizer's role is regarded with sustained criticism. Selected British characters who appear seem to be models or mentors for their Sinhalese and Tamil charges. Sonia

> [v]olunteered a lot of her time and effort to the Girls' Friendly Society on Green Path. It had been set up for single working girls--secretaries, teachers, shop assistants--who had come to Colombo for employment. The society ran a boarding for some of them, but, more important, it provided a meeting place in the evenings and this kept many of the girls from the vices and the dangers of the city. Sonia had been one of those instrumental in setting it up. She helped in the administration and taught the girls English and other skills. (57)

As already mentioned, Sonia acts as a confessor for Annalukshmi, her niece, encouraging her to get involved in women's affairs, and offers her sensible advise on handling matters like proposed marriages. What is more, she is the one who cajoles, argues and shames Balendran into giving up the exaggerated form of filial duty he showed his father. Sonia, finally, fiercely advocates that poor women need franchise more than others; consequently, she refuses to join the Women's Franchise Movement on principle because she feels that it will compromise on this issue (74). The reader's admiration for Miss Lawton is reduced towards the end of the novel when it becomes apparent that her belief that "the right of women to be free to pursue what ever they chose did not truly encompass women of the colonies" (287)--including Annaluckshmi--and in her sacking of Jayaweera (326); still, there is no denying the prominence she is given as an educator. During the first meeting of the Women's Franchise Union, an "heiress" insists on naming a school for girls in Miss Lawton's honour because her work in education had allowed women to become professionals. As Lady Dias-Rajapakse asserts, "because we have education, we have been able to be helpmates to our husbands rather than millstones around their neck" (75). One could conclude from such comments that missionary education, especially when carried out by informed individuals, like Miss Lawton, had made a positive contribution to the country.

Selvadurai is careful to select British characters who generally express "correct" ideas. Consider Balendran's view that the British who are part of the Donoughmore Commission are more sympathetic to the cause of the lower classes than the Congress. As already mentioned, Selvadurai's assessment of the situation simplifies some of the debates on the whole question of franchise, but Balendran's admiration for Dr. Drummond Shiels in the following comments is unmistakable:

> What I thought marvellous was Dr. Drummond Shiels' comment on the Congress, when he asked how they could dare demand self-rule and at the same time not recommend universal franchise. (166)[4]
>
> I mean, F.C., how pathetic that a British man is more concerned about the poor of this country than the Congress which purports to be the voice of the people. Listening to the Congress today, I think I would rather remain as we are, under the thumb of the British. (166)

What is curious, however, is that Alliston and Richard, who are emphatically politically correct, occasionally make references to Sri Lanka that are, to say the least, thought-provoking. Commenting on why he wishes to leave the island, Alli says, "This Ceylon is a bore, [. . .] There is nothing to see here. Centuries of imperialism have obliterated the culture" (142). Since Alli is searching for a reason to leave Ceylon to allow Richard to sort out his feelings for Balendran, such a comment cannot be taken too seriously. Consider, however, Richard's oblique condemnation of traditional Ceylonese culture.

> Richard found himself thinking about this "wife" with a certain disdain, remembering the Ceylonese women on board the ship. There had been some modern women, but he thought of the traditional ones--the way they drew their saris or shawls over their head when they passed him, as if he might carry an infectious disease. He felt sure that she was a cloistered, traditional woman, naïve to the ways of the world and certainly to the ways of her husband. Probably some cousin from Jaffna, judging from what Bala had told him about Tamil marriage customs. (104)

Richard is wrong in his speculations on Balendran's wife. Sonia turns out to be more "modern" than most. His conclusions on the "traditional ones" are never challenged, however. That an intelligent, liberal-minded person who is always shown to be

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[4] It is interesting that Kumari Jayawardena's account on which this incident is perhaps based merely says that Shiels "expressed his disappointment that Congress did not attach more importance to the franchise question" (265). Jayawardena's disclosure that "Goonesinha was on close terms of friendship with Labour M.P. Drummond Shiels, who advised him on tactics to be adopted in giving evidence before the Donougmore Commission" (271) is also significant. It suggests that Shiels was not an impartial Commissioner but an interested player in the proceedings. (265).

sensitive to the complexities of East/West relationships would make such conclusions is perplexing at best. Matters become more confusing when Richard's attitude is compared and contrasted with Balendran's "life-long dream [. . .] to write a book on Jaffna culture" (227), a point that will be explored later in this study.

Given that the novel is situated at a time noted for anti-British sentiment Selvadurai's decision to include the more enlightened breed of Englishman (despite occasional flaws) at the expense of others with more chauvinistic attitudes is pivotal. From principals of schools to housewives, homosexual partners to Labourite politicians, the British are presented with some admiration. Such characterization, especially when allied with Balendran's doubts that the Congress will be able to govern the country properly, means that the Mudaliyar's comment "Without the might of the British Empire behind us, we would be reduced to penury" (30) does not seem to be that fatuous after all.

Cinnamon Gardens is to some extent a resistance novel, like *When Memory Dies*. In addition to the women who were referred to early on, other characters, too, subvert the patriarchy represented by Navaratnam through open and subtle forms of resistance. Arul shows contempt for his lineage and sympathy for the marginalised by marrying a low caste servant, the daughter of his father's mistress, even though he loses his birthright as the eldest son in the process; Pillai, the devoted servant, conveys vital information about Mudaliyar Navaratnam's actions and thoughts to the osctracised son and to Nalamma. Despite the patently subaltern stance adopted by these characters, it is Balendran and Annalukshmi who need to be further examined in attempting a final assessment of this novel.

Unlike his niece whose "progress" was predictable from the novel's first pages, Balendran is pusillanimous to begin with. He is overshadowed by his father and his brother. This seemingly effete, self-effacing individual reduces his father to impotent fury by standing up to him at the end of the novel, however. There is growth of sorts, but how convincing is this growth? Balendran's subservience is a major factor in creating tension in their household. To Sonia,

> The greatest dispute between her husband and herself was over his blind obedience to his father and her constant irritation and annoyance at it. It made little sense to Sonia, like a man of science believing in goblins. Balendran, she knew, was not an ineffectual man. After he had taken over running the family estate and temple, they had flourished in a way they had never done under his father. Intellectually, he was his father's superior and was thoroughly knowledgeable on all aspects of Tamil culture and religion. (54-55)

Sonia, of course, is unaware that Navaratnam had discovered Balendran's affair with Richard in England and that Balendran had convinced himself initially that his father had acted in everybody's best interests in breaking up the relationship. There are, however, many aspects of Selvadurai's portrayal of Balendran that are troubling. First, for such an intelligent man, Balendran is incapable of seeing through his father's hypocrisy until much later in the novel, while his mother, brother, and even the servants are quick to note the gulf between his precepts and the manner in which he carries them out. Second, Balendran is almost tediously correct in his political views, although his background is no different from that of others of his generation in the Cinnamon Gardens set. The author never gives any indication how Balendran and his wife came to be so enlightened. Third, his selfless concern in looking after the welfare of the oppressed, and his determination to "do the right thing" make him a mawkish individual. Consider, for instance, his insistence on providing for Seelan's welfare despite his knowing that this measure would lead to further acrimony with his father; his readiness to provide redress for his labourers, like Uma (189) even at the expense of delaying his other commitments; and his creating a "showpiece" estate which is made possible by substantial "labour reform" (227) that is engineered to make workers happy and yet increase productivity. Such actions are all set up to make Balendran into a person who is the personification of goodness. Equally debilitating is his confrontation with his father at the end which resembles the "settling of accounts" scene between Nora and Helmer in Ibsen's *The Doll's House*. What is amazing is that having devastated his father by confronting him with all the latter's wrong-doings and double standards, Balendran, Annalukshmi, Sonia and all the "politically correct" people gather round to participate in the opulent charade that is so much a part of the Mudaliyar's birthday.

Another disturbing aspect of this book is the author's inability to examine with conviction the counter-claims of homosexuality and Balendran's marriage to a woman he admires. Balendran's sexual orientation is indubitably gay. The reader is also made aware that he loves Sonia despite his "inversion." His life does not foreground the conflicting emotions undergone by people in such situations, however. When he is with Richard, he forgets his home, and when he has access to the joys of domesticity, especially in the middle of the novel, his passion for Richard is usually under control. Suspecting that his son had reestablished a relationship with Richard, the Mudaliyar orders Balendran to live in the ancestral home for a while, a place that was depicted in very negative terms in the first few chapters. Balendran's convalescence is best described in the author's own words:

> In the days that followed, Balendran silently thanked his father for having asked him to stay at Brighton. In his childhood home, in the very room in which he had grown up, with its pictures on the walls,

> the creaking of the old fan that lulled him to sleep at night, Balendran found a constant reminder of the life he had in Ceylon, the life that, he told himself, ultimately mattered.
>
> [. . .] In the evenings, however, when he would sit on the front verandah of Brighton and read in the newspapers about the hearings of the commission in various cities, a searing ache would build in his chest. Still, even as he felt the pain of Richard, Balendran would look out at Sonia cutting flowers in the garden alongside his mother, their heads companiably side by side. The look of contentment and serenity on her face made more horrible the thought of discovery.
>
> His revulsion was comforting to him. It questioned the depth of his love for Richard and made him aware that he did love his wife, that she was, in many ways, his dear friend. This understanding made him hopeful that somewhere in the future his love for Richard would diminish or become simply *a familiar impediment* (209; emphasis added).

Balendran's ruminations about his "depth of love for Richard" not only contradict earlier sequences which read differently, but the reference to homosexuality as an "impediment" is also a strange admission for a gay writer. In his previous novel, Argie and Shehan maintain their relationship despite opposition and ridicule from several spheres of influence. To Rajiva Wijesinha, "the importance of asserting individual feelings and relationships in defiance of the dictates of authority" is "almost a didactic theme" (82) in *Funny Boy*. Balendran, on the other hand, embraces heterosexual love, parental authority, and cozy domesticity when his "natural" preference is within reach.

Annalukshmi is indubitably a precursor of the modern, liberated woman. In addition to one of the opening sequences of the novel in which she enjoys a feeling of exhilaration, or freedom from restraint, when she rides a bicycle to school, she is also unafraid to frankly admire the physique of a young man she sees at a beach:

> In that instance, Annalukshmi saw all that she needed to. His handsome face and nice teeth when he smiled, the straps of his suit slightly awry over his smooth chest, the shape of his crotch clearly outlined in the bathing suit. She felt the heat release itself from somewhere in her lower back and spread down her legs. She surreptitiously watched the young man. Before he could field another ball, however, a woman called out to him. He ran up the beach, flung himself on the sand next to her, took her hand, kissed it,

> and then listened attentively to what she was saying, nodding his head. As Annalukshmi looked at the couple, she knew that this was what she would have to give up if she did not marry. (93-94)

Although Selvadurai demonstrates Annalukshmi's attraction to men, he thwarts the reader's expectation of seeing this attraction being fulfilled. Despite being interested in Chandran Mackintosh and Seelan at different times, Annalukshmi does not transform attraction into something more substantial. Perhaps this situation is brought about because her creator is intent on showing her as a woman who is determined to make choices on *her* terms rather than have "choices" imposed on her by others. Then again, Selvadurai is also keen on demonstrating Annalukshmi's identification with the "common man." Her conversations with Mr. Jayaweera, a union agitator, are schematic and contrived on occasion. Jayaweera's descriptions of the snake stone and the exorcism ceremony carried out to cure his sister who was possessed by a devil (126) add little to the plot and illustrate another instance in which a Sri Lankan expatriate writer has introduced a local custom or ceremony to give "colour" to a novel.[5] Annalukshmi's association with Jayaweera allows her to become familiar with the orientation of people from the villages, however. Not only does she find Jayaweera's mentality a contrast to what she is accustomed in her upper middle class background, but she also discovers that Jayaweera and others who have emerged from indigent circumstances have much to offer her. At one point in the novel, she identifies her situation with that of the "common man" thus:

> The colonial administrators of Ceylon often said that the common man--the farmers in the fields, the labourers, the fisherfolk--had no aspirations for freedom from political patronage. The British government agents in the provinces of Ceylon understood the problems of the common man and what solutions needed to be implemented. The Ceylonese élite who sought self-government had scanty knowledge of how the common man lived, had very little contact with him. They could thus hardly assert the right to represent him.
>
> These claims were made with disregard for the crippling poverty and illiteracy, the terrible health and sanitary conditions that colonial rule had brought to the "common man." There was, however,

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[5] Another example is Triton's recounting of the Anguli-maala story in Romesh Gunesekera's *Reef* (175-78).

> an element of truth to it. For the common man knew that self-government would not shatter any of the shackles that held him in his position of feudal subservience. He would simply exchange one set of masters for another.
>
> Annalukshmi, in a curious way, shared the views of the "common man." The bid for self-rule did not promise to provide her with any greater freedom, any amelioration of her position as a woman, that had not been achieved under colonial rule. (114-15)

These facile, sentimental pronouncements are fraught because they attribute to the "common man," and indeed to the then not-so- politically-aware Annalukshmi, a greater knowledge of their position than was possible at the time. What is important to note, however, are her feelings for this class. This identification with the masses, her affiliations with Jayaweera, and her association with Nancy, Sonia, Balendran and Miss Lawton have taught her to abhor any kind of posturing; she experiences a moment of "epiphany," however, when she visits Mackintosh's exhibition. Here a description of the delicacies that are "artfully arranged on large platters in front of them," is followed by a characterization of the guests who had "disported themselves amongst the cushions" (375):

> A lot of the women present were smoking, and Annalukshmi quickly noted that two of them were not wearing blouses under their saris. One of these women lay with her head in the lap of a woman she recognized as Srimani, Mr. Jayaweera's landlady. She was wearing a sarong and a shirt. The men were unusually dressed. Instead of suits and ties, most of the men wore sarongs or vertis, clothes that were usually worn at home. One of them had an elaborate shawl draped about his body. From the way he signalled the bearers, he was probably the host. (376)

It is this exhibition, the people she encounters, and the lesson she draws from the manner in which Mackintosh had altered one of the paintings she had previously seen that make her decide "to hold fast to her ideals, even when there was nothing to pin her dreams on" (377). If the "dignitaries" who attend the Mudaliyar's parties at his home with all its incongruous Western trappings are pretentious, the people described here are equally pretentious. The studied irreverence, the vulgar ostentation, and the exaggerated focus on indigenous culture are the traits of the "artsy" elite in the capital who love to present themselves as being avant garde. That the perceptive Annalukshmi with her feelings for the "common man" could countenance such posturing and describe these people to her uncle as "new people . . . interesting people" (383) is inexplicable.

Selvadurai's portrayal of the two major characters is flawed, but the novel displays other infelicities amongst which is his insistence on dealing with every conceivable issue that presents itself--a weakness also associated with Sivanandan's novel. In *When Memory Dies*, Sivanandan tries to encompass Sri Lanka's political and social changes through three generations of a human drama. This results in repetition and occasional diminution in intensity. Selvadurai takes on too many themes from too many angles. Not only do these themes impinge on each other, but they affect his artistic focus. In addition to the reaction of the elite to the prospect of Universal Adult Franchise he also examines concerns like homosexuality, women's rights, depressed classes, missionary education, trade union reform, proposed marriages, literature, and art--issues that Selvadurai is not always able to treat with thoroughness.

The message that emerges from what appears to be set up as a political novel is confusing at best. Balendran, Sonia, Annalukshmi and some others are individuals with vision who eschew the mores, conservatism, and chauvinism that plagued society at the time. Traditional Tamil culture and norms of behaviour are part of what they are reacting to. Having adopted such a position, however, Balendran for one makes these "discoveries" about Tamil culture:

> He was soon absorbed in this task, and came to love the time he spent with the villagers of Jaffna, discussing their rituals, understanding, with surprise, the variance of custom and language from village to village; the radically different culture of the barren little islands that surrounded the Jaffna peninsula, the language of the inhabitants almost a medieval Tamil. (227-28)

What he sees in Jaffna culture is perhaps true; at the same time, however, the culture that he is fascinated with also involves divisions of caste and the kind of conservatism that Russell has so well documented in her study.[6] They are precisely the practices that Richard and presumably Balendran himself find abhorrent. Balendran sees no inconsistency in his position, however. A similar contradiction is observed in one of the proposals that Balendran posits as a way of meeting both Tamil and Sinhalese demands. "Before foreign rule we had a constitution and system of government that was suited to our needs" (68), he says, and then proceeds to elaborate a system which is "more or less a federal state" (68). The conundrum that neither the author nor his persona (in this instance) can recognize, let alone reconcile, is that before foreign occupation the country was ruled by kings and the system of government feudal in the

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6 See Russell 6-14.

extreme--hardly the kind of solution to be offered to a country on the verge of achieving self-government.

Selvadurai should be commended for locating his novel in a specific period in the island's history that was noted for political ferment, a strategy not employed in quite the same way by any previous author. The experiment is worthwhile, and *Cinnamon Gardens* does have its moments of artistic verve. Unlike *Funny Boy*, however, this work is not one that is ultimately successful. The attempts at rewriting the politics of the period are considerably fraught; some of the relationships that are presented poorly conceived; and the trajectory of the work impeded by what could only be described as the author's decision to chart too many courses. Even if all these blemishes are forgotten, one cannot ignore that Balendran's and Annalukshmi's beliefs and actions are to a large extent made possible by the positions of privilege, property, and influence they occupy, which they show no interest in relinquishing. Despite their philanthropic acts and ideological statements, then, they belong to and are very much part of the paternalistic discourses that they are critiquing.

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S.W. PERERA

THE NAKARAM OF THE NĀNĀDESIN IN SRI LANKA
The Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam at Vihārēhinna

The existence of a mercantile town called Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam at a locality in the vicinity of Galevela in Dambulla, during the Polonnaruva period, is known exclusively from an inscription found at Vihārēhinna. The text of this inscription was deciphered on the basis of an estampage prepared by the Archaeological Department and published by A. Velupillai in 1971.[1] This text, based on a reading of an estampage, which has not been carefully prepared, was very defective and the studies based on this text have led to serious misunderstandings.

In August 1997 a team of Sri Lankan, Indian and Japanese scholars led by Noboru Karashima prepared fresh estampages of the inscription, and this effort has facilitated a successful decipherment of almost the entire text which consists of 37 lines.[2] The inscribed slab, which is of unusual length, is found within the premises of a medieval monastic establishment the architectural remains of which are found scattered over a large area. The principal building had as its main components the sanctum housing a colossal image of the Buddha and a hall the roof of which was supported by stone columns of considerable height. The superstructure had

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1 *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*, Part I ed. A. Velupillai, Peradeniya, 1971, pp. 46-57.

2 The team consisted of Japanese, Indian and Sri Lankan specialists in History, Archaeology and Epigraphy: Professor Noboru Karashima (Taisho University), Professor Sato (Taisho University) Dr. Yasushi Ogura (Tokai University), Professor Y. Subbarayalu (University of Tanjavur), Professor P. Shanmugam (University of Madras), Dr. Siran Deraniyagala (Commissioner General, Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka), Dr. Malini Dias, (Director, Department of Archaeology), and Professor S. Pathmanathan (University of Peradeniya).

The estampage of the inscription was prepared by Professors Subbarayalu and Shanmugam. The text was deciphered by Prof. Subbarayalu. Professor Velupillai made the pioneering effort to decipher the inscription. He could not read the Sanskrit portion and his decipherment of the Tamil portion is found to be unsatisfactory. As the letters engraved on the stone are small and crowded they cannot be easily identified. Professor Subbarayalu had the advantage of wide experience and a clear understanding of concepts and terminology usually found in the inscriptions of merchant guilds. The text as reconstructed by him is found to be a complete and intelligible one. Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions ed. A. Velupillai, Peradeniya, 1971, p. 54; e. Supparayulu, pa. Canmukam, "Ilaṅkaiyil aiññurruvar kelveṭṭukaḷ", āvaṇam 9 patippāciriyar .ka Irācakōpāl, tamiḻakat tolliyal kalakam, tañcavur, 1998, pp. 33-34.

collapsed long ago on account of centuries of neglect, and presently there are no traces of its remains. The temple was constructed within a rectangular courtyard surrounded by walls of brick construction. The existence of a monastery at a distance of about 75 yards from the site of the temple is suggested by the scattered remains of a brick-building and its ground plan.

The fact that the inscription was set up within the premises of the temple is significant as suggesting the possibility of close interaction between the Buddhist institution and those who were responsible for setting up the inscription. The physical dimensions of the temple and the existence of a medium-sized tank in close proximity to it suggest that the area in which they were located was the centre of a flourishing agricultural settlement. The penetration of itinerant merchant communities had the effect of transforming a local centre of commodity exchanges into a major marketing centre linked to the arteries of internal and external trade.

The inscription from Viharehinna is indited in an admixture of Tamil and Grantha characters of the 12th century. On the top and the bottom portions of the inscribed slab are found representations of objects which had a symbolic value. At the extremity on either side of the top portion are found the representations of metallic lamps of the traditional type (kuttuviḷaku). By the side of each of these objects the figure of a conch is to be found. An unfolded umbrella is depicted at the centre, and it is flanked on the left by the figure of a crescent. In the Indian cultural tradition, these symbols are associated with prosperity, authority, royal power and benevolence. They probably formed part of the insignia of authority of the mercantile towns administered by some of the merchant guilds.[3]

At the bottom of the slab there are representations of three objects; namely, a sword, a drum (maṭṭu) and a weapon which resembles a scimitar. Figures which resemble these objects are also found engraved on the slab inscription of the Vīrakkoṭi from Budumuttāva. The representation of weapons on the inscriptions of the mercantile communities is generally indicative of their association with military groups. In fact most of the inscriptions of the merchant guilds found in Sri Lanka are said to have been set up by groups of warriors.[4] In this particular instance, the

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3. It may be noted here that the *pacumpai*, "the money-bag", which is peculiar to the merchant communities as a symbol is not depicted on this slab. The symbols depicted on this slab seem to have had some association with notions of authority rather than with the mercantile profession. The figures of the umbrella, conch and traditional lamp are usually found on royal seals.

4. The Vīrakkoṭi, a group of warriors, associated with the Nānātēci merchants, are said to have established the inscriptions pertaining to the mercantile towns of Nānātēciya-vīrapaṭṭinam (Vahalkada) and Vikkiramacalāmēkapuram (Māgala). S. Pathmanathan, "The Tamil Slab Inscription of the Vīrakkoṭi at

military community that had set up the inscription were the Erivīrar. It may be assumed on the basis of the engravings on the inscribed slab that the Erivīrar had the sword as their principal weapon.

The inscription from Vihārēhinna is of unusual significance as a source of historical information. It refers to a market town called Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam, which is otherwise unknown. The preamble of the inscription provides a clear indication of the close association between two merchant guilds, the Aññūrruvar and the Vīravaḷañciyar in the establishment of the town concerned. It is perhaps the only inscription from any locality which specifically refers to the establishment of a vīrattānam. Another interesting detail found in the text pertains to an incident of conflict between a local chieftain and the merchants.

The town referred to in the inscription had two alternate names, Mācenakāmam and Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam, of which the first was doubtless the earlier one. The name Mācenakāmam appears to be a Tamil form of the Sinhalese or Pali name Mahāsenagāma which is formed by combining the expressions *mahāsena* and *gāma*. The locality was originally a village as indicated by the expression gāma and was probably named after Mahāsena, who is known to have constructed a large number of irrigation works.[5] The tank at Galevela to which reference has been made earlier, in all probability, had its origins under the ruler Mahāsena (274-302).

The second name of the locality, Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam, suggests that the locality which was originally a village (gāma) had grown into a town (paṭṭinam) on account of some social changes that took place during the Polonnaruva period. The development of trade through the agencies of the itinerant merchants seems to have provided the stimulus for this development. The development of the Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam suggests that it had become a centre of market oriented exchanges involving the collection and distribution of local products and the staples of long distance trade, and also as a focal point where routes traversed by caravans of merchants converged. The importance of the locality was further highlighted by the fact that it provided access to the regions of Malayadesa where some of the staples of itinerant trade such as pepper, ginger, cinnamon, saffron and arecanuts were to be found.[6]

Budumuttāva, Nikaweratiya: Urbanization At Magala." (pp. 15-30), The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities, Vol. XX, Nos. 1 & 2, 1994, pp. 24-25.

5. mahāvamsa trans. into English by Wilhelm Geiger, London 1964, 44.

6. These commodities were among the staples of international trade. They are referred to in many of the inscriptions set up by the mercantile communities in South India. They were also exported from the island in substantial

The name Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam, which is formed by combining the expressions Tanmacākara and paṭṭinam, is significant as suggesting a close connection between the merchant communities, which had established this particular paṭṭinam and the Buddhist temple of the locality. The expression Tanmacākara, which means the 'the ocean of dharma', is reminiscent of the names Amirtacākarar and Kuṇacākarar, which belonged to two reputed Tamil grammarians both of whom were Jainas.[7] The word Tanmacākarar may be considered as an epithet of the Buddha, and as there are several instances where towns dominated by merchants were named after the epithets of deities it may be assumed that the paṭṭinam at Vihārēhinna was named after an epithet of the Buddha. Such an explanation is supported by the consideration that the inscription pertaining to the town was set up within the premises of the Buddhist temple.

The Nānādesis and other merchant communities at Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam had probably established a reciprocal relationship with the monastic establishment and the temple which occupied a dominant position in the religious, social and cultural life of the community of the locality. Rare commodities of distant origin such as camphor, sandal-wood, incense, oils, silks, cloth and porcelain required for these institutions were probably supplied by itinerant merchants by special arrangements and it may be supposed that the merchants occasionally made substantial donations to them. Such an interaction seems to have given the merchants free access to a wider community beyond the limits of the town.

The close interaction between the merchant guilds and Buddhist institutions is recorded in inscriptions from Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva and Budumuttāva. The Tooth Relic Temple at Polonnaruva was once placed under the custody of a military unit serving the nakaram of the Vaḷañceyar in that city.[8] When that military unit assumed control over the temple that institution was named after that military unit. At Vikkiramacalā-mēkapuram there was a Buddhist temple called Aññurruvan-paḷḷi,

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quantities to the South Indian ports for resale and distribution.

7. Amirtacākarar was the author of the grammatical treatise called *yāpparuṇkalam*. The commentary on it was written by Kuṇacākarar.

8. The expression *nakarattār* found in the text of The slab Inscription of the Vēḷaikkaras from Polonnaruva may be construed as one which denotes the members of the governing body of a *nakaram* or "market-town". *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV ed. Krishna Sastri, No. 1412; S. Pathmanathan, "The Nagaram of the Nanadesis In Sri Lanka Circa A.D. 100 - 1300", *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* Vol. X, Nos. 1 & 2, 1984, pp. 136 - 139.

which was obviously named after a merchant community.[9] At Tanmacākarappaṭṭinam the relationship was in the reverse order. Here, we have an instance where the town established by merchant communities is named after Tanmacākarar, which, in the contemporary Sri Lankan context, could be none other than an epithet of the Buddha. Such a situation presupposes that the merchant communities of the locality had enjoyed the support and patronage of the Buddhist establishment.

It would appear from a careful scrutiny of the preamble of the inscription concerned that two merchant communities, the Nānādesis and the Vīravaḷañceyar, were jointly responsible for constituting the paṭṭinam. The portion of the inscriptional preamble which describes these two communities translates:

> Hail Prosperity. The refuge of the entire world. The Vīravaḷañceyar possessing the long, luminous and fiery spear, endowed with the edict of the Five Hundred Heroes, famous throughout the world on account of their valour, whose breasts are adorned by the goddess of wealth, are the descendants of Sri Vāsudeva, Kaṇḍhali and Mūlabhadra. They observe steadfastly the noble law of the association (samayam) in the eighteen paṭṭinam (towns), the thirty-two veḷāpuram and the sixty-four kaṭikait-tāvaḷam. They are the children of Parameśvari of Aiya(p)poḷil who resides in all towns.

The *prasasti* of the mercantile communities is generally a poetic and conventional description, which records myths, traditions and historical information pertaining to their origins, social status and activities. The adoption of the *prasasti* of the Aññūrruvar by other communities has resulted in a great deal of confusion. All of them claim descent from a trinity of divinities: Vāsudeva, Kaṇḍhali and Mūlabhadra All of them acknowledged Aiya(p)poḷil Parameśvari as their tutelary deity. Yet, it should be noted that such claims do not provide any indication of the history of their social origins or their religious affiliations. The merchants were of high social status and the membership of the guilds was of a composite character. They were mostly adherents of cults included within the fold of Hinduism. It is probable that some of them were devout Sāktas. Yet their attitude in matters of religion was one of eclecticism. They are generally known to have extended support and patronage to Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Jaina and Buddhist institutions.[10]

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9. "The Slab Inscription of the Virakkoti at Budumuttava," *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* Vol. XX (1994), Nos. 1 & 2, p. 21.

10. The inscriptions of the Ayyavoḷe and other merchant guilds are mostly found at the premises of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Jaina and Buddhist Shrines in Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh. There are instances where the main shrines affiliated to one or the other of these four traditions have been named after

The three categories of localities called *paṭṭinam, veḷāpuram* and *kaṭikaittāvaḷam* represented different levels at which market oriented exchanges were conducted by merchant guilds. The ones called *paṭṭinam* were market towns with rows of shops, warehouses and bazaars where business was transacted continuously by local residents and itinerants.[11] There were hundreds of such towns in South India and a great deal of historical information pertaining to them is found in inscriptions. The veḷāpuram and Kaṭikaittāvaḷam cannot be easily defined and epigraphic notices on them are only a few in number. The only available reference to a locality where an institution called veḷāpuram existed is to be found in the inscription from Barus in Sumatra, which has been fully deciphered, edited and published recently by Noboru Karashima and Y. Subbarāyalu.[12] The Kaṭikaittāvaḷam has been defined as a fair held periodically, on designated days of the week,

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mercantile communities. Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1988.

11 Kenneth Hall, *Trade and State Craft In the Age of the Cōḷas*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1980, p. 105.

12. The inscription from Barus, Sumatara, refers to the Vēḷāpuram in Varōcu otherwise called Māṉṭakari - Vallava-tēci-Uyyakoṇṭa-paṭṭinam. The English translation of the text as rendered by Karashima reads:

> "In the Saka year 1010 current (1088 AD), month Masi. We the Five Hundred (aiññūṟṟuvarōm) of the Thousand Directions, known in all countries and directions, having met at Vēḷāpuram in Varōsu *alias* Mātangari - Vallava desi - uyyakonda - pattinam, decided to grant as follows to our son(s), [e] *nagara-senāpati nāṭṭu ceṭṭiyār, padineṇ-būmi-dēsi-appar* and the māvettugal.
>
> "[Each of] the ships...ships' Captain and the *kēvigaḷ* (boat-rowers) shall pay the fee *añju - tuṇḍāyam* in gold according to the price of the Kastūri and [then only] may step on the cloth-spread."
>
> "Thus we the five Hundred of the Thousand Directions known in every direction in all the Eighteen Lands got this stone written and planted. Do not forget charity. Charity alone is the good companion." - Quoted from the abbreviated text of a lecture delivered at the Faculty of Arts, University of Peradeniya, 10 August 1998.

where groups of merchants halted their caravans and conducted business transactions with local inhabitants and traders.[13] The words *velā* and *kaṭikai* which are prefixed respectively to *puram* and *tāvaḷam* seem to suggest that they denoted localities where trading operations were conducted during certain designated periods of time. It may be suggested that the veḷāpuram designated marketing centres where the peak period of activity was seasonal. The numbers 18, 32 and 64 which are associated respectively with *paṭṭinam*, veḷāpuram and kaṭikait-tāvaḷam are conventional and do not have any significance.

The consideration that the *praśasti* of the inscription concerned consists of two parts each of which is devoted to a description of one of the two merchant communities, the Vīrav aḷañceyar and the Nānādesis is significant as providing an indication of the fact that the Tanmacākarappaṭṭinam was composite in character. It may be suggested that both these communities were represented in the *paṭṭinam* as it was the case at Vahalkada. The Vīravaḷañceyar perhaps, functioned in that town as auxiliaries of the Nānādesis in a subordinate capacity.

The epigraph under consideration records some information relating to an incident of conflict between a local chieftain called Veṇāṭu-utaiyār and the merchant community. A certain (Mukudavaḷan) Muttan, otherwise called *nānāteciyāṉṭāṉ*, who belonged to the military community of *erivīrar* was seized, his hands were fettered with chains (*piṭittuc cirai ceytu onpātukait taḷai-yiḻuppin pōtu*) and was taken captive by the chieftain. The *perumakkaḷ* of the *paṭṭinam* are said to have secured his release by paying a sum of money (*āṭakacu kuṭuttu vīṭu koṇṭamaiyil*). The *perumakkaḷ* of the *paṭṭinam* are said to have conferred some honours and privileges on the *erivīrar*. They were presented with silver amulet(s) and the *pattinam* was named after them and called *erivīrantānam*. The military community reciprocated by surrendering the right to collect oil for burning lamps. They also promised that the nāṭṭu-ceṭṭis who collect some dues in the *paṭṭinam* will no longer be allowed that privilege. Instead they were to receive maintenance during day-time (*pakar-cōru*) and the customary payment of four *kācu* and enjoy the freedom of access into the *paṭṭinam*.

The circumstances leading to the arrest of Nānāteci-yāṉṭāṉ by veṇaṭu-uṭaiyār are not mentioned in the text of the inscription. The identity of the chieftain also cannot be ascertained. The expression *veṇāṭu-uṭaiyār* is a compound of two separate words veṇāṭu and *uṭaiyār*. The first of these words denotes a territorial division while the second one is the designation of a chieftain of such a division. Veṇāṭu mentioned here is not to be confused with Veṇāṭu in Kerala. The merchant communities seem to have had their own lists of names to designate territorial divisions in Sri Lanka and Veṇāṭu seems to have been one of them. Or else it could be the Tamilised form of a Sinhalese name. Nevertheless, he may be recognised as

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13. Kenneth Hall, *Trade and StateCraft in the Age of the Colas*, p. 145.

a chieftain who exercised authority over the region in which the Tanmacākarappaṭṭinam was included. It is also possible that he was a military chief serving under a ruler. The conflict he had with the merchants may be explained in two ways. He could have abused his position of authority to demand a ransom from the merchants and arrested one of their agents when his demands were not met. Another plausible explanation is that the *paṭṭinam* was in default in respect of some payment which had to be made to the higher authorities. The affair was settled by the intervention of the *perumakkaḷ*, the governing body of the *paṭṭinam*.

The *erivīran-tānam* referred to in this inscription seems to be synonymous with *vīrataḷam*, an expression which is recorded in the concluding portion of the inscriptions from Budumuttāva and Galtenpiṭiya. These expressions are also found in some Indian inscriptions recording the activities of merchant communities. For instance, Ārṟur of Ārṟur-nāṭu is described as erivīrataḷam in an inscription from Cittaiyan-kōṭṭai in Tiṇṭukkal.[14] On the basis of information found in this inscription it may be assumed that the paṭṭinam established by the Aññūṟṟuvar and the Vīravaḷañceyar at Vihārēhinna was renamed as Erivīrantānam after the name of the military community called Erivīrar who were under their service. Such a step presupposes that the merchant communities of the *paṭṭinam* had conceded to the warriors certain privileges to which they were not entitled to earlier.

The inscription from Vihārēhinna records the names of ten persons who belonged to the group of warriors called Erivīrar. They are:- (1) Tira(ḷana ... varakālatarakaṭṭiluḷa) nāṭṭuccetti, (2) Cīrāḷan Kampan otherwise called Piḷḷaic-Cakalan *nānātecic-ceṭṭi*, (3) Munai vallapa *nānātecikkon*, (4) Nātan otherwise called *nam-vīṭṭu-muriyān*, (5) Kūttan Kālan otherwise called *nūrāyiran tacamaṭi mummata-vāraṇap-piḷḷai*, (6) Virakan Murperaraiyan Kūttan otherwise called *aññuṟṟuva maṇṭila ayiraṭṭāḷam*, (7) Pirān Cāttan otherwise called *Virakan cenāpati-yāṇṭān*, (8) Kampan Villan otherwise called (*cenāpati*) *virakan*, (9) Nāṭṭarayan Kaṇṇan otherwise called *aruvan ampalapiḷḷai-yāṇṭān* and (10) Tiruvaraṅkan Teci-yāparaṇap-piḷḷai. They refer to themselves as *patineṇpumi vīrarōm*, which expression is the first person plural form of *patineṇpumivīrar*. The assertive character of this group, which is suggested by the tone and contents of the inscription, provides an indication of the fact that they had considerable influence and authority in matters pertaining to the activities

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14. The expressions *arrūrnāṭṭu ārrūrāna erivīra-taḷattu* which translate: Ārṟūr otherwise called *erivīrataḷam* of *ārrurnāṭu* clearly suggest that the word *vīrataḷam* denoted an institution and an area over which it exercised authority and the limits of which corresponded with those of a village. In this particular instance the village of Ārṟūr had been transformed into a *vīrataḷam*. Vīrataḷam may therefore be construed as an alternate designation of *Vīrapaṭṭinam*. Pa cankaralinkam, "*cittaiyan koṭṭaik kalveṭṭukkal*", *āvaṇam* 4, 1994 patippāciriyar e. cupparāyalu, tamiḻt tolliyal kaḻakam, putukkōṭṭai, 1994, p. 35.

of the merchant communities. In addition to providing security they seem to have exercised some administrative functions.

A group of warriors called Erivīrar are sometimes mentioned in the list of communities associated with the mercantile communities in inscriptional preambles. But the reference to them as a group of people engaged in specific activities at a locality in the island is exclusively from the epigraph from Vihārēhinna. The expression *erivīran tānam* clearly suggests that the *paṭṭinam* was named after the military community called Erivīrar. The position held by them at Tanmacākarappaṭṭinam was similar to that held by the Vīrakkoṭi at Vikkiramacalāmekapuram, Vahalkada and Galtenpitiya.

In conclusion it may be stated that the formation of Tanmacakārappaṭṭinam coincided with the peak period of commercial activities in pre-colonial Sri Lanka, which provided a fresh impetus for the process of urbanization and inter-cultural communication. The *paṭṭinam* was probably organized by two merchants guilds, the Nānādesis and the Vīravaḷañceyar and named after an epithet of the Buddha on account of the close connections it had with the Buddhist establishment of the locality.

It would appear from the tone and contents of the text of the inscription that at a particular stage of its development the *paṭṭinam* was named after the military community of Erivīrar as Erivīrantānam on a decision made by the governing body of the *paṭṭinam*, which was dominated by merchants. Such a decision on the part of the merchants presupposes that the power and influence of the military community within the *paṭṭinam* was growing on account of some circumstances the precise nature of which cannot presently by ascertained.

Text

1. *svasti sri* samasta bhuvanasraya pancasata virasasana laks.
2. mi-lankrta vakshasthala sri vasudeva kandhali mulabhadrot
3. bhava sri astadasa-pattana dvatrimsat velapura ca
4. tusasti katikaisthana disaiyasraya divyasarasamaya
5. dharmma sampurnna sakalapura nivasaniya kiya sri
6. ayapolirpura paramesvarikku makkalakiya veyyacutar netu
7. vel viravalanceyar patinettu pattinamum muppattirantu vela puramu
8. marupattu-nanku katikaitavalamum tavalattuc cetti
9. yun cetti putiranun kavarai katripanun kamuntasva
10. miym ottanum [ulpacumpaikkaranum ankakaranu]
11. mavanakkaranum [eri] viranum pavatai viranum ariyab[to
12. tajrun tamil valla ca...lanum palutilat tolil va
13. va kalutai meva...vanumullittu aram valarak kali
14. meliyap pukal [perukat] ticaiyanaittun cevitu patamar cenkole
15. munnaka samaya dharmam initu natattukinra patinenpumi nanku
16. ticai nanatecit ticai vilanku ticaiyayirat-tannurruvar kantiyamu
17. [ttar] ulltta patinenpumi [vi] virarom macenakamamana tanmacakarap pattana
18. [ttup] perumakkal [enkalai] nokkic ceyta cirappavatu nam utappiranta
19. mu...valan muttanana nanateciyantanai venatutaiyar pitittuc ci
20. rai ceytu onpatukait talai yiluppin potu atankacu kututtu vitu kon
21. tamaiyalum vellittali ceyvittup patinenpumi eriviran taname
22. nru naman cattik kulattin perittup perun cirappuc ceytamaiyil nan
23. kalum nam perumakkalukkuc cirappuc ceyya ventumenru [ni.lattuki]
24. vitum vilakkennaiyum panamunnu nattuc cettikalum nam utap
25. pirantarum ippattinattil panamunnati-takavum virun cirumattuttavum [pa]rrai
26. katti eratitakavum ivarukku pakarcoru peruvatavum pavatai menatai
27. nalu kacu peruvatakavum ippatic ceyya viramuraimai aliyac ceyta
28. lpaniyum cetiyum otukki muttum purakum atikkapperuvatakavum ip
29. pati ceyyum[i]tattu uttirattilalintu patuvanakil avan pinam nayelavu
30. mavatakavum ipparicu camaintu kallum palakaiyum mattinom tiralan...
31. [varakalatara kattiyulla] nattuc cettiyum tiralan kampanana pillaccakalan nanateci itta
32. munaivallapa nanatecikkonu - natan namvittu muriyanum kuttan kalanana
33. nurayiran tecamati mummata varanap pillaiyum virakal murper arayan kuttanana virakal
34. ainnurruva mantila ayirastanamum piran cattanana virakal cenapati-yantanum
35. kampan villanana cenapati virakalayum natarayan kannanana aruvanampala pil
36. laiyantanum tiruvarankan eranana teciyaparanap pillaiyum [vatateca]pa
37. tinenpumi virarom aramararka

Translation

Hail Prosperity. The refuge of the entire world. The Vīravaḷañceyar possessing the long luminous and fiery spear, endowed with the edict of the Five Hundred Heroes, famous throughout the world on account of their valour and whose faces are adorned by Lakṣmi are the offspring of the lineages of Sri Vāsudeva, Khaṇḍhali and Mūlabhadra. They observe steadfastly the noble law of the association (*samayam*) in the eighteen paṭṭinam (towns), the thirty-two *veḷāpuram* (coastal towns) and the sixty-four kaṭikait-tāvalam. They are the children of Parameśvarī of Aiya(p)poḷil who resides in all towns.

The eighteen *paṭṭinam*, the thirty-two *veḷāpuram*, the sixty-four *kaṭikaittāvaḷam*, the ceṭṭiputtirar, the kavarai, the katripan, the kāmuntasvāmi, the oṭṭan, the *pacum-paik-kāran*, the *ankakkāran*, the *anakkāram*, the... *vīran*, the *pāvaṭai-vīran*, those who are proficient in Sanskrit and Tamil and those who ride donkeys which never falter, those who conduct their business in conformity with laws so as to enable the sceptre to be held forward prominently so that righteousness shall prevail and evil will disappear, with their fame spreading in all directions. All these are the Five Hundred of the thousand directions in the eighteen countries and the four quarters (of the earth).

We, 'the heroes of the eighteen lands (patineṇpūmi-vīrar) including Kaṇṭiya-muttar, attached to them (make this resolution): We have been greatly honoured by the *perumakkaḷ* (governing body) of the Macenākāmam otherwise called Tanmacākarap-paṭṭinam. They secured the release of our 'companion' Mudavaḷan Muttan otherwise called nānāteciyāṇṭān, who was arrested by Veṇāṭuṭaiyār and put in chains, after paying a ransom in money (*āṭankācu*). Besides, they have made (a) silver amulet(s) and presented them to us, and have named [attested by us] the *patinenpumivirar*. Tiralan. . . Varakalatara-kattilulla nattuccetti, Tiralan Kampan otherwise called Pillaiccakala nanateci itta Munivallapa-nanatecik-kon, Natan namvittumuriyan, kuttan kalan otherwise called Nurayiran tacamati-mummata-varanappillai, virakol Murperarayan Kuttan otherwise called Ainnurruva-mantila-ayirastanam, Piran Catan otherwise called Cenapatiyantan, Kampan Villan otherwise called Cenapati virakalai, nattarayan Kannan Aruvanampala-pillai-yantan, Tiruvarankan Eran otherwise called Teciyaparanap-pillai. Forget not justice.

S. PATHMANATHAN

SUNDRY NOTES ON FA-HSIEN*

Travel accounts of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India during the early centuries of the Christian era are an important component of the Buddhist literature of China. Having heard about the founder of Buddhism and the places consecrated by his presence from about the first century A.D., when Buddhist books were received in China, these pilgrims visited India, to see the places associated with the Buddha's life, to learn the doctrine from teachers in the country of its origin, and to collect sacred books which they translated into Chinese. The accounts of their journeys left by a few of them are valuable sources as contemporary records of historical events, social customs and traditions, popular forms of Buddhist worship and belief, and the religious atmosphere that prevailed in the host countries.

A study of these Chinese sources in modern times is said to have been inaugurated with the publication of C.J.Neumann's work (1833) on the Buddhist pilgrims who came to India.[1] One of the earliest of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims was Fa-hsien, the known period of whose activity is placed between the years 399 and 418 A.D.[2] His memoir, called the *Foe Koue Ki* or *A Narrative of Buddhist Kingdoms*, was translated into French from the Chinese, and commented upon by Abel Rémusat. This translation and the commentary were revised and published with additional details by Klaproth and Landresse in Paris, in 1836, after the death of Rémusat.[3] The translation of Fa-hsien's account of his journey given there, divided into forty chapters, is preceded by a lengthy introduction by Landresse, while it is followed by two appendices: (1) a geographical résumé of the important places mentioned by Fa-hsien and (2) the itinerary of Hiuan Thsang, who visited India in the seventh century A.D. A map prepared by Klaproth, dated 1833, given

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* The name of this Chinese pilgrim is variously spelt. The spelling I have adopted is that given in the *Encylopaedia of Religion* ed. by Mircea Eliade. Vol 5. New York. 1955. p. 245. Variants are used such as Fa-Hien, Fa-hian, Fa-Hian, Faxian.

1 Bhattacharyya, N.N. (1993). *Buddhism in the History of Indian Ideas*. New Delhi. p. 3.

2 Jan Yün-hua (1995). Fa-hsien (fl. 399 - 418). *The Encyclopaedia of Religion* edited Mircea Eliade. Vol. 5. New York. p. 245 (fl. = flourished).

3 Rémusat, Abel (1836). *Foe Koue Ki ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques*: Voyage dans la Tartarie, dans l'Afghanistan et dans l'Inde, execute, a la fin du IVe siecle, par Chy Fa Hian. Traduit du Chinois et commente par M.Abel Rémusat. Ouvrage Posthume. Revu, complété, et augmenté d'éclaircissements nouveaux par MM. Klaproth et Landresse. Paris. A L'imprimerie Royale. M DCCC XXXVI.

at the end of the book, purports to convey an idea of Fa-hsien's voyage made between the years 399 and 414 A.D. The information given on the title-page of this publication, viz. that Fa-hsien's Narrative was written at the end of the fourth century A.D., is inconsistent with the dates of the duration of his voyage given on the map. Four plates giving (1) a map of India as perceived by the Chinese and showing the itinerary of Hiuan Thsang; (2) paintings depicting the birth and an incarnation of Śakyamuni described on pages 222 and 201 respectively of Rémusat's text; (3) and (4) kingdoms in India visited and described by Fa-hsien are also appended to this work. An English translation of Rémusat's French text, with additional notes, titled *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian*, is known to have been published by J.W.Laidley, in Calcutta, in 1848.[4] According to Vincent Smith, it was published anonymously with additional notes and illustrations, which deserved to be consulted.[5]

Reverend Samuel Beal gave an English translation of Fa-hsien's Chinese text in his book *Buddhist Pilgrims* published in 1869.[6] This book is listed in the bibliography of the text and translation of the memoir of a Korean monk who visited India in the eighth century as: S.Beal. *Travels of Fa Hian and Sung yün*, London, 1869.[7] A paper on Indian

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4 Jan Yün-hua (1995) *op.cit.* p. 246.

5 Smith, Vincent A. (1957). *The Early History of India* (first published 1924) 4th edition. Oxford 1957. p. 25. The name of the author is spelt here as Laidlay.

6 I have not seen this book. It is referred to in Beal's introduction to his translation of *Si-yu-ki*, the travel account of Hiuen Tsiang. See notes 9 and 10 below.

7 *The Hye Ch'o Diary: Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India.* Translation, text and editing by Yang, Han-sung; Jan, Yün-hua and Iida, Shotaro; Laurence W. Preston. Religions of Asia Series. Number 2 ed. Lewis R. Lancaster and J.L. Shastri. Berkeley, California. Asian Humanities Press and Seoul, Korea. Po Chin Chai Ltd., No. date. p. 31. The copy of this book available in the Library of the University of Peradeniya was received on 15.02.1991. Also in Hazra, Kanai Lal: *Buddhism in India as described by the Chinese Pilgrims*. A.D. 399 - 689. New Delhi, 1983. Bibliography p. 110.

Travels of Chinese Buddhists was printed by Beal in The *Indian Antiquary* in 1881.[8] Here he gave a brief summary of the history of some Chinese Buddhist monks who visited India during the early period of the T'ang dynasty (618 A.D. - 907 A.D), based on a Chinese book written by I-tsing of the same dynasty. Beal re-published his translation of Fa-hsien's text in the Introduction to his two-volumed translation of *Si-yu-ki*, the travel account of Hiuen Tsiang (629 A.D), first published in 1884,[9] and reprinted in 1906.[10] The narrative of Fa-hsien, comprising forty chapters, given here, is titled *Fo-kwo-ki, The Travels of Fa-Hian. Buddhist-Country-Records, by Fa-hian, the Śākya of the Sung (Dynasty). (Date, 400 A.D.)* Beal refers the reader to the original edition (1869) of his *Buddhist Pilgrims*, "my little book" in his own words, for many notes and explanations of Fa-hsien's text, which he did not reproduce for want of space in his publication of the *Si-yu-ki*,[11] while Vincent Smith states that Beal gave an amended and much improved rendering of Fa-hsien's text in this publication.[12]

Beal reproduced a few notes on some doubtful or obscure passages which he had made while going over Fa-hsien's text afresh in a paper read at the monthly meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland on 20th December 1886. This paper entitled *Some Remarks on the Narrative of Fa-hien* was published in the Society's Journal

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8 Beal, S. (1881). Indian Travels of Chinese Buddhists. *The Indian Antiquary*. Edited by Jas. Burgess. Vol. X-1881. Bombay. pp. 109 - 111; 192 - 197; 246 - 248.

9 Beal, Samuel (1884). *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) in two volumes. London: Trübner and Co.

10 Beal, Samuel (1906). *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D 629) in two volumes. London. Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner and Co. Ltd.

11 *ibid.* vol. I. p. xxii.

12 Smith, Vincent A. (1957) *op. cit.* p. 25.

in 1887.[13] That there was a contemporaneous interest in Fa-hsien among American Orientalists is attested by C.R.Lanman's report on "An incident in the life of the illustrious Chinese Buddhist monk Fa-hsien" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1894.[14]

Samuel Beal, one of the earliest scholars to venture on Chinese studies, was a graduate of the University of Cambridge, a retired chaplain, a rector of Wark, Northumberland etc. and Professor of Chinese, University College, London.[15] That his work continues to be recognised as authoritative is attested by the Indian editions of his translation of the *Si-yu-ki*, published in Calcutta in 1957 and 1958 and reprinted in 1963,[16] and in Delhi in 1981.[17]

In 1877, H.A.Giles presented a new translation of Fa-hsien's text, which was

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13 Beal, S. (1887)."Some Remarks on the Narrative of Fa-hien". *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. New Series. Vol. 19. London. pp. 191 - 206.

14 Lanman, C.R. (1894). "An Incident in the Life of the Illustrious Chinese Buddhist Monk, Fa-hsien." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. pp. cxxxv-cxxxix. These pages are missing in the copy of vol. 16 of the Journal (published in 1895) kept in the library of the University of Peradeniya. The page giving the contents of the journal lists this article.

15 Beal, Samuel (1906). *op.cit*. title page; *The Indian Antiquary*. Vol. X. 1881. p. iii giving the contents of the volume in which Beal published an article. See note 8 above.

16 Beal, Samuel. (1957; 1958; 1963). *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World* translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang. Second edition. Vol. I. Calcutta 1957; third edition 1963. Vols. 2,3 and 4. Calcutta 1958. The publisher's note in Vol. I states that it is a verbatim reprint of Book I of the original edition (London 1884), the subsequent portion of which was to be completed in three more volumes.

17 Beal, Samuel (1981). *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*. In two volumes. Reprint of the London 1884 edition. Delhi. Motilal Banarsidass.

published in London and Shanghai,[18] where he says he corrected many of Beal's glaring mistakes. Unfortunately, Giles left behind some of his own.[19] Herbert Allen Giles (1845 - 1935) is said to have spent twenty-six years in China in consular service and subsequently become Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge.[20] Vincent Smith remarks that the notes in Giles' translation, which are largely devoted to incisive criticisms on the early work of Beal, afford little help to the reader who desires to study the pilgrim's observations from an Indian point of view. But he values Giles' "scarce little volume" as an independent rendering of the difficult Chinese text by a highly qualified linguist. He also notes that some of the errors in Giles' work were corrected by Watters in his article `Fa-hsien and his English Translators', in Volume VIII of the *China Review*.[21] T.Watters, British Consul at Ichang, is credited with a series of articles on this theme in the *China Review* of 1879 and 1880, which are said to be "of the highest value, displaying an accuracy of Chinese scholarship and an extensive knowledge of Buddhism."[22]

Almost a decade later - in 1886, to be precise - James Legge, Professor of Chinese Language and Literature at Oxford, who had been a missionary among the Chinese people

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18 Smith, Vincent A. (1957). *op.cit.* p. 25. (I have not seen Giles' publication of 1877).

19 Giles, H.A. (1923). *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399 - 414 A.D.) or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Retranslated. Cambridge. Bibliographical Note. p. xiii.

20 Giles, Herbert A. edited (1965). Cover of *Gems of Chinese Literature*. 2 volumes bound in one. New York 1965. (Republication of the second edition of 1923). The first edition of Vol. I - prose was published in 1883, according to the Preface to the First Edition signed on 16th October 1883. vide Giles (1965) p. xiv; Vol. II - verse was first published in 1898. *ibid.* p. 290.

21 Smith, Vincent A. (1957) *op.cit.* p. 25.

22 Legge, James (1886). *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Being an account by the Chinese Monk Fa-hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399 - 414) in search of the Buddhist *Books of Discipline*. Oxford. Preface p. xii.

for about thirty years, published his translation of Fa-hsien's Travels in India and Ceylon,[23] which was reprinted in New Delhi in 1993.[24] In the Preface to his book, Legge says that he tried to read through the `Narrative of Fa-hien' several times during his long residence in Hong Kong, but without much success, due to some difficulties. Though one of the difficulties was removed with the appearance of Dr. Eitel's *Handbook for the Students of Chinese Buddhism* in 1870, he did not "look into the book" for many years. In 1878, when he began to lecture in Oxford on the *Travels* with his Davis Chinese scholar, who was at the same time Boden Sanskrit scholar, he wrote out a translation in English of nearly half the narrative. In 1885, when he lectured on Fa-hien again, he wrote out a second translation, independent of the former and completed translating the whole text. Besides the translation of Fa-hsien's Narrative and copious notes, Legge's book has a reproduction of the Chinese text from a Korean recension,[25] sent to him from Japan by his friend Bunyiu Nanjio. While acknowledging that he made frequent reference to previous translations, Legge highly commends Watters' articles on `Fa-hsien and his English Translators,' and regrets that Watters had not published his own version of Fa-hsien's Narrative. Stating that the Chinese narrative runs on without any break, Legge says that it was Klaproth who divided Rémusat's translation into forty chapters, a division which he notes is helpful to the reader. Smith, whose opinion of the previous translations of Fa-hsien's *Travels* we have noted above, refers to Legge's work (1886) as the latest at the time he wrote (1924) and considers it on the whole the most serviceable. However, he expresses his reservation about the notes which, he says, leave much to be desired.[26] Legge has recently (1995) been described as "the only British Chinese scholar of his generation with a claim to real and

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23 *ibid.*

24 Legge, James (1993). Reprint of the 1886 edition. *op.cit.*

25 The Korean edition of Fa-hsien's work is dated 1246. Other important editions of the text are: the Northern Sung edition from Tung Chan Monastery, Foochow, A.D. 1104; the Northern Sung edition from Kai Yuan monastery, Foochow, A.D. 1148; the Southern Sung edition from Ssuhsi, Huchow, Chekiang, A.D. 1239. vide Li Yung-hsi (1957). *A Record of the Buddhist Countries by Fa-hsien*. Translated from the Chinese. Peking. The Chinese Buddhist Association. p. 10.

26 Smith, Vincent A. (1957) *op.cit.* p. 25.

lasting distinction", whose work is still widely quoted.[27]

A translation of Fa-hsien's *Travels*, that has escaped the attention of Smith in 1924, is the re-translation of Giles, the first edition of which appeared in July 1923, followed by a reprint in November of the same year indicative of the demand for it.[28] In the Bibliographical Note in this work, Giles states that Rémusat's French translation of Fa-hsien's text is a brilliant performance, considering the difficulty of the text and the date 1836, at which it was published; that Beal's translation of 1869 is really an English translation of Rémusat's work, in which he reproduced all Rémusat's mistakes while adding many more of his own; that his own translation of 1877 corrected many of Beal's glaring mistakes but left behind some of his own; and that Legge, in his translation of 1886, borrowed largely his corrections of Beal without acknowledgement and managed to contribute mistakes of his own. In his "closely revised" translation of 1923, Giles claims to give a strictly literal and accurate rendering of the Chinese text "so far as possible," without footnotes and references to authorities, so that "there will be no check to the enjoyment of the reader as he travels along with Fa-hsien on his stupendous journey", a succinct statement of the extent of which he gives in the Introduction, where he says that Fa-hsien "practically walked from Central China across the desert of Gobi, over the Hindu Kush, and through India down to the mouth of the Hoogly, where he took ship and returned by sea, after manifold hairbreadth escapes, to China, bringing with him what he went forth to secure - books of the Buddhist Canon and images of Buddhist deities."

Fa-hsien's work continued to receive the attention of scholars in different countries. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi discussed Fa-hsien's translations and writing in Volume I of his work on the Buddhist Canon in Chinese, which appeared in Paris in 1927.[29] The Japanese scholar Kiroku Adachi published an annotated text with the results of his researches in 1936 and a revised edition in 1940, as reported in the foreword to a

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27 Twitchett, Denis (1995). Chinese Studies in Britain. A Review Article of Barrett, T.H. Singular Listlessness: a Short History of Chinese Books and British Scholars. London. 1989. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. 5. Part 2. 1995. p. 246.

28 Giles, H.A. (1923) *op.cit.*

29 Bagchi, Prabodh Chandra (1927). *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine. Les Traducteurs et les Traductions*. Sino-Indica. Publications de l'Universite de Calcutta. Tome Ier Paris 1927. pp. 347 - 348.

translation of the *Travels* from the Chinese by Li Yung-hsi, published in the People's Republic of China in 1957.[30] Li Yung-hsi's translation was sponsored by the San Shih Buddhist Institute, Peking, to commemorate the 2500th anniversary of Buddha's Nirvana. There is evidence of a publication entitled, *Fa-hsien, the Unassuming Pilgrim and his Contribution to the History of Buddhism*,[31] by Dr. Thich Minh Chau, a Vietnamese monk, who spent much of his time at the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara in India in the early 1960s, enjoying its peaceful atmosphere and making use of its rich library.[32]

Fa-hsien's text was translated into Tamil and published in Chennai (Madras) in 1963.[33] This translation by Irakavan, edited by Mahavidvan Cindamanicelvar Vernugopalapillai, has three appendices: I. giving place names in Tamil, English and Chinese; II. giving names of people; and III. giving common names. These appendices are followed by a comprehensive index.

Josef Kolmas' translation of Fa-hsien's *Travels* into a Slavic language, namely Czech, appeared in Prague in 1972.[34] Previous translations of Fa-hsien's text are listed on pages 131 - 132 of Kolmas' translation,[35] a reprint of which was published, also in Prague,

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30 Li Yung-hsi (1957). *A Record of the Buddhist Countries by Fa-hsien. Translated from the Chinese. Peking*. The Chinese Buddhist Association. p. 10.

31 Noted in a list of publications of Bhikshu Dr. Thich Minh Chau of Vietnam in his book:*Hsuan Tsang. The Pilgrim and Scholar*. Vietnam. Nha-Trang. Vietnam Buddhist Institute. No date. The Introduction is dated 15th April 1963.

32 *ibid*. p. xvi.

33 Irakavan, V.S.V. (1963). Fa-hien. A.D. 399-414. Translated. Madras. Valluvar Pannai.

34 Kolmas, J. (1972). *Fa-sien. Zápisky o buddhistických zemich*. Praha. Odeon.

35 De Jong, J.W. (1981). Fa-hsien and Buddhist Texts in Ceylon. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*. Vol. IX. ed. K.R. Norman. Bibliography p. 115.

in 1995.[36] This translation is accompanied by a Preface and a commentary in Czech.[37] Nancy Elizabeth Boulton's doctoral dissertation on *Early Chinese Buddhist Travel Records as a Literary Genre* submitted to the Georgetown University (USA) will no doubt contain a discussion of Fa-hsien and his Travels.[38]

Samuel Beal, one of the earliest translators of Fa-hsien's account of his travels, gives the following information about Fa-hsien's early life. His original name was Kung. When he assumed the religious title of Fa-hsien, he took also the appellation of *Shih* or Śākyaputra, the disciple of Śākya. He was a native of Wu-yang, of the district of Ping-Yang, in the province of Shan-si. He left his home and became a *śrāmaṇera* at three years of age. The source of Beal's information is the work called *Ko-sang-chuen*, which, according to Beal, was written during the time of the Liang dynasty, and belonged to the Suh family (502 - 507 A.D.)[39] Beal's information about Fa-hsien's early life can be supplemented by that given in Legge's Introduction to his translation of Fa-hsien's text. Fa-hsien had three brothers older than himself. When they died young, the father "had him entered as a *śrāmaṇera*, still keeping him at home in the family." When he fell dangerously ill, the father sent him to the monastery where he soon got well and refused to return to his parents. When Fa-hsien was ten years old, his father died; an uncle urged him to return home to his mother but he refused to do so, saying that he chose monkhood because he "wished to be far from the dust and vulgar ways of life." When he had finished his noviciate, Fa-hsien, which clerical name means `Illustrious in the Law,' or `Illustrious master of the Law,' undertook his journey to India, of which he left a record. Legge's sources of information are the accounts of Fa-hsien given in the "*Memoirs of Eminent*

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36 Praha. Aurora Publishers.

37 I am indebted to Dr. Stefan Faller of the Classics Department of the University of Freiburg for giving me information about this publication through the kind help of Prof. D.P.M.Weerakkody of the Department of Classical Languages of the University of Peradeniya.

38 Boulton, Nancy Elizabeth. (Date ?). *Early Chinese Buddhist Travel Records as a Literary Genre*. Dissertation for Ph.D in Chinese. Georgetown University (USA) 518 pp. This note is from an entry in my card catalogue. I was unable to get further information about this study.

39 Beal, Samuel (1906) *op.cit.* pp. xi, xii.

Monks", compiled in A.D. 519, and a later work, the "*Memoirs of Marvellous Monks*, by the third emperor of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1403 - 1424), the content of which he says "is nearly all borrowed from the other."[40] The first of these sources seems to be the same as that used by Beal, though there is a discrepancy in the dates given by the two scholars. Fa-hsien's biography in this source, the *Kao-seng-chuan*, has been translated by Robert Shih in his *Biographies des moines éminents (Kao seng tchouan)* de *Houei-kiao* in Louvain in 1968.[41]

The initial paragraph of Fa-hsien's text, which states the aim of his travels and the names of some of his fellow-pilgrims, is as follows: "Fa-hian, when formerly residing at Ch'ang-an, regretted the imperfect condition of the *Vinaya piṭaka*. Whereupon, afterwards, in the second year of Hung-shi, the cyclic year being *Chi-hai*, he agreed with Hwui-king, Tao-ching, Hwui-ying, Hwui-wu, and others, to go to India for the purpose of seeking the rules and regulations (*of the Vinaya*)."[42]

The account that follows describes the places they visited, the rulers, the monks and others they met, what they saw and heard, and their varied personal experiences. Fa-hsien's arrival at the town of Pāṭalīputra, described in chapter XXXVI of his *Travels*, was a significant event best described in Fa-hsien's own words as follows:

> The purpose of Fa-Hian was to seek copies of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*; but throughout the whole of Northern India the various masters trusted to tradition only for their knowledge of the precepts and had no originals to copy from. Wherefore Fa-Hian had come even so far as Mid-India. But here in the *saṅghārāma* of the Great Vehicle, he obtained one collection of the precepts, viz., the collection used by the Mahāsāṅghika assembly. . . . Moreover, he obtained one copy of precepts from dictation, comprising about 7000 *gāthās*. This version was that used by the assembly belonging to the school of the Sarvastivadas;

Besides these, Fa-hsien found some Sanskrit texts and a copy of the *Abhidharma* belonging to the Mahāsāṅghikas, here in Pāṭalīputra, so that he spent three years there,

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40 Legge, James (1993) *op.cit.* pp. 1-3.

41 On pages 108 - 115 as noted by Jan Yün-hua (1995) *op.cit.* p. 246.

42 Beal, Samuel (1906) *op.cit.* p. xxii.

engaged in learning to read the Sanskrit books, and to converse in that language, and in copying the precepts. His ambition fulfilled, Fa-hsien continued his journey to return to his homeland, alone, as his only companion at the time, To-ching, (others had parted company or died *en route* earlier) much impressed by the strict decorum and the religious behaviour of the *śramaṇas* of Mid-India, took up permanent abode there. After spending two more years in India, in the kingdom of Tāmralipti, "writing out copies of the sacred books (*sūtras*) and drawing image-pictures," Fa-hsien "shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel," sailed for fourteen days and nights "and arrived at the country of the lions (Siṃhala, Ceylon)."[43]

The event of the arrival of Fa-hsien in Sri Lanka is recorded in chapter XXXVII of his *Travels*. This and the next two chapters and part of the last chapter, the fortieth, contain his description of the island - its length and breadth, the small islands surrounding it, the agreeable climate and the formation of a kingdom as a result of visits of merchants to the island, which originally had no inhabitants other than dragons and demons. Among other matters mentioned or described are a visit of the Buddha to the island to convert a malevolent dragon; the existence of a monastery for five thousand monks called Abhayagiri, where there was a hall which housed a resplendent jasper figure of the Buddha about twenty-two feet in height; Fa-hsien's emotional reaction on seeing a merchant offer a white taffeta fan of Chinese manufacture, to the image; the sacred Bodhi Tree grown out of a slip of the `Pei-to' tree brought from India; the `chapel' of the Tooth of the Buddha in the capital of the city; the noblemen and the rich householders who resided in the city; the proclamation made ten days before bringing out the Tooth of the Buddha in the middle of the third month and taking it to the Abhayagiri Vihāra in procession, where it was worshipped for ninety days before returning it to the vihāra within the city; the Mahāvihāra in which lived three thousand monks; the funeral ceremony of an eminent monk who resided at the Mahāvihāra; the discourse of a `religious brother' from India, which he repeated by word of mouth; the mention of Fa-hsien's residence in the country as being two years; his obtaining a copy of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* according to the school of the Mahīśāsakas, a copy of the *Dīrghāgama*, the Miscellaneous *Āgama (Saṃyuktāgama)*, and also a collection of the *Piṭaka* (*Sannipāta*), all these works being in the original language (*Fan*); and how Fa-hsien protected these along with other sacred books and images during the perilous and adventurous sea-voyage in a merchant vessel bound for his home country.[44]

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43 *ibid.* pp. lxx - lxxii.

44 *ibid.* pp. lxxii - lxxxiii.

The final paragraph of Fa-hsien's text, which gives in summary form the duration and extent of his travels and the reason that motivated him to write down his report, is as follows:

> Fa-hsien started his journey from Changan and spent six years on the way to the Middle Kingdom, where he stayed for six years; and he spent three years on his return journey before he reached Chingchow. He travelled through nearly thirty countries, from the west of the Desert to the land of India. No complete account can be given of the excellent conduct and religious teaching of the monks he met on his journey; but it was to inform the monks in China of these things that Fa-hsien crossed the seas at the risk of his humble life, and braved many hardships and dangers to return home. Thanks to the spiritual protection of the Three Precious Gems, he was able to come safely through many perils. So he has put down this outline of his travels on bamboo and silk, in order that the devout may share all his experiences. This was in the cyclic year of Chia Yin,[45] which year has been identified as A.D. 414.[46]

The incidence of Fa-hsien narrating in detail what he had related in brief earlier, as recorded in the following post-script by another monk, is of interest.

> It was at the end of the summer retirement in the twelfth year of the era of Yi Hsi of the Tsin dynasty, and the year of Canopus,[47] that we welcomed the venerable Fa-hsien. While he remained with us, preaching, we questioned him again about his travels, and found that he was an unassuming, affable man, who answered truthfully. We therefore urged him to give a more detailed account of what he had previously narrated so briefly. Thus he related his story once more from beginning to end.
>
> "When I look back on what I have been through," he said, "my heart begins to pound and I start to sweat. I risked all those dangers with no thought for myself, because I had a fixed purpose and, simple as I am, was single-minded. That was why I embarked upon a journey in which

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45 Li Yung-hsi (1957) *op.cit.* pp. 92 - 93.

46 *ibid.* p. 93.

47 Identified by Li Yung-hsi as A.D. 416. *ibid.*

death seemed almost certain, and I had one chance only in ten thousand of surviving."

We were moved by what he said. Such men as this are rare, whether in ancient times or at the present day. Since the Great Religion travelled east, there has been no one to equal Fa-hsien in his selfless search for the Law. From this we may know that all things are possible to the sincere of heart, and all things can be accomplished if a man has determination. For is it not true that he succeeded because he disregarded what others value, and valued what others disregard?[48]

The language of the Buddhist texts that Fa-hsien found in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) has received the attention of J.W.de Jong in his contribution to Volume IX (1981) of the *Journal of the Pali Text society*, published as part of its centenary celebrations.[49] De Jong opens the discussion by citing E.W.Adikaram, who says: "When Fa Hien left Ceylon, he took with him a copy of the Vinaya Piṭaka of the Mahīsāsaka school, the Dīrghāgama and the Saṃyuktāgama (sūtras) and also the Saṃyuktasañchaya-pitaka, all written in Sanskrit."[50] Adikaram published his book in 1946. The authority he gives for his statement on the texts that Fa-hsien took with him when he left Ceylon and the language in which they were written is James Legge's translation (1886) of Fa-hsien's text, where Legge describes the books Fa-hsien obtained in Ceylon as Sanskrit works.[51]

The word used by Fa-hsien to denote the language of the texts he found in Ceylon is *fan*. De Jong draws attention to K.R.Norman's view on the meaning of this word,

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48 Li Yung-hsi (1957) *op.cit* pp. 93 - 94.

49 De Jong, J.W. (1981): *op.cit.* pp. 105 - 116.

50 Adikaram, E.W. (1946). *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Colombo, 1946. pp. 94 - 95; The second impression of this book, used by de Jong, appeared in Colombo in 1953; a third impression, wrongly described as the second by the publishers: The Buddhist Cultural Centre, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka, was released in 1994.

51 Legge, James (1886) *op.cit*. p. 111.

published in an article in 1978.[52] There Norman pointed out that the word *fan*, as used by Fa-hsien himself, means `Indian (language)', and that without further evidence there is no way of saying whether the language was Sanskrit, Prakrit or Pali.[53] De Jong states that the only further evidence available is to be found in the Chinese translations of the texts, which Fa-hsien took to China. After a discussion of such evidence, de Jong concludes as follows: "The Chinese sources show that in the first half of the fifth century, contacts between Buddhist communities in India, Ceylon and China were very close. It is therefore quite probable that Buddhist texts composed in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit were available in Ceylon and were brought from there to China."[54] In 1997, Jonathan S. Walters equates the word *fan* with Buddhist Sanskrit, when he says: "Faxian specifically mentions that his long-term hosts at the Abhayagiri gave him texts in Buddhist Sanskrit (Fan)."[55] Walters does not refer to any discussion based on which he came to this conclusion.

The value of Fa-hsien's visit to Sri Lanka and the record he made of it has been widely recognised. The nineteenth century writer, James Emerson Tennent, makes much use of Fa-hsien's personal testimony as a source in his book on Ceylon.[56] D.P.M.Weerakkody, who examined the Greek and Roman notices of Sri Lanka and their historical context in a recent publication (1997), says that "None of them can claim to a deep understanding of Sri Lanka's life and thought as revealed in a Chinese writer such as Fa-hsien."[57] S.G.M.Weerasinghe, who published a book entitled: *A History of Cultural*

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52 Norman, K.R. (1978). "The role of Pali in early Sinhalese Buddhism", in Heinz Bechert (ed.) Buddhism in Ceylon and Studies on Religious Syncretism in Buddhist Countries. Göttingen 1978 (The reference as given by de Jong).

53 *ibid*. p. 39 as noted by de Jong (1981) *op.cit*. p. 105.

54 De Jong, J.W. (1981) *op.cit*. p. 113.

55 Walters, Jonathan S. (1997)."Mahayana Theravada and the origins of the Mahavihara." *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*. Vol. XXIII Nos. 1 and 2. University of Peradeniya. Sri Lanka. pp. 106 - 107.

56 Tennent, Sir James Emerson (1859). *Ceylon. An Account of the Island, Physical, Historical, and Topographical*. Vols. I and II. London.

57 Weerakkody, D.P.M. (1997). *Taprobanê. Ancient Sri Lanka as known to*

Relations between Sri Lanka and China, states that Bhikṣu Fa-hsien, who lived at the Abhayagiri Vihara for two years (411 - 412 A.C.), was in fact the historical architect of the establishment of the amicable relations between the two countries.[58] In a Prologue to Weerasinghe's publication (1995), the then Minister of Education, Higher Education and Cultural Affairs echoes the same sentiment, when he says that Fa-hsien's visit "seems to be the beginning of the mutual understanding between Sīhaladīpa and China."[59] This point of view is affirmed in the message from H.E. the Ambassador for China in Sri Lanka, dated Colombo, 1st June 1994, printed on page VII of Weerasinghe's book, which reads as follows. "The Chinese Buddhist monk Fa-Hsien (5th century A.C.) and the Sinhala navigator Nandi (5th century A.C.) were the architects of the cultural relationship that developed between the two lands." Page 22 of Weerasinghe's publication contains a picture of "Fa-Hsien Maha Thera". The name of the artist or the source from which it is reproduced is not indicated. An imaginary portrait of Fa-hsien, by Kushan Mañjuśrī, appears on page 20 of *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*, published in Colombo in 1990.[60]

Local tradition associates the Buddhist cave temple called Fahiengala or Pahiengala with the name of our pilgrim Fa-hsien. S.U.Deraniyagala, the present Director General of Archaeology in Sri Lanka, who first examined this cave site in 1968, says that this cave, situated in Yatagampitiya village near Bulathsinhala in the Kalutara District in the lowland Wet Zone, is probably the largest cave in the country, and that excavations were undertaken at this cave site by W.H.Wijepala, Director (Excavations) of the Archaeological Survey Department in 1986 and 1988.[61] Wijepala and N.Perera (Technical

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Greeks and Romans. Brepols. p. 16.

58 Weerasinghe, S.G.M. (1995). *A History of the Cultural Relations between Sri Lanka and China. An Aspect of the Silk Route*. Colombo. Ministry of Cultural Affairs. p. 103.

59 *ibid*. Prologue (B). p. XI.

60 Bandaranayake, Senake et al. ed. (1990). *Sri Lanka and the Silk Road of the Sea*. Colombo. The Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO and the Central Cultural Fund.

61 Deraniyagala, S.U. (1992). *The Prehistory of Sri Lanka*. Memoir Vol. 8. Department of Archaeological Survey. Government of Sri Lanka. Part II.

Assistant) directed field operations at this and two other cave sites, namely Belilena Kitulgala and Batadomba-lena. Deraniyagala, who sketched the salient results of their operations as addenda to his publication, *The Prehistory of Sri Lanka*, in 1992, expected the reports prepared by them to add a new dimension to prehistoric archaeology in Sri Lanka.[62]

W.H.Wijayapala (whose name was spelt as Wijepala by Deraniyagala), has evaluated the data that emerged from the cave sites he excavated in a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, in October 1997.[63] Chapter 3 of this thesis the title of which is: *New Light on the Prehistory of Sri Lanka in the context of recent investigations at cave sites*, discusses the Fa-hsien cave under the following topics: Fahienlena at Bulathsinhala; The Excavation; Fahienlena Stratigraphy and Chronology; Stone Artefacts; Bone Artefacts; Faunal Remains; Human Skeletal Remains and the Conclusion.[64] Appendix III of Wijayapala's thesis contains information on the stratigraphy of sites A and B that he excavated, and lists and illustrations of stone and bone artefacts found at the sites.[65]

Wijayapala noted that the Buddhist temple known at present as the `Pahiengala Ancient Historic Cave Temple' is famous on account of the belief that the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien had stayed there on his way to Adam's Peak (Srī Pāda). While pointing out that there is "no evidence at the site, in the chronicles or from epigraphical or archaeological data" in support of such a belief, Wijayapala says that according to some scholars the word Fahiengala or Pahiengala could be a linguistic derivation of *Pa-him-gala*, which in the Sinhala language means the `lower boundary rock.' However, Wijayapala concedes that

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Addendum 1. p. 695.

62 *ibid*. Part I. Acknowledgments. p.XIV.

63 Wijayapala, W.H. (1997). *New Light on the Prehistory of Sri Lanka in the context of recent investigations at cave sites*. Ph.D thesis submitted to the University of Peradeniya in October 1997. Vol. I. i - vii 467 pp. Vol. 11. pp. 470-733.

64 *ibid*. Listed under contents on p. v. of Vol. I.

65 *ibid*. Vol. 11. pp. 652 - 681.

no one can deny the possibility of the Buddhist monk Fa-hsien's stay in this cave on his way to Srī Pāda or the Samanala area.[66] The word Srī Pāda, which literally means the auspicious or glorious footprint, is used to denote a mountain peak in Sri Lanka called Samantakūṭa. It is said that the Buddha left the mark of his footprint on this mountain when he visited the island for the third time, resulting in the mountain becoming a sacred place of pilgrimage.[67] That Fa-hsien knew this legend is clear from a statement in chapter XXXVIII of his text describing Sri Lanka, which James Legge translated as follows: "When Buddha came to this country, wishing to transform the wicked nāgas, by his supernatural power he planted one foot at the north of the royal city, and the other on the top of a mountain, the two being fifteen yojanas apart."[68] D.T.Devendra says that when the distance as given by Fa-hsien is reckoned in terms of modern measurement, the mountain he refers to is "situated in a straight line exactly where Srī Pāda lies."[69] Weerasinghe, who describes Pahiyangala as a place in which are found "cloistered caverns, ponds of purest water and ruined cetiyas" refers to the belief of the villagers that Fa-hsien lived there in a cave "about 350 feet up on the rock",[70] and also to the recent discovery of a `Chinese tray' on which the "tortoise story" is said to be depicted, in a cave in this rock.[71]

Translations of Fa-hsien's account of his travels into the Sinhala language also

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66 *ibid.* Vol. 1. p. 366.

67 Malalasekera, G.P. (1937). *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*. Reprinted 1960. s.v. Samantakūṭa.

68 Legge, James (1886) *op. cit.* p. 102.

69 Devendra, D.T. (1960). "Fa-Hsien in Ceylon." *Ceylon Today*. December 1960. pp. 22 - 23. Reprinted in the Sri Lankan newspaper *Daily News* on February 17, 1998.

70 Weerasinghe, S.G.M. (1995) *op.cit.* p. 73.

71 *ibid.* p. 91. The source Weerasinghe cites for this information is: Gunaratne, Rohan. *Sino- Lankan Connection*. Colombo. 1987. p. 85.

attest his popularity in Sri Lanka. W.Charles de Silva, Advocate, published his translation with notes in 1921.[72] The title of the text given on the cover page as *Fa Hien's Buddhist Kingdoms and Travels* (399 - 414) has been rendered into Sinhala as *Pāhiyange Bauddha Rājadhāni saha Vandanā Gaman Vistaraya* (Chr. era. 399 - 414). N.J.Coorey and Sons were the printers of this book. In the Preface, de Silva acknowledges with gratitude the help he received from Venerable Kahave Ratanasara of the Vidyodaya Pirivena at Maligakanda. Six short appendices included in this publication deal with the following themes: the biography of Fa-hsien; Fa-hsien's Buddhist Kingdoms and Travels; (the Bodhisattva) Mañjuśrī; the cities of Kanauj and Nalanda; Fa-hsien and Anuradhapura; and (the measure of distance) *yoduna* (*yojana*). A general index is given at the end of the text.

Venerable Balangoda Ananda Maitreya Sthavira published a translation of Fa-hsien's record along with that of another monk, Sung Yun, in 1958.[73] In the Foreword to this translation, which he calls *Fa-hsien Suṃ Yuṃ Denamage Gaman Vitti*, Ananda Maitreya Sthavira refers to the previous translations of Rémusat, Beal, Giles, Legge and Li Yung-hsi. Of these he found the translations of Beal and Li Yung-hsi more acceptable. He based his own translation on that of Li Yung-hsi. Referring to the Sinhala translation of Charles de Silva, Venerable Ananda Maitreya says that he found many discrepancies between de Silva's translation and the English translation he (Ananda Maitreya) used.

A third Sinhala translation of Fa-hsien's *Travels* appeared in Colombo in 1958,[74] the same year in which Ven Ananda Maitreya's translation was published. This translation, made by Venerable Balagalle Wimalabuddhi Thero, Professor of Sinhalese at the Vidyodaya University of Ceylon at the time, won the UNESCO award for literature for 1958. Wimalabuddhi Thero made use of the Korean edition of Fa-hsien's Chinese text printed by Legge in 1886, in addition to the translations of Beal, Giles, Legge, Kiroku

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72 De Silva, W. Charles (1921). *Pāhiyange Bauddha Rājadhāni saha Vandanā Gaman Vistaraya* (399 - 414). (The place of publication is not mentioned.)

73 Ananda Maitreya Sthavira, Balangoda (1958). *Fa-hsien Suṃ Yuṃ Denamage Gaman Vitti*. Maharagama Saman Mudraṇālaya. (Maharagama is a suburb of Colombo).

74 Wimalabuddhi Sthavira, Balagalle (1958). *Bauddha Rājadhāni Pilibandha toraturu namvū Fa-hien-ge Deśāna Vārtāva* (Sinhalese Translation of *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* or *The Travels of Fa-hsien*. Colombo. M.D.Gunasena and Co. Ltd., Second edition 1960.

Adachi and Li Yung-hsi.[75] The Sinhala translations of de Silva and Ananda Maitreya Thero are not referred to in Ven. Wimalabuddhi's work. The popularity of his translation, which was sold out in a short time, led Wimalabuddhi Thero to bring out a second edition in 1960. In an introductory note to this edition, Ven. Wimalabuddhi says that the UNESCO award made for this publication in 1958 was a great source of encouragement to him.

All three Sinhala translations discussed above include the report of another monk appended to Fa-hsien's text. This report has lent support to a speculation that Fa-hsien wrote two accounts of his travels. A second and longer account, if it was ever written, has not come down to us.[76]

Fa-hsien has received attention in D.P.Ponnamperuma's publication in Sinhala entitled *Videshīn duṭu Purāṇa Laṃkāva* (Ancient Ceylon as seen by foreigners), published in Kandy, Sri Lanka, in 1961. The sources he used for the section on Fa-hsien[77] in this book are the Sinhala translations of Balagalle Wimalabuddhi Thero and Ananda Maitreya Mahathero and the English translations of Legge and Beal.

Fa-hsien continues to attract the attention of Sri Lankans. Bandula Jayawardhana published a dramatised semi-documentary version of Fa-hsien's account of his travels in 1994 under the title, *Barefoot to Immortality*.[78] Here, as is stated in the Preface, Jayawardhana's aim was "to highlight the very human story that underlies Fahsien's record of his travels," and to breathe "life into the figures and events" that appear in it. That he has succeeded in doing so is best expressed in Lakshmi de Silva's description of Jayawardhana's episodic drama as "a vivid and sensitive recreation firmly based on historical events in dramatic terms, of the Quest of Fa-hsien," which "finely evokes the perils and splendours of the journey from the desert ways to the colourful courts of Eastern

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75 *ibid.* Foreword.

76 *ibid.*

77 Ponnamperuma, D.P. (1961). *Videshīn duṭu Purāṇa Laṃkāva*. Mahanuvara. Arya Mudranālaya, pp. 56 - 68.

78 Jayawardhana, Bandula (1994). *Barefoot to Immortality*, Colombo. S.Godage and Brothers.

princes and to the idyllic monasteries springing up from the sanddunes of the Gobi," and in which "it is the human element that is most realistically presented, with Fahsien and his companions sharing the length of space and time, poignantly bounded by the ties of friendship and aspiration."[79] An earlier radio version of Jayawardhana's drama, submitted by the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation for an international competition, won the comment that it was a plea for peace among mankind.[80] Dramas based on Buddhist themes are few in number and Jayawardhana's contribution to this literary genre is commendable.

RATNA HANDURUKANDE

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79 *ibid*. Note on the back-cover.

80 *ibid*. Preface.

TOWARDS NEW DEFINITIONS OF LITERATURE

I propose to suggest new definitions of literature by way of a discussion of the term "Commonwealth Literature" and a reconsideration of the English canon.

The term "Commonwealth Literature" has been the subject of controversy for over 25 years. There has been an expanding mass of literature written in English outside Britain, mainly by people from the various ex-colonies, many of whom have never been to Britain. There is so much of this literature now that it is beyond doubt a field in itself. In his article "Shaping the language to the landscape",[1] Alastair Niven discusses how best to describe it from his position in Britain and I will do so from my base outside, far away in Sri Lanka. I too find the term "Commonwealth Literature" still useful, though not strictly or always accurate because of the (earlier) exclusion of South Africa and the changing status of Pakistan. "Its punnish assertion of a shared creative prosperity" (Niven) is attractive. More precise is the incorporation of the idea of a commonweal, the literature and criticism in various regions proving mutually beneficial and enriching, and working towards the general good of the whole. In my case, however, the associations of radicalism in the word "Commonwealth" do not operate. Neither do they for Salman Rushdie despite his British education and citizenship.[2] But it is understandable that these do for an Englishman. The establishment of a Commonwealth in Cromwell's England was important as the only major, and successful, revolt against the monarchy in England. The declaration of a Commonwealth in Massachusetts is important because America was the first British colony to rebel against the mother country and declare independence. The founding of Commonwealths both in Massachusetts and Australia represents a breaking away from Britain by people of the same race and, indeed, originally fellow countrymen.

The term "Post-colonial Literature" has different associations for me and Alastair Niven. Rather than being "too umbilically binding to Britain" (Niven), to me it signifies rupture. Yet it is seriously inaccurate in that this literature not only has antecedents and important developments before Independence and the founding of the Commonwealth of Nations and also traditions, especially in India, reaching back to periods earlier than British, even Western, imperialism.

The term "New Literatures in English" could conceivably appear to be giving "a misplaced emphasis to recent authors" (Niven), but, to me, its point is that it serves to

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1. Alastair Niven, "Shaping the language to the landscape", in *Times Literary Supplement*, September 14-20, 1990.

2. Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* (London: Granta, 1991), p. 68.

differentiate this literature from the old literatures in English of Britain and the United States. The term has the additional virtue in that it covers writing in English outside the former colonies of Britain, say, in Phillippines or South America.

Niven's new term "Anglophone Literature" is not comprehensive but, from one point of view, is accurate in that it refers directly only to the language in which this literature is written (similar to a term like Indo-European), not to a culture or a group of countries or a period. But the term strikes me as arid in its technicality. Moreover, what unites writers in many, if not all, regions is not only the (English) language. They inherit, or share in, similar experiences and influences, similar institutions, similar systems of law and administrations, even the same games. It is a commonplace that English is now the world's language and not just of the English people, but English cannot be treated like much modern technology. It is not a matter of indifference as to whose it was originally. The connection between language and culture is a commonplace but none the less true, and the new Englishes function in a kind of dialectical relationship with British English. Moreover, there are many who feel that the stress only on literature written originally in English is too heavy and limiting. The literature in the vernaculars should be accorded a place. For instance, knowledgeable Indians feel that the literature in their vernacular languages is much richer than that in English, as in the case of Sri Lanka--and is the artistic vehicle for the majority of the people. G.N. Devi observes: "Writers like R.K. Narayan and Mulk Raj Anand enjoy global reputations, which are denied some definitely superior writers writing in Kannada (Narayan's language) or Punjabi (Anand's language)."[3] Of course, the fact remains that this literature will be generally accessible only if translated into English, given the position of English within countries such as India and in the world. I do not subscribe to the half-blind argument of those who decry *Anglophone* hegemony and plead for the inclusion of vernacular literatures in translation *in English*! The term "Commonwealth Literature" covers literature both in English and in the vernacular.

Each term has its point and its limitations, it is true, but it would not do to dismiss the whole issue:

> What's in a name? That which we call a rose
> By any other word would smell as sweet.[4]

Terms are important. Given the practical need to structure courses in teaching situations

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3. G.N. Devi, "The Commonwealth Literature Period: A Note Towards the History of Indian English Literature", in *A Shaping of Connections: Commonwealth Literature Studies--Then and Now* ed. Hena Maes-Jelinek, Kirsten Holst Petersen & Anna Rutherford (Denmark: Dangaroo Press, 1989), p. 60.

4. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Sc. 2.

and to cope with an ever-increasing reading list (`Ars longa vita brevis'), the term chosen could define the nature of the text and the critic's point of view. For instance, Achebe's *No Longer at Ease* is `post-colonial' in its date and issues; Amos Tutuola's *The Palm-Wine Drinkard* or Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* could be regarded as `new literature in English' because of their formal innovativeness; U.R. Ananthamurthy's *Samskara* is part of `Commonwealth literature'.

I myself use what is probably the least vulnerable of the terms and also the least fashionable--"Commonwealth Literature". It is particularly those interested in this field and other forms of literature like popular literature, women's and black writing and popular culture who have questioned the traditional canon of English Literature. The `canon' suggests a body of texts, sacred, select and tested by time. It is significant that F.R. Leavis opened his book *The Great Tradition* (1948) with the considered statement: `The great English novelists are Jane Austen, George Eliot, Henry James and Joseph Conrad--to stop for the moment at that comparatively safe point in history'.[5] But the enshrinement of the canon is not a mere literary matter but of treating it as the repository of liberal, humane values and culture, based on the unexamined assumption that these are European or Western and *ipso facto* superior to those of other regions of the world. It is in this larger context that one understands Bernard Lewis' reaction. `Lewis notes that to tamper with these venerable canons of great books is in fact to threaten "the West" with a good deal more than a modified reading list containing black or female writers. It is, he says portentously, no less than to threaten us with the return of the harem and polygamy, with child marriages, with slavery and the end of political freedom, self-consciousness, and the disinterested pursuit of truth. Only the West, according to Lewis, abolished slavery on its own--one would have thought that slave revolts added some measure of persuasion--abolished polygamy on its own, studied itself and other societies for no other reason than the purest scientific curiosity untainted by profit or the exercise of power.'[6]

The field of criticism in this century was, for long, dominated by critics whose interests were limited to European and American literature. It is symptomatic that arguably one of the greatest critics of this century, F.R. Leavis, wrote only on British and American literature. Late in life, he published a single essay outside this area--on Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*.[7] The canon is limited to the West. The liberal values it embodies are also

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5. F.R. Leavis, *The Great Tradition* (London: Penguin, 1962, ed.), p. 9.

6. Bernard Lewis, *Wall Street Journal* editorial, 28 May 1988, quoted from Edward W. Said, "Figures, Configurations, Transfigurations" in *From Commonwealth to Post-Colonial*

7. See F.R. Leavis, *Anna Karenina and Other Essays* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1967).

more specifically connected to class, the bourgeoisie. This explains why Leavis treats E.M. Forster's works as an expression of these values and is unable to do justice to *A Passage to India* when Forster transcends these and also sets his work outside the West.[8] Leavis is unable to appreciate a great and *popular* novelist like Thomas Hardy[9] and it was only very late in life that he was able to come to terms with another such case, that of Charles Dickens.[10]

I am critical of the `Dead White Male's' Canon, its cultural assumptions and values, its restrictiveness and conservatism, but I am not in favour of jettisoning the canon. I do not endorse the assertion that academics like to teach the great books of the Western canon because so much work has been published on them that it is possible to teach them to students without having to think much on one's own about them. This begs many questions. It is true that every rift and vein in a writer like Chaucer has been fully explored so that it is virtually impossible to say anything substantially true and new. Yet it is necessary to teach students Chaucer not merely because they are unfamiliar with, or ignorant of, his work, but because he performs so many artistic tasks perfectly. Of course, teaching Chaucer does not, or rather, should not, mean learning a whole new language, Middle English, but, without this grind, a student can reasonably understand Chaucer and, above all, enjoy him; that is, enjoy great art. Shakespeare is different. No writer has had more books published about his/her *oeuvre* than Shakespeare, yet fresh discoveries await the sensitive reader. Despite the structuralists and post-structuralists, I hold firmly my belief in the central need for judgement in literary study, and the great books should be read and taught. At the same time, one should be open to contemporary works, works from other cultures, writing at different levels and in diverse fields.

It has been argued that a crucial aspect of the subversion of the canon is `the reconstruction of the so-called canonical texts through alternative reading practices'.[11] The classic instance is Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Reading `Commonwealth Literature', the experience and study of colonial and post-colonial processes have alerted us to its colonial significances, and these have been explored of late--by George Lamming[12] and others.

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8. See F.R. Leavis, "E.M. Forster", in *The Common Pursuit* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1952).

9. Leavis endorses Henry James' view, "The good little Thomas Hardy"--see *The Great Tradition*, p. 33.

10. See F.R. & Q.D. Leavis, *Dickens the Novelist* (London: Chatto, 1976).

11. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 189.

12. See Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile* (1988).

But to reconstruct the meaning of *The Tempest* on this basis is to falsify or distort the play. `The play's the thing'. In the play, the colonial significances are not central. My contention is that there are essentially no different ways for reading different texts or different literatures, though current thinking may sensitise us to neglected signifiers whether of race, class, gender or politics.

One should not divide literature on ethnic, group or sexist lines, and one should not adopt positions which perpetuate such divisions. One should be open to literature from all sections and also from all areas of the world. The criteria for reading literature, studying it, including it in courses, are literary quality as well as its human importance and relevance (not only relevance in its Marxist sense of social engineering). It has been argued that as an implication of decentring English studies, `what texts from the "tradition" are selected for consideration and study may alter greatly. Kipling and Haggard may well take the place of George Eliot and Hardy, since their relationship to historical and political realities may come to seem more important'.[13] One should not decide upon one's literary preferences in terms of subject, but one must have room for all these four writers if one finds them humanly important, if they evoke a response from diverse people and in diverse situations. If I were studying literature about India, I would be prepared to accept it from any source, Western or Indian or other, provided it fulfilled my criteria.

This means that critics of "Commonwealth Literature" should not privilege Commonwealth Literature over British and American literature. All literature should meet the same criteria, which are broad and not restrictive and rigid as of old. As Salman Rushdie has said: `we could discuss literature in terms of its real groupings, which may well be national, which may well be linguistic, but which may also be international, and based on imaginative affinities; and as far as Eng. Lit. itself is concerned, I think that if *all* English literature could be studied together, a shape would emerge which would truly reflect the new shape of the language in the world, and we could see that Eng. Lit. has never been in better shape, because the world language now also possesses a world literature, which is proliferating in every conceivable direction'.[14] What I am arguing for is not a mere augmentation of literary texts but a whole new conception of literature and literary studies.

D.C.R.A. GOONETILLEKE

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13. Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, *Empire Writes Back*, p. 197.

14. Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, p. 68.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NOVEL IN SINHALA: ITS FOUNDATIONS, EARLY DEVELOPMENT AND MATURITY

Part I

The purpose of the present study is to trace in some detail the genesis, foundations, and early development of what may be termed the "Psychological Novel" in Sinhala beginning in the first decade of the 20th century, which, after following a rather erratic and uneven process of development and evolution, culminated in Siri Gunasinghe's *Hevanella* (1960), a novel which may justifiably be called the first psychological novel in Sinhala of the modern type, generally known as the "stream of consciousness novel."

For the purposes of the present study, the term "Psychological Novel" is taken to mean what Leon Edel has defined as "the modern psychological novel -- what we have come to call, in English letters, the stream of consciousness novel or the novel of the silent, the internal monologue, and in French letters, the modern analytic novel, which, if not written as flowing thought, caught the very atmosphere of the mind."[1] Psychological novels are also described by the same critic elsewhere as "voyages through consciousness,...which seek to retain and record the `inwardness' of experience."[2]

In Leon Edel's analysis, the psychological novel in Western fiction appeared between the two years 1913 and 1915 in three novels, *The Remembrance of Things Past* by Marcel Proust (1913),[3] *The Pilgrimage* by Dorothy Richardson (1914),[4] and *A Portrait*

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1 Leon Edel, *The Psychological Novel 1900-1950*, Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1955, p. 11.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

3 Only the first two volumes of Marcel Proust's (1871-1922) *A la recherche du temps perdu* were published in 1913 in serial form. The first volume was *Swann's Way* 1913.

4 The first volume of Dorothy Richardson's *The Pilgrimage* appeared in 1915, and the final volume in 1938.

of the Artist as a Young Man by James Joyce (1914).[5] All three writers, by a strange coincidence, at approximately the same time, (1913-1915) "turned fiction away from external to internal reality, from the outer world that Balzac had charted a century before to the hidden world of fancy and reverie into which there play constantly the life and perception of our senses"[6] and, in doing so, produced the first three `psychological novels' in European fiction.

However, as shown clearly by Edel,[7] occasional and sporadic attempts had been made from the inception of the English novel in the 18th century, for example in the works of Samuel Richardson (1689-1761) and Laurence Sterne (1713-1768), to render in words the internal states of fictional characters, "to report -- the author being the narrator -- of what is occurring in the mind of his character. However, such passages had the form and structure of organised monologues in which the mind presents reasoned and ordered thought, the "end-product" of the stream of consciousness, not the disordered stream itself."[8] It is this element of orderly, formal organisation of the thoughts and feelings of characters, and the lack of such an orderly arrangement, that distinguishes what may be termed `pre-psychological fiction' from `psychological fiction'. In similar vein, it could be pointed out that although the modern psychological novel in Sinhala, or what we should call `the stream of consciousness novel' or the `novel of the silent, internal monologue' in Sinhala, was born with the publication in 1960 of Siri Gunasinghe's *Hevanella* organised representation and `reporting' of a character's inner state was practised in Sinhala (as in English) almost from the very inception of Sinhala fiction in the first decade of the 20th century.

Some of the earliest Sinhala novelists, like some early English novelists such as Samuel Richardson, sporadically and occasionally attempted to set down the thoughts and feelings of their fictional characters. In such early Sinhala novels, the author-narrator, for example, would record what a character "thought", where he would set down the reflections

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5 Although Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was published as a complete novel only in 1916, parts of the book appeared in serial form in 1914.

6 Leon Edel, *op.cit.*, pp. 11-12.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-27.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

of one of his characters, presenting sketches of "reasoned and ordered thought,"[9] preceded or followed by phrases such as "he thought" or "she reflected."

For example, one of the earliest Sinhala novelists of the first generation, A. Simon de Silva, in his first novel *Meena* (1905) (which, until recently, was designated "the first Sinhala novel", but has now been shown to have been preceded by just one earlier novel, Piyadasa Sirisena's *Vasanavantha Vivahaya* (1904),[10] could be considered the precursor of Sinhala psychological fiction. His *Meena* contains several passages of psychological analysis, presenting in well-ordered and systematic form the thoughts of several of the principal characters. In *Meena*, not only the thoughts and feelings of the chief character, Meena, but also those of Dannie and Paulus, two rivals vying for Meena's hand, are recorded in considerable detail by the third person omniscient narrator-author. Almost at the very beginning of the novel, (pp. 1-2), Meena, the titular heroine, opposes her parents' proposal to give her in marriage to a young man named Carolis. In the passage quoted below, Simon de Silva has attempted to reproduce Meena's inner thoughts and feelings, in other words her `stream of consciousness', in a long passage of introspective self-analysis; here, having conveyed her opposition to this marriage proposal clearly to her mother in categorical terms, Meena retires to her own room and begins to commune with her own self, questioning herself, examining her own motives, and pondering why she cannot comply with her parents' wishes and marry Carolis:

> Meena asked herself why she could not love him (Carolis). "Women first look for beauty (in a young man). Although he (Carolis) is not a paragon of beauty he is handsome to a certain extent. But there is no twinkle in his eyes -- they are a little gloomy and dull in appearance. When twinkling eyes are dull, they are certainly attractive...but when a man's eyes are always dull, without a twinkle, they do not attract others. Besides, there is nothing pleasant in his outward appearance...Since the mind is full of joy when one is young, there should spread a feeling of joy in a young man's face...His (Carolis') face bears the serious look of an old ascetic or hermit -- it suits well women who have passed the prime of their youth -- but it is hardly attractive to me who am just approaching my twentieth birthday, young and still playful. He (Carolis) is at present obsessed with my beauty; that craving for physical beauty will vanish in

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9 *Ibid.*

10 For a discussion of "The First Sinhala Novel," see the present writer's paper, "Some New Light on the First Sinhala Novel, "*The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. X, No. 1 and 2, 1984.

> a few days after I become his own possession. What will then remain will be his deep and serious attitude towards the world. Then, his association will be painful to me, who am light-hearted, frolicsome, and comfort-loving. Hence my refusal to marry him cannot be a grievous mistake..."[11]

This passage of introspection and self-debate, in the form of a reverie by Meena where she carefully and systematically probes her own motives for the refusal of the marriage proposal to Carolis is no casual or isolated feature in the novel. Such passages of reflection, mental reverie and self-analysis are quite common and numerous in the book, so much so that *Meena* deserves to be called the earliest precursor of the Sinhala psychological novel, of which Siri Gunasinghe's *Hevanella* (1960) could be considered to be the final fruit or culmination.

In *Theresa*, Simon de Silva's second novel,[12] the author's interest in psychological analysis is considerably reduced but not entirely absent; in this novel, under the influence of Piyadasa Sirisena,[13] de Silva showed more interest in didactic moralisation than in *Meena*, without completely losing interest in psychological analysis, as the following passage shows: (Here, Mrs. Pieris, a woman married to an old man after the death of her first husband, hears about the sudden and unexpected elevation in wealth of a former lover of hers named Wijesundera, a younger man whom she had foolishly rejected in favour of her current husband Mr. Pieris. When Mrs. Pieris learns that Wijesundara had become the heir to a large fortune, she goes into a "flashback" recording her regret as follows in chapter 4):

> When she received this news, Mrs. Pieris felt grieved. If he

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11 A. Simon de Silva, *Meena*, first edition, 1905, 4th edition, Tisara Prakasakayo, Dehiwala, 1992, pp. 2-3. All passages quoted in translation have been translated by the present writer from the original Sinhala.

12 Simon de Silva's complete fictional oeuvre consisted of *Meena* (1905), *Theresa* (1907), and *Ape Agama* (1910). After 1910, he seems to have given up the writing of fiction probably because of the severe competition from three of his more famous contemporaries, Piyadasa Sirisena, M.C.F. Perera and W.A. Silva.

13 Piyadasa Sirisena was, without doubt, the most popular novelist of the day. In the preface to *Tharuniyakage Premaya* (1910), Sirisena claimed that more than 25,000 copies of his first novel *Vasanavantha Vivahaya* (1904) had been sold by 1910.

> (Wijesundara) had inherited this large fortune five years ago, how happily she could have spent her life with him! She suspected whether his sorrowful appearance could have been caused by thinking about her. Realising that she had not thought of him (Wijesundara) all this time, she felt a little irritated in her mind. However, reminding herself that she already had all the happiness that money could bring from her own husband (Mr. Pieris) and that thinking any further about Wijesundara could only destroy her happiness, she put away all thoughts concerning him (Wijesundara). She expressed her surprise at the news, and rejoiced again and again about his good fortune.[14]

In his third and last novel *Ape Agama* (`Our Religion', 1910) once again, Simon de Silva continued his interest in the inner workings of the minds of his fictional characters. The chief character of this novel, Cecilia, is quite similar to Meena and Mrs. Pieris in that all three female characters (as well as several others in the three novels) share the same habit of introspection and subjective self-analysis of their own emotions, feelings and motives. *Ape Agama* in fact begins with a passage (of nearly three pages) of a long internal monologue, in which Cecilia sits in her drawing room looking around her with a self-satisfied, complacent feeling at her life of luxury and good fortune, and engaging in a philosophical disquisition upon the nature of the world and the nature of human behaviour:

> Cecilia, a pleasure-loving young woman, having dressed herself attractively, looked at the clock, and finding that the time had not yet come for her to go out, entered her drawing room, sat on a comfortable chair, looked with happiness, self-satisfaction and complacency at her great wealth and good fortune, and began to think as follows:
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> "All human beings desire wealth and good fortune and exert themselves to amass wealth, but how many of them really think of using the wealth so amassed? And how few do utilise their hoarded wealth? Avaricious, stingy, miserly people cannot make use of it...What earthly use is there of my wealth and property after I am dead and gone? Therefore I should get as much benefit from my great wealth as possible while I am still alive!...I am well aware that numerous people condemn me for my emancipated ideas and fearless beliefs...Some abuse us for

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14 Simon de Silva, *Theresa* (1907), second edition, Tisara Prakasakayo, Dehiwala, 1993 p. 47.

wearing rich jewellery; others for consuming luxurious food and drink, for reading enjoyable novels...Who are those who thus censure and disparage us? Are they fortunate people who have attained luxury and worldly happiness like us or those leading a more moral life than ourselves? No, certainly not...even our reverend padre secretly advised me against my capricious associates. He especially cautioned me against too close association with my friend with poetic gifts....but the padre even while thus advising me was himself infatuated with my beauty. I could see it in his eyes. When I smiled and gave him my hand he became flustered and kissed my hand softly instead of shaking it...that proved to me his mental condition further. My poetic associate is not like that. When he surveys my beauty he gazes at me without any thought for anything else...Very often he expresses his feelings with an impromptu poem...If he has anything to say, he says it courageously. That day at the meeting, hearing the verses that he recited, several women raised their eyebrows with contempt, and the few men glanced furtively at each other as if they were surprised. But those same women who pretended to be scandalized claimed, later in conversation with me, that there was no fault in those verses and that both men as well as women love sexual enjoyment but that it is indecent to speak of it in public. The world is full of such deception and hypocrisy on all sides...My poetic friend's fault is to reveal publicly what he really thinks. My opinion is that he is superior as a human being to all the deceivers who surround me..."[15]

In the above monologue, after the background has been rapidly sketched in by the author in a single sentence, the reader is plunged into a long passage of direct interior monologue of more than two pages, with Cecilia engaged in deep thought about certain philosophical problems such as the role of wealth in human life, action and behaviour. This interior monologue which simulates Cecilia's stream of consciousness or the processes of her thoughts is characterised by two of the most important features of the stream of consciousness technique - "flashbacks" into past events in her life, and the use of the principle of "the association of ideas." The former is exemplified by the description of the incident where the padre kisses Cecilia's hand, and the latter by the way in which the entire passage has been organised on the basis of "free association" of ideas. Cecilia, who began thinking first of her own present good fortune and luxurious way of life, is led on to think next of the jealously and criticism of her mode of life by others; these thoughts

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15 Simon de Silva, *Ape Agama*, (1910), second edition, Tisara Prakasakayo, Dehiwala, 1993, pp. 1 - 3.

remind her of one such critic (the reverend padre who had kissed her hand instead of shaking it). On that occasion the padre had warned Cecilia against a particular friend and associate, the young man with `poetic abilities'. This naturally compels her to compare mentally the padre and the young man, which, in turn, makes her realise the comparative superiority of the poetic friend to the padre, and finally to recall the three stanzas of verse which the young man had recited at the meeting referred to above.

The first chapter of *Ape Agama* concludes with a similar direct interior monologue extending to over two pages recording once again the thoughts of Cecilia while travelling in her horse-carriage after a meeting with Mrs. Baldwin, a Christian "Biblewoman".[16] In this second passage of interior monologue, Cecilia, A Christian herself at this point in the story, ponders deeply upon the problem whether contemporary Christians are true Christians or hypocrites, and finally comes to question the very existence of God Himself.

In addition to the two long interior monologues of Cecilia in chapter 1 referred to above, there are several other passages in which Cecilia, Jayatunga (her lover) and Peter Gunasekera (the latter's rival) are made to engage either in direct or in indirect monologues.[17] Cecilia and Peter Gunasekera both also engage in flashbacks while they are engaged in such direct or indirect monologues.[18] The use of all such `psychological' techniques demonstrates clearly Simon de Silva's interest in and preoccupation with human

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16 Mrs. Baldwin has been described by Simon de Silva as a`Bible Nona' (p. 6). She describes herself as a woman who never misses going to church on Sunday, and contributes the largest amount of money to the church till (p. 14).

17 Both forms of interior monologue have been used fairly extensively by Simon de Silva in *Ape Agama*. These passages are located as follows: (a) Direct Interior Monologue: p. 80-81 (Cecilia); p. 60-61 (Jayatunga); (b) Indirect Interior Monologue: p. 35; p. 70; p. 77 (Cecilia); p. 34 (Jayatunga); p. 28-29 (Peter Gunasekera).

18 See especially pp. 2-3 (Cecilia); p. 28-29 (Peter Gunasekera). Peter Gunasekera even engages in a "flash-forward" (p. 75-76). Cecilia narrates the events of her childhood, upbringing, rape, and motherhood to Jayatunga in chapter 10 (pp. 97-110) in the form of an inserted first person autobiographical narrative (the entire novel is presented in the third person narrative of the omniscient author-narrator). This autobiographical narrative includes the entries in Cecilia's kidnapping by some ruffians, her rape, the death of her seducer, and the subsequent death of her child.

behaviour, motive and especially in the workings of the human mind.

Nevertheless, *Ape Agama*, although it was without doubt Simon de Silva's greatest fictional achievement, "his most intellectual and mature production,"[19] cannot be designated a `psychological novel' in the proper sense of the term. In spite of its interest in the human psyche, the main interest of *Ape Agama* still resides in the outward action rather than in the inner, psychological action, for the plot consists of numerous thrilling and melodramatic events and coincidences which make the story unconvincing and incredible. For example, among the most incredible events in the novel is the coincidence (revealed only at the end of the novel (ch. 12)) that Cecilia and her lover Jayatunga are cousins who were unaware of their close relationship; equally or even more incredible are such events as the way in which Peter Gunasekera, the villain, is accidentally shut in for two or three days in the "Cupid Hall" in Cecilia's house (strongly reminiscent of the story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves in the *Arabian Nights*) where he (Gunasekera) finds a stock of food and wine (chapter 8); Gunasekera's attempt at killing Cecilia (chapter 8); Gunasekera's death as a result of being bitten by Cecilia's pet dog (chapter 8); Cecilia's seduction by ruffians and her rape by an old Rate Mahatmaya (chapter 12) -- all are of such a sensational and unbelievable nature that they clearly place the basic emphasis upon the outward plot action. Simon de Silva's *Ape Agama* therefore clearly lacks the basic ingredient of the psychological novel -- the absence of a well-made plot -- but instead has a very elaborate outward plot, the external events of which dwarf the psychological element which becomes only an incidental interest or preoccupation in the novel.

The "modern psychological novel" has been defined by Leon Edel as a work of fiction where "there is no "story" in the old sense, and there is only one character (at a time) with which to identify oneself. If the author succeeds in drawing the reader into this single consciousness, he should be able to make the reader *feel* with the character: and the reader does this only if proper identification with the character is achieved."[20] According to Edel's definition, therefore, *Ape Agama* cannot by any means be called a "psychological novel," since it lacks one of the pre-requisites of a psychological novel. *Ape Agama*, may, however, together with de Silva's two earlier works, *Meena* and *Theresa*, be described as a precursor of the psychological novel in Sinhala, owing to the uncommon interest Simon de Silva has shown in the inner workings of the psyches of some of his characters.

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19 E.R. Sarathchandra, *The Sinhalese Novel*, M.D. Gunasena & Co., Colombo, 1950, p. 88.

20 Leon Edel, *op.cit.*, pp. 21 - 25.

In short, in spite of a deep interest in the workings of the human mind, Simon de Silva did not conceive all or any one of his three novels as a detailed study of the inner life of one or more characters, and none of his works thus qualifies to be labelled a "psychological novel" in the strict sense.

The next two important figures in the evolution of the Sinhala novel were M.C.F. Perera[21] and W.A. Silva.[22] The former followed mainly in the footsteps of the first Sinhala novelist, Piyadasa Sirisena,[23] whose main theme was the condemnation of westernisation and Christianisation of the Sinhala-Buddhist people and the attempt to arouse the nationalistic feelings of the Sinhala nation; in Sarachchandra's words, Piyadasa Sirisena's main purpose was "to convert Sinhalese Christians back to Buddhism, and to resuscitate the dying culture of the people."[24] Primarily, he was a social and religious reformer and "did not write novels in order to entertain people or to analyse human character."[25] It is therefore not surprising that Sirisena showed little or no interest in his novels in studying the psychology of his fictional characters, and made little or no contribution to the evolution of the psychological novel in Sinhala.

M.C.F. Perera's first novel *Mage Karume* (`My Fate', 1906) was very much influenced by Piyadasa Sirisena's *Vasanavantha Vivahaya*. The "fate" alluded to in the title referred to the deleterious consequences of Christianisation and indiscriminate

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21 M.C.F. Perera (1879-1922), wrote and published five novels during a period of five years (1906-1911); they were: *Mage Karume* (1906), *Mage Pembaree* (1906), *Lanka Abirahas* (1907), *Sirimedura* (1908), *Alaye Leelaya Havat Malavun Jeevatveema* (1908), and *Lalitha Hevat Ratnamanikyaya* (1911).

22 W.A. Silva (1890-1957) published his first novel *Siriyalatha Hevath Anatha Tharuni* in 1909. It was followed by eleven other novels of which the most popular were *Hingana Kolla* (1923), *Kaelae Handa* (1933) and *Vijayaba Kollaya* a historical romance (1938).

23 Piyadasa Sirisena (1875-1956), perhaps the most popular and most prolific of Sinhala novelists, published 20 novels between 1904 and 1937. His first novel, also the first Sinhala novel, was *Vasanavantha Vivahaya Nohot Jayatissa Saha Roslin* (1904); his last novel, *Debara Kella* was published in 1937.

24 E.R. Sarathchandra, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

25 *Ibid.*

westernisation. Perera's intention was, like Piyadasa Sirisena's, to depict through the medium of satiric comedy the clash between the "two cultures" -- the highly westernised "English" culture which the Sri Lankan middle and upper classes were then flaunting brashly, and the indigenous Sinhala-Buddhist culture of the `Sinhala-only educated' classes. From his second novel *Mage Pembari* (`My Beloved', 1907) M.C.F. Perera began to lay the foundation of the sensational and melodramatic romance which W.A. Silva took up in 1909 and later carried to its culmination in his novels of the 20s like *Hingana Kolla* (1923): the characteristic type of romantic melodrama associated with his name, termed by Sarachchandra as "the Novel of Escape".[26] Under the influence of popular writers of English fiction like Hall Caine, Rider Haggard, and C.B. Reynolds, W.A. Silva developed the stock formula for the cheap thriller or "pot-boiler" in Sinhala which turned out to be a mixture of idealised love, violent physical action and didacticism and moralisation of a common type.[27]

This popular formula to which W.A. Silva wrote all his "pot boilers" helped him to gain ascendancy over (or at least to become as popular as) Piyadasa Sirisena in the 1920s and 1930s. Owing to the nature of his fiction and his primary intention of providing cheap entertainment with a sensational external plot, W.A. Silva, like Piyadasa Sirisena and M.C.F. Perera before him, displayed little interest in the analysis of the mental processes of his characters. These three early novelists, therefore, made no important contribution to the evolution of the psychological novel in Sinhala. In fact, the vein of fiction that had been so successfully tapped by M.C.F. Perera and W.A. Silva was so popular among the Sinhala reading public that even Martin Wickramasinghe imitated the novels of M.C.F. Perera and W.A. Silva in his novelistic juvenilia, *Soma* (1920), *Seetha* (1923), and *Ayirangani* (1923), before he found his true *metier* in *Miringudiya* (`The Mirage', 1925).

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26 *Ibid.* p. 113.

27 For detailed studies of W.A. Silva's fiction, see E.R. Sarathchandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-131, and Sarathchandra Wickramasuriya, *Vijayaba Kollaya Vivaranaya*, Saman Press, Maharagama, 1963, and *Sinhala Navakathava Naegeema*, Pradeepa Prakasakayo, Colombo, 1972, pp. 128-162, which contains a detailed analysis of W.A. Silva's first novel *Siriyalatha (1909)*, and the same writer's *Sinhala Navakathave Vikasanaya*, Sarasavi Publishers, Gampaha, 1963, pp. 69-99, which includes a detailed analysis of Silva's most famous and most popular novel *Hingana Kolla* `The Beggar Boy', 1923. See also K.D.P. Wickramasinghe, *Nootana Sinhala Sahityaya*, Gunasena & Co., Colombo, 1965, pp. 449-468.

Part II

After Simon de Silva, whose *Meena*, *Theresa* and *Ape Agama* (all published between 1905 and 1910) showed considerable interest in the complexities of fictional characters and their psychological conflicts, Martin Wickramasinghe was to be the next most important novelist to display at least some interest in the workings of the minds of his characters. Even in his first novel *Leila* (1914), before he succumbed to the formula of the sensational romantic melodrama of M.C.F. Perera and W.A. Silva, Wickramasinghe had occasionally attempted to probe the thoughts, feelings and emotions of his characters. The main male character of *Leila*, named Albert, for example, is made to analyse his own feelings of love for the heroine Leila in Chapter 3, as follows:

> I was now able to understand the pleasant feeling in my mind about her (Leila). Since I now understand well her good nature and education, my love for her has grown strong. There is no reason why there should not be a feeling of love in her mind too towards me. However, I should proceed only after verifying clearly whether she loves me or not. If she does not love me, however strong the feeling of love in my own mind, I should try to suppress it.....why should I love a woman who does not love me in return? What earthly use is there in making her mine through force or deception? I should try to ascertain Leila's ideas and feelings. If Leila consents, there is no obstacle to our union.[28]

Here Wickramasinghe was clearly writing in the tradition initiated by Simon de Silva and probably under de Silva's influence when Albert makes this kind of self-analysis through interior monologue.

In chapter 8 of *Leila*, again, Wickramasinghe enters the consciousness of *Leila*, the main character, who is represented in the passage below as undergoing a serious mental conflict after having consented to marry her cousin Gilbert, in spite of the fact that she hated him, merely to satisfy her parents like a traditionally brought up Sinhala girl. At this stage of the story, Leila is in love with a young man called Albert; in the following scene, after Leila has conveyed her decision (to marry Gilbert) to her mother, Gilbert himself meets Leila and makes a formal proposal of marriage and asks her, "Leila, are you really

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28 Martin Wickramasinghe, *Leila* (1914), chapter 3. The quotation is taken from *Leila* reprinted in *The Collected Works of Martin Wickramasinghe*, Vol. 3, Thisara Publishers Ltd., Dehiwala, 1987, pp. 15-16. All page references to *Leila* in the present study are taken from this edition.

in favour of our marriage?" This question sets in motion the following stream of thoughts in Leila's mind, in the form of an indirect interior monologue:

> As soon as this question fell on her ears, her love for Albert was rekindled in her mind. She imagined that Albert's image was before her and pressed her lips together as if she was about to speak to him. An instantaneous joy spread through her whole body, succeeded by an instantaneous feeling of sadness. She realised that it was an impossible task for her to erase her first love for Albert from her mind.[29]

However, this tendency towards the study of the workings of the human psyche, as represented in the two passages of interior monologue quoted above, is not continued or developed further in Wickramasinghe's next three novels, *Soma* (1920), *Seetha* (1923) and *Ayirangini* (1923). These novels were on the same lines as the "pot-boiler" type of sentimental, romantic melodrama which had been popularised by M.C.F. Perera between 1906 and 1911[30] and perfected by W.A. Silva between 1909 and 1925.[31]

In the mid-twenties, however, when Wickramasinghe came to write his next, and also his first important novel *Miringudiya* ("The Mirage", 1925), the author's concept of the novel as a form of art, as a literary genre with definite features of its own, had undergone a complete transformation, a change which augured well for the future evolution of the Sinhala novel. This complete change of stance towards the nature of novelistic fiction as a serious exploration of human problems and personal relationships and involving emotional and psychological conflicts was a result of Wickramasinghe's wide reading of Western novelistic fiction after the publication of *Soma* in 1920. As Wickramasinghe declared later in his autobiography: "*Ayirangini* (1923) was written and published at a period when my ideas about the novel form were changing rapidly...I realised that my ideas about the novel were shallow and childish before six months had elapsed after the publication of *Soma*. I was introduced to Thomas Hardy's novels by the periodical called *Literary Guide*...After Hardy's stories I read *Anna Karenina*. I read the stories of Maxim Gorky, Chekhov, Schchedrin and Turgenev with avidity. I had read

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29 *Leila*, pp. 45-46.

30 M.C.F. Perera's last novel *Sirimedura* was published in 1911.

31 W.A. Silva's most popular novels were published in the second decade of the 20th century, although he continued to write novelistic fiction till the mid-fifties. His two most popular novels *Lakshmi* and *Hingana Kolla* were published in 1922 and 1923, respectively.

Maupassant's stories in my childhood. I enjoyed Flaubert, Balzac, Anatole France (and also read) Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables* and *The Toilers of the Sea*. I enjoyed their novels like one who gazed with wonder at a world hitherto unheard of and unseen."[32] After reading some of the greatest works of world fiction Wickramasinghe read the English novels of Henry Fielding, especially *Joseph Andrews*[33] (which he "enjoyed immensely"), and next read Charles Dickens, starting with *Oliver Twist*.[34]

When Wickramasinghe once again turned to novel-writing, therefore, he was, naturally, a changed man. In *Miringudiya* (1925) he discarded, with contempt, both the escapist "pot-boiler" type of novel of sentimental melodrama in which W.A. Silva excelled at the time, as well as the didactic and polemical novel of the Piyadasa Sirisena type which the latter continued to practise throughout his career until 1946[35] and which had provided the model for Wickramasinghe's first novel, *Leila*, in 1914. In his preface to this new novel *Miringudiya*, Wickramasinghe stated categorically: "The main purpose of the novel (as a literary genre) is to depict human life rather than to preach didactically how men and women should behave....The novel is neither a treatise on law and jurisprudence nor a pill containing moral and religious advice covered with a thin sugar-coating of romance...Although certain writers believe that a novel is written to give advice to immature readers, it is not so...In this novel (i.e. *Miringudiya*) there are no superhuman men or women who are paragons of virtue. There are no better books than novels which help the reader to understand life."[36] As he declared later (1950) in the preface to the second edition of *Miringudiya*, the theme of the novel was "the personal and social relationships pertaining to married life."[37]

Miringudiya centres on the tragic consequences suffered by a young woman, named Molly Dhanasooriya, who ran after the deceptive "mirage" of excessive,

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32 Martin Wickramasinghe, *Upan Da Sita*, Saman Press, Maharagama, 1961. Second edition, 1962, p. 218.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 218.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 219.

35 Piyadasa Sirisena's last novel was *Debara Kella* (1937).

36 Preface to *Miringudiya*, first edition (1925), p. 5.

37 Preface to *Miringudiya*, second edition (1950), p. 7.

indiscriminate 'Westernisation'-- the blind, unrestrained imitation of everything European instead of following its useful and more valuable features. Later in his autobiography Wickramasinghe declared that his views and attitudes to human character and its frailties had "changed so radically" at the time he composed *Miringudiya* that he "depicted Molly's character like a man who secretly loved the virago Molly Dhanasooriya."[38] It was this change of attitude to human character and especially in the deep interest in the study of the mental conflicts and psychological processes of men and women under the strong emotional pressures of married life that made Wickramasinghe concentrate on the "inner life" of his characters.

This new (or, rather, resuscitated) preoccupation with the "inner life" of fictional characters manifests itself clearly in *Miringudiya* in the depiction of the mental conflicts of Molly, the main female character. Molly Dhanasooriya, tempted and attracted by an inordinately anglicised Sinhala young man named Lavison Neelakantha elopes with him to England. Living in London with Lavison, but still not married to him, she experiences a deep sense of fear, suspicion, uncertainty and insecurity, caused by the feeling that one day her lover would lose sexual interest in her and abandon her in an alien country. This feeling of alienation makes Molly undergo an emotional and moral conflict which perhaps no previous character in Sinhala fiction had ever been made to face. The deep and serious manner in which Wickramasinghe records this internal conflict in Molly naturally makes *Miringudiya* a significant landmark in the development of the psychological novel in Sinhala.

In the following passage which traces Molly's internal conflict, Wickramasinghe uses the method of the "internal monologue" in both its well-known forms, direct and indirect. The passage begins in the form of an indirect internal monologue, but after the first sentence there is a transition to the `direct' recording of Molly's thoughts without the intervention of the author: (Direct interior monologue can pass into indirect monologue and vice versa by the simple expedient of omitting tags like "She said" or "She thought" in order to make the monologue "direct").

> "Even if I have to die I shall not beg his pardon," Molly said to herself. "I can't stand his sight. I hate him. Why should I appeal humbly to him? Lavison loves me...Yes, of course, he does...loves me with all his heart. Why then should I fear not being legally married? But...if he grows tired of me?" Saying so, Molly walked up and down in the room..."No! No! He will not leave me in the lurch...How strongly he loves me! Yes...Yes...I

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38 Martin Wickramasinghe, *Upan Da Sita*, p. 248.

> have no reason for sadness..." Molly slowly approached the looking glass and surveyed her own beauty. Her unparalleled beauty, she thought, was even greater than before. "Yes...Yes I should not relax my efforts to retain his mind fixed on me. A child? ...No, it's unnecessary...It may lead to a lessening of his attraction towards me...A child then is not necessary...unless of course he expresses a wish for it....no, not otherwise...What am I thinking of now?...I'm mad! I'm mad! I may lose him by living with him outside wedlock...Yes, of course, I must see to it that we are properly married legally...but..."[39]

The passage depicts fairly successfully the acute feelings of suspicion, fear and vacillation in Molly's mind while she is confronted by a serious emotional and moral crisis; it imitates her "stream of consciousness" while passing through a process of self-debate and self-examination.

Just before Molly commits suicide by taking poison after finding no satisfactory solution to her emotional and moral dilemma, Wickramasinghe again gives the reader a direct transcript of her stream of consciousness:

> Yes...Yes, Of course, I can now understand all...He (Lavison) doesn't want me---no, he certainly doesn't. He said once before that he wanted to marry me legally...Yes...Yes...But I rejected his offer. To live with me unmarried is shameful and degrading to him...Yes...Yes. I never thought about that before...When we were in Colombo he could not pass a single day without seeing me...Even when we were new here he did not spend a single day away from me. Now he doesn't want me. Living with me without marrying me legally is apparently a shameful stigma to him. Oh! What a foolish woman I have been!...I should have thought of this earlier...Yes, of course, I understand...I do understand everything now.[40]

In this passage of stream of consciousness Molly's thoughts are shown moving back and forth between the present and the past, using the modern technique of "flashback". In the passage which follows, Wickramasinghe uses its opposite, the "flashforward" technique, to portray dramatically and realistically Molly's future hopes and

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39 Wickramasinghe, *Miringudiya*, p. 127. (Page references to the 3rd edition, 1955).

40 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

aspirations and the possible consequences of her present behaviour on her later life. Here she considers her emotional problem from the point of view of the alternatives available to her in the future in trying to resolve her dilemma. Again, the result is an effective passage of stream of consciousness where Molly goes through a process of mental self-questioning and self-debate. Here too Wickramasinghe has employed the technique of `direct interior monologue':

> To write to Paul (Molly's legal husband, back in Sri Lanka) imploring him to release me? No, certainly not. I will never write to him. I will not pray to him...Lavison...he will come tomorrow. Yes, he will come tomorrow. Then I will ask him whether he still loves me. He will tell me the truth...Yes. He will never lie to me, I am sure of that....If he is tired of me already...Lavison does not like to live with me now as he used to do before....Why should he go to such far-off places?...It must be a ruse of his to be away from me.[41]

Molly's thoughts just before she finally commits suicide in despair are also presented directly to the reader without authorial interference, in another passage of direct interior monologue as follows:

> I am unwanted! He does not want me...It is quite clear now. My going in search of him will create more frustration in his mind. Yes, Yes, I am certain of that...I know...I know...I know....Everything is over....(she thought, before shutting herself up in her room to take poison).[42]

Thus, as early as 1925, Martin Wickramasinghe had introduced modern techniques characteristic of the psychological novel such as the use of direct and indirect interior monologue, internal debate, self-questioning, flashback and flashforward, as techniques to be used individually or in combination to simulate and to imitate closely the movement of the stream of consciousness of his main character. However, as before (in *Leila*), such techniques were not used (in *Miringudiya*) on a scale extensive enough to make it appear to be a method deliberately chosen and practised to achieve the primary purpose of bringing to life dramatically the inner life of one or more selected characters, as should be found in a `psychological novel'. Hence Wickramasinghe's *Miringudiya* too cannot be categorised as a true `psychological novel', although it displays the sporadic and

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41 *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

incidental use of many of the features typically used in psychological fiction.

Strangely enough, our expectations that Martin Wickramasinghe would develop further the psychological techniques that he had used in *Miringudiya* are not fulfilled during the next 30 years. After 1925, indeed, there was a long interval in the development of the psychological novel in Sinhala, when neither Wickramasinghe, nor any other Sinhala novelist showed any interest in the workings of the psyche of their fictional characters--the Sinhala novel was, indeed, dominated almost exclusively by two novelists, Piyadasa Sirisena and W.A. Silva, neither of them fully aware of the basic characteristics of good, modern novelistic fiction. Until his death in 1946, Piyadasa Sirisena practised, without any significant change, his novel of manners with the basic motive of carrying out religio-nationalistic propaganda with a strong element of ethical teaching, while W.A. Silva, who published his last novel *Juli Hatha* in 1943, also followed faithfully to the end of his novelistic career the formula of his first novel *Siriyalatha* (1909), the sentimental and melodramatic novel of the lowest artistic calibre. In the context of the popularity of these two novelists who monopolised the world of fiction at the time and set up the literary standards by which contemporary fiction was judged, *Miringudiya*, in spite of its modernity in theme as well as in fictional techniques (including the psychological techniques described above), was completely ignored; just as Wickramasinghe's ultra-modern ideas in *Leila* were far too advanced for their time and disregarded in 1914, so once again his ultra-modern themes and fictional techniques used in *Miringudiya* unfortunately suffered the same fate. As Wickramasinghe confessed bitterly later in his autobiography, "After writing and publishing *Miringudiya* I discovered to my mortification that Sinhala readers at the time were not so concerned with artistic features in a work of fiction but with virtue and vice, good and bad morality, and the exposition of traditional Sinhala customs and cultured behaviour."[43]

For the next two decades, therefore, Wickramasinghe eschewed the writing of serious fiction, in spite of his obvious talents in this direction; instead, directed obviously by the success of W.A. Silva[44] in that particular genre of fiction known as "the historical romance", Wickramasinghe tried his hand at writing historical novels, publishing next, in quick succession, two short novels named *Ummada Chithra* (1928) and *Rohini* (1929)

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43 Wickramasinghe, *Upan Da Sita*, p. 171.

44 W.A. Silva's historical romances *Sunethra Nohot Avichara Samaya* (1933), *Daivayogaya* (1936) and *Vijayaba Kollaya* (1938) became very popular in the 1930s.

which brought him some popularity as he had expected[45] but not much literary distinction. In going back to the novel of social analysis in *Gamperaliya* (`Upheaval in the Village', 1944), however, Wickramasinghe achieved the distinction of producing one of the greatest landmarks of Sinhala fiction, now generally acclaimed as the first "modern" novel in Sinhala.[46]

In *Gamperaliya*, however, perhaps by the nature of its theme of social evolution of a Sinhala village (i.e., the changes wrought upon the lives of a feudal family on the southern sea coast as a result of the passage from 19th century feudalism to 20th century capitalism), Wickramasinghe showed no interest in the psychological processes of his characters. *Gamperaliya* is almost completely devoid of any probings into the minds of its characters, of "travelling inward".

Wickramasinghe's next novel, *Agenda* (1949) was more or less a continuation of *Gamperaliya*, tracing another and later development of Sinhala society -- the rise of the Sinhala upper middle class having now migrated to the city of Colombo from their native villages, their entrepreneurship in trade, commerce and industry, their relationships with the working classes, with the inevitable clashes of interest between capitalists and their workers. Thus, being very similar to its predecessor *Gamperaliya* in basic theme and preoccupations, *Yuganthaya* (1949) offered its author little scope for the probing of individual characters and their feelings and emotions. Moreover, the absence of any main characters in these two novels (it has been claimed that the main "character" of *Gamperaliya* is the village Koggala itself) may have been one of the reasons why Wickramasinghe does not probe the individual psyche of any individual character in either of these works.

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45 Sarathchandra claimed that "a historical romance *Rohini* brought him more fame than any of his other novels", and that "Wickramasinghe chooses the most romantic period of our past history, the heyday of nationalism, the almost legendary exploits of Dutugemunu and his warriors. His reconstruction is at once fascinating and authoritative." Sarathchandra, *op.cit.*, p. 143.

46 Sarathchandra (writing in 1950) claimed that *Gamperaliya* is, "certainly, the best novel in Sinhalese, with a village background...(it) suggests an entirely new direction for the Sinhalese novel...it is a truer tale of village life than anything that has appeared before." (*op.cit.*, p. 146). "It is a very accurate reflection of the pattern of living of a Sinhalese village." (p. 149). K.D.P. Wickramasinghe called *Gamperaliya* the finest "realistic novel in Sinhala, depicting real human life, devoid of murders, poisoning and coincidences." K.D.P. Wickramasinghe, *op.cit.*, p. 484.

The decade 1950-1960 marked the real efflorescence of the psychological novel in Sinhala. Not only did several works of fiction utilising modern psychological techniques appear in Sinhala during this decade; significantly, it was during this decade that *Viragaya* (1956) by Martin Wickramasinghe and *Hevanella* (1960) by Siri Gunasinghe, two of the novels which could without hesitation be called "psychological novels", appeared in print, as well as Wickramasinghe's *Kaliyugaya* (the second part of a trilogy comprising *Gamperaliya*, *Kaliyugaya* and *Agenda*) which also made liberal use of certain modern psychological techniques such as direct and indirect interior monologue. This third and last phase of development of the psychological novel in Sinhala will be the subject of the rest of the present study.

Part III

The third and most important phase of the evolution of the psychological novel in Sinhala begins with Martin Wickramasinghe's most important novel *Viragaya* (1956) and culminates with the publication in 1960 of Siri Gunasinghe's *Hevanella*, the first novel in Sinhala that could be termed a "psychological novel" of the "stream of consciousness" type. This decade also saw the publication of the second part of Martin Wickramasinghe's trilogy already referred to (*Kaliyugaya*) in 1957. This middle part of the trilogy, however, probably because it was written and published after the first and third parts (*Gamperaliya*, 1944 and *Agenda*, 1949, respectively), and especially because it was immediately preceded by *Viragaya* (1956), (the novel by Wickramasinghe which approaches most closely a "psychological novel") differed significantly from the other two parts of the trilogy, especially in narrative technique. Not only does the author use interior monologue of both types in this novel; he also uses the epistolary technique to include one long "flashback" into the past by a major character in the novel named Allen.

In order of publication, *Viragaya* (1956) preceded *Kaliyugaya* (1957) by one year, although it is not definitely known whether such was the order of actual composition. However, since *Kaliyugaya* had been planned as a trilogy, of which the first and the third parts had already been published in 1944 and 1949, respectively, it may be surmised that at least some portions of *Kaliyugaya* had been written by Wickramasinghe earlier than *Viragaya*. Considered from the point of view of the evolution of Martin Wickramasinghe's (especially psychological) technique, there is little evidence of either novel being more `advanced' or `mature' than the other. However, *Viragaya* approaches the true psychological novel much closer than *Kaliyugaya* in that in theme the latter is (like the other two parts of the trilogy to which it belongs) primarily a close study of changes in society, while *Viragaya* is an intense study of a single character and his psychological conflicts. In other words, *Viragaya* is organised round a specific individual (Aravinda) and his mental and psychological conflicts in a manner in which *Kaliyugaya* is not. In technique too, *ipso-facto*, the psychological methods used in *Kaliyugaya* appear to be

incidental and sporadic, as in *Miringudiya*, while they are more central and deliberate in *Viragaya*. For these reasons, it appears more useful to consider the 'psychological' aspects of *Kaliyugaya* before those of *Viragaya*.

Kaliyugaya (1957), like the other two parts of the trilogy of which it forms the middle, has no real central character or characters; in Wickramasinghe's own words, the trilogy shows "the way of life of a rural family gradually changing under the influence of western civilisation during three consecutive generations."[47] It is therefore a 'chronicle' novel tracing changes in society, the purpose being, again in the author's own words, to depict "the changes that took place in Sinhala culture by its coming into conflict with western culture."[48] In this middle section of the trilogy, the main subject-matter comprises the life led by Nanda and Piyal with their children (of *Gamperaliya*) after migrating to Colombo. The eldest child of the family, Allen, elopes to England with a girl called Irene, disregarding the opposition of his parents to their marriage. After ten years of suffering in London he writes a long letter to his mother (in English) explaining the reasons why he had to disobey his parents.

Kaliyugaya opens with Allen's long letter narrating in cinematic flashback in the form of a self-confession Allen's gradual alienation from his parents after an interval of more than ten years. Allen's long epistle comprising chapters two, three and four (occupying 33 pages), is tantamount to a severe criticism of the hypocrisy and inconsistency of behaviour of his father, Piyal. The reading of Allen's letter back at home creates a serious disturbance in Nanda's heart. Wickramasinghe has depicted Nanda's mental condition quite successfully by using indirect interior monologue as in the following passage:

> Nanda, hearing Allen criticising certain things that his father had said and done, was greatly agitated in mind. What if Allen criticised his mother (herself) too before he ended his letter? Nanda remembered how she had faced difficult situations which almost drove her to break her marital vows, and how at times she and Piyal quarrelled with each other. She was startled to remember these, as if she was startled at revealing her own nakedness by taking off her clothes and flinging them away. Feeling that Allen may even have accused her of adultery, the secret of which she herself and only one other person was aware, she wanted to seal her ears

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47 Martin Wickramasinghe, *Kaliyugaya*, Saman Press, Maharagama, 1957, Preface, p. 6.

48 *Ibid*.

> with her fingers. Nanda rose from her chair and looked around. The affair between her and Samaraweera reminded her of her sister Anula too. She, Nanda, also was responsible for Anula's death by tuberculosis. She could not avoid the self-blame that arose in her inner mind, telling her that her caste-pride was merely a mask which she had used to hide her own selfish ideas and feelings.[49]

Here the author gives the reader the opportunity to enter the psyche of Nanda at a critical moment of her conflict, by the effective use of interior monologue which is in effect a record of Nanda's "stream of consciousness". The end of the passage illustrates Wickramasinghe's use of another typical modern psychological technique - that of the "free association of ideas". Anula, Nanda's elder sister, was aware of the immoral relationship between Nanda and Samaraweera, a friend of Nanda's husband Piyal, the adulterous relationship referred to in the concluding part of the passage above.

In his letter, Allen occasionally engages in the self-analysis of his psychological conflicts; in the following passage, for instance, Wickramasinghe's keen interest in Allen's feelings and emotional conflicts is brought out quite well:

> My heart begins to tremble in pain when I remember how my love for you and my father sank to the lowest depths of my mind during the time when I was in love with Irene. That love for you rose up once more in my mind in a strangely powerful manner after I came here with Irene and lived here with her for seven or eight months. I was impelled to blame you and my father because my subconscious mind became a torture to me.[50]

However, it is in the depiction of the inner workings of the minds of two comparatively minor characters, Matara Hamine (Piyal's mother) and Anula (Nanda's sister) that Martin Wickramasinghe once again extends the boundaries of psychological fiction in Sinhala in an obviously experimental manner. In the following passage, for example, Matara Hamine ruminates over certain events in the past with a feeling of envy and jealousy, reminding herself how she had not been treated with due respect by her son and daughter-in-law after Piyal's marriage to Nanda. Here, Matara Hamine's feelings of anger, inferiority complex and jealousy emerge effectively through the direct interior monologue that the author has employed.

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49 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

> Nanda had first married a nincompoop from a decadent aristocratic family. The tumbled-down house they had lived in was renovated a little by spending the money of her son whom Nanda had married as her second husband. Nanda's first husband had died in a pauper's ward in a government hospital....After settling down in Colombo Nanda's aristocratic, arrogant nature took a different aspect. How did Nanda, who had been so obedient to her and even borne abuse silently and patiently, become a completely different woman before a year had passed since she began to live in Colombo! Indeed, from the day she had married her son, Nanda had acted with the intention of deceiving her...the crafty thief...[51]

Here Wickramasinghe has recorded Matara Hamine's stream of consciousness effectively by using the technique of indirect interior monologue at the beginning of the passage which later passes unobtrusively into the direct form of it and afterwards also using the method of "free association of ideas" to make the character think of her daughter-in-law's past behaviour and marital history. Later she engages in a dramatic self-questioning to bring out the envy in Matara Hamine's mind. This passage of stream of consciousness (of Matara Hamine) continues for several more paragraphs (over 2 pages) in which a series of past events impinge on her mind in succession. One of them is a flashback to a past incident when Nanda refused to attend Laisa's wedding because of her aristocratic pride;[52] in another flashback she recounts how formerly she (Matara Hamine) had liked and trusted her daughter-in-law : at that time she had even gifted Nanda a paddy field and four acres of coconut property by deed of gift. In this series of flashbacks Matara Hamine surveys in her consciousness her past life -- how she had worked like a slave after she had married a poor villager; how she had to do all the household work usually done by servants; how she had beaten coconut husks to obtain coir to weave yarns of coir rope to make money; how, after that, she began to sell coconut husks soaked in water and also started a small-scale pawnbroking business, lending money on the security of jewellery; how from the money thus earned she had taken coconut properties as security, increased their harvests and gradually became rich; how, using her savings she had bought small plots of coconut land and soon became the owner of about ten acres of coconut land.[53] The passage ends with Matara Hamine's attempts at self-justification and attributing bad motives to Nanda, accusing her of trying deliberately to separate her from her son Piyal. The series of flashbacks ends as follows:

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51 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

53 *Ibid.*

> Nanda, who had stolen her son from her and gone away from her was a crafty woman. Sadness mixed with envy, hate and love for her son was consuming her heart like a huge flame. In her eyes, however, there was not even a minute sign of that inner flame; nor did it appear in her face.[54]

Two important features of the psychological technique used by Martin Wickramasinghe in the passages quoted from *Kaliyugaya* are his attempt to use poetic imagery to convey the state of mind of a character, and the use of indirect interior monologue which enables the author to move back and forth between impersonal third person narrative merging at times with the thoughts and feelings of a character which give the impression of first person soliloquy (a method used, for example, by James Joyce in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*). The first feature, the attempt at hinting at the obscure psychic states of a fictional character by means of appropriate symbols and images may be illustrated by the use of such images as a shower of sparks, a burning flame, and the devils and the underworld in the passages quoted above. The passages from *Kaliyugaya* already quoted, for example, come quite close to passages like the following, where Joyce had used the same narrative method much earlier (the mixture of direct and indirect interior monologue):

> He (Stephen Daedalus) felt the cold air of the corridor and staircase inside his clothes. He still tried to think what was the right answer. Was it right to kiss his mother or wrong to kiss his mother? What did that mean, to kiss? You put your face up like that to say goodnight and then his mother put her face down. That was to kiss. His mother put her lips on his cheek; her lips were soft and they wetted his cheek; they made a tiny little noise: kiss. Why did people do that with their two faces? Sitting in the study hall he opened the lid of his desk.[55]

This narrative method combines the advantages of the two traditional "points of view" in fiction, viz., the third person omniscient narration by the author, and the first person narration by a major character. It enables the author to keep the reader acquainted with factual details of what is happening to his characters in the outside world, but when necessary also to dip into the consciousness or memory of the character, and to give a direct transcript of the thoughts, feelings and emotions of the character (as in "Was it right to kiss his mother?" "What did that mean, to kiss?". Thus this interior monologue

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54 *Ibid.*

55 James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,*, 1916, Penguin Books, Ltd., England, (1960 edition), p. 15.

technique adds great freedom and flexibility to the narrative and is especially suited to novels where the main thematic preoccupation is the exploration of the psychic conflicts of fictional characters.

The manner in which the omniscient third person point of view of the unobtrusive narrator in *Kaliyugaya* passes imperceptibly into the direct thoughts, feelings and self-questionings of the character concerned, (as happens also in the passage from Joyce quoted above) is illustrated in the following passage from Wickramasinghe's novel where Anula is thinking in flashback about the premarital love relationship between her younger sister, Nanda, and Piyal in the context of a situation where Nanda, now married to Piyal, is apparently carrying on an adulterous relationship with a friend of Piyal, called Samaraweera:

> Anula once again opened the almirah and searched for her sister's underwear. Surely Nanda will not be deceived by Samaraweera...How hard Piyal had tried to win Nanda's heart! Nanda had not accepted the gifts sent by Piyal after she had heard of Jinadasa's death...When I scolded her, Nanda buried her face in her pillow and bit it hard to prevent her heart-rending sorrow from emerging through her lips. . .No. No, of course she will not be deceived by Samaraweera.[56]

As shown earlier, the stream of consciousness of Matara Hamine is presented through internal monologue imitating the workings of her mind. In addition, Wickramasinghe uses the free association of ideas and the dislocation of syntax (the use of words, phrases and sentence-fragments instead of complete sentences) to make the flow of Matara Hamine's thoughts realistic. In the following passage, for example, Matara Hamine notes with suspicion and alarm the growing adulterous relationship between her daughter-in-law, Nanda, and Samaraweera, a doctor-friend of Piyal. By the principle of association of ideas, the intimacy between Nanda and Samaraweera makes Matara Hamine recall a Buddhist Jataka story where an adulterous relationship is the main focus. That Jataka story reminds her first about a middle-class villager in her own village who had an illegitimate relationship with his mistress' daughter (his-step-daughter).

> Piyal's mother thought of the intimacy between Nanda and Samaraweera with peculiar suspicion. She thought that there was an improper intimacy between her daughter-in-law and Samaraweera. It was her duty to rescue Nanda before she sank deep into the mire. The father was walking along

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56 Kaliyugaya, p. 120.

> a path through the jungle. He seized her hand with lustful intent. The daughter started crying. "I held your hand to test you," the father said.[57]

This incident that flashed through Matara Hamine's mind when she thought of Nanda and Samaraweera by association of ideas immediately brought into her mind another case of incest, this time in her own village, Koggala. It concerned a peasant called Modduwa, who had tried to engage in incest with his step-daughter;
Here, Matara Hamine's thoughts are recorded realistically in the form of a succession of words and phrases instead of fully-formed sentences.

> Modduwa...the middle-class villager...his mistress' daughter...the legal wife committed suicide by taking poison...the villagers know the reason...that's a dangerous game...my son...Anula knows...tries to keep it dark...Anula fell ill because of her guilty knowledge...a mental illness...cough...what cough? It's mental disorder...Nanda is a crafty deceiver...she ruined Jinadasa...she is destroying my son too.[58]

This is yet another instance of Wickramasinghe's use of the technique of association of ideas. It should be noted that in the passage above, the stream of consciousness of Matara Hamine is rendered, not in complete grammatical sentences but in a kind of verbal shorthand, a kind of linguistic impressionism where words and phrases follow each other in rapid succession, without the formal organisation of conventional syntax. This kind of dislocation of syntax is another device employed to give a realistic impression of the workings of a character's stream of consciousness.

A short time later, the same character, Matara Hamine, talks to Nanda's unmarried elder sister Anula about Samaraweera. In the following passage which records Matara Hamine's thoughts on this occasion, once again the same techniques of flashback, association of ideas and dislocation of syntax are used quite effectively, creating a realistic impression of Matara Hamine's process of thought. Here is Matara Hamine engaged in her self-communing:

> The elder sister knows all about the tricks of the younger one. The older one is trying to keep secret the younger sister's faults and tricks. The younger one went to Colombo in order to misbehave like this deliberately...the child born to Jinadasa died...the new pair of

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57 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

58 *Ibid.*, pp.113-14.

> scissors...the small sidetable covered with a tablecloth...the old rusty pair of scissors...the navel cord...crafty woman...Anula is better, but a scheming woman... Tissa a good man. Nanda is her mother's own daughter...Jinadasa died...she clung on to my son...the son was summoned before the father died...shed tears profusely...the lips moved...drew in his last breath...that was all...as soon as the father died, the carpenter came---sawed a number of jak planks, made a wooden box by levelling the planks and fitted them together with iron nails...I heard the sound of the iron nails being driven in and burst into tears...a shining coffin nicely varnished, with silver fittings...the muhandiram was not buried in a very expensive coffin...[59]

Here Wickramasinghe attempts to present a direct transcript and imitation of the stream of consciousness of Matara Hamine; it was the most advanced psychological technique used up to that time (1957) and highly innovatory---here free association of ideas, flashbacks based on association, combined with the dislocation of normal syntax to imitate the rapid flow of thoughts through a character's mind, are used in a manner reminiscent of modern stream of consciousness techniques employed by 20th century writers like James Joyce, and hitherto unused in Sinhala fiction. The passage quoted from *Kaliyugaya* above comes close to passages of Joycean "stream of consciousness" like the one below: (here Leopold Bloom is thinking of women at childbirth just before visiting Mrs. Purefoy in the maternity hospital):

> Phew! Dreadful simply! Child's head too big: forceps. Doubled up inside her trying to butt its way out blindly, groping for the way out. Kill me that would. Lucky Molly got over hers lightly. They ought to invent something to stop that. Life with hard labour. Twilight sleep idea: Queen Victoria was given that. Nine she had. A good layer.[60]

The stream of consciousness technique as used in the passages like those quoted above from *Kaliyugaya*, therefore, may be described as the highest point of development of the psychological techniques up to 1957. However, Martin Wickramasinghe himself failed to take the next logical step in the evolution of the psychological novel in Sinhala, viz., to explore, using the techniques already tentatively introduced by him in *Kaliyugaya* on a small scale, the stream of consciousness of a single character in depth and in detail.

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59 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

60 James Joyce, *Ulysses* (1922), Penguin Books Ltd., England, (1960 edition), p. 204.

This final, crucial and conclusive step remained to be taken shortly afterwards by another novelist, Siri Gunasinghe, in *Hevanella* (1960).

Kaliyugaya, therefore, in spite of its technical innovations and virtuosity, cannot be termed a `psychological novel' in the strict sense for two reasons; first, its application of the typical and most important stream of consciousness techniques is confined to the representation and analysis, very sporadically and incidentally, in a traditional non-stream-of-consciousness novel, of major characters like Anula and Matara Hamine (Nanda and Piyal are the two main characters in the novel); secondly, the novel is not centred in the consciousness of a single major character with whom the reader remains throughout the novel, and whose experiences, feelings and emotions the reader shares throughout the book.

It was in *Viragaya* (1956), often called not only Martin Wickramasinghe's "greatest work" but also "the finest novel in Sinhala"[61] that Wickramasinghe took his next step in writing a "psychological novel". Although in *Viragaya* he does not employ any further the techniques of interior monologue and its other associated psychological methods, there is in this novel a concentration of focus and attention of the reader on the experiences, feelings and emotional and socio-cultural conflicts of the chief character, Aravinda, to an extent not seen in any Sinhala novel before 1956.

Viragaya is presented in the form of a first person, i.e., autobiographical narrative, through which Aravinda Jayasena, the central character, presents to us a confessional self-portrait of himself and his mental and emotional conflicts which arise from his inability to reconcile the two worlds, the practical world of day-to-day reality and the idealised world of his imagination. As Sarathchandra expresses it, Aravinda lived "in two worlds. One was the practical world of day-to-day reality around him, symbolised by Menaka (his sister); the other was the idealised world of his imagination, full of love and romance, charity and social service, self-sacrifice, symbolised by young Sarojini (the girl he loved at a distance in his younger days)."[62] As Sarathchandra noted, *Viragaya* is above all "a study of Aravinda's character...He was unable to transcend his environment (and as a result) he had a double-sided or `split' character."[63] Not possessed of strong will-power, Aravinda vacillated between the two worlds of ordinary materialistic existence and the

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61 Ediriweera Sarachchandra, *Sinhala Navakatha: Ithihasaya ha Vicharaya*, Saman Press, Maharagama, 1951, 3rd edition, 1960, p. 108.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 109.

63 *Ibid.*

ascetic ("viragaya" means "absence of lust") way of life. The conflict within Aravinda of these two worlds, or ways of life, left him completely inactive, frustrated, passive.

This theme of an individual pulled in two diametrically opposite directions, of a divided or split personality, of a suspension between two worlds, together with the use of the confessional first person point of view, made it obligatory for the author to engage once again in experimentation with the representation of the main character's stream of thought. What is interesting and new about Aravinda as a fictional character is his habit of introspection, of self analysis, attempting always to analyse his own feelings, to dissect his experiences; in fact, Aravinda calls his story his "Autobiography";[64] he realises that his weakness was the lack of will power either to defy tradition and convention and lead his own independent life or to conform totally with tradition against his will.[65]

However, despite the psychological nature of the theme (Aravinda's self-analysis) there is relatively little use of the modern technique of "stream of consciousness"; one such passage is the following, where Aravinda ponders upon his own passivity and pusillanimity in chapter 21:

> I became an inactive, passive individual because I tried to behave conventionally without thinking conventionally...Sarojini claimed that I did not think conventionally because I did not want to take positive action...Her complaint was not untrue. Being violent in speech but attempting to be a good and pious man in action made me a hypocrite. Although hypocrisy is not inherent to human life it is necessary for social life. I sometimes think that it is better to live close to primeval nature like a primitive veddah than to live as a hypocrite.[66]

In the same chapter, the conflict faced by Aravinda in attending Bathee's wedding in order to give away the bride is presented as follows; Aravinda even goes into a "flashforward", imagining what others would think of him if he appears in public on this occasion:

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64 Martin Wickramasinghe, *Viragaya*, Saman Press, Maharagama, 1956, 3rd edition, 1959, p. 47.

65 *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.

66 *Ibid.*

> Men and women who see me going along the road would laugh at me in contempt. They will mentally call me a sanctimonious lay devotee (balal upasakaya). Why did I educate Bathee? I never thought before that she would become a grown up woman, that it would lead to rumour if I lived with her alone. I never imagined before that anyone who saw her lustful face would suspect me of living alone with her. In mind, though not in body, I derived enjoyment from her beauty.[67]

Throughout the greater part of the novel, Aravinda constantly engages in the type of self-analysis illustrated above. However, what is important regarding these passages is their orderly, logical nature---the reader always feels that he is in contact with Aravinda's mind, but not in an unordered, confused and therefore chaotic stream, but in the form of the summarised conclusions of Aravinda in logical argumentation. Even when Wickramasinghe attempts the technique of `flashforward', the reader is aware of the patterned orderliness of presentation of his thoughts and reminiscences, as in the following passage where Aravinda is imagining what would happen if he elopes with Sarojini:

> Even if Sara and I elope and leave the village and go to a distant one, her parents will send the police after us. We shall not be able to overcome the shame and the humiliation until the end of our lives if we are hauled up before a judge. The people of the world, seeing us living as husband and wife without being married, would despise us. Even when we walk on the roads people would laugh at us with derision. How can I first go to the law courts with Sara and on the very next day go to my office? What if both of us are punished in court? If only I am punished Sara will commit suicide...[68]

Chapter 9 begins with a passage of self-confession where Aravinda ponders deeply upon the causes for his own changed behaviour after the death of his father, as follows:

> Certain persons thought that the change in my life was due to my ignoring the day-to-day, practical affairs of life. I cannot agree with that idea. My life changed gradually as I had never expected, and without my awareness, because I did not have the will power to go against

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67 *Ibid.*, p. 228.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

> conventional behaviour. However, I did not act ignoring practical life. I tried to swim against the current, but only in my imagination; when the time came for taking direct action, my will power collapsed. As long as I did not act, I could engage bravely in logical thought; when the time for action arrived I became a slave of feeling; hence I became a slave in the practical world too.[69]

It is comparatively rarely in *Viragaya* that Wickramasinghe departs from this orderly, well-organised but indirect presentation of Aravinda's self-analytic thoughts, to bring us in direct contact with Aravinda's consciousness. Such a rare example occurs at the point where Aravinda thinks of his beloved, Sarojini, trying to conjure up her picture in his imagination. What is significant and new here is the author's attempt at rendering the processes of Aravinda's thoughts in a direct manner, using a kind of grammatical shorthand as described earlier.

> Behind the two orbs of my eyes stands Sara's reflection...her smile...her two eyes focused calmly on my face...my mind becomes calm...it is filled with a feeling of devotion...my eyes become heavy with sleep...Sara's picture fades away...my mind merges into the darkness...Siridasa...Sara...both step up onto my threshold, laughing together...talk to friends and relations...Sara does not look at me...both, their bodies jostling each other, enter the room. She looks at me and laughs.[70]

Even here, attempting to record a "flashforward" or imaginary dream-vision, Wickramasinghe uses not the typical dislocated syntax and grammar of the stream of consciousness novel using the spoken idiom, but formal grammar and well-ordered sentences, as clearly indicated by the formal written (as distinguished from the colloquial) verb forms such as *godaveti*, *genayay*, and *sinasey* (`step up', `take' and `laughs' respectively).

In passages of self-debate too, the conventional method of self-analysis in well-ordered summary form is employed:

Near the Kachcheri, I thought that I would become the victim of the

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69 *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 189.

> curious looks of our acquaintances. They will think what they like. Why should I think of them? What harm is caused to me even if they laugh? Long ago a Brahmin courtier brought up a small girl with the help of an old man. When she grew up he made her his wife. This girl became friendly with a young man and got him to knock the Brahmin husband on the head. What if they compare me to that old Brahmin and tease me? How would they know the Jataka story? Everyone knows the Andhabuta Jataka...the people of those villages...[71]

Here, too, it is the neatly summarised, orderly presentation of the stream of Aravinda's thoughts cast into fully-formed sentences (rather than the use of dislocated syntax) that strikes the reader.

In the last two passages quoted above, Wickramasinghe once again, as in *Kaliyugaya*, employs some of the most characteristic features of stream of consciousness fiction such as flashbacks, flashforwards, and association of ideas, together with soliloquy and interior monologue. However, such passages are the exception in *Viragaya* rather than the rule; the staple of the narrative is the well-ordered, chronological self-analysis by Aravinda, exemplified by the first three passages quoted above from *Viragaya*. As a result, the novel, considered as a whole, cannot be termed a "stream of consciousness novel", for the reader is brought into direct contact with the workings of Aravinda's psyche comparatively rarely just as in *Kaliyugaya*.

The significance of *Viragaya* in the evolution of the psychological novel in Sinhala therefore may be said to lie in the fact that though the novel itself failed to become a stream of consciousness novel, it clearly prepared the ground for its production by fulfilling one of the requisites for such a work, by centering the entire novel in the mental condition of a single character (Aravinda). There remained only one (the final) step to be taken --- to make the novel "reveal psychological processes in which a single point of view is maintained so that the entire novel is presented through the intelligence of a character."[72] This final step was to be taken in Siri Gunasinghe's *Hevanella* (1960), only four years after the publication of *Viragaya*. *Viragaya*, because of its preoccupation with the psyche of Aravinda, achieved the status of a `psychological novel'; however, it failed to become a piece of "stream of consciousness fiction" because in it the basic emphasis is not placed on "exploration of the prespeech levels of consciousness for the purpose, primarily, of

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71 *Ibid.*, p. 212.

72 *Humphrey, op.cit.*, p. 4.

revealing the psychic being of the characters,"[73] which Humphrey described as the main defining characteristic of stream of consciousness fiction.

Part IV

For the reasons indicated in Part Three of the present study, Martin Wickramasinghe's *Viragaya* (1956) may be called the first "psychological novel" in Sinhala for its focus of interest upon a single character and his internal conflicts. However, this novel remains almost throughout in the area of "rational communicable awareness,...with which almost all psychological fiction is concerned"[74] but rarely or never moves into "those levels that are more inchoate than rational verbalisation--those levels on the margin of attention".[75] According to Robert Humphrey, "Stream of consciousness fiction differs from all other psychological fiction precisely in that it is concerned with those levels"[76] mentioned above. In Sinhala fiction, for the first time, it is in Siri Gunasinghe's *Hevanella* that those levels "on the margin of attention". that Humphrey refers to are reached, making *Hevanella* the first "stream of consciousness novel" in the language.

Gunasinghe's *Hevanella* thus marked the culmination of the tendencies towards the analysis of psychological states and conflicts which had appeared in Sinhala novelistic fiction from the beginning of the 20th century, i.e., from Simon de Silva's *Meena*, *Theresa* and *Ape Agama*, through Martin Wickramasinghe's *Leila*, *Miringudiya* and *Kaliyugaya*. In Wickramasinghe's *Viragaya* (1956), at the end of a period of five decades, the entire novel was organised around a single character and his psychological conflicts and problems, producing the first true "psychological novel" in Sinhala. In both *Viragaya* (1956) and *Kaliyugaya* (1957), Martin Wickramasinghe employed the device of interior monologue in association with other well-known stream of consciousness techniques; however, such techniques were applied on a small scale in the representation of the psychic states of one or two minor characters, and did not result in the production of a "stream of consciousness novel."

The final step of centering the entire novel in the psyche of a single character, and

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73 *Ibid.*

74 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

75 *Ibid.*, pp. 2 - 3.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

applying the techniques of recording the thought processes (both of the upper as well as the lower levels of consciousness) was undertaken for the first time in *Hevanella* by Siri Gunasinghe. Being highly exploratory and innovatory especially in technique, *Hevanella*, the first novel of its *genre* shows the strengths as well as some of the weaknesses inherent in such a pioneering work.

Siri Gunasinghe's first novel thus marks the culmination of the developments described earlier, and is a landmark in modern fictional technique. Though not highly original in theme, it is conceived as a deliberate exercise in the application of innovatory techniques in Sinhala of methods of writing "stream of consciousness" fiction used in early 20th century western novels by such writers as James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and William Faulkner. Not only is *Hevanella* thus a *tour de force* in the use of methods of recording the workings of the human consciousness, it is also one of the most concentrated attempts at the use of complex symbolism and imagery in a work of Sinhala fiction.

The epigraph to *Hevanella* provides a clue to the meaning and significance of the title "The Shadow": "There is a shadow which pursues every man---the same shadow is at times pleasant and beautiful, at others fearful and terrible. Whether it is beautiful or fearful depends entirely on the individual concerned. However, man more often sees the fearful shadow---it is that fearful shadow that most often pursues man". In the light of this epigraph, the theme of the novel appears to be the way in which the hero's past (strongly Buddhist) upbringing in a traditional village, represented chiefly by his mother and the chief priest of the village temple, casts a "shadow" over his life, preventing his achieving a full, spontaneous, individual personality of his own. As Sarathchandra has put it, Jinadasa (the main character of *Hevanella*) "tries to adapt himself to the `new' society of the University but his effort is unsuccessful; he is unable to escape from the bonds of tradition---he has no will power to transcend the limits of his village life and upbringing...the shadow of his own past overshadows his life and prevents him from going forward".[77]

Manifestly, Jinadasa's mother is the principal element of the shadow that relentlessly pursues him, hindering his psychological development, and crippling his spontaneity of emotional behaviour. This theme commonly associated with Sigmund

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77 Sarachchandra, *Sinhala Navakatha*, Preface to the 4th edition, 1962, p. xviii.

Freud's theory of the `Oedipus Complex'[78] had been used as early as 1913 by D.H. Lawrence in his novel *Sons and Lovers*, where Paul Morel and his brother William are shown to be hampered psychologically as a result of their close attachment to, and strong influence of, their mother Mrs. Morel. The deleterious effects of Jinadasa's mother, Gunasekera Hamine, on the psychological and spiritual development of her son are clearly brought out in the following passage:

> While his mother lived, he could not be alone, himself, a separate individual. Jinadasa could not endure his mother pursuing him like a shadow in everything he thought and did. Jinadasa wanted to be alone, to escape from life. The only obstacle he encountered was his mother. Every time his mother came into his mind Jinadasa remembered his past. What his mother expected of him, and what he expected of himself, was only a mirage. But it was impossible to save himself from that mirage as long as his mother lived...To live a life without hopes and expectations, he should shatter all the bonds that bound him to his mother. He was sure that he could escape all by escaping from his mother...To live without any hopes and expectations he must destroy the bonds that bound him to his mother.[79]

However, Jinadasa's mother is not the only deleterious and hindering influence on his moral and emotional behaviour. Everything associated with his essentially rural Sinhala-Buddhist upbringing, especially its constricting and outdated moral conventions, too, form part of the immense "shadow" that is thrown across Jinadasa's path. These social conventions and traditional Buddhist mores are symbolised and represented by the chief priest of the village temple. We are informed very early in the novel that the village priest was Jinadasa's closest associate next to his mother; Jinadasa spends the greater part of the evening after school in the temple. The chief priest loved Jinadasa very much. Jinadasa too liked the chief priest most. He follows the chief priest's advice willingly.[80]

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78 In psychoanalysis, the term Oedipus Complex (familiarised especially by Sigmund Freud) may be described as "a libidinal feeling that develops in a child, especially a male child, between the ages of three and six, for a parent of the opposite sex." C.H. Holman and W. Harmon, *A Handbook to Literature*, Macmillan, New York, 1986, p. 344.

79 Siri Gunasinghe, *Hevanella*, Saman Press, Maharagama, 1960, p. 126.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

The basic theme of *Hevanella*, therefore, is quite evidently the conflict of two cultures--a young man pulled in two directions, the traditional and highly conventional rural Sinhala-Buddhist way of life on the one hand and the "modern", westernised way of life of the city of Colombo and the University which exposes Jinadasa to a hitherto unknown world of free sexual relations (including resort to brothels), smoking, drinking liquor, and western-style "socials" and parties and picnics on the other. This cultural conflict leaves Jinadasa a completely frustrated young man unable to find his way through a moral and psychological maze from which he can only find escape and solace in the tavern and in the brothel, after breaking off all relations with his mother and the village. Even then, however, Jinadasa finds it impossible to break from his own "shadow" of tradition upbringing, ending up neither here nor there, a young man suspended between the two worlds of tradition and modernity.

Thus, in *Hevenella*, for the first time in Sinhala fiction, a sensitive individual's moral and psychological conflicts provided an author with the opportunity of utilising the methods developed in early 20th century western (especially English) fiction, the techniques collectively referred to as "stream of consciousness" techniques. Although, as shown earlier in the present study, some of these "psychological" techniques (such as direct and indirect interior monologue,[81] flashback and flashforward, association of ideas, and direct psychological analysis through omniscient narration) had been used more than half a century before Gunasinghe (in Simon de Silva's *Meena* (1905) and employed since then casually and unsystematically up to Martin Wickramasinghe's *Kaliyugaya* (1957), *Hevanella* can be considered more as a product of Gunasinghe's reading of modern western psychological fiction (and especially "stream of consciousness" novels) rather than a result of the slow evolution of techniques developed by Sinhala novelists from Simon de Silva to Martin Wickramasinghe.

It is with Siri Gunasinghe's *Hevanella* that the psychological novel in Sinhala came to full maturity. First, in theme, *Hevanella* is `psychological' in the sense that the author is mainly preoccupied with the psyche of his protagonist Jinadasa; secondly, in technique, it uses for the first time deliberately and continuously in Sinhala the processes of the flow of stream of consciousness as its staple narrative method; and thirdly, it employs, again for the first time, the entire range of modern techniques now associated with "stream of consciousness" fiction in western literature, such as the cinematic techniques of "flashback" and "flashforward" referred to already.

However, significantly, this culminating work did not lead to any further

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81 Indirect interior monologue was first used in Simon de Silva's *Meena* (1905) 55 years before the publication of *Hevanella*.

experimentation by other contemporary writers. Indeed, the crucial significance of *Hevanella* in the evolution of the Sinhala novel has not so far been brought out by any important critic writing in either Sinhala or English; the present essay is probably the first attempt to place *Hevanella* in its proper place in the evolution and development of the Sinhala novel, paying particular attention to its contributions to narrative techniques. The two important critics of *Hevanella*, Martin Wickramasinghe[82] and Ediriweera Sarachchandra[83] (both writing in Sinhala and implicitly acknowledging the importance of *Hevanella* as a Sinhala novel) confine themselves to the discussion of the thematic aspects of the novel, and unfortunately make no comments whatsoever on Siri Gunasinghe's far-reaching innovations in narrative technique.

Part V

The rest of the present essay will be devoted to an analysis of the basic features of the "stream of consciousness technique" employed by Siri Gunasinghe in *Hevanella*.

The "modern psychological novel" as it developed in western languages such as English and French was born between 1913 and 1915. Its alternative names in English criticism, called by Leon Edel "the stream of consciousness novel" or "the novel of the silent, the internal monologue," and in French "the modern analytic novel", provide significant clues to the distinguishing characteristics of a "modern psychological novel." The main term together with its alternate names are used in the present essay in the senses that they are used by Leon Edel in his well-known work on psychological fiction.[84] Modern psychological fiction is distinguished primarily by a keen interest in catching or capturing "the very atmosphere of the mind,"[85] the main phrase used by Edel to characterise the essence of psychological fiction.

It can be asserted without hesitation that it was in Siri Gunasinghe's *Hevanella*

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82 Martin Wickramasinghe, *Upan Da Sita*, Saman Press, Maharagama, 1961, pp. 350-54.

83 Ediriweeera Sarachchandra, *Sinhala Navakatha*, Preface to the 4th edition, 1962, pp. xvii-xviii.

84 Leon Edel, *The Psychological Novel 1900-1950*, Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1955.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

that a serious and deliberate attempt was made to capture "the atmosphere of the mind" for the first time in the history of Sinhala fiction. For this purpose the author has selected his principal character, Jinadasa Gunasekera, whose mind and movements provide the main central focus of the novel. This focusing of the entire novel on a single (main) character is one (but not the only) necessary condition for the production of a psychological novel; according to Edel, the central character of a psychological novel should be one who is "aware, in extraordinary degree, of his feelings and sensations",[86] and show "an acute need to cope with inner problems and project his inner life before the world."[87] In *Hevanella*, Siri Gunasinghe, like all previous psychological novelists such as James Joyce, Marcel Proust, and Virginia Woolf, clearly sought "to retain and record the inwardness of experience."[88]

Like almost all psychological novels, *Hevanella* broke away significantly from all earlier Sinhala fiction, by rejecting both the "omniscient third person point of view" as well as the traditional "first person point of view", the only two principal points of view used in pre-1960 Sinhala fiction. Even a novel with a manifestly "psychological" theme like Martin Wickramasinghe's *Viragaya* (1956) used the traditional first person point of view---it is described as the "autobiography" of Aravinda Jayasena, "edited" by his cousin Sammie; Aravinda's "autobiography" is introduced by Sammie's narrative, also in the first person point of view,[89] while the rest of the novel (from chapter 2 onwards to the end of the novel) is written (except for a few passages which approach the form of "interior monologue") in the well-known, conventional, third person point of view.

Hevanella, unlike most Sinhala novels, plunges the reader dramatically, *in medias res*, into the consciousness of Jinadasa at a moment of psychological, moral, and emotional crisis. Once the reader thus enters the story, he participates in the novel with Jinadasa, following the latter's thoughts, feelings, emotions, mental conflicts, physically and emotionally moving from place to place with him, and seeing, hearing and feeling what Jinadasa does. There is the complete disappearance of the omniscient author who could comment on the action; instead, the author becomes merely a recording instrument, utilized purely to record in writing the main character's thoughts and his feelings, his view of the world during the period of time selected for representation in the novel. The opening of

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86 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

87 *Ibid.*

88 *Ibid.*

89 Martin Wickramasinghe, *Viragaya*, p. 20.

Hevanella accordingly plunges the reader dramatically into a scene at the Colombo university restaurant where Jinadasa is seen in earnest debate, arguing with his best friend Wijepala on a topic of great thematic importance in the novel, i.e., the nature, quality and value of the life at the university (highly westernised at the time), which was quite alien to the rural Sinhala-Buddhist way of life under which Jinadasa had been brought up from his birth. In this opening scene of the novel, the background of the university restaurant is presented through Jinadasa's eyes, but in the characteristically restricted third person point of view:

> There was a large crowd, laughing and shouting loudly. No happiness penetrates into Jinadasa's mind. Jinadasa cannot find even a drop of consolation from any spot, from anything in the university. "Nonsense, Wije, I have no liking [for the campus] at all. Much better if had not come here at all. Can't you see? Is this in any way a civilised place"?[90]

"Interior monologue" has been defined as "the technique used in fiction for representing the psychic content and processes of character, partly or entirely unuttered just as these processes exist at various levels of conscious control before they are formulated for deliberate speech."[91] In other words it (interior monologue) "represents the content of consciousness in its inchoate stage before it is formulated for deliberate speech."[92] It is this condition of appearing to be in a state "before it is formulated for deliberate speech" that distinguishes the "interior monologue" from the traditional forms known generally as "dramatic monologue" and the "stage soliloquy."

The narrative method thus labelled "interior monologue" had been used by James Joyce and others in the early 20th century for the representation of the psyche or consciousness of fictional characters in two basic forms, labelled (a) Indirect Interior Monologue and (b) Direct Interior Monologue. The basic difference between these two sub-types is that "indirect monologue gives to the reader a sense of the author's continuous presence; whereas direct monologue either completely or greatly excludes it."[93] To put it

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90 Siri Gunasinha, *Hevanella,* p.1.

91 Humphrey, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

in more formal terms, "*Indirect* monologue is that type of interior monologue in which an omniscient author presents unspoken material as if it were directly from the consciousness of a character, and, with commentary and description, guides the reader through it. It differs from *direct* interior monologue basically in that the author intervenes between the character's psyche and the reader. It retains the fundamental quality of interior monologue in that what it presents of consciousness is direct; that is, it is in the idiom and with the peculiarities of the character's psychic processes."[94]

Thus, the opening of *Hevanella*, already quoted, contains the feelings and thoughts of Jinadasa, the main character, but arranged and presented by the author-narrator who is continuously felt to be present by the reader; the entire scene is reported and recorded by the author who "intervenes between the character's psyche and the reader," and acts as an "on-the-scene guide for the reader."[95] The passage which follows is representative of the form of narration called *indirect* interior monologue in *Hevanella*; here, the protagonist Jinadasa, a young undergraduate brought up in typical Sinhala-Buddhist fashion shrinks from close contact and association with female fellow undergraduates and suffers from mental conflict brought about by the conflict of the two ways of life or cultures. Jinadasa is strongly attracted at the university by a pretty girl called Vineetha, but has no strong will-power to approach and court the young woman: a case of "calf-love" somewhat similar to that depicted by James Joyce in his short story *Araby*.[96] In this particular scene in the novel, Jinadasa tries hard but fails to concentrate on a book he is reading in the university library. Vineetha too is seated just opposite at the same table:

> The passage from the *Attanagaluvamsa*,[97] (a work of classical Sinhala prose on the theme of religious devotion and piety denouncing women and sensual lust in particular) began to flow into his mind. Jinadasa felt his head becoming lighter. The distressing thoughts that seemed to arise

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94 *Ibid.*

95 *Ibid.*

96 "Araby" is the title of one of the 15 short stories in James Joyce's *Dubliners*, first published in 1914.

97 The Elu-Attanagaluvamsa, a classical Sinhala prose work of religious edification. In this work, a Buddhist monk called Nanda thero advises prince Siri Sangabo to eschew all sensual pleasures, especially women, who are described as the roots of all evil and "bring nothing but ruin to the male."

> from thinking about Vineetha seemed to have vanished now. He could now remove his eyes from Vineetha's gently rising and falling breasts. But that was only for a moment. A woman is not something fearful, Jinadasa told himself. It was foolish to run away in terror. No, I shall look, and look properly, at Vineetha. Jinadasa thought he was behaving like a small child.[98]

By virtue of the fact that in this passage the reader's attention is concentrated throughout on Jinadasa and his thoughts, feelings and reactions towards Vineetha, and his sharing them with Jinadasa, the passage is clearly a piece of interior monologue; but since Jinadasa's thoughts and feelings are not presented directly as they impinge on Jinadasa's mind but are reported by the author who has arranged them in a series of fully-formed grammatical sentences in a logical order, by which he (the author) guides the reader using such narrative tags as "Jinadasa felt", "Jinadasa thought", the passage has to be categorised as a piece of *indirect* interior monologue.

On the other hand, when such narrative tags as "Jinadasa thought/Jinadasa felt" are omitted completely, and as a result only the thoughts and feelings of Jinadasa are directly transcribed by the author who has virtually disappeared completely from the scene, what results is a passage of *direct* interior monologue, as in the following passage, where Jinadasa's flow of thoughts is directly rendered without the intervention and guidance of the author-narrator. This passage immediately follows the passage quoted just above:

> How disgusting! What a despicable thing to do! I don't care whether it's Vineetha or anyone else. What do I care? I must read my book. He turned a page. Why can't I alone become friendly with a girl? How many girls has Wije courted this year alone? *He* (Wije) lives very happily, (has) as many girls as he wants. He doesn't even run after girls like Seville Samare. Even Seville Samare has a girl! He is a really slimy character. It's common knowledge that Seville Samare is scared stiff of girls. Why can't I behave like Wije? Am I so very ugly? That cannot be. What greater beauty has Wije that I myself don't have?[99]

Although there are many continuous passages which remain for large stretches either in indirect or in direct interior monologue, Gunasinghe's general practice in

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98 *Hevanella*, p. 17.

99 *Ibid.*

Hevanella is to pass back and forth from one to the other. The following passage provides a good example of the method of passing to and fro between the two forms of interior monologue; it begins in the form of indirect monologue but later passes imperceptibly to the direct where the reader comes in contact with the main character's thoughts directly. Here it is Jinadasa's feeling of inferiority that he is not handsome that is brought out through Jinadasa's self-confession:

> Jinadasa did not believe for a moment that Wijepala was more handsome than himself. On several occasions he (Jinadasa) had locked the door of his room and stood in front of the looking-glass. He had scrutinised his reflection carefully and confirmed in his own mind that he was a handsome young man. Jinadasa involuntarily made it a habit to remove his clothes, throw them on his bed, stand in front of the looking glass and carefully scrutinise his own nakedness. Beautiful hair. Chest full of luxuriant hair. Long, pretty legs. In a moment, he feels that he must be twenty or thirty times more handsome than Wijepala. He cannot imagine why not a single girl is interested in him. I know. I'm a churlish uncultured village boor, a *godaya*, I'm too much of an *upasaka* (a man of great religious piety). Otherwise, there's no reason why even this girl Vineetha should reject him. Jinadasa looked again at Vineetha to verify for himself whether that idea of his was correct or not.[100]

Here *Hevanella* shows that typical mixture (within the same paragraph and on the same page) of the two kinds of interior monologue, as used commonly in most western stream of consciousness fiction; as Humphrey notes, In practice, indirect interior monologue is usually combined with another of the techniques of stream of consciousness, especially with description of the consciousness. Often it is combined with direct monologue. This latter combination of techniques is especially suitable and natural, for the author who uses indirect monologue may see fit to drop out of the scene for a length of time, after he has introduced the reader to the character's mind with enough additional remarks for them to proceed smoothly together."[101]

From the point of view of the evolution of the psychological novel in Sinhala, it is in the extensive use of "direct interior monologue" that *Hevanella* makes its most important innovatory contribution, for passages of psychological analysis recording a character's thoughts and mental conflicts had been used to a considerable extent from the

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100 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

101 Humphrey, *op.cit.*, pp. 29-30.

beginning of the 20th century; in fact from the time of the publication of Simon de Silva's *Meena* (1905), and therefore its use had preceded *Hevanella* by more than half a century, as shown earlier in the present paper. However, before *Hevanella*, passages that could be described as the "direct" representation of the thoughts, feelings and psychological conflicts, without the intervention of the author, had been quite rare, being found occasionally in one or two novels of Martin Wickramasinghe like *Miringudiya* (1925) and *Kaliyugaya* (1957). Direct interior monologue had in fact been used before *Hevanella*, but not on any extensive scale, as shown earlier in the present article. Gunasinghe's main contribution to Sinhala psychological fiction was, therefore, not the introduction of either direct or indirect interior monologue, but their use on a wide and extensive scale and as the staple narrative medium, sustained throughout a whole novel, and especially their combination and interweaving together to project effectively the psyche or consciousness of the main character.

Another device now considered essential to render the workings of the human consciousness, known as "free association" or "association of ideas" is also used quite often in *Hevanella*. William James, the psychologist, defined the phenomenon of "association of ideas" as follows: "Objects once experienced together tend to become associated in the imagination, so that when any one of them is thought of, the others are likely to be thought of also, in the same order of sequence or co-existence as before."[102] In passages using the technique of the "association or ideas", the character's thoughts are typically shown to follow each other not by logical order, but by an order depending upon casual connection which indicates their *past connection or association* in the experience of the particular character concerned. In the following extract, for example, when Jinadasa sees another undergraduate Weerasena squeezing Vineetha's hand, by "association of ideas" Jinadasa is reminded of a similar past incident in his own life, where he had squeezed their servant girl Laisa's hand one day at home:

> He saw how Weerasena held and squeezed Vineetha's hand. A strong feeling of jealousy arose within him. He was beginning to think that Vineetha must be in love with Weerasena. Jinadasa remembered how he himself had held Laisa's hand during the last vacation. How his mother had come at that very moment! Jinadasa's mother protected him from Laisa as if she was protecting a young goat from a tigress. Laisa slept in his mother's room---it was impossible to go to her mat at night. There were innumerable protective measures during the daytime too. That day

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102 William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1950, p. 561.

> his mother had no sooner left the room for a moment unexpectedly than a ruse had struck Jinadasa's mind to take advantage of the situation, as if by some divine power.[103]

The use of the stream of consciousness of the main character (Jinadasa) as the focus or centre of the narrative throughout made it unnecessary and impossible to preserve a strictly *chronological* sequence of events in the novel; instead, *Hevanella*, like other "stream of consciousness" novels, follows basically the process of thoughts passing through Jinadasa's mind during the *imagined present*. (i.e., the time selected for representation in the novel). By taking advantage of the mind's (or memory's) ability to think of past or of future happenings (both by the process of association of ideas as described earlier) a series of events can be assembled, to form a "plot", though, significantly, such a plot is not presented in chronological order. In this non-traditional, highly innovatory plot of a stream of consciousness novel, therefore, the reader is made to move back and forth from the present to the past and sometimes to the future, producing the effect of `flash-back' and `flash-forward' considered typical of the cinema. The passage already quoted) regarding Jinadasa squeezing Laisa's hand is a good example of the "flashback" technique combined with the "association of ideas"; in the passage below, again by "free association", Jinadasa, having just thought of his mother at home, recalls his father and the date of his death, several years earlier:

> Jinadasa spent most of his time since he arrived in Colombo thinking of his mother and his home. Jinadasa's father had died when he was just five years old. His only memory of his father was that a lot of people had put him into a long box and carried it away. He could not remember anything else that happened on that day because of mother's weeping and wailing. After his father's death his only friend was his mother.[104]

Just as *past* events from any period of time in the main character's life can be recalled at any point in the narrative sequence from the beginning to the end of the novel, *future* events as imagined to be likely, possible, or desirable by or for the central character could be imaginatively created in his mind before their occurrence. In the following passage, for instance, Jinadasa is building castles in the air, day-dreaming about how he would, after passing his university exams, get through the prestigious Civil Service

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103 *Hevanella*, pp. 62-63.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Examination and later become a Government Agent.[105] (Chief administrative officer of a province) driving a big red limousine:

> No matter. I only want to pass the Civil Service Exam. Then all these people will come after me. Let them laugh at me now...No matter...I don't care for them. Some day I'll become an honourable Government Agent as Kiri Ganithaya (the village fortune-teller) prophesied. He saw a large red limousine through the black letters on the page. He imagined that he heard someone's timid, humble voice from somewhere mumbling, "Honourable Sir..." Jinadasa looked around, startled, as if his backside had been bitten by a bug.[106]

Yet another characteristic device used in modern stream of consciousness fiction to make the story dramatic and highly realistic is another method associated with the modern cinema, called "montage". In using this device, the author attempts to capture and present a series of rapid changes taking place in the external world through which the main character is moving, while also simultaneously recording changes in the character's feeling, emotions and attitudes as the changes in the outside world impinge upon his senses, especially his mind. This technique of "montage" may be illustrated by the following passage from James Joyce, an author who used the technique extensively in his fiction:

> He crossed Townsend Street, passing the frowning face of Bethel. El, Yes: house of: Aleph, Beth. And past Nichols' the undertakers'. At eleven it is. Time enough. Daresay Corny Kelleher begged that job for O'Neill's. Singing with his eyes shut. Corney. Met her once in the park. In the dark. What a lark. Police tout. Her name and address she then told with my tooraloom tay. O, surely he begged it. Bury him cheap in a what you may call. With my tooraloom, tooraloom, toolaroom, toolaroom.
>
> In Westland Row he halted before the window of the Belfast and Oriental Tea Company and read the legends of leadpapered packets; choice blend, finest quality, family tea. Rather warm. Tea. Must get some from Tom

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105 A Government Agent was the chief executive and administrative officer representing the government in a large province and was the most prestigious person in the area.

106 *Hevanella*, pp. 14-15.

> Kernan. Couldn't ask him at a funeral, though. While his eyes still read blandly he took off his hat quietly inhaling his hairoil and sent his right hand with slow grace over his brow and hair. Very warm morning. Under their dropped lids his eyes found the tiny bow of the leather headband inside his high grade hat. Just there. His right hand came down into the bowl of his hat. His fingers found quickly a card behind the headband and transferred it to his waistcoat pocket.[107]

This fictional device consists of using a rapid succession of external events (imitating the process of "mounting" or "montage" (in French) of disconnected camera shots one on top of the other) giving rise to a series of disconnected feelings and impressions not arranged in any logical order; in other words, as Harry Levin has said of Leopold Bloom's mind in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, when the technique of montage is employed, the main character's mind, in effect, becomes "a motion picture, which has been ingeniously cut and carefully edited to emphasise the close-ups and fadeouts of flickering emotion, the angles of observation and the flashbacks of reminiscence...the thought of his (Joyce's) characters is like unreeling film."[108] This device or "method of construction, the arrangement of this new material, involves the crucial operation of montage," according to Levin.[109]

Siri Gunasinghe, one of the pioneer `modern' film-makers in Sinhala, would have been interested in, and familiar with, the use of montage in the making of the Sinhala film *Sat Samudura*, as well as with the exploitation of the device of montage in western stream of consciousness novels for literary purposes. It is not strange, therefore, that Gunasinghe was capable of utilising the technique of montage quite effectively and with great ease, as in the extract below:

> Jinadasa who had reached the pavement felt the pandemonium on Galle Road like a person who had awakened from sleep. The uproar in the street made its impact on his eye, ear, hand, and foot, causing pain all over his body. Cars, buses, lorries, going up and down; women, men, boys, girls, peep, peep, book, boom, kreen, kreen, I, No, Oh, Yes, You, No, I, Ha, O, O, Hullo, I can't I can't, gudugudu, dadi bidi, ...Wonder

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107 James Joyce, *Ulysses*, 1922, Penguin Edition, 1992, p. 86.

108 H. Levin, *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction*, Faber & Faber, London, 1944, p. 82.

109 *Ibid.*

> whether I'm late...Six thirty...No matter...The entire Galle Road is a fancy bazaar, he thought. Red sarees, blue sarees, yellow sarees; he saw how the frock of the Burgher girl riding a bicycle went up in the air. Although he looked away shyly, in a moment Jinadasa felt like looking back to see her legs again. What if someone sees me? Jinadasa did not look back. What beautiful legs! Had I gone along the other pavement! How the wretched bus came at the same moment. On Jinadasa's left was a textile shop. Nagindas, Hirandas, What fine names these fellows have! Mamuji, Kanji, Branji, Sinji, Sinko machan seru seru, indiappan jaaru jaaru.[110] Jaari georgette. Elegen georgette. Elite.[111]

Siri Gunasinghe's *Hevanella*, in which almost every modern stream of consciousness technique (i.e., direct and indirect interior monologue, self-debate and soliloquy, association of ideas, flashback and flash-forward, and montage, among others) is employed systematically and deliberately throughout an entire work of long fiction, therefore, may be termed the first "stream of consciousness novel" in Sinhala. The "stream of consciousness novel", however, is only one of the sub-categories of a larger fictional *genre* called "psychological fiction", to which such works as Martin Wickramasinghe's *Viragaya* (1956) seem to belong, mainly owing to Wickramasinghe's focusing his entire novel on the psychic experiences, thoughts and feelings of the central character, Aravinda Jayasena. However, Martin Wickramasinghe, unlike Siri Gunasinghe, used the older and more conventional narrative technique of first person confessional narration which puts the novel *Viragaya* outside the genre of the "stream of consciousness" novel proper. But because of the nature of its subject-matter *Viragaya* still remains within the category of "psychological fiction". In other words, Wickramasinghe's *Viragaya* may be categorised as a "psychological novel" while not being a "stream of consciousness novel" in the proper sense.[112]

To sum up, therefore, Siri Gunasinghe's achievement in *Hevanella* may be described as the composition of the first "stream of consciousness novel" in Sinhala; it is perhaps unique in that, more than 35 years after its first publication, it still remains the one

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110 Two lines from a popular comic song, probably a "Kafrinna" song.

111 Hevanella, p. 49.

112 No detailed study and assessment of Martin Wickramasinghe's *Viragaya*, one of the greatest---if not the greatest---of Sinhala novels, as a *psychological* novel has been made so far and provides a fruitful subject for future research.

and only attempt at the writing of a stream of consciousness novel on western lines, similar to, and modelled upon, the fictional works of writers of the calibre of James Joyce, Virginia Woolf and Marcel Proust. *Hevanella* is unique, also, in that no later writer of Sinhala fiction appears to have followed Siri Gunasinghe's praiseworthy innovatory and pioneering effort. However, it should be noted that, whatever the value of *Hevanella* as a work of art, through his first work of fiction the author extended the boundaries and potentialities of the Sinhala novel.

In adopting for his first novel the form of the "stream of consciousness novel", and also adopting all its associated narrative techniques as described in the present study, Gunasinghe in fact opened up a whole new territory for Sinhala writers of fiction---a rich potential form which Robert Humphrey said justifies its use in the statement that "the great advantage, and consequently, the best justification of this type of novel (i.e., stream of consciousness fiction) rests on its potentialities for presenting character more accurately and more realistically"[113] (than before). Future Sinhala novelists, however, will probably utilise the great potentialities offered by this new form in time to come, following the lead given in 1960 by Siri Gunasinghe in his first exercise in novelistic fiction.[114]

B.S.S.A. WICRAMASURIYA

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113 Humphrey, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

114 Nearly 25 years after *Hevanella*, Siri Gunasinghe published *Mandarama*, a continuation of *Hevanella* (Lake House Investments, Colombo, 1994). The present article had been completed by the time of its appearance and *Mandarama* will be the subject of a separate paper (in preparation) by the present writer.

THE IDENTITY OF HEATHCLIFF IN EMILY BRONTË'S *WUTHERING HEIGHTS*: WOOLF OR WAIF?

Background:

The identity of Heathcliff has proved a conundrum for the characters in and critics of Emily Bronte's text, *Wuthering Heights*. "Is [Heathcliff] a ghoul or vampire?" wonders Nelly the housekeeper, while Catherine describes him as "a fierce, pitiless, wolfish man" (98, 273). Shortly after her marriage, Isabella queries "Is Mr. Heathcliff a man? If so, is he mad? And if not, is he a devil?" (124). Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar comment that Isabella's questions "summarize the traditional Heathcliff problem succinctly" (273). The challenge for critics has been to identify the seemingly inexplicable nature of Heathcliff. Bronte scholars have attempted to define Heathcliff in a variety of ways including as a demon lover, a capitalist exploiter, a ferocious natural force, a Frankenstein monster and a patriarchal tyrant (Gilbert and Gubar 253, Eagleton 121, Jacobs 79). However, as Tom Winnifreth points out, "Critics have not been able to make up their minds whether Heathcliff is hero or villain, worker or capitalist. . . ." (47). The problem with such labels is that they do not encompass the complex character of Heathcliff. If Heathcliff is merely a diabolical being or a heartless monster, how does one account for his steadfast love for Catherine, or "his rudely confessed regard for Hareton Earnshaw . . . and his half-implied esteem for Nelly Dean" (Charlotte Bronte *Preface* 40). Nelly Dean too observes of him, "Poor wretch . . . you have a heart and nerves the same as your brother-men!" (148). Alternately, to describe Heathcliff as a greedy tyrant or ruthless avenger is also inadequate since he loses interest in material concerns in his "obsessional love for Catherine" and does not follow through completely his plans for revenge (Eagleton 128). Heathcliff himself admits that "now would be the precise time to revenge myself . . . But what is the use? I don't care for the striking" (268). Given these contradictions, one may conclude that the above labels, while they partially reveal some aspect of Heathcliff's character, are not comprehensive in themselves.

In order to circumvent this difficulty, some critics have emphasized the conflicting nature of Heathcliff's character. Terry Eagleton observes that "He is, indeed, contradiction incarnate. . . . Heathcliff is both [a] metaphysical hero . . . and a skilful exploiter who cannily expropriates the wealth of others" (128). Eagleton considers that "Heathcliff can thus be represented only as a conflicting unity of spiritual rejection and social integration; and this, indeed, is his personal tragedy" (128). Making a related point, Frank Kermode stresses the "betweenness" of Heathcliff and mentions that "this betweenness persists . . . [in the way] Heathcliff fluctuates between poverty and riches; also between virility and impotence. He has much force, yet fathers an exceptionally puny child; Domestic yet savage. . . bleak yet full of fire . . . he bestrides the great opposites: love and death, culture and nature. . . ." (43). While such descriptions try to capture the complexity of Heathcliff, they are too inconclusive and vague. Heathcliff is interpreted as a larger than life figure who

embodies extremes, rather than as a human being who may be viewed in ordinary terms. As Q.D.Leavis argues, "by showing always the psychological reasons for certain kinds of behaviour [this novel shows that] there is nothing mysterious or incredible . . . in essentials, about Heathcliff" (119). Leavis herself, however, does not offer any conclusive interpretation of Heathcliff, and instead considers him to "be made up of so many inconsistent parts" (107).

Introduction:

Given this critical background where Heathcliff's character seems to defy precise definition, this paper suggests that his fundamental identity is his lack of it, as a waif. While the Webster's Desk Dictionary defines the word "waif" as: 1) a homeless and helpless person; 2) something found whose owner is not known," this paper uses the term in a broader sense as a unwanted person who does not belong to any family, community or place. Initially, in childhood and adolescence, Heathcliff is a waif due to circumstances beyond his control. Later, as an adult, Heathcliff's behaviour causes him to remain a waif, alienated from other people. Nonetheless, throughout the novel Heathcliff seeks entry into familial circles, and strives to re-create domestic relations (albeit in perverse ways) as compensation for his sense of being a waif.

Childhood:

In his early life, Heathcliff is clearly presented as a waif. Old Mr. Earnshaw discovers him abandoned in the streets of Liverpool "starving and houseless" (45).The child has no known family connections since "not a soul knew to whom it belonged" (45). He also seems to lack affiliation to any recognisable social group as he "repeated over and over again some mysterious gibberish that nobody could understand" (45). Heathcliff's mysterious origins have intrigued many Bronte scholars. Q. D.Leavis suggests that Bronte originally intended Heathcliff as "the illegitimate son and Catherine's half-brother" (89). Daiches surmises that "the fact that Liverpool is a port maybe significant: was he the offspring of some foreign sailor, did he have some negro blood or did he come from a distant country?" (22). Interesting though such speculations are, they cannot be confirmed. The novel implies, however, that the child has been exposed to deprivation and hardship in his early years. Nelly observes that he was "a sullen, patient child, hardened, perhaps to ill-treatment"(46). His arrival at Wuthering Heights places him in yet another vulnerable position where he is subject to the intolerance of Mrs. Earnshaw who "was ready to fling it [Heathcliff] out of doors," as well as to "Hindley's blows" and Nelly's pinches (45,46). Nelly later admits that "Hindley hated him: and to say the truth I did the same; and we played and went on with him shamefully" (46). Clearly, this new abode does not offer much security or warm acceptance to the helpless child. Eagleton comments that "As a waif and orphan, Heathcliff is inserted into the close-knit family structure as an alien" (120).

Despite the hostility of some of its inmates, the child Heathcliff, nonetheless, briefly experiences familial relations at Wuthering Heights. Nelly reports how old Mr. Earnshaw "took to him strangely" and petted the 'poor fatherless child" and offered

Heathcliff affection and some protection from his antagonists (46). Interestingly, the fact that Heathcliff is named after a son who died in childhood suggests that the old man saw him as a replacement for the dead child. Gilbert and Gubar observe that Heathcliff is perhaps viewed "as if he were a reincarnation of the lost child" (264). Besides the senior Earnshaw, Cathy too offers friendship and affection to Heathcliff, and Nelly describes how the two youngsters were "very thick" (46). Heathcliff seems responsive to the friendly overtures of Earnshaw and his daughter. Their close bonds can be observed in the poignant scene shortly prior to the old man's death when Cathy "leant against her father's knee, and Heathcliff was lying on the floor with his head in her lap" (50).

During these early years, presumably as result of familial affection, Heathcliff displays virtuous qualities such as innocence, goodness and patience. Nelly grudgingly concedes that during a attack of measles "he was the quietest child that ever nurse watched over . . . .Cathy and her brother harassed me terribly: *he* was as uncomplaining as a lamb . . ." (47). Another instance when Heathcliff displays a noble aspect is immediately after Mr. Earnshaw's death. Nelly observes that Heathcliff and Cathy "were comforting each other with better thoughts than I could have hit on: no parson in the world ever pictured heaven so beautifully as they did in their innocent talk . . ." (51). Even after old Earnshaw's death, despite Hindley's cruelty, Heathcliff's initial inclination is to lead a virtuous life as revealed by his words, "Nelly, make me decent. I'm going to be good" (59). Undoubtedly, Heathcliff 's most genuine feelings are reserved for Cathy. Nelly observes that even as a child "the notion of *envying* Catherine was incomprehensible to him, but the notion of grieving her he understood clearly enough" (60). Cathy, in turn, was "much too fond of him" (49). Clearly then, the young Heathcliff does not lack in humane qualities as he reacts positively to the affection he receives, which in turn helps to diminish his feelings of being a waif.

Unfortunately, this new identity that Heathcliff seems set to forge within the Earnshaw family (as a foster son to old Earnshaw and Cathy' s inseparable partner) is threatened by the advent of Hindley as the new master of Wuthering Heights. Hindley begins his destruction of Heathcliff by relegating him to the role of servant and "compelling him to [labour] as hard as any other lad on the farm" (52). Hindley also hinders Heathcliff 's education by preventing him from receiving lessons through the curate (52). Eagleton observes that Heathcliff is robbed of liberty in two antithetical ways: "exploited as a servant on the one hand, allowed to run wild on the other" and is thus culturally impoverished (121). Additionally, Hindley subjects Heathcliff to violence and abuse to such an extent that Nelly comments "his treatment of the latter was enough to make a fiend of a saint" (67). Besides Hindley, Joseph too takes advantage of Heathcliff's helplessness to "thrash [him] till his arm ached" (52). Physically and mentally abused, and deprived of opportunities to improve himself culturally and socially, Heathcliff is once again in the position of a waif.

However, Heathcliff rebels against his circumstances by taking comfort in the kinship he shares with Cathy. Nelly relates that "Heathcliff bore his degradation pretty well at first, because Cathy taught him what she learnt, and worked or played with him

in the fields" (52). Paradoxically, their bond seems to grow stronger in the face of the harassments of Hindley and Joseph. As John T. Matthews observes, "Catherine and Heathcliff are never closer than when one has been temporarily hurt or banished by the family, against which they can maintain their separateness" (60). Lyn Pykett too mentions "the intensely close relationship between Catherine and Heathcliff, the children of nature and comrades-in-arms against the adult tyranny of Joseph and later of Hindley, the new owner of the heights" (89). Regardless then of the oppressions imposed on him, Heathcliff still manages at this point to stave off "waifhood" and to gain a sense of belonging through the companionship he enjoys with Cathy.

Adolescence:

This somewhat idyllic state where Heathcliff 's deprivations are compensated through Cathy, is disrupted in their adolescent years. Tom Winnifreth points out that "[a] case can be made for saying that Heathcliff and Catherine have in their childish innocence established complete harmony, and that this is broken by a series of intruders" (51). The main intruders who damage the close bond between Heathcliff and Cathy are the Linton family. The Lintons first initiate the separation of the two friends by hosting Cathy for five weeks to recover from an injury, while castigating Heathcliff as a "a little Lascar, an American or Spanish castaway" and chasing him away as "a wicked boy . . . quite unfit for a decent house" (55). Parted from his only companion, this separation heightens Heathcliff's sense of being a waif and elicits a negative reaction from him. Gilbert and Gubar observe that ". . .when Catherine is first withdrawn from the adolescent Heathcliff, the boy becomes increasingly brutish, as if to foreshadow his eventual soullessness" (296). Although Cathy returns and continues to be "his constant companion still at his seasons of respite from labour," their relationship is no longer the same. The Lintons continue to visit and influence Cathy, heightening her awareness of Heathcliff as a "vulgar young ruffian" and "worse than a brute" (68). Nelly points out the "double character" played by Cathy in her attempts to appease both parties (68). Heathcliff too seems sensitized to the growing barrier between Cathy and him, and he "recoil[s] with angry suspicion from her girlish caresses, as if conscious there could be no gratification in lavishing such marks of affection on him" (70). According to Winnifreth, Heathcliff does not want affirmations of love from Cathy since he probably already knows that she loves him, but "what he cares about is marriage" (53). Marriage to Cathy would have provided him with the love, security and family he had lacked throughout his life and given him a sense of rootedness within the Earnshaw clan. However, as Cathy is gradually drawn into the Linton world and confesses to Nelly her intention to marry Linton because he is "handsome and young and cheerful and rich [and loving]," Heathcliff realises that he has lost his kindred spirit (78). Nelly recognises how devastated Heathcliff must feel and warns Cathy that "as soon as you become Mrs. Linton, he loses friend, and love, and all!" (80). Eventually, bereft of familial ties, culture and status at Wuthering Heights, Heathcliff is yet again a waif who has no alternative but to go away and seek out a new identity for himself.

Adulthood:

After a mysterious absence of three years, Heathcliff reappears, apparently transformed into a gentleman. Nelly comments that he "retained no marks of former degradation" and that "his manner was even dignified: quite divested of roughness" (92). Significantly, Nelly begins to change her address of him from "Heathcliff" to "Mr. Heathcliff" thus denoting his new rise in status. Others besides Nelly are struck by the transformation in Heathcliff. Cathy boasts that "Heathcliff was now worthy of any one's regard, and it would honour the first gentleman in the country to be his friend" (94). Linton too, on meeting the new Heathcliff "remained for a minute at a loss how to address the ploughboy, as he had called him" (92). Given his identity as a gentleman, Heathcliff is no longer excluded from the society of the Grange and the Heights. Hindley Earnshaw invites him to lodge at the Heights, while at Thrushcross Grange "he gradually established his right to be expected" (93,96). Heathcliff the waif seems replaced by a socially acceptable gentleman who has "amass[ed] a certain amount of cultural capital . . . [and bought] the expensive commodity of gentility" (Eagleton 121).

Heathcliff's gentlemanly appearance, however, does not mask for long his cruel intentions and actions. Suspicious of Heathcliff's hypocritical behaviour towards Hindley and Isabella, Nelly has "presentiments" of the evil to come and states "his visits were a continual nightmare to me" (93,102,104). She perceives him as an evil beast who was "waiting its time to spring and destroy" (102). Linton also shares her unease and had "the sense to comprehend Heathcliff's disposition: to know that, though his exterior was altered, his mind was unchangeable and unchanged" (96). Heathcliff himself admits his motives of revenge when he says that "the tyrant grinds down his slaves and they . . . crush those beneath them" and also announces: "I have no pity! I have no pity! The more the worms writhe, the more I yearn to crush out their entrails! . . ." (106,137). His unkindness is manifest in his ill-treatment of Isabella who declares that "I gave him my heart, and he took and pinched it to death and gave it back to me" (152). Towards Hindley, too, Heathcliff's behaviour is dishonourable as he encourages Hindley's gaming habits in order to become the mortgagee of Wuthering Heights, and later reduces the true heir, Hareton, to the level of a servant (164). While Heathcliff's vicious behavior seems far from gentlemanly, N. M. Jacobs observes that his actions are in keeping with the notions of masculinity at the time. She comments that "Heathcliff's years away from Cathy make him into a man in the terms of his age: He has gone out into the world, has done battle and conquered, but has also been hardened. He returns violent, ruthlessly exploitative, and dangerous to those around him . . ." (82). According to Jacobs, such violence and abuse is made possible because of the total power vested in the patriarch of the home. She points out that "significantly, Heathcliff never returns Hindley's violence or in fact, perpetrates violence until he himself has gained the legal and economic status of paterfamilias" (79).

Regardless of its legitimacy, Heathcliff's behaviour clearly alienates him and

arouses the hatred of those who come into contact with him. He succeeds in evoking the passionate anger of such temperate characters as Nelly, Linton and Isabella. Reacting to Heathcliff's sneering words, Nelly exclaims "I detested him just then" (105). Isabella expresses that "the single pleasure I can imagine is to die or see him dead" (137). Linton bans Heathcliff from further communication with Thrushcross Grange and calls him "a moral poison that would contaminate the most virtuous" (107). Hindley too expresses a desire "to strangle him in my last agony " (159). The extreme antagonism Heathcliff excites in his victims is further obvious from Isabella's statement: "It is preferable to be hated than loved by him" (159). Detested and cursed by those who live with him, the adult Heathcliff is once again, essentially, a waif. This time, however, Heathcliff's own behaviour is responsible for his state of being unloved and unwanted.

Amid his alienation, Heathcliff desires the company of his ally, Cathy, who loves him "as [her] own being" in spite of being aware that he is "an unreclaimed creature, without refinement, without culture . . .(81, 97). Isabella comments later that "Catherine had an awfully perverted taste to esteem him so dearly, knowing him so well" (152). Despite her love for him, Cathy who is physically fragile and confined to Thrushcross Grange, can no longer provide Heathcliff with the close kinship they once shared. At their final meeting Heathcliff realises their inevitable separation and agonizes over the fact that he has to live on alone while she is dead. "Do I want to live? " he questions. "What kind of living will it be when you . . . [are in the grave?]" (144). Deprived of Cathy's love, Heathcliff accurately foresees a life of loneliness and social isolation.

While Thrushcross Grange remains inaccessible to Heathcliff, he attempts to negate his pariah feelings by installing himself within a domestic context at Wuthering Heights, undeterred by its gloominess. Nelly comments that "there never was such a dreary, dismal scene as the formerly cheerful house presented" (132). Nonetheless, Heathcliff seems to prefer this atmosphere and to live with such disagreeable companions as Joseph and Hindley, instead of finding more suitable accommodations at Gimmerton. One wonders at his decision to live at Wuthering Heights since Heathcliff could still have gained control over the profligate Hindley's property without residing in that miserable setting. A plausible explanation is that Heathcliff, despite the mutual hatred among the inmates of Wuthering Heights, requires the presence of others to counter his sense of being a waif. Furthermore, Wuthering Heights has special familial associations for him since it was his only home and, as Cathy relates, "he has an attachment to the house where we lived together" (95).

Heathcliff's need for the presence of others to negate his isolation may also be evinced in his desire to"try [his] hand at rearing a young one," and his decision to bring up Hareton following Hindley's death (164). Heathcliff warns Nelly that "I don't engage to let Hareton go undisputed" (164). While this decision is clearly part of his plan of revenge against Hind'ey, one questions whether vengeance is Heathcliff's sole motive in raising Hareton. Surprisingly, Heathcliff's behaviour towards Hareton is much kinder than the inhuman treatment to which Hindley subjected the adolescent

Heathcliff. Although Hareton is culturally deprived by Heathcliff, Nelly acknowledges that "Mr. Heathcliff, I believe, had not treated him physically ill" (171). Heathcliff also seems to have earned the boy's gratitude for protecting him from Hindley's bullying, as when the child Hareton informs Nelly that he likes Heathcliff because "he pays dad back what he gies to me. . ." (104). The child's affection for Heathcliff is also obvious from the way he "played with Heathcliff's whiskers and stroked his cheek" at Hindley's funeral (164). Given Hareton's fondness for him, Heathcliff may have sought to raise the child partly because he recognises in the trusting, friendless Hareton another waif like himself, who would help alleviate his loneliness.

Heathcliff After Catherine's Death:

In the years following Cathy's death, despite his attempts to lead a settled life at Wuthering Heights, Heathcliff further alienates himself from society. While Heathcliff's behaviour arouses the ire and hatred of his associates even prior to Cathy's demise, it deteriorates to an intolerable degree following the loss of his beloved. Tom Winnifreth states that after Catherine's death "Heathcliff really comes into his own. . . . [While] Heathcliff's brooding presence is felt at a distance throughout the first half of the novel. . . he fully lives up to expectations when he finally emerges onto the centre of the stage" (58). Moreover, he comments, "Heathcliff's malignity, difficult to explain before Catherine's death, seems almost pointless after she has died" (58). His brutality towards the sickly Linton (jr) is particularly appalling. Nelly declares that "I could not picture a father treating a dying child as tyrannically and wickedly as I afterwards learned Heathcliff had treated him . . ." (219). Similarly, Q. D. Leavis observes, "Heathcliff's brutal callousness is as unpardonable as possible since the dying lad is his own son" (122). Heathcliff's viciousness also extends towards Catherine (jr) as he holds her hostage, forces her into a doomed marriage, and violates her physically on several occasions. Hareton too is victimised by Heathcliff since he is "never taught to read or write; never rebuked for any bad habit which did not annoy his keeper; never led a single step towards virtue, or guarded by a single precept towards against vice" (171). Heathcliff's increasing malevolence clearly stems from his intense feelings of desolation following the death of the one person who identified with him completely. Heathcliff's words "I *cannot* live without my soul!" implies the oneness of the relationship he shared with Cathy (148). Gilbert and Gubar observe that to be a soulless body "is to be a sort of monster, a fleshly thing, an object of pure animal materiality, like the abortive being Victor Frankenstein created. And such a monster indeed is what Heathcliff becomes" (293).

Understandably, Heathcliff's monstrosity provokes the abhorrence of his companions. Recalling his attack on Catherine (jr) Nelly states that "at this diabolical violence I rushed on him furiously. 'You villain!' I began to cry, 'you villain!'" (227). Heathcliff also antagonises Lockwood who initially seeks out his landlord's company but soon realises his mistake and vacates his rented residence. Q.D. Leavis comments that "Lockwood [is] dismay[ed] at finding that what he had first put down to a refined misanthropy in Heathcliff, such as he affects himself, is a genuine savagery and malevolence" (124). Catherine (jr) is probably the most outspoken in her

condemnation of Heathcliff. She daringly points out to him the consequences of his cruelty:

> Mr. Heathcliff, *you* have *nobody* to love you; and however, miserable you make us, we shall still have the revenge of thinking that your cruelty arises from your greater misery. You *are* miserable, are you not? Lonely, like the devil, and envious like him? *Nobody* loves you --*nobody* will cry for you when you die! I wouldn't be you! (240)

The truth of her words probably strikes Heathcliff as he orders her to "Begone, witch . . ." (240). Although he has power to command Catherine (jr), Heathcliff is powerless to silence the obvious fact that he is a thoroughly unpopular and unwanted man.

Despite the revulsion and fear displayed towards him by Catherine (jr) and some of the other inmates at Wuthering Heights, Heathcliff still seems to require their presence. As Heathcliff tells Nelly ". . .I want my children about me" (240). Nelly herself realises the futility of her secret desire to raise Catherine (jr) on her private savings for "Heathcliff would as soon as permit that as he would set up Hareton in an independent house;" (248). While this perverse attitude may be interpreted as Heathcliff 's vengeance against the Lintons and Earnshaws, one must remember that by this stage Heathcliff has already achieved his target. Having secured Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange, and having degraded Catherine (jr) and Hareton to the level of paupers, Heathcliff's plans are already fulfilled. Therefore, his desire to incorporate Catherine (jr) and later Nelly into the household at Wuthering Heights may be viewed not as revenge, but as a warped wish to re-construct a familial setting in order to reduce his sense of being a waif. Stevie Davies observes that "the familial world is controlled at best by a foster-mother (Nelly) . . . at worst by 'Devil Daddy' (172). This idea finds support in Heathcliff's several references to his parental role as when he tells Catherine (jr) "I hope you'll be a dutiful daughter" and "I shall be your father . . ." (228,239). Gilbert and Gubar comment that Heathcliff "impersonates a 'devil daddy,' stealing children like Catherine II and Linton from their rightful homes. . ." (297).

However immoral his actions are, Heathcliff clearly attempts to establish a domestic atmosphere at Wuthering Heights. Unlike in Hindley's time, Nelly observes that "the house, inside, had regained its ancient aspect of comfort under female management" (172). Contrary to Hindley's policy of excluding the servants from the main house, Heathcliff requires everyone's attendance at the dining table. Nelly describes that "We always ate our meals with Mr. Heathcliff. I held the mistress's post in making tea and carving; so I was indispensable at table (263)." When Catherine (jr) once fails to arrive at table for dinner Heathcliff "perceived her vacant seat and sent [Nelly] to call her.' (266). Heathcliff's insistence on maintaining routine domestic relations appears incongruous, given his rude and violent manners. David Daiches states that "the cold inhospitality of [Heathcliff's] demeanour is at variance with the blazing warmth which Lockwood finds at the domestic centre of the house" (21). Nonetheless, these domestic relations are far from harmonious as Lockwood himself

observes: "How dreary life gets over in that house" (253). Gilbert and Gubar comment that "Lockwood is right to expect some familial relationships among his tea -table companions, and right too to be daunted by the hellish lack of relationships among them"(261). Presumably then, Heathcliff cares not so much for the niceties of human relations at Wuthering Heights, but rather requires people gathered around him in order to decrease his feelings of being an outcast.

Heathcliff's Death and Beyond:

Eventually, Heathcliff's despotic actions result in his complete isolation from others as well as from himself. According to Eagleton, "In oppressing others, the exploiter imprisons himself; the adult Heathcliff's systematic tormenting is fed by his victims' pain but also drains him of blood, impels and possesses him as an external force . . . . Heathcliff moves from being Hindley's victim to becoming . . . his own executor" (121). Undoubtedly, one can see a connection between Heathcliff's impending death and his increasing withdrawal from himself and others. Nelly observes how Heathcliff gradually grew "more and more disinclined to society" and that his "mind was occupied on other subjects than his company" (259, 264). Heathcliff himself admits to Nelly that "I take so little interest in my daily life that I hardly remember to eat and drink" (268). While his alienation is largely self-imposed, Heathcliff 's condition may have been further aggravated by the friendship developing between Hareton and Catherine (jr). Clearly, Heathcliff has some empathic feelings towards Hareton whose loyalty and love for his "foster-father" is unshakeable (266). Heathcliff confides in Nelly that "Hareton seemed a personification of my youth . . . I felt to him in such a variety of ways that it would have been impossible to have accosted him rationally. . . . his startling likeness to Catherine connected him fearfully with her " (268). Gilbert and Gubar state that Heathcliff sees the boy " . . . as metaphorically the true son of his own true union with Catherine" and wants him as his "one strong natural descendant" (301). This reason may explain why Heathcliff responds so furiously with the words "Damnable witch! dare you pretend to rouse [Hareton] against me?. . ." when Catherine (jr) threatens to cause a rift between him and Hareton (265). Presumably, Heathcliff considers that in being displaced from Hareton's affections, he may lose his only remaining friend.

During the last days prior to his death, Heathcliff seems to experience acute desolation as indicated by his attempts to seek the company of others. He requests Nelly to come in to the house since "he wanted somebody with him" (276). Michael Macovski notes that "Even Heathcliff displays the need to express his inmost feeling before another, to break his solitude, at least momentarily" (102). When Nelly declines through fear, he turns to Catherine (jr) in a almost pathetic appeal: "will *you* come, chuck? I"ll not hurt you" (277). Catherine's and Nelly's instinctive recoiling leaves Heathcliff in no doubt that he is unloved and rejected by both as a result of his previous cruelty. He comments with tragic irony that "I believe you think me a fiend . . . something too horrible to live under a decent roof . . . to you I've made myself worse than the devil" (277). Through these words Heathcliff appears to acknowledge

that he alone is responsible for his state of being a waif in adulthood.

In his alienation, Heathcliff is increasingly obsessed with the idea of being united with the dead Cathy. Macovski comments that Heathcliff "spends the final days of his life endeavouring to address her beyond the grave and thus transcend both his rhetorical and social isolation" (102). Heathcliff realises that in his outcast condition only Cathy would accept him. As he tells Nelly, "Well, there is *one* who won't shrink from my company! By God, she's relentless" (277). One may suggest that by this final stage of the novel, Heathcliff and Cathy are ready to be re-united since they are both on equal terms as outcasts. Gilbert and Gubar observe that Cathy is "not only a dead failure, but a wailing outcast ghost" (292). This fact is confirmed by the phantom Cathy's cry in Lockwood's nightmare: "Let me in -- Let me in! . . . . I've been a waif for twenty years" (37). Heathcliff's own position is not dissimilar to that of Cathy's ghost. For most of his lifetime he is not "let in" to the social circles of the Lintons and the Earnshaws, and never finds permanent acceptance among them. Both Cathy and Heathcliff realise that only by being re-united in death can they overcome their alienation and find happiness together. During her final illness, Cathy declares her determination to be united with Heathcliff beyond the grave and says that "I won't rest till you are with me. I never will" (117). Heathcliff himself anticipates this reunion when he states: "I have a single wish, and my whole being and faculties are yearning to attain it" and "I tell you I have nearly attained *my* heaven" (269, 276).

Whether the two outcasts find fulfilment through each other in death, this novel does not explicitly state. As Winnifreth observes "we can[not] be sure whether Heathcliff is finally reunited to walk the moors with Catherine, as a little boy blubbers, or whether we should, like Lockwood gazing at the graves of Catherine, Heathcliff, and Edgar, wonder 'how any one could ever imagine unquiet slumbers for the sleepers in that quiet earth' "(64). Nonetheless, the novel implies that whether they are at rest or haunting the moors, Cathy and Heathcliff remain side by side, inseparable as they once were as children. For Heathcliff, who has unsuccessfully sought a sense of belonging and acceptance all his life, death satisfies this need. With the moors as a dwelling, and Cathy as his companion, one can assume that Heathcliff, in death, finally escapes his identity of being a waif. As Stevie Davies states, "Burying their individual identities in itself, the moor takes its children home" (173).

Having resolved to some extent the issue of Heathcliff's identity, one needs to consider the social factors which led to its formation. Bronte clearly implies that society played a vital role in determining the character of Heathcliff. When he first arrives at the Heights, Heathcliff is but a child, vulnerable and open to the influence of others. Eagleton observes that "Heathcliff's circumstances are so obscure he is available to be accepted or rejected simply for himself, laying claim to no status other than a human one" (120). Realising this fact, old Earnshaw advises that "you must e'en take [Heathcliff] as a gift of God; though it's as dark almost as if it came from the devil" (45). These words may be seen as a caution to society to draw out a blessing rather than a curse from the child. As Eagleton states, "[Heathcliff's] arrival at the Heights offers its inhabitants a choice to transcend the constrictions of their self-

enclosed social structure and gather him in" (120). Unfortunately, instead of appreciating the presence of Heathcliff as a means of potential liberation from their narrow-minded existence, the residents at the Heights and Grange reject Heathcliff as an unwelcome intruder and waif. Their hostile reactions prove Nelly's words to Lockwood: "we don't in general take to foreigners here . . ." (51). The brutality of Hindley and Joseph, the snobbery and insults of the Lintons, the rejection of Cathy, all suffice to pervert and harden the character of Heathcliff, thus bringing vengeance upon themselves. As Heathcliff tells Cathy "I know you have treated me infernally - infernally! . . . . and if you fancy I'll suffer unrevenged, I'll convince you of the contrary" (105). While Heathcliff's vindictive actions are clearly not justifiable, Q. D. Leavis points out that by exposing the hypocrisies of other characters, the novel prevents "an easily self-righteous condemnation of Heathcliff" (123). Ultimately, *Wuthering Heights* calls into question the nature of a society which can transform a potentially virtuous child into a brutal adult. One wonders whether a society that responds to a waif with unwarranted violence, can expect any better than to be challenged on its own terms?

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PABHA NIDHANI DE ANDRADO

THE EARLY IRON AGE SOCIO-POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF THE MAHAOYA RIVER VALLEY: A SUGGESTED MODEL FOR THE MONTANE REGION OF SRI LANKA*

Introduction

In the early 1980's a series of multi-faceted studies were undertaken by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peradeniya, in the upper valleys of river basins for a better understanding of the Early Iron Age cultural ecology and for the purpose of looking at alternate Iron Age habitats in areas other than the `dry zone' of Sri Lanka. The study was also carried out for the purpose of identifying various socio-cultural and technological dynamics involved in such a process (Seneviratne and Rambukwella 1987; Seneviratne and Senanayake 1987;Seneviratne 1990).

In addition to the Kala-oya and Deduru oya system, a third area that came under investigation was the middle and the upper valleys of the Maha oya system. This river originates in the western montane region of the central highlands and flows 78 miles before entering the Indian ocean. The area investigated revealed nearly one hundred archaeological sites. Of these, 03 are Iron Age burials (dolmen, cist and urn), 02 cave sites bearing megalithic symbols, and the rest, drip-ledge cave shelters, some bearing B.C 2nd Century Brahmi inscriptions or having pre Christian **stūpa** sites in their vicinity (Map 1).

Methodology

The present study essentially looks at the macro and micro distribution patterns of the Early Iron Age (EIA) sites within a spatial and time context. The macro

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locational pattern is viewed in relation to adjacent river basins and their EIA sites. A probe into the spatial distribution pattern of sites within the valley itself indicated the existence of several cultural ecological zones. The internal spatial arrangement within each zone is not determined by the physiography alone. The location of natural resources for subsistence and mineral resources (mainly gem stones and metals) and exchange route networks faciliating a trans-valley movement of such resources had a strong bearing on the locational-distribution pattern of the EIA sites. The socio-political basis of these ecological zones, represented by lineage-based societies, provided the human dynamism for the EIA political landscape in montane zones such as the Maha oya valley.

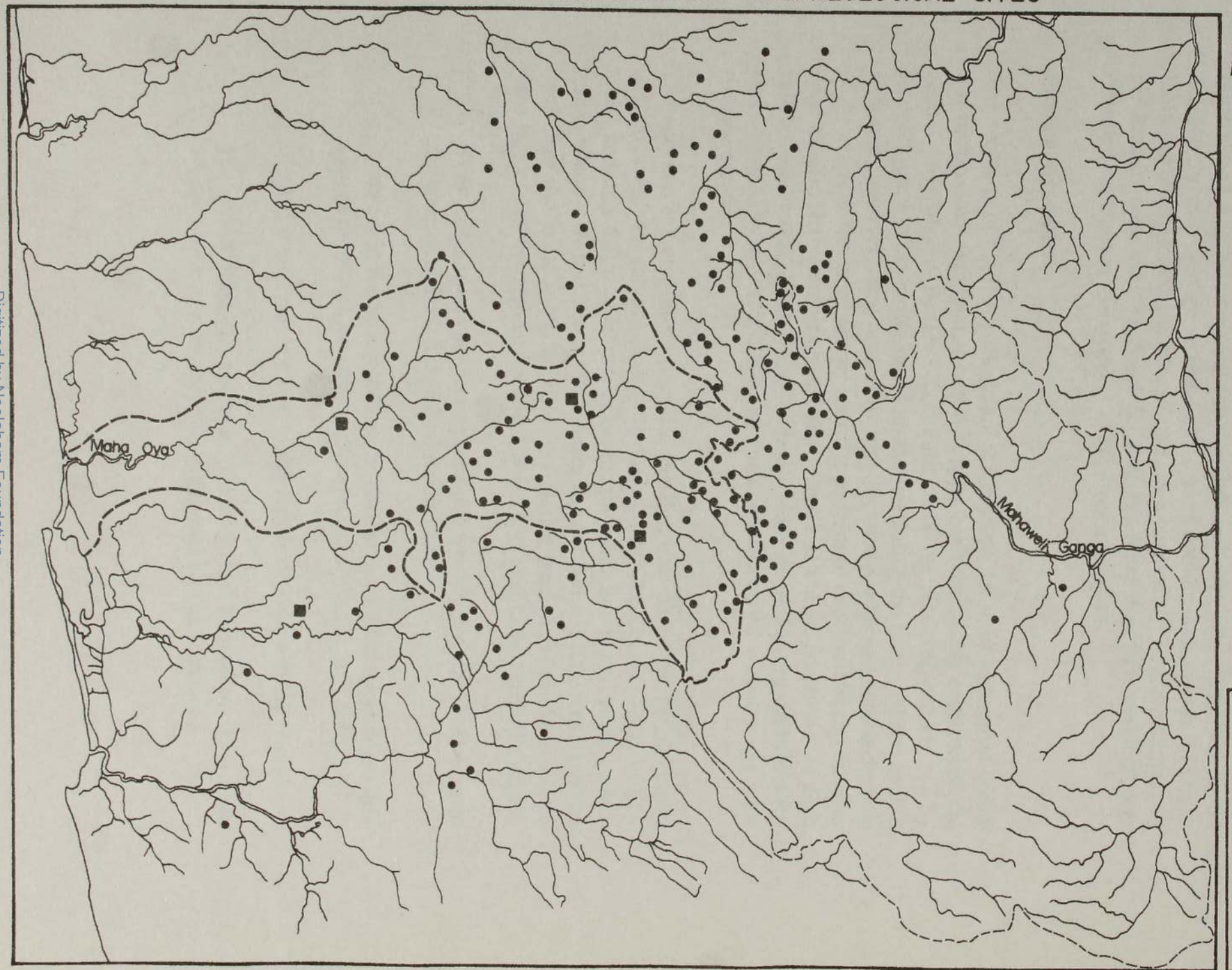
Pattern of Development

The EIA in Sri Lanka may be identified as the Formative Period in this island, where recognizable institutional formation took place for the first time in the broader geo-physical areas, viz. marine littoral, hinterland plains and the lower montane-sub plains. During the period under discussion, techno-cultural groups, i.e., the Pre Historic (Mesolithic), and Proto Historic (Megalithic - Black and Red ware) cultures representing various levels of institutional development had their micro ecological zones.

Our investigations now indicate that the earliest intrusions into the montane region by the EIA culture groups may have taken place around B.C. 6th Century. Such community movements took advantage of the physiography and traversed the banks of the main rivers and their tributaries. However, such demographic shifts represented not only community movement, but also the diffusion of technologies and other cultural traits. It is now possible to chart the movement of the EIA culture along the valley of the Maha oya (see Map2). In addition to direct intrusions, the EIA culture may have expanded through an incorporation of the pre existing Mesolithic people to its fold through a process of acculturation. For instance, the unbroken sequence of the Doravakakanda rock brusings from the Mesolithic to the Megalithic or the uninterrupted techno-cultural sequence from the Mesolithic to the EIA at Karadupona-Alulena may be cited here.

The expansion of the EIA culture within the valley may be recognized as the second phase of this development. Internal diffusion seems to have been triggered off by several nuclei situated within the valley. Such sites are represented by Early Historic BRW (Black & Red Ware) sites, drip-ledge cave shelters (with or without Brahmi inscription) and early **stūpa** sites. This phase also represents a greater proliferation of sites on an expanded scale indicating

MAHA OYA VALLEY AND ADJACENT REGIONS : ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES



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■ BURIAL SITE

• ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE
(DRIP LEDGE CAVES
WITH OR WITHOUT BRAHI
INSCRIPTIONS, BRAHMI
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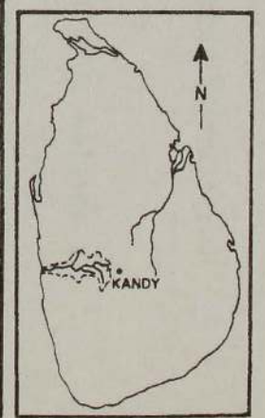


Chulani Rambukwella 1996

a somewhat complex and uneven distribution pattern. Trans basin interaction becomes more apparent only during this phase.

It is suggested that the movement towards the central montane region, which is not easily accessible, may have been caused by resource requirements, mainly mineral and to a lesser extent floral and faunal resources. A growth in the demand for such prestige items by the resident communities in both Peninsular India and the agricultural plains of Sri Lanka (including the demand made by the Roman trade touching South India at this time) may have resulted in an intensive exploration of resources in the montane region.

Internal dynamics

The evolution of the EIA socio-political landscape has to be understood within this background. Traditional historiography has consistently emphasized the central role played by the `dry zone' and the uniform pattern set by Anuradhapura in the formation of institutions during the EIA. Recent studies indicated, however, that several river valleys that are located outside the pale of the dry zone threw up certain alternate patterns of development representing very specific characteristics based on the material and the social base of each valley (Seneviratne 1990). The Maha oya study provided very vital clues for an understanding of certain internal dynamics associated within a wet zone riverine system.

The site distribution pattern provides the first clue about the physiography associated with the cultural ecology in this process. The highest density of EIA burial and drip-ledge cave/inscription bearing sites are found in the middle valley, which is demarcated by the contour lines of 500 and 1000 feet above sea level. This appears to form the `core area' during the EIA. There were several other factors that determined the status of the core region in the middle valley.

1. Trans basin routes connecting the middle valley with the Deduru basin to its north and the Kelani basin to its south.

2. Trans basin routes connecting the core area with the upper Mahaweli system to its east, ultimately extending to southeast Sri Lanka.

3. Internal routes moving west to the copper deposits and the littoral.

4. The availability of resources including the location of important minerals such as iron, sulphide ores, mica and gem stones.

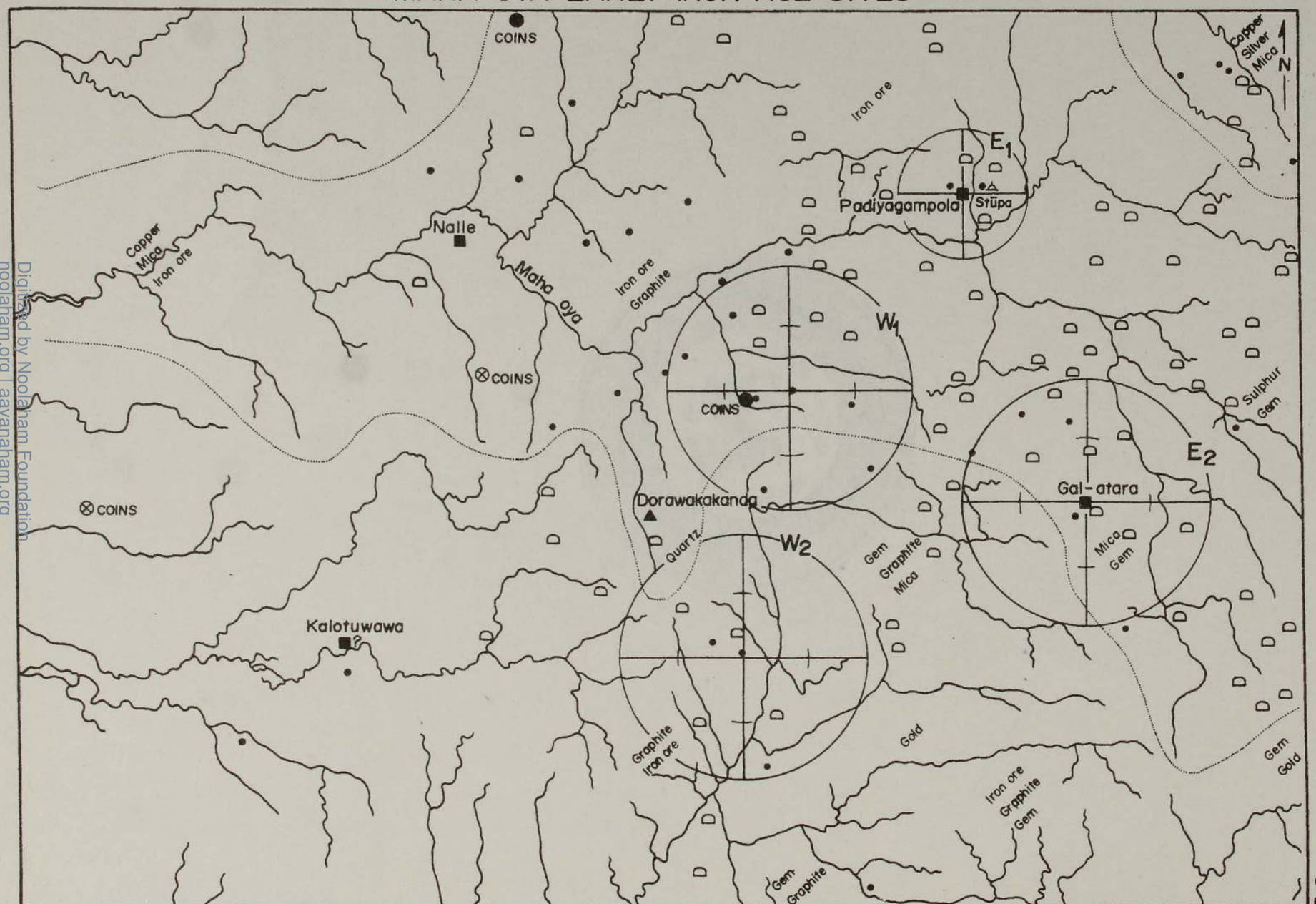
Following this it is then possible to identify an internal hierarchization representing the socio-political landscape, which is a critical trait characterizing the cultural ecology of the core region. A closer look at the spatial distribution of sites combined with the internal evidence from archaeological vestiges and inscriptional records, enables us make an internal demarcation of the core region into two sectors, i.e., east and west. It must be noted that both sectors did have the Megalithic - BRW culture as the formative techno-cultural matrix. However, internal differentiation seems to have developed during the Early Historic Period, ultimately affecting the very basis of the socio-political landscape in the core region.

For this purpose we have attempted to identify certain indicator traits associated with these two sectors (see table). These ultimately suggested to us that in spite of the common Proto Historic techno-cultural matrix shared by these two sectors, the western sector seems to have moved towards relatively more advanced institutional formation ahead of the eastern sector by B.C. 2nd/1st Century.

INDICATOR TRAIT- `CORE AREA'	WESTERN SECTOR	EASTERN SECTOR
1. Megalithic burials	01	02
2. Megalithic symbol bearing sites	01	02
3. Drip-ledge cave sites	>20	15
4. Drip-ledge caves, total count	>50	40
5. Early Brahmi inscriptions	29	13
6. **Parumaka** lineage chieftains	03	15
7. Royal titles	05	-
8. Administrative titles	04	-
9. Agrarian elite (**gahapati**)	01	01
10. Commercial elite (**bata**)	05	01
11. **Nagara**	03	-
12. **Gāma**	07	-
13. Craftsmen	01	-
14. Ref. to coins (punch-marked)	01	-
15. Share donations	10	-

The eastern sector, possessing a lesser amount of extensive fertile tracts, is actually an extension of the central hills. It is quite significant that as against 03 **parumaka** inscriptions found in the western sector, the eastern sector boasts of

MAHA OYA EARLY IRON AGE SITES



LEGEND

- ■ *Megalithic Burial Site*
- • *Early Brahmi Inscriptions*
- ⊓ *Drip-ledge Cave Site*
- ⊗ *Coin Site*
- ● *Coin Reference*
- E_1 *Eastern Micro Zone 1*
- E_2 *Eastern Micro Zone 2*
- W_1 *Western Micro Zone 1*
- W_2 *Western Micro Zone 2*
- ~~~ *River Basin*

Chulani Rambukwella 1992
Revised 1992

Map 4.1

8 0 8 16 miles

08. This is a useful indicator in our study. Recent studies identified the **parumaka** lineage chieftains as the earliest political elite of the Proto Historic Period (Seneviratne 1992). They are credited with the introduction of the Early Iron Age culture not only to this island from Peninsular India, but also with the dissemination of that culture within the island by locating themselves in fertile alluvial tracts, in the littoral, along exchange routes and areas possessing strategic mineral resources. Our studies in the Maha oya clearly indicated that by B.C. 6th/5th Centuries, these lineage chieftains and their kinsmen arrived at the foothill areas in search of resources. The Doravakakanda site carrying megalithic symbols, the dolmen site at Padiyagampola and the burial sites at Gal-atara may be noted here (see Seneviratne 1990;1992).

It is significant to note that the primary concentration of the **parumaka** inscriptions in the eastern sector is clearly located in relation to the megalithic sites. Consider the Padiyagampola site, for instance. This site is found on a major transecting route connecting the middle valley of the Maha oya and Deduru oya. All **parumaka** inscriptions are located within a two mile radius circle of the dolmen site. The continued presence of these lineage groups at this site is established by a **parumaka** inscription (B.C. 2nd Century) which records two generations of pre existing lineage ancestors (Paranavitana 1970: No. 800). The situation is not different at the Gal-atara site, which again is located on a route moving into the central hills from the Maha oya valley. Given the physiographic backdrop and natural limitations on demographic expansion imposed by its ecological context, the eastern sector may not have been able to go beyond the confines of marginal developments even by the Early Historic Period. With the exception of a multitude of fertile pockets capable of only being micro habitats suitable for lineage based societies, other relatively more advanced institutional formations could not find a convenient material basis within this context. The occurrence of only one each of **gahapati** and **bata** individuals, who represented relatively more affluent agrarian and commercial groups, is a case in point (for bata see Seneviratne 1985).

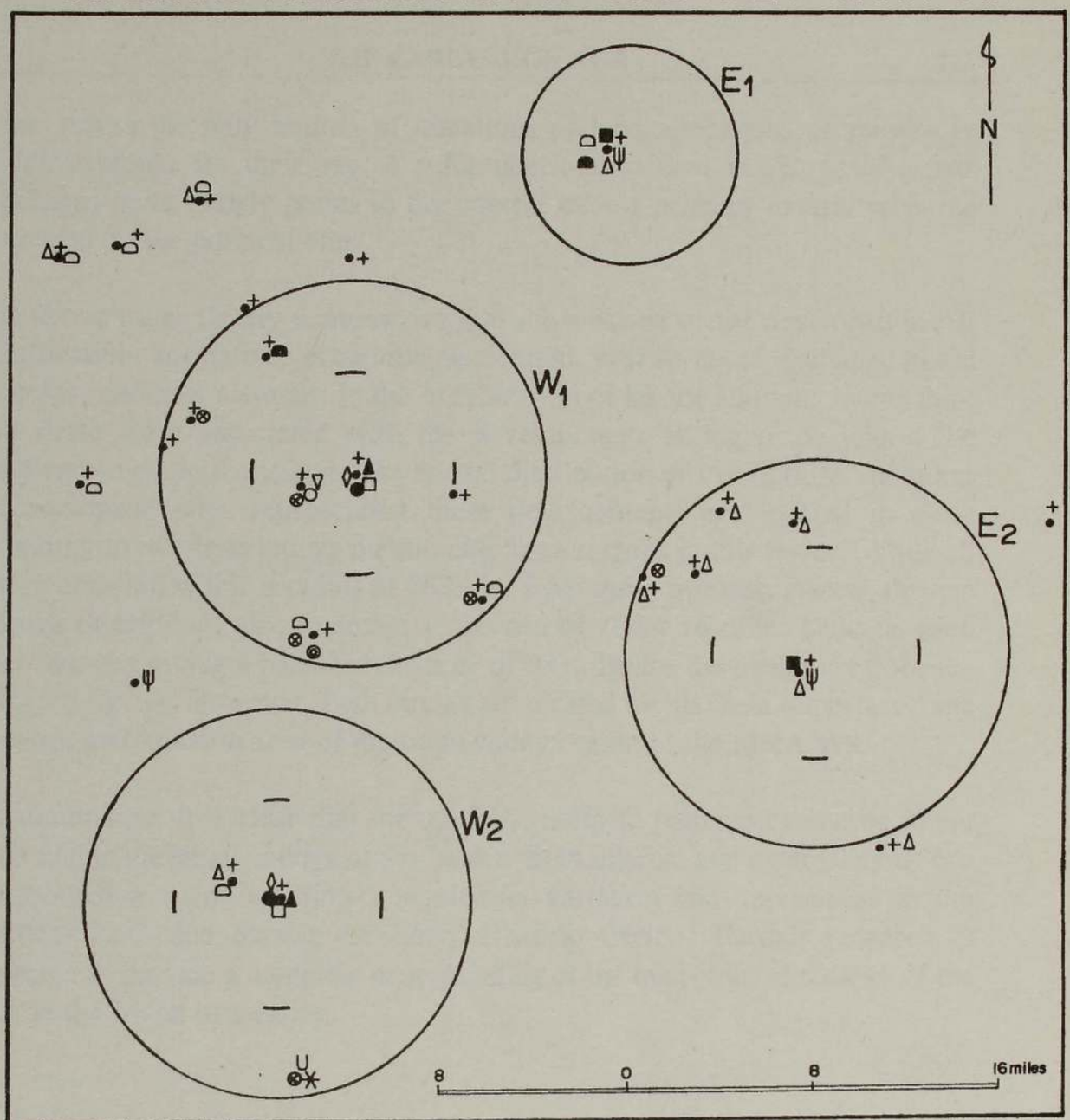
A sharp contrast could be observed in the Early Historic developments that took place in the western sector. It is curious that in spite of the common techno-cultural matrix both sectors shared during the Proto Historic Period, the **parumaka** lineage chieftains are almost non existent in this sector, with the exception of two notices from marginal areas. It is possible therefore to suggest that either the EIA lineage chieftains underwent a rapid process of acculturation, transforming their personal names and titles, or that they were subordinated by new political groups moving into these regions. In fact, the **Mahāvaṁsa** records the intrusion of dissident chieftains into this region from the north and west around B.C. 250 and that they held titles such as **aya, gamaṇi,**

devanampiya, rajha (Geiger 1950: XXII: 7). Such titles were associated with the major political centres at Anuradhagama and Mahagama of that time (Gunawardana 1985: 11 ; Paranavitana 1970: liv- lxiv). It is then possible to suggest that the new political elite subordinated the pre-existing political elite, **parumaka**. It is significant that an **upaśika** Vēḷ has been mentioned as a lady of **aya** (prince) Śiva, son of **aya Duhatara** (Paranavitana 1970: No. 795). This inscription gives us very valuable information. First, the term **Vēḷ** indicates that this particular lady belonged to the **parumaka** group. The Vēḷir were one of the most exclusive families among the Early Iron Age lineages in Peninsular India and they formed a section of the **parumaka** in Sri Lanka (Seneviratne 1992). The fact that **upaśika** Vēḷ could make shares of land allocations as donations also indicate that the nature of property right transmitted through mother right prevailed from the Proto Historic Period among **parumaka** and very specially among the Velir (ibid.). If this assumption is correct, it is then possible that the intrusive new political elite subordinated the old political elite and may have even contracted marriage alliances with them with a view to gaining political legitimacy and access to material wealth as well.

The arrival of a new intrusive political elite also witnessed the gradual induction of other socio-economic changes influenced by changes taking place outside the valley during the Early Historic Period. The Table indicates that all aspects of relatively developed institutional formation had evolved in the western sector by the Early Historic Period. In addition to titles such as **aya, gamaṇi, devanampiya, raja,** several administrative titles such as **amati, gamika, aḍikaya** indicate the administrative organizational structure that had evolved even in a rudimentary manner. Inscriptions in this region record the existence of at least three **nagara** or production-distribution centres and their affiliated **gāma** or village settlements. The area bordering the Maha oya has also yielded punch-marked coins and one inscription in this valley very clearly mentions a donation of **kahapaṇa** or punch-marked coins. This evidence taken along with the references in the Brahmi inscriptions indicate the existence of specialized craftsmen such as **maṇikara** or lapidarists, who were associated with primary luxury items of that time. The existence of **bata** who were a section of the commercial elite dealing in the long distance trade network point to new developments associated with the commercial vortex as well.

The western sector also possessed a broader physical area suitable for plough agriculture, which may have resulted in specialized agricultural production. The references to **gahapati** or the land owning agricultural elite is a case in point. The very occurrence of a large number of cave donations, production distribution centres and other units indicate the ability of this region to sustain both producing and non producing groups. It is in the western sector that we

SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF CORE AREA - MAHA OYA



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Revised 1997

LEGEND

- ■ Megalithic burial sites
- Ψ Megalithic symbol sites
- \+ Early Brahmi inscriptions
- Δ Parumaka
- ● Royal titles
- ⊗ Administrative titles
- ◓ Gahapati
- ⌓ Bata / Barata
- ◎ Badakarika
- ▲ Nagara
- □ Gama
- ▽ Craftsmen
- O Coin reference
- ◊ Share donations
- • Site location
- U Kada
- ✳ Gamika

Fig. 4.4

come across the only notices of donations of land allocations or **paṭake** to Buddhist monks for their use. A reference to an officer in charge of canals (**aḍikaya**) quite clearly points to the control over a primary natural resource exercised by the political elite.

The above traits clearly demonstrate that the western sector developed social stratification, specialized economic production, new forms of exchange based on coins, and new elements in the organization of labour and land ownership. All these were associated with the developments taking place within the `nuclear' areas in the island. The spatial distribution of inscriptions and other archaeological sites representing these developments are located in close proximity to two inscriptions mentioning three **nagara** in this sector. While all inscriptions fall within a radius of 08 miles from these two inscriptions, the two **nagara** inscriptions also maintain a distance of about 16 miles between each other thereby giving a balanced distance of 08 miles for the feeder area of each unit (see fig. 1). However, both circles are located on the most important route network and junction area of the trans valley region of the Maha oya.

To summarize, it is clear that for the EIA, uniform patterns cannot be found even within the small valleys of Sri Lanka. Both internal and external situations contributed towards creating a significant variation and unevenness in the political landscape during the Early Historic Period. Further research is expected to provide a complete understanding of the total cultural ecology of the EIA in the Maha oya valley.

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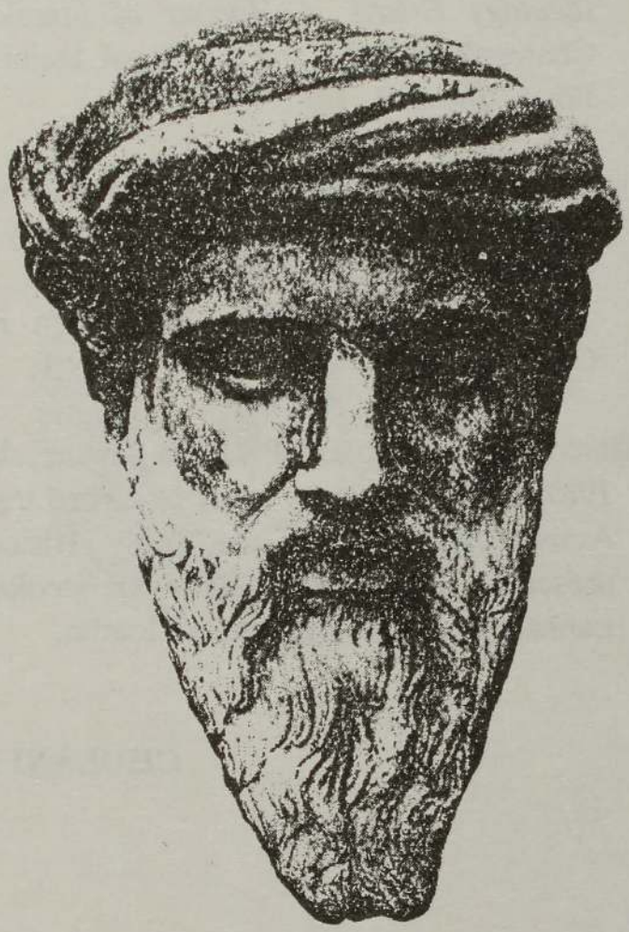

Pythagoras, bearded and wearing a turban. Roman copy of a Greek original; Capitoline Museum, Rome.

ARISTOTLE ON PYTHAGORAS: PORTRAIT OF THE GREEK BHAGAVAN

From Aristotle comes two notices on the soul in Pythagorean teaching. The first of these, from the *De Anima* (A2.404a16) says that there were some who identified soul with the motes in the air (ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ξύσματα), and others, with what moved them (τὸ ταῦτα κινοῦν); the second of these notices, which comes in his *Metaphysics* (A5.985b26) says that the Pythagoreans took such and such a modification of number (τῶν ἀριθμῶν πάθος) to be 'soul' and 'reason', just as they took other modifications of number to be 'justice', 'opportunity' and so on.

The conception of soul as a modification of number must belong with the Pythagorean cosmological scheme, in which the whole heaven was conceived as a musical scale and the *eidos* of all things numerically expressible. The pseudo-Aristotelian *Magna Moralia* (A1.1182a11) states that Pythagoras himself was responsible for referring the virtues to numbers; and it is not unlikely that the conception of the soul too as a number goes back to him. As the macrocosm, the whole heavens, was thought to be a harmonic scale and a number, so the microcosm, the human being, would have been comprehended in terms of a harmony and a number. What it was that expressed this harmony as soul may not have been elucidated by the early Pythagoreans – or if they did, there is no knowing what it was. There seems to have existed a different view known to Aristotle, namely, that the soul *had* a harmony. As he says, "The majority of the wise say the soul is a harmony, but others of them say it has a harmony".[1] But the identification of the soul (ψυχή) with intelligence (νοῦς) at this point in Aristotle is rather dubious, and if it is not another instance of his misrepresenting Presocratic thought, indicates strongly that it is considerably later than the late sixth, early fifth centuries B.C. Perhaps it may have been a well-intentioned attempt on his part to salve the transmigrant, that equivalent of Empedocles' *daimon*, from perishing with the body, if it could not be shown to be anything more than an expression of a favourable relationship of the bodily elements, which would then cease to be with the being's demise.

Aristotle had known the notion of soul as a harmony of the opposites of the body as one that was convincing to many (πιθανὴ πολλοῖς).[2] Plato likewise speaks of it as one that most people believed.[3] But Plato seems to have

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1 *Pol.8.*1340b18: διὸ πολλοί φασι τῶν σοφῶν οἱ μὲν ἁρμονίαν εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν, οἱ δ' ἔχειν ἁρμονίαν.

2 *De An.* A4.407b27

3 *Phaedo* 92c-d. See G.C.Fields *Plato and his Contemporaries* London (1930) p. 179 and the whole of ch. xii. W.L.Lorrimer 'Plato Phaedo 92C-D' *Cl.Rev.* vol. LIII p. 165 takes this to be "wildly untrue" and emends text. But see J.Tate 'Plato Phaedo 92c-d' *Cl.Rev.* vol. LIII p. 2

known it advocated in two distinct forms; firstly, as a materialist doctrine "broadcast among practically all mankind", which believes that the soul begins with the organic union of the bodily opposites and ends with their disunion or disruption,[4] and secondly, the conception found in the *Phaedo*, in which soul, similarly conceived, is yet thought to be immortal.

In other words, the selfsame notion of soul was held by people with diametrically opposite views on the question of immortality. Who represented the former group we do not know; perhaps they were not of any particular school of thought as such, but individuals who had heard the theory and realized its obvious implications. The latter group, however, would at least have included Philolaus, Echecrates and Simmias, who as a young man visited Socrates in jail on the last day of his life and heard him speak on the immortality of the soul; and for that reason we may take as peculiarly Pythagorean.

It would appear then that the *psyche-harmonia* doctrine of the *Phaedo* was held by the Pythagoreans of Thebes, probably developing in the teachings of Philolaus, and (as would have been hoped) without prejudice to the original religious belief of the school in the immortality of the soul. That these later Pythagoreans never faced up to the contradiction that arose as a result of such a conception of soul is to be inferred from the *Phaedo*. That the notion of the soul as a harmony in this form would not be earlier than the school of Thebes discloses itself from the fact that there is no evidence of such before that time, together with the considerations that (i) the *Phaedo* seems to pin it on Philolaus (who seemed even ignorant of the Pythagorean contention against suicide), and (ii) it goes beyond Alcmaeon in making soul, not health, the harmony of the bodily opposites – and indeed thus beyond Empedocles as well in making what that man took to be soul (*daimon*) and not merely consciousness (arising from the blood round the heart) the manifestation of a harmony in the body; (iii) it also presumes a development of the theory of the 'mixture' (κρᾶσις) of opposites in the Sicilian school of medicine up to the point where, not health but life (ζωή) undistinguished from soul (ψυχή), was thought of as the product of a mixture of the opposites. (The transition in metaphor from that of medicine to that of music, i.e. from *krasis* to *harmonia*, with tension and attunement replacing proportion and blend must of course be Pythagorean). Indeed it would be surprising if such a notion of soul was maintained by the early Pythagorean school when the eschatological teachings were a most serious concern and belief in reincarnation of an immortal soul the central tenet of these.[5]

– 3. He argues that this view was held by many and that there is no evidence that it was specially Pythagorean.

4 *Laws* 889 b-c. All creatures are 'harmonies' of hot and cold etc. when these combine in a fitting manner, and this creation is by a 'blend of opposites'.

5 Macrobius *Som.Scip* i. 14.19 gives Pythagoras and Philolaus both as taking soul to be a 'harmony' and makes no distinction between their

The notions of soul as the motes in the air or what caused them to move, given by Aristotle,[6] are themselves also quite fascinating. E.R.Dodds, referring to the former, writes, "Another view of the persistent 'occult' self, attributed by Aristotle to 'some Pythagoreans', represented it as a tiny particle (ξύσμα), a notion which has plenty of primitive parallels."[7] J.E.Raven, on the other hand, thinks the notion belongs to the "unwittingly corporealist generation which thought that units were extended in space."[8] Against Dodds however it may be shown that Aristotle's words imply that soul was not a single mote but rather a cluster of them, not a ξύσμα but ξύσματα. Besides this, it is hardly likely that the Pythagoreans would at any time have been so naive as to have taken the motes themselves to be constituents of the soul. If indeed they did, it would have been through the influence of Pythagorean science upon Pythagorean religion, and after Zeno, perhaps even post-Anaxagorean, and arising from a conception of soul as composed of fine soul-atoms rather than "units extended in space".

But the key to the interpretation must lie in the reason given by Aristotle as underlying the conception, viz. the continuous motion of these motes (δίοτι συνεχῶς φαίνεται κινούμενα).[9] One possibility is that in the moving motes we have only a simile which describes the subtlety of soul-matter and its capacity for self-motivation and that this has been misapprehended by someone who failed to realize it was after all only a simile. But what is more probable is to be found in the alternative given by Aristotle, namely that souls are responsible for the disturbance of these motes in the air, souls themselves being something other than these motes. This would suggest that souls were invisible, even if corporeal, entities, and that the disturbance for no apparent reason (he says, "even when there was a total absence of wind" (κἂν ᾖ νηνεμία παντελής) was the result of the passage through the air of such invisible souls.[10]

This may well have been a crude Pythagorean attempt to substantiate the folk belief adopted by them that the air was full of disincarnate souls biding the time to invest new bodies. It appears that Alexander knew of such a belief

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conceptions of it. Apparently he is reading back to Pythagoras what he finds traceable to Philolaus and his contemporaries in the *Phaedo*.

6 *De An.* A2.404a17

The Greeks and the Irrational, Berkeley, California (1951) p. 174, n. 111.

8 *Pythagoreans and Eleatics*, Cambridge (1948) p. 261 – 262.

9 *De An.* A2.40.4a20-21

10 *De An. loc. cit.*

among the Pythagoreans that the souls wandered about in the air in the likeness of the body; that the whole air was full of them; that they are called *daimones* and *heroes* and that they are responsible for the signs of illness and health, not only in men but even in sheep and other cattle.[11] In his *De Anima* (A5.410b28) Aristotle mentions a teaching which he says occurs in the "so-called Orphic writings" that "the soul, being borne by the winds, enters (the body) from the whole as we breathe" (τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων, φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων). These cannot be the exact words in which this idea was couched; τὸ ὅλον certainly looks a sophistication of Aristotle or his source for some expression meaning 'the world outside', or simply 'from without'. The idea of souls occupying the air and investing the bodies of the new-born takes us back to the *Tritopatores* (third forefathers) of Greek folk-religion, the souls of dead ancestors, popularly considered wind-spirits or sometimes even called 'winds' (ἀνεμοί) themselves, waiting to be reborn into the tribe in the birth of its new members. Though Aristotle's statement lends itself to the interpretation that the soul's entrance into the body was coextensive with our continuous breathing, so that more and more soul entered with every breath, or again that soul entered with every inhalation and exited with every exhalation - both ridiculous constructions – the implication was obviously that the new-born drew in the soul with its first breath.

Reference to the movement of the motes in the air even when the day was altogether windless, recalls Socrates' jibe apropos survival made in the presence of Simmas and Cebes in the *Phaedo* (77d) that if the soul was constituted of material particles, one should take care not to die on a windy day, lest the soul be dispersed helter skelter and cease to be.

Aristotle (*De Anima* A3.407b20) says he cannot conceive how, as he puts it, "a chance soul can occupy a chance body", as the Pythagoreans believed. This is proof enough that he was aware that the Pythagoreans believed in such a happening, i.e. transmigration. The earliest piece of evidence on Pythagoras, Xenophanes fr. 7, tells of how the sage recognized the rebirth of the soul of a friend of his (ἦ φίλου ἀνέρος .... ψυχήν) as a dog; later accounts drag a peacock into the incarnations of Pythagoras himself – which must have inspired Lucian to satirize it as a barnyard cock, and following Lucian, caused Malvolio's apprehension concerning the soul of his grandam in Shakespeare.[12]

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11 apud Diog. Laert. viii. 24 – 32, perhaps 33.

12 Ennius fr. 11 (15) Skutch; see O.Skutch 'Notes on Metempsychosis' in *Studia Enneana* London (1968) p. 151; reprint from *Cl. Phil.* vol. LIV (1959) p. 114. See also Ps. Acro. Hor. c 1.28.10 and Perseus *Sat.* vi. 9.11. See also Lucian *The Dream or The Cock* and Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* iv. II. 52 – 63. For a discussion see my 'The Pythagorean Background to Pythagoras' Opinion' in Shakespeare' *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, vol. XV nos 1 & 2 (1992) p. 83 – 97.

As for Aristotle's implied criticism, it goes to show the kind of thing the religious teaching of the old school had begun to face during the past century or so, as also its concern with the nature of the soul as being of great relevance to what befell it. But once again, the transmigrant soul about which the Pythagoreans were talking may not have been the same as that which Aristotle understood, i.e. something co-extensive with one or more of the psychological faculties.

This, together with a single other reference, which is of thunder frightening the dead in Hades,[13] are the only allusions to anything like Pythagorean religious teaching in Aristotle's extant works. W.Rathmann[14] suspects both these notices but has little grounds for doing so or for arguing that the former does not imply a teaching that souls could invest other bodies.

Later writers drew on a work on Pythagoras attributed to Aristotle, the meagre extant fragments of which are, strangely enough, accepted without demur by Rathmann[15] - though he does so only to point out that the information is no more than legend. Too little of this work survives to make any guess as to Aristotle's source, but from the few scraps we have, it would appear that he had set about indiscriminately compiling all the information on Pythagoras and his teachings that had come his way (or perhaps set a pupil of his to do so) for the good reason that even in his time definite knowledge of Pythagoras and the teachings of the early school was meagre, and that too in danger of fading away or being overrun by more recent fiction. The fragments, published by Herman Diels from V.Rose,[16] roughly fall into three groups: anecdotes about Pythagoras himself, religious observances and teachings.

The legend of Pythagoras, beginning with Xenophanes and gathering strength with the allusion to him by Empedocles as a man of prodigious mental powers, who could, when he exerted them to the full, see "each one of existing

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13 *An. Post.* B11. 94b33.

14 *Quaestiones Pythagoreae, Orphicae, Empedocleae*, diss. Halle (1933) p. 18. But see E.Rodhe *Psyche: the Cult of Souls and Beliefs in Immortality* transl. W.B.Hillis London (1925) p. 375; D.Fimmen 'Die Enstehung der Seelenwanderungslehre des Pythagoras' *Arch. fur Rel.* vol. XVIII (1914) p. 514; see also A.Cameron *The Pythagorean Background to the Theory of Recollection*, Menasha, Wisconsin, (1938) p. 13.

15 *op.cit.* p. 16 – 19.

16 *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (henceforth *Vors.* Berlin vol. I (ed. 1961) Pythagoras 15.A.7 = p. 98 - 99.

things in ten or even twenty lifetimes of men",[17] seems to have swelled into a broad concourse of notices and anecdotes which credited him with much that had grown around other such remarkable men as Abaris, Aristeias of Proconnesus, Hermotimus, Epimenides and Pherecydes before him, and yet others after him.

Aristotle says that Pythagoras, coming after them, first took to mathematics and number, but later could not desist from the 'miracle-working' (τερατοποιία) of Pherecydes. He had also heard that Pythagoras had prescience of the presence of a corpse in a ship that was still to reach the shore; again, that he gave prior intimation of the appearance of a white bear in Caulonia. Among the many other things Aristotle wrote of Pythagoras he recorded the tradition that in Tyrrhenia he had bitten to death a deadly viper that had bitten him; that he had predicted to his followers the dissension that was to rise among them; that nobody saw him when he went to Metapontum, and that when he was crossing the Kasa with some others he had heard a louder-than-human voice cry from beneath the river, "Fare thee well, Pythagoras!", ignoring the rest. Aristotle had also heard of a story of Pythagoras' power of bilocation – it seems he had, on one and the same day and at one and the same time, been seen in both Croton and Metapontum. Again he records that once when the sage rose from his seat in the theatre, those who were still seated observed that he had a golden thigh; also that the Crotoniates addressed him as the Hyperborean Apollo. The tradition was also known to Aristotle that Pythagoras had made his disciple, Mullias of Croton, recollect that he had in a former birth been the Phrygian king Midas, son of Gordias, and that on one occasion he had stroked a wild white eagle and that it had submitted itself to his caresses.[18] All this information stands in stark contrast to the two brief references in Aristotle's extant works. One of these is that of the *Metaphysics* (A5.986a30) to the effect that Alcmaeon was a young man in the old age of Pythagoras, and his own belief that Alcmaeon's view of health as a harmony of the bodily opposites was influenced by Pythagorean teaching, not theirs by his.[19] The other is of his *Rhetorics* (B23.1398b14), and on the authority of Alcidamas, that Pythagoras was honoured by the Italiotes as a wise man.

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17 fr. 129. Empedocles does not identify Pythagoras by name, but all probability and the consensus of scholars weighs towards the personality so described as being the philosopher.

18 *Vors. loc.cit.*

19 Some suspicion exists that the detail that Alcmaeon was a young man in the old age of Pythagoras (ἐπὶ γέροντι Πυθαγόρα) is a late interpolation, though it may well be true. It is not found in ms. A(b), nor is there mention of it in Alexander; see Ross note *ad loc.* Diogenes Laertius vii. 83 says Alcmaeon learnt under Pythagoras (Πυθαγόρου διήκουσε); Iamblichus *Vit. Pyth.* 104 and 276 include him in the list of Pythagoreans; but see Simplicius *De.An.* xxxii. 33.

The dearth of reference in general to Pythagoras' scientific teachings as opposed to the religious and mystical is a fact worthy of note by those who are all too certain that Pythagoras was reputed in his day more as a philosopher than as a religious guru. Indeed Rohde had the assurance to declare that he was not a philosopher at all but a teacher of this sort.[20] But even if we fall back on the fragment of Aristotle that Pythagoras did busy himself with mathematics and number before he took to what he calls 'miracle-working', the tradition Aristotle encountered in his time seems to have preserved the same image of the man as the evidence of our earliest sources. The paucity of reference even to this kind of information in the philosophical works of Aristotle may be from Aristotle's consideration of their unreliability, if not simply their irrelevance or their relative unimportance to anything he was discussing at the time. The probability should not be ignored that his own development had taken a course opposite to that of Pythagoras, moving from an interest in religion and mysticism to philosophy and science.

Porphyry writes that Pythagoras said certain things in 'a mystical manner symbolically' (μυστικῶι τρόπωι συμβολικῶς), which for the most part Aristotle committed to writing; for instance, that he called the Bears 'the hands of Rhea', the Pleiads 'the lyre of the Muses'.[21] Diogenes Laertius, giving a number of 'verbal' (perhaps 'mystical') teachings (ἀκοῦσματα) and 'symbolic utterances' (σύμβολα), records that his source, Alexander, says Aristotle discovered them in the Pythagorean memoirs.[22] These aphorismic dicta seem to be a mixed bag of occult concepts, magical observances, taboos and quasi-rational principles and may for the most part have belonged with the older Pythagoreans, though accretions from rituals and holy rites (ἁγνεία) of other cults and religions are not impossible from that time onwards. Isocrates had mentioned Pythagoras' concern for matters of sacrifice and rites,[23] and before him, Herodotus bore witness to the existence of such rites among the Pythagoreans, as among the Orphics, Bacchics and Egyptians.[24] Observance of these may have constituted part of the Pythagorean 'way of life' of which Plato makes mention in the *Republic*.[25]

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20 'Die Quellen des Iamblichus' *Rh. Mus.* vol. XXVI (1871) p. 554 f., though he seems to partially retact in p. 556 – 557.

21 *Vit. Pyth.* 41 = *Vors.* 58.A.2 = p. 462 – 463.

22 viii. 36 = *Vors.* (58.C.3). For these teaching, see *Vors.* 58.C.1 f. = p. 462 – 466.

23 *Bus.* 28

24 ii. 81

25 600b. This is Plato's only reference to Pythagoras.

Of more direct relevance to the central Pythagorean doctrine of reincarnation would have been reference from Aristotle to the abstinence from killing and flesh-eating, which Aristotle would have known well enough and is amply evidenced in other sources. Nothing from Aristotle however bears directly on the general stricture but he seems to have been aware of particular avoidances of particular kinds of animals, which would then come from other considerations, as for instance the taboo an white cocks, kinds of fish considered sacred, mullet, blacktail, eggs and oviparous animals, sea-anemones and the like, whether for sacrifice or food.[26] He also knew of Pythagorean strictures on the eating of certain parts of animals, such as the womb and the heart, with leave for the consumption of the rest.[27] Such particular avoidances, be they of creatures or parts of creatures, bespeak magical, ritualistic, hygienic, utilitarian or simply aesthetic considerations which the Pythagoreans may have observed (as in the case of the avoidance of beans known to Aristotle as well)[28] over and above the

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26 Diogenes (viii.34) and Strabo (xv.716) refer to a total avoidance of killing all living things, the former (viii.20) of even sacrificing. Porphyry (*Vit. Pyth.* 6) citing Eudoxus, says Pythagoras bid his followers avoid murder and murderers, even (like the Buddha) butchers and huntsmen. Athenaeus (ii. 47a = fr. 27) has even Aristoxenus saying that the fare of the Pythagoreans was bread and honey – though the reason given is health. See Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 19; Pythagoras considered all creatures to be of similar stock.

27 Diog. viii. 12 = Fr. 194 Rose. There is evidence from other sources for the avoidance of other parts of the animal anatomy from various considerations. See for instance Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 42, 43, 45.

28 Diog. viii. 34. Aristotle gives more than one reason for this taboo. Gellius iv.11.1 couples it with the avoidance of flesh but only to deny the truth of them. See also Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 43: Pythagoras bade people avoid beans as much as human flesh! Gellius (iv. 11.4) says Aristoxenus "a man most devoted to the study of ancient scriptures and a student of Aristotle" says beans were Pythagoras' favourite vegetable! Aristoxenus appears to be contradicting Aristotle. He contradicts himself as well when one of the things he alleges (fr. 13 W: as also Diodorus) that Pythagoras learnt from Zoroaster is this avoidance of beans! Gellius (iv. 11.2) observes that Callimachus the poet (fr. 128) said that Pythagoras forbade his followers the eating of beans – as did he himself. It is as a taboo, not a recommendation, that beans are mentioned by Empedocles (fr. 141) – and he must surely have followed Pythagoras (see Gellius iv. 11.9; see also Didymus *in Geopon* ii.35.8; Crates *Theres* fr. 17). For the diverse accountings for the taboo, see W.K.C.Guthrie *A History of Greek Philosophy* vol. I. Cambridge (1962) p. 184 – 185. See also T.N.D Arie 'Pythagoras and Beans' *Oxford Medical School Gazette* vol. XI (1959) p. 75 f. for an interesting hypothesis.

general stricture arising from the belief in metempsychosis, which (as for instance by Buddhists the world over today) they appear to have observed with varying degrees of sincerity. On the one extreme are those Pythagoreans whom Aristoxenos knew, who were largely of the scientific persuasion and ate every kind of meat,[29] on the other were the the *sannyasi*-like ascetic (or beggar) philosophers whom we find jibed at in Middle Comedy for their abstinence from taking life or eating flesh.[30]

Two fragments from Aristotle remain which throw significant light on some details of doctrine. One of these says that Pythagoras taught men that they were sprung from "a better seed than accorded with their mortal nature" (κρειττόνων γεγένηται σπερμάτων ἢ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν θνητήν), in other words, that they shared in the nature of beings higher than worldly creatures, i.e. the gods.[31] The implications are many but we may safely presume from the emphasis on the words 'mortal nature' (τὴν φύσιν τὴν θνητήν) that the superior nature of man certainly included immortality, i.e. of the soul, perhaps even that, as Empedocles taught, men were gods or daimons of a sort before they fell into incarnate existence and consequent mortality.[32] One recalls Heracleitus' paradoxical description of the existence of men as alternating between mortality and immortality, "living the death of those and dying the life of these".[33]

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29 Diogenes (viii. 20 = *Vors*. 14.A.6 = p. 101) says Aristoxenus said Pythagoras permitted the eating of all flesh, except of plough-oxen, and rams. See Aristox. fr. 28 W. and 29a W.) Gellius (iv.11.1) refers to it as a false opinion that Pythagoras did not eat flesh or beans. See also viii. 20 and Gellius iv. 11.6 and 7. Aristoxenus says Pythagoras ate piglets and tender calves – which information he seems to have got from Xenophilus, a Pythagorean friend of his, and from others of the older Pythagoreans.

30 See the relevant fragments collected in Diels *Vors*. 58.E. Theocritus calls them 'Pythagoristai', saying they were pale and barefooted. Schol.z.d.St. contributes that the Pythagorikoi paid full attention to their bodies, whereas they Pythagoristai (*sic*), wearing a wrap-around, lived in squalor.

31 Ael. *V.H.* iv. 17 = *Vors*. 14.B.7 = p. 99.

32 fr. 115, with 117, 118, 119, 120, 125, 126 etc.

33 fr. 62.

It would however be quite wrong to suppose that this observation implied that animals were sprung from a different and lowlier seed – that they were fundamentally different in kind and not just in elevation in the scale of life. Or, to put it in another way, that men were a special creation. It would indeed be strange if Pythagoras thought so, when he himself taught metempsychosis, with the classic demonstration of the fact through his own recognition of a dog as the rebirth of a onetime friend of his, a man. If Malvolio was certain of one thing more than any other as the signal teaching of Pythagoras, was it not the possible prospect of the soul of his grandam reincarnating in a bird? – even if it did baffle Aristotle how a chance soul could come to invest a chance body.

The second of the fragments is both interesting and illuminating when taken in the light of the first. Aristotle tells us that in the most secret teachings of the Pythagoreans was a threefold distinction of rational beings into men, gods and 'people like Pythagoras'.[34] Here men (including people like Pythagoras) are put together with the gods to form the category of 'rational beings' (λόγικα ζῶια), with the implication that all other creatures were non-rational (ἄλογα).

The term λόγικα ξῶια by which the category is defined here may be Aristotle's own; but this is no reason for thinking that the distinction of living things as 'rational' and 'non-rational', together with the further gradation of lives on a simple psychological basis into god, man, animal and plant, cannot have gone back to Pythagoras himself. If nothing else, the term *eidos* used of 'parts' of the soul in the tripartion of the soul in Plato bespeaks a Pythagorean distinction, while a similar categorization is also reflected in that other and clearly Pythagorean story which treats of life as comparable to the Olympic games, where some came to earn (the appetitive: τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν), some to compete (the spirited: τὸ θυμοειδές) and others simply to watch (the rational or speculative: τὸ λογιστικόν).[35]

The distinction of rational creatures from the non-rational and the inclusion of men with gods in the former should not, as stated earlier, lead us to suppose that only rational creatures were "of a better seed than their mortal nature". As mentioned before, this observation about men is without prejudice to the rest of moral creatures. But at the same time, of creatures of mortal nature (φύσις θνητή) man alone has found his way up from the class of non-rational

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34 Iambl. *Vit.Pyth.* 31 = *Vors.* 14. A. 7, p. 99 = fr. 192 Rose. ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας διαίρεσίν τινα τοιάνδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ ἀπορρήτοις διαφυλάττεσθαι. τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώιου τὸ μέν ἐστι θεός, τὸ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δὲ οἷον Πυθαγόρας.

35 See Plato *Rep.* 436a f.

creatures (ἄλογα) to the class of rational creatures (λόγικα ξῶια), to the highest rung of which belong the gods. If this is declared of man, it is declared of him since man alone is capable of apprehending the fact and building upon it and thus winning ultimate liberation from the 'wheel of births' (κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως)[36] and achieving the immortality and the bliss which make him godlike. Which is why the achievement of a human existence is rated as something difficult and rare (*durlabha*) in Indian estimate and an opportunity for liberation from rebirth which is not to be lost.

Most interesting in this most secret teaching of the Pythagoreans – and perhaps it was this that reserved it in secrecy among them – is the appearance in it of a category of 'rational beings' coming between men and gods and not otherwise recognized in the overt division – beings who, while not being gods, were still above ordinary human beings. This distinction, not incomparable to that of 'divine men' (θειοὶ ἄνερες), be they hailed in their respective religions as *arahats*, *bhagavans* or saints, is surely one that would not have been accommodated in any exoteric psychological categorization that was even prepared to admit, even if hypothetically, the gods. The reason for this utmost secrecy is therefore quite understandably to preserve it from the cynicism and ridicule of detractors, of whom the Pythagoreans were never short down the ages.

In place of a definition or designation for this new class of rational beings, which the Pythagoreans slip in between men and gods, Aristotle had found them doing no more than pointing to the instance of Pythagoras and leaving the hearer to surmise what sort of persons they would be, and what it was about them that demonstrated them to be above the rest of mankind so as to make them thus distinctive. But with one whose personality is so obscured in all the numerous anecdotes and notices that had covered him from the earliest times like the shells, sea-weeds and rocks that clung to the sea-god, Glaucus, only a broad idea can be had what sort that could be.

To arrive at any such one needs to put together the popular reputation of Pythagoras, supplementing it with much that Empedocles, who spoke of him with such admiration,[37] claimed for himself – a mix between a *sadhu* and *guru* devoted to some god or other (usually the Hyperborean Apollo), who taught in an *ashram* of sorts or, like the Master himself,[38] went about preaching and

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36 Proclus. *Tim.* 1.32

37 fr. 129. Re such beings, see also Empedocles' own claims – truth attends his words (fr. 114); he has the power of prophesy and healing (fr. 112); he can perform miracles such as stay the winds, control the rain and summon spirits of the dead from Hades. Like Pythagoras he makes out he is able to recollect his former births (fr. 117).

38 Inferable for Samos from Herod. iv. 95, who refers to it as an ἀνδρεῶν, and for Croton from the nature of Pythagoras school there.

performing *pujas* for the benefit of individuals or cities, like Pherecydes and Epimenides, and was accredited with superhuman psychic powers, involving bilocation, forevision, birth-recollection and birth-recognition, healing, purification etc., not infrequently displaying physical signs of his uniqueness or carrying symbols of his calling and leading an ascetic life which included abstention from killing and flesh-foods and claiming to be the reincarnation of one or more remarkable personalities of the past or to be the *avatar* of some god.

There is a further implication, and one of which we have more definite evidence, in this category which Aristotle found broadly described as 'beings like Pythagoras'. This is the claim that such beings were then in their last incarnate existence, non-returners to the world of men. They were reputed to be on the threshold of liberation, paralleled in the Greek doctrine used by Pindar (and in deference to his own particular audience) to the ultimate incarnation as "noble kings and men outstanding in strength and wisdom"[39] and in Empedocles to "seers, poets, physicians and leaders of men",[40] but now among the Pythagoreans, to beings more distinctly religious and spiritual in their achievement, as was the Master himself. But over and above this, it appears that that remarkable being had attained the state of liberation in this very life itself and, like a Buddha who had gained enlightenment, was living out his residual mortal life. It is of such beings that the Pythagoreans constituted their class of 'beings like Pythagoras', not just those who were at the pinacle of mortal life as sages, kings, poets or whatever. Thus, Empedocles, who could have adopted such a notion from the Pythagoreans no less (whatever be the truth of his own claim to the achievement), declares himself to walk among men already "an immortal god, a mortal no longer",

ἐγὼ δ΄ ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός
πωλεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥοπερ ἔσικα[41]

while his own followers had got to calling Pythagoras the Hyperborean Apollo.

If it is contended that this important piece of evidence as to the possibility of a man attaining liberation in this very life comes to us from Empedocles and not the Pythagoreans, there is still a piece of evidence, and a very early one at that, which should clinch this condition with early Pythagoreanism as well. I refer to a four-line fragment coming from the tragic poet, Ion of Chios (B.C. 490 – c 421), which not only witnesses such a doctrine, but in doing so, associates Pythagoras with that man Pherecydes who was generally reputed to be his *guru* and in whose sort of miracle–working Aristotle

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39 fr. 127 Bowra = 133 Bergk – quoted by Socrates in Plato *Meno* 81 b-c.

40 fr. 146.

41 fr. 112.

himself (even if deprecatingly) say that Pythagoras had got himself involved.[42] For what Ion of Chios says of this Pherecydes is:

ὣς ὁ μὲν ἠνορέηι τε κεκασμένος ἠδὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ
καὶ φθίμενος ψυχῆ τερπνον ἔχει βίοτον,
εἴπερ Πυθαγόρας ἐτύμως ὁ σοφὸς περὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων γνώμας εἶδε καὶ ἐξέμαθεν.

So did he excel in his humanity and dignity
That, now that he is dead, he has for his soul an existence of bliss,
If Pythagoras the truly wise
Learnt and understood the natures of all men.

Rathmann,[43] arguing that the qualities of ἠνορέη and αἰδώς more properly applied to a hero (*vir fortis*) than to as religious man (*theologus*), concluded that the first two verses may have been grafted to the second pair in later times upon the belief that Pherecydes was Pythagoras' teacher. This seems rather far-fetched. Apart from the easy extension of these qualities to the moral and spiritual fields – together they encompass most of the virtues recognized by the Greeks – there is no reason to doubt that the association of Pythagoras with Pherecydes did not reach back to Ion himself.

Opinion has also been expressed that Pythagoras was here responsible only for the doctrine concerning souls in general while it was Ion who brought the specific case of Pherecydes under it, basing it upon the reputation of the sage and of his having tutored Pythagoras. Or was Ion reporting Pythagoras as regards Pherecydes as well? Again, there are some who would read the 'truly' (ἐτυμῶς) in respect of Pythagoras' wisdom as making the assertion by Ion conditional upon a doubt as to that wisdom of Pythagoras. The assertion is made – whether by Pythagoras himself or Ion – upon Pythagoras' learning the γνῶμας of all men. Again, one could look at this observation in the light of the charge of Heracleitus that Pythagoras was a man who had no intelligence (νοῦς) but was only a polymath who had, practicing inquiry (ἱστορίη) beyond all other men and making a selection from what he had thus acquired,

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42 Diog.; 118; Diod. x.3.4. According to Aristoxenus Pherecydes was wasting away with *pheiriasis* (*pediculosis*, louse–disease) on the island of Delos; Pythagoras journeyed thither, tended him as a son would a father, and when he did not recover due to his age and the virulence of the affliction, he buried him there and returned. Those who accept he was Pythagoras' teacher date him to mid 6th century B.C.; others place him nearly a century earlier. He was credited with prophesying a ship-wreak, an earthquake, the capture of a city. According to Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.16.38) he was the first to say that the souls of men were immortal; Suidas (Diog. xi.46) says he was the first to propound the doctrine of metempsychosis.

43 *op.cit.* p. 44 f.

contrived a 'wisdom' of his own, which was no more than a load of learning, a worthless acquisition.[44]

But such a construction put on the wisdom of Pythagoras would only have succeeded in debasing the expectation with regard to Pherecydes, if Ion had indeed any intention of glorifying the sage. As I see it, there is no need here to bother how Pythagoras built up his wisdom, or even whether it was he or Ion (basing himself on Pythagoras) who made the assertion about Pherecydes, so long as what we have here can be presumed to be a Pythagorean doctrine that is being applied to Pherecydes. As regards the πάντων ἀνθρώπων γνώμας which Pythagoras learnt and understood, my own interpretation is that it was not their 'opinions' but rather their 'minds' or 'mental dispositions'. This would not only make better sense of the verses but rid the observation of any nuances of doubt or sarcasm that would otherwise creep into it. It should be remembered that this same Ion of Chios, in his *Triagmoi*, far from accusing Pythagoras of lifting other people's knowledge to build a wisdom of his own, charges him of the very opposite thing – of trying to father some of his own poems on some other person! And interestingly enough, this other person happens to be none other than Orpheus, the teachings of whose sect are often confounded with his own.[45]

As for the evidence of this important fragment, it bears out the Pythagorean belief in an ultimate state of bliss (τερπνὸν βίοτον) which is enjoyed, not by the individual, body and soul, but by the soul alone (ψυχηί) when once he has died (φθίμενος).[46] Next, that it is the attainment of a man reputed in Greece for practices which Aristotle knew Pythagoras himself took up (the τερατοποιία) and whom – even if we disregard the evidence that he was Pythagoras' teacher and one whom he treated with great respect and regard - tradition related to Pythagoras from the similarity that was seen between their respective practices and beliefs.[47]

If then some idea is to be gained from the claims of Empedocles of the type of beings that the Pythagoreans would have categorized as "beings like Pythagoras" whose ultimate life on earth was to be followed by immortality and bliss for the soul, it appears Pythagoras himself had conceded such to Pherecydes, while to his own followers he himself remained the classic example

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44 Heracleitus fr. 40 and 129.

45 Diog. viii.8 and Clem. *Strom.* 1.131 = *Vors.* 36.A.2

46 R.C.Bluck (*Plato's Meno* Cambridge (1961) p. 67) cannot be right in supposing that the joyful existence awaiting Pherecydes was to be in a new incarnation.

47 At any rate the tradition seems to be quite old, if it goes back to Ion on the similarity of the two in respect of practices and beliefs; see n. 33 above.

of such a non-returner. Men such as these two had walked the earth as beings of special attainment, who could no longer be deemed to be 'men' and yet were not gods either, but beings who, upon the event of death would then assume immortality and eternal bliss for their souls, not incomparable with the immortal gods. With death their souls escape into the air, which is full of them, moving about like motes on a windless day or disturbing them in their passage through it, as Aristotle had heard. But these were not, as *gandhabbas,* souls biding their reincarnation. Instead, liberated and in a disincarnate state, they enjoyed a life of ecstatic bliss in some other plain, not unlike the very gods. Thus the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans say,[44] recalling the claim of Empedocles:

> ἦν δ' ἀπολείψας σῶμα ἐς αἰθερ' ἐλευθερόν ἐλθῆς,
> ἐσσεαι ἀθάνατος θεὸς ἄμβροτος οὐκετι θνητός,
>
> *When once you leave the body and pass into the air of freedom,*
> *You will remain deathless, an immortal god, a mortal no longer.*

Whence the call of the Master for his followers to remember that, though plunged in incarnate existence, they were sprung from "a better seed than their mortal nature."

MERLIN PERIS

44 vs. 70. I am aware that the Golden Verses are of later date; but this by itself does not preclude the tenet being old, especially when it is seen to accord with the other evidence and is unlikely to have been original with Empedocles.

STUDIES ON THE PARANORMAL: THE INDIAN OLA-LEAF HOROSCOPES, AND THE IDEAS OF *KARMA* AND RE-INCARNATION

HISTORY

Horoscopes of contemporary people, Asian and non-Asian, written on ancient palm (ola) leaves have been known for decades in both Sri Lanka and in southern India, especially Tamil Nadu. They have been discussed in many issues of Indian astrological magazines, though mainly in the context of the subject of astrology but not on their history, or on why they were written or even with studies on their authenticity. One South Indian reader of these leaves who had dealt with these for over forty years in Sri Lanka told me they were originally written on goat skins, later transcribed on copper plaques, and then on ola leaves which are now claimed to be hundreds of years old. If this is correct, the possibility of errors in transcription cannot be excluded. On why they were written, it has been surmised that they were tutorial exercises set by the ancient sages *(rishis)* to their pupils who were set the task of composing the horoscopes of persons yet to be born in a series of dates and times, or that the sages made these writings for the guidance of people. There were apparently seven (*saptha-*) *rishis* (*saptharishi*) who authored these horoscopes individually or in conference of all seven (*saptha-rishi vaakyam*, seven-*rishi* stanzas). Since these writings relate to ordinary people, it does not appear that the authors were concerned only with important persons whose life histories could make vivid stories. Some clients are told that there are no leaves pertaining to them.

These leaves are claimed to have been in ancient Hindu temples in South India from where they were either stolen or bought during the British occupation of India. The British, it is said, took away the manuscripts of utilitarian value to them, such as traditional medicinal and alchemical texts. The remainder were the horoscopes. Since they apparently dealt with the lives of contemporary people, the present owners of the manuscripts have made a lucrative practice of reading them for their subjects in Asian countries. An occasional non-Asian has also found his leaf.

The following commentary is based on data from 14 case histories.

IDENTIFICATION

Leaves are identified as belonging to a given subject through his/her thumb prints which probably serve as indispensable 'indexes' or codes; birth date and time are insufficient. Four main groups of thumb print patterns have been identified. The reader generally takes a few days or even a week to locate the respective leaf (leaves) in bundles which the reader has brought over from India. In one case (case No.1) narrated to me, and in which the readings were accurate, the reading was made an hour after the thumb print was supplied. In my case (case No.2), in South India, the reading was begun about 2 hours after the reader took my thumb print. This short interval, in addition to the fact that I was a stranger in South India, would have excluded fraud through the reader seeking out information about me from outside sources. Final identification is done by the matching of birth date, names of the subject and his/her parents as a prelude to the reading. The distribution of 'planets' in the natal horoscope as stated in the leaf, which is described during the definitive reading and not revealed earlier by the subject, is an important verification of the correspondence of the reading with the subject. It is important to state that this correspondence is not used for the *selection* of the leaf. Beginning with the first chapter (corresponding to the 1st 'house' of an astrological chart) which confirms the identity of the leaf, the subject may choose for reading, any of the remaining 11 houses which deal with various aspects of his life, eg. 2nd dealing with his assets, 3rd with his brothers and sisters, 4th his home, vehicles, mother, 10th with profession and status in life and so on. Although the time of birth is not used for identifying the leaf, the exact horoscope (distribution of the planets, birth star, rulership periods) is given on the reading. This indicates that the client's time of birth is *implied* in the leaf-reading, because an accurate horoscope cannot be drafted without the exact time of birth. This suggests that the reader is not using a chart drafted by him on the occasion of the consultation for his reading, excluding this device as one possibility of fraud.....

THE READING

On the appointed day, the leaf is read, while a tape recording is made. In one centre (of the case documented below) there were several readers and translators, one pair dealing with a given leaf. After each sentence or part of it, the reading is translated (if the subject so wishes) into his own language by a translator; the translation is recorded at the same time. The reading covers not only the subject's present life (its past, present and future), but also his/her previous birth and the next birth. The leaf has often been known to state that the subject will have the reading only at the age (and year) at which he seeks the reading. Indeed I personally know of one case (case No. 3) in which the subject was told that at the time of reading, his wife would be abroad; in fact his wife was abroad on a 3 month holiday. It is remarkable that over

an age-span of 60 odd years of this subject, this period of 3 months when his wife was away, was his 'appointed' time for having his leaf read.

There is no discussion between reader and subject except initially when the subject is asked to verify that the leaf is indeed his, from his date of birth, and names of the subject and of his parents, and on occasion from key facts of his life, eg. number of siblings. The absence of such a discussion excludes the possibility of the reader 'fishing out' information from the client...

The reading states all significant facts from the time he was born - including where he was born (eg. public hospital, major city), the date, day of the week, the natal horoscope, parents' names, subject's name, number of siblings (male, female), number of children (male, female), profession, events in the subject's life and a full description of the natal chart.. It is again to be emphasised that, although the subject does not initially state his time of birth, the horoscope that is described necessarily entails a 'knowledge' of the time of birth because the natal horoscope depends on it for its accuracy .

The events are related to astrologically determined 'periods', under the rulership and sub-rulership of specific 'planets'. In my fathers' reading (case No.4) which he obtained in the 1930s, the periods were listed from the year of his birth (1889) till only 1960, as if to mean- 'that, 1989-1960, is his life span'; indeed he died in 1960, a correct prediction for a 30 year period.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE OLA LEAF WRITINGS

Tamil subjects who have had their readings and who have seen the writing on the leaves are of the opinion that the language was not modern Tamil. Indeed one subject (case No.5) had to have his leaf translated into contemporary modern Tamil by a Professor of Tamil who was an expert in Tamil linguistics, and could understand ancient Tamil. Translations might involve a distortion or obscurity of original meanings. In this case (No.5) related to me, the subject was told that his father was in an occupation that dealt with transport and that he had to work with "iron and fire". It is not unexpected that the writing which was probably made centuries before the invention of railways, failed to identify "iron and fire" as having referred to a steam locomotive in which his father was an engine driver. In my father's case (No.4), his leaf stated that he, in his profession, would be concerned with "wheeled conveyance"; he was employed in the railways. In another case (case No.6), the subject heard the word *"upadeshana"* mentioned in relation to her profession. At her first reading the translator gave it as 'teacher' which was correct, but after retirement she was indeed a counsellor in a different line of work. The word 'counsellor' was a better translation of the Sanskrit word *"upadeshana"*. In this reading, the subject was told she had 'high blood pressure and cholesterol', which are terms in modern medicine and certainly could not have featured in an ancient script. In the latter instance, the interpretation by the reader or translator might explain the use of modern terms.

THE FUTURE

It is invariably so that the past, up to the time of reading, has been entirely and uncannily accurate, down to the details of personal names. In my instance (No.2) with an Indian reader in Madras, I wrote my father's name as 'Patrick' for the use of the translator in identifying the leaf as mine. The reader however read the selected leaf and said my father's name was 'Don Patrick', which was correct. My father had seldom used the name Don, and I did not mention or write that name during this session. Having been a South Indian reader whom I had not met before, and having had my reading made 2 hours after giving my thumb print, it was not possible for him to have fraudulently ascertained the name Don.

What does seem to go wrong in some cases is the future, Why this is so is controversial and hypotheses abound. One suggests that, as much as the events described in the writings are based on the idea of *karma* (cumulative consequences of one's past deeds), a person's future depends not only on his past *karma* especially from deeds committed in his previous lives, but also on his deeds (and consequent *karma)* in his present life, which can modify his *karmic* account, modifying in turn the events of the future. It is relevant that a current view on the perennial debate on free-will *versus* determinism is that the answer probably lies in the idea of '*compatibilism*' (Searle 1984) which accommodates both determinism and free-will, just as much as Radhakrishnan, the Indian philosopher-statesman compared the situation to a game of cards in which the predetermined *(determinism*) pack of cards is dealt out as a hand to each player, who can then use the cards as it pleases him *(free-will).*

The meticulous performance of propitiatory rites or *poojas* (as correctives for 'bad' karmic effects) as prescribed in the readings as a determinant of the fruition of the predictions could also be another basis of the explanation of why the future, as described on the leaf, is not always correct. In these instances, perhaps the *poojas* were not done as prescribed.

THE INVESTIGATION OF THE OLA-LEAF PHENOMENON

It is apparent that the phenomenon of the ola leaves cannot be studied 'objectively' or by quantitative, controlled experiments, as one would do in normal science or even with other putative *psi* phenomena - eg. GESP with Zener cards under controlled, experimental conditions, statistics etc. The approach that seems possible with the ola leaves is that used by Ian Stevenson in his analysis of cases suggestive of re-incarnation, or the legal approach to gathering what could be circumstantial

evidence, with corroboration from independent sources, and certainly the elimination of fraud. In this respect, another parallel is the validation of ideas in astro-physics and theoretical physics: "*...it is not easy to measure the mass and spin of something as dark and far away as a neutron star or a black hole. These things have to be deduced from circumstantial evidence (especially hard for black holes) which by their nature reveal little about themselves*" (General Relativity. *The Economist*, 1997, Nov 8th). Yet it is possible to make some investigations such as whether the readings are off a written script. In this case re-reading at a later date, of the same leaf, should give an identical reading. If it is not identical, then some telepathic event at the time of reading might account for its accuracy,

POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FRAUD

One possible source of fraud is a tracing of the antecedents of the subject through his/her name, address or other personal details (if given), during the week or more that elapses between the initial meeting at which the thumb print of the subject is supplied, and the reading. That this does not seem to occur is suggested by the fact that the subjects who have had correct readings did not give their correct name, nor address nor other relevant personal details. Such a source of fraud is also discounted on the facts that (1) the gap between the giving of the thumb print and the actual reading after the selection of the leaf has been as short as one or two hours, making it impossible for the reader to do 'research' on the subject's background; (2) confidential details pertaining to the subject, but which have not been known to anyone else, or not documented, have been read or commented on with great accuracy; (3) specific predictions, borne out as correct by subsequent events, have been recorded. In one case (case No.7), the transcript of which I have, the subject (a Sinhalese) was told that he will marry a girl of a different race, with a specified surname. Indeed, years later, he did get married to a Tamil girl, but her surname differed from what was predicted. On checking with her parents ***after*** marriage, it was revealed that their family name had indeed been changed many years before, and the original name was in fact what was stated on the subject's leaf. Neither the subject nor the girl was aware of the original name. Other examples of accurate predictions made for periods of up to several years in the future, would also exclude fraud of this type, and are recorded below.

Another obvious type of fraud could occur when the reader by skilful questioning, draws out the information from the subject himself, in the guise of needing that information for verification of the ownership of the leaf. In my personal experience and that of others, such 'fishing' did not occur. The only questioning by the reader was solely for verification of the identity of the leaf, from basic facts (date of birth, names of subject and family members) related to the subject, before the actual reading.

Each session covers only 2 or 3 chapters and when the subject returns, days or weeks later on appointment, the same leaf (identified by a shrewd subject by its physical appearances such as tears and marks) is taken up again to continue the reading. Further evidence in refutation of the possibility of fraud (as pertaining to an instant astrological reading instead) is that when a person who once had a reading went back for re-reading of the same leaf, a near-identical reading was made on the second occasion, as described below. The investigator was herself proficient in astrology. She had readings (her son's) (case No.8) made on two different occasions, 8 months apart. The facts and the sequence of the facts given in the four chapters thus tested, were closely similar. If the reading were a concoction or an instant reading from a chart made at the session by the reader from his knowledge of astrology, successive readings on widely separated occasions could scarcely have been identical. In case No.3 the subject who once had a reading, went back for a re-reading of the same leaf, six years later, and was told that after the original reading, his leaf has been sent back to India and that he will have to await the reader's return from India with that leaf. On his re-visit he was told that the original leaf was not available but that another leaf, also pertaining to this subject, will be read; this reading was also correct, but this particular case could not produce a confirmation of actual written documentation of the original reading, as two different leaves and different chapters were read.

It is a less stringent refutation of the possibility of fraud that the reader was a visiting South Indian while the subjects were from many different parts of Sri Lanka or even from other countries, who had not known the reader until their consultation with him.

A CASE STUDY IN INDIAN OLA LEAF HOROSCOPE READINGS (AS NARRATED TO THE AUTHOR BY 'C' AND HER HUSBAND, cases No.9, and 10)

Reader - a south Indian, resident in Sri Lanka for over forty years.
Readings - in Tamil, with English translation, both tape recorded
Personnae - **F** =, C's father who had a son from his 1st wife **W1**
AL = his second wife and mother of C
C = daughter of F from his 2nd wife AL
F's ola reading (case No.9) (describing his present and past lives) were given by the reader in 1956, a year before **C** was born (1957). **C** was told of her father's reading by her mother **AL.**
C's reading (No.10) (describing her present and past lives) was also given by the same reader but 24 years later in 1980, after her father had died many years earlier.

The reader was unaware of the relationship between **C** and **F** at the time of **C**'s reading, nor did he have cause to remember that he gave her father's (**F**'s) reading 24 years before. Moreover since **F** had died, there was no possibility of getting his thumb print for retrieval of his leaf for a second time. Later the reader was told of the father's death. The remarkable coincidence of the facts stated on the two leaves, and described below, could thus not have been attributed to a knowledge on the part of the reader that the leaves belonged to two related subjects.

F's present life

F was very keen to study medicine and he sat one examination but he did not continue as his parents wanted him to work towards the examination for the Civil Service. He always regretted that he did not study medicine. In his professional life, **F** was in employment as a senior government official in the prestigious Ceylon Civil Service, and held an important posting in a state ministry.

F was married to **W1** from whom he had a son (**S**). After **S**'s birth, **F**'s marriage had foundered and they were divorced. The son **S** was taken by **W1. F** then married **AL** and **C** was born in 1957. **W1** died in 1958, and then her son **S** was brought up by **F**'s 2nd wife **AL**, who cared for the son as if he were her own son. **F**'s marriage to **AL** was a successful and happy marriage.

F's former life (as stated on his ola horoscope. Italicised parts occurred in the reading, bold initials and words, author's)

You had been a King in Nepal and though having had a Queen, you also had an affair with a minister's daughter **(MD)**, *and she conceived. The Queen had the pregnancy aborted, and the mother* **(MD)** *too died. Before her death, the minister's daughter* **(MD)** *cursed you* **(the King)** *that in a future birth you will never be a King but will merely be an advisor to a King, that you will want to become a doctor but you won't succeed, and that you will be married to a reincarnation of herself, the Queen. The unborn child of the minister's daughter* **(MD)** *aborted on the order of the Queen will be re-born as your child and the Queen of your former birth, as your 1st wife. This child will bring trouble to you, the parents, and your marriage won't succeed. You will be divorced and later she will die.*

You ***(the former King, now F)*** *will marry the former minister's daughter* ***(MD)*** *with whom you had an affair* ***(now AL)*** *and the aborted child will come back to your second wife* ***(AL)*** *who will look after him, lovingly as her own son.*

Your second child chased you away from your throne.

Possible parallels between F's former life and his present life

His former Queen is the 1st wife (W1) in his present life. F is now the former King. The child (of the minister's daughter who conceived after her affair with the former King) that died in the abortion in the previous life, is the son (S) who is now the step-brother of C and who was cared for by F's 2nd wife AL, who was the minister's daughter in the previous life. The affinity between the former King and the minister's daughter in the previous life, now continues in the present life as an affinity (and marriage) between F (the former King) and AL (the former minister's daughter MD). MD's aborted child is now her (AL's) step-son for whom she cares as if he were her own.

C's present life

C's reading (case No.9) was taken 24 years later in 1980 at her age of 23, also from the same reader. C's father F died when she was 15 years of age. C married when she was 27.

The predictive capacity of the ola leaves

Several predictions were borne out as correct by later events:-

	Event	predicted period	validity
	(predictions made when C was 23 years of age)		
(1)	marriage	4 years	correct
(2)	daughter's birth	7 years	correct
(3)	mother's heart attack and her retirement from her legal firm	7 years	correct
(4)	1983 riots in Sri Lanka. "*you won't be in the country*" C was in the UK at this time. "*Foreign troops will come to Lanka*"	7 years	correct
(5)	"*a low caste person will rule Lanka*"		correct
(6)	description of her future husband "*he will deal with figures*" He became an accountant		correct
(7)	"*He will have his own firm*"		correct
(8)	"*you will live in your mother's house*"		correct
(9)	puberty of daughter	11 years	correct

C's daughter's leaf was read when she was 1 year old. Predictions in C's daughter's reading-

"*your grandmother will have a heart attack and die before your 10th birthday*"		correct
"*you will be the only child*"		correct
"*your father will fall and break his leg*"	9 years	correct
"*you will change your school*"	7 years	correct

The only anomaly or error was that it was stated in C's reading that she will have a son and a daughter, but C's daughter's reading (case No.11) stated that she will have no siblings.

These readings could not have been attributed to telepathy by the leaf reader because some of the stated facts of their family life (foetal deaths before C was born) were unknown to C at the time of the reading. The accuracy of the predictions (with no possibility of anticipation by C) would probably exclude fraud or telepathy.

C's previous life (as stated in her ola horoscope)
You were the daughter of a king of Nepal in a previous birth and you chased away your father from his throne. Your father, the King, cursed you that you will in a future birth, never know the value of a father. Because you ill-treated youth in your previous life, you will marry late in this life
but with corrective poojas, you will marry at the age of 27. (*poojas* = ceremonial propitiatory rites, votive offerings and religious performances).

Possible parallels between C's previous life and her present life.
C who usurped the throne from her father the King in her previous life, lost her father in her present life when she was 15. C did marry at the age of 27 as predicted in her leaf; 27 is usually considered a late age for marriage for a girl in traditional Sinhalese society.

Possible parallels between AL's previous life and her present life.
AL did not have a leaf read. These parallels are inferred from the readings of C, her daughter and of F, her husband.

The aborted child from the extra-marital liaison in F's previous life as the King, which was thus the vortex of the turbulence in the lives of the King and the minister's daughter, is now, in the present life, the vehicle of the curse that disrupted F's 1st marriage, to W1.

AL (the minister's daughter in a previous life), never felt that her step-son (her aborted child in her previous life) was not her own. She brought him up as if he were her own son. Her marriage to F was a continuing liaison, as between the King (now F) and the minister's daughter (now AL) in their previous birth.

DISCUSSION

It is presumed that the leaf reader, at the time of his reading C's leaf, could not have remembered the reading he gave her father 24 years previously. Moreover since F was dead at this time, he could not have obtained F's thumb print for retrieval of F's leaf for comparison.. It is therefore assumed that the reader could not have used F's reading to comment on C's (his daughter's) former and present lives.

Could the congruence of the past and present lives of F, AL and C support (1) the validity of the Indian ola leaf horoscopes, and (2) the ideas of re-incarnation and *Karma*? It would be interesting to scan the history of Nepal to determine whether such a scandal did occur in any of Nepal's royal households, a technique used by Ian Stevenson in his validation of cases suggestive of re-incarnation. The difficulty with the present case is that the history of Nepal records a multiplicity of kingdoms, fiefdoms and states which had their own kings, rulers, and chieftans, and the skeletons in their private cupboards need not necessarily have found their way into the books on the macro-history of Nepal.

The basis of these ola leaf writings, their stunningly accurate descriptions of the past and sometimes of the future, is obscure. Certainly the writings deal with Indian astrology. In conventional, contemporary astrological readings however, such minutae as the subject's name, the names of his family members, and other details of his life, are never revealed.

Beyond a possible authenticity of the leaves, could several *psi*-phenomena, other than astrology, be involved?
Telepathy (reading what is in the mind of the subject). Identification of facts which were unknown to the subjects might exclude this.

Clairvoyance (identification of objects or current events without a sensory process). Some of the identified facts were without documentation elsewhere. Of such data, there seems to be a parallel in the ability to recall the past, describe the present and predict the future as the ola leaf reader did, with the Bulgarian psychic Vanga Dimitrova (Ostrander & Schroeder 1970): *"Vanga began by telling him his first and second name. She told him where he lived at that time. Then she told him his mother's name and identified the disease she suffered with. She told Sasha the date of his father's death and named the illness that had killed him. She gave Sasha all this information as if she was reading from a book. Then she said, 'You've been married seven years, but you have no children. You will have a child one year from now'. This did happen exactly as she had predicted"*. Did the ola-leaf readers resort to the sort of GESP that Vanga demonstrated?

An attempt was made to verify whether the leaf reader was indeed reading what was written on the leaves, and not making an 'instant' reading of a horoscope that he had made:-

(1) Subject A had a reading (case No.3) in 1991, A requested that the same chapter be read again, (by the same reader) 7 years later. The reader said he could not locate the leaf which had probably been taken back to India, but identified from A's thumb print another leaf pertaining to A (case No.3b). He read another chapter (chapter 2) but gave the same facts about A including his horoscope, his name, his wife's name and parents' names, and other family details, as accurately as before. A more successful attempt at re-reading of the *same* leaf was made in the second case described below.

(2) This case (case No.8) was narrated to me by a person who was a competent astrologer herself (DW). Her son had his leaf read, after verification of his name as SW. Eight months later, his mother DW had his leaf read again, at the same centre, through his (the son's) thumb print, and after verification of his name but as SM and not SW as on the first occasion. Really the son's name was SMW. The son was not present on the 2nd occasion eliminating the possibility of personal identification of the subject by the reader. Moreover, both reader and translator were different on the 2nd occasion. DW was herself proficient in Sanskrit, words in which featured on the readings, and she made notes of what was read. The 4 chapters read on the 2nd occasion were compared as to (a) the facts stated, (b) the sequence of these facts. In DW's estimate the correspondence between the **facts** stated on the 2 occasions was 100%. The correspondence between the **sequence of the facts** was 75-80%, suggesting that the two readings were made from an actual documentation on the leaf. DW's views were (a) that differences in *sequence* in a few instances could have occurred on the part of the translator, such as if the reading stated 'cart and horse', the translator could have stated it as 'horse and cart'. (b) the possibility that there could have been two different leaves pertaining to this subject, written by two different *rishis*, which dealt with the same facts (100% correspondence) but with a different sequence (75-80% correspondence). Indeed in my own instance at the same centre and the same reader, there were apparently two different leaves pertaining to me, which corresponded on the principal facts. It was however not possible, as was stated in this case (1) above, to compare the sequences since the consecutive readings were of different chapters in two different leaves.

(3) A medical professor who was proficient in Tamil claimed that he read his name inscribed on his leaf (case No.12). So did a surgeon (a Sri Lankan Tamil) proficient in astrology, see the name of his English wife, on his leaf (case No.13) .

Items (2) and (3) would indicate that the readings were indeed from what was actually written on the leaves.

It might seem improbable that the reader made an instant astrological reading through telepathy in cases where the subject did not know the time of his/her birth, which is essential for casting of a horoscope in the first place.

A curious fact about these readings emerged from 2 instances, one of which I was personally aware of, and the second related to me at first-hand by DW, the educationist-astrologer-

(1) the subject A (case No.3) was in the throes of a personal problem on which he was in a particular state of mind- intentions, hopes, attitudes- related to his problem. No one who knew of this problem, was in the country at the time. A's reading described the problem, its origins, and descriptions of persons involved, with stunning accuracy, and made unambiguous comments on A's state of mind. Seven years later, the circumstances regarding A's problem had changed and now he was of a different frame of mind. He consulted the same reader again who gave him a reading of a different leaf because the original leaf could not be traced, as perhaps it had been taken back to India. The new reading also described the same problem but now stated that he had changed his mind on it, tallying exactly with A's new frame of mind on the problem.

(2) DW, the educationist-amateur astrologer also experienced different interpretations on her readings (case No.6) on successive occasions, and she asked the question: *"Is it a variation upon the karmic force which changes according to karma accrued as we go on?"*.

This point was also raised earlier as a possible explanation of the short-falls in predictive accuracy as compared with the total accuracy of the description of past events. This recalls Sir Oliver Lodge's and Sir Arthur Eddington's comments:-

"The events may be in some sense in existence always, both past and future,and it may be we who are arriving at them, not they which are happening"

(Lodge)

"This division into past and future is closely associated with our ideas of causation and free-will. In a perfectly determinate scheme, the past and future may be regarded as lying mapped out - as much available to present exploration as the distant parts of space. Events do not happen, they are just there, and we come across them". **(Eddington)**

If indeed ola leaf writings are genuine commentaries on the lives of people, one might also have recourse to some modern ideas in theoretical physics and metaphysics to unravel the mystery and mechanism of these ola horoscopes:-

(1) "People like us, who believe in physics, know that the distinction between past, present and future is only a stubbornly persistent illusion" **(Albert Einstein**, 1955, *Letters)*

*(2) "Tachyons. There is speculation among theoretical physicists that exist particles which move faster than light. These hypothetical particles, called tachyons, would have to move 'backwards' in time to be consistent with relativity theory. This suggests to some proponents of the paranormal that tachyons could provide a basis for precognition, since the tachyons that exist at the present time have come to us from the future. Martin Gardner (1974) points out that quite apart from the fact that such particles remain hypothetical at the moment, such particles cannot provide a means of communication although some physicists looking for tachyons have overlooked this point". (***Alcock** 1981).

"In some laboratories an active search is going on for hypothetical 'tachyons' - particles of cosmic origin which are supposed to fly faster than light and consequently, according to orthodox Relativity Theory, in a reversed time direction. They would thus carry information from the future into our present, as light and X-rays from distant galaxies carry information from the remote past of the universe into our now and here. In the light of these developments, we can no longer exclude on a priori *grounds the theoretical possibility of precognitive phenomena, such as, for instance, those produced in the Soal-Shackleton experiments. The logical paradox that predicting a future event may prevent or distort it is circumvented by the indeterminateness of the future in modern physics and the probabilistic nature of all forecasts"* **(Koestler** 1973)

The consideration of a possible parallel in Nostradamus and his predictions is compelling although the veiled language used by Nostradamus contrasts with the clear statements made on the leaves. Nostradamus was accused of heresy by the Church. He used veiled language and garbled archaic French for his quatrains on account of this, and because (in his own words):- *"If I came to refer to that which will be in the future, those of the realm, sect, religion, and faith would find it so poorly in accord with their petty fancies that they would come to condemn that which future ages shall know and understand to be true"* (quoted by Tomas 1974). The situation amongst the South Asians, of whom the *rishis* are alleged to have

written these forecasts, is entirely different because the ideas of re-incarnation and *karma* are firmly embodied in their indigenous faiths.

Having read this script, Professor Ian Stevenson (Division of Personality Studies, Department of Psychiatric Medicine, University of Virginia, USA) recommended that a further test be done on the validity of these leaves. A leaf which is found to be correct in the stated facts needs to be photographed and the script on the leaf be translated by an expert in the old Tamil script. If the facts as written on the script match the facts as stated to the subject and are correct, a conclusion could be made that the reader's correct statements are indeed from a documentation on the ancient leaf. It is hoped that these tests could be done and reported in a subsequent communication.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Indian palm (ola) leaf horoscopes are amazingly accurate in describing past events and sometimes, in accurately predicting the future.
2. The history of their documentation, and why they were written allegedly many centuries ago, are obscure.

3. There is no incontrovertible proof in all instances, that these leaves did actually record all that the readers recited. Experts in Tamil linguistics will be needed to examine these writings, supposedly in ancient Tamil, before their authenticity is established. However two Tamil professional subjects claimed to have read either their own names or that of their spouse on their leaves suggesting that the readings were made off written scripts. That the readings are made from what is actually written on the leaves and not from an instant astrological reading of a chart made by the reader, is also suggested (in one case documented in this paper) by the 100% correspondence of the identity of the facts and 75-80% correspondence of the sequence of the facts, from readings of the same leaf on two different occasions.

4. The possible role of GESP (precognition, telepathy) on the part of the reader, in at least a part of the readings, cannot always be excluded. However in the majority of cases studied, some of which are documented here, precognition and telepathy on the part of the leaf reader, were probably not operative.

5. A possible source of genuine error in the accuracy of the readings might arise from the translator's mis-interpretation or incompetence, or from translational difficulties in relation to contemporary laguage..

6. Research on these ola leaf horoscopes has to reckon with fraud, through a reader seeking out biodata of the subject, between the first visit for providing the thumb print and the reading, or by the reader skilfully attempting to extract facts from the subject. These sources of fraud were excluded from the cases documented here.

7. Quantitative, experimental investigations under controlled conditions which have been used on other *psi*-phenomena such as Zener card-reading ability, are difficult with the leaf horoscopes. The approach used in this study was the use of circumstantial or 'legally' acceptable evidence.

8. If these ola leaf horoscopes are found to be genuine ancient writings and are accurate in describing and predicting human events, the ideas of re-incarnation and *karma* then would merit serious consideration as valid.

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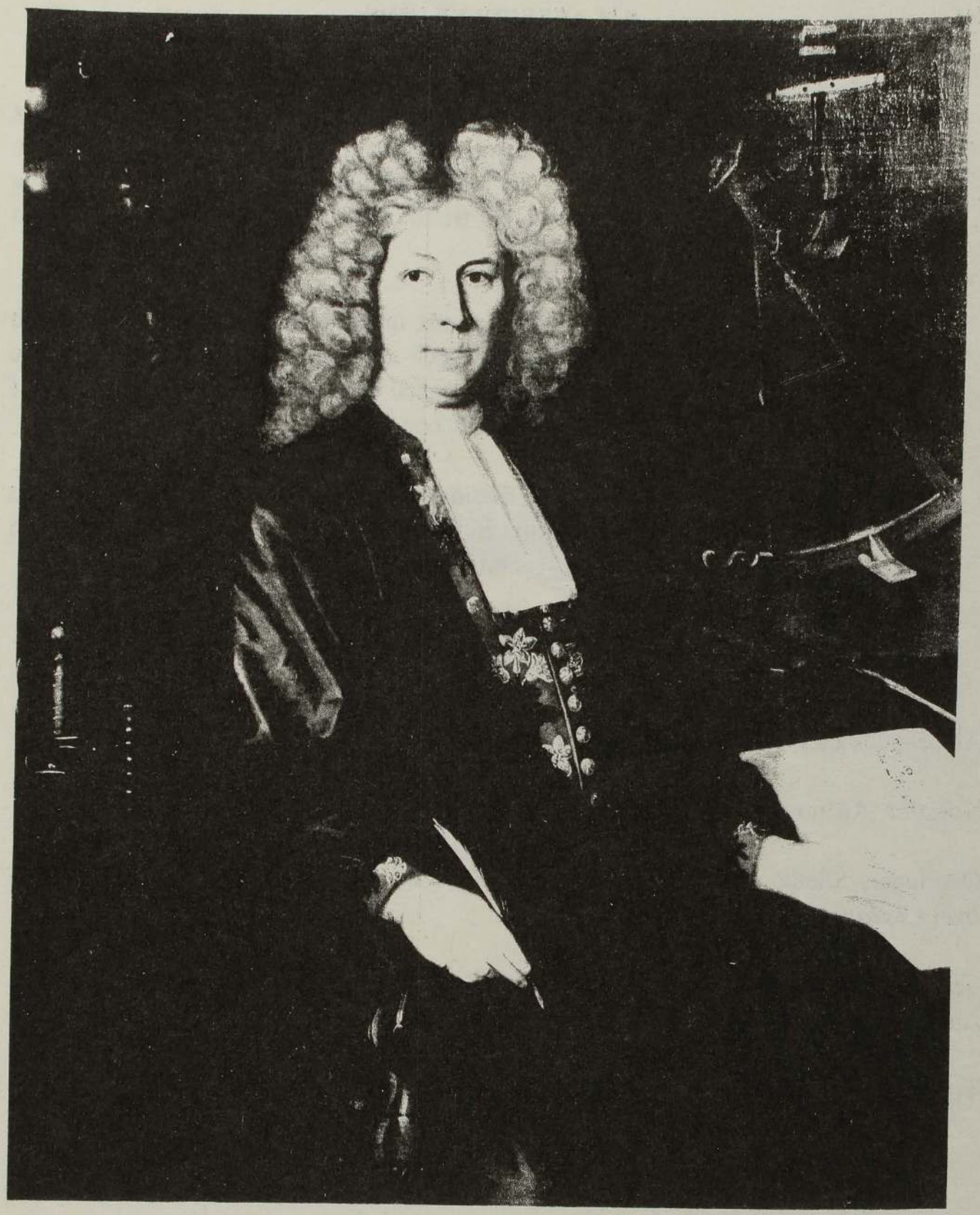

Captain Robert Knox, 1641 - 1720, of the East India Company (Portrait by P. Trampon, c. 1708) Courtesy: National Maritime Museum, London

ROBERT KNOX IN THE KANDYAN KINGDOM 1660-1679: A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY (1975) ADDENDUM (1998)

Introduction

"Buried alive thou wast: another world did'st see,
Of things & men a strange varietie:
Risen again, return'd, to us do'st tell
These wonders which from thee, we credite well.
Nineteen hott sumers, melting, there did'st stay.
Here in the North, to coole, th'art gott away
By Providence divine, on which wee looke,
As att the highest wonder in thy booke.
Thy first Edition was a noble feast
But these, thy second thoughts, must needs be best."
Jan: 1st 1695/6. D.F.M.D.

Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*. 2nd ed. (1989, i.e. 1990). Vol. II, p. xvi

This agreeable verse was written on a slip pasted in the Preamble to the interleaved manuscript of Knox. The inscription reads: "A new-years-gift to his friend, the Authour, Capt. Robert Knox, upon this second Edition of his Narrative of Ceilon". The editor (J.H.O. Paulusz) in a footnote points out that the most rigorous search has failed to turn up the full names of the owner of these initials. It remains a puzzle to be solved.

If a poll were to be taken among scholars and students of Sri Lanka's well-wrought urn of history and culture even today on who was and still remains the most remarkable and well-loved visitant, willing or otherwise, to the island, I have little or no doubt that Robert Knox would emerge the victor hands down. The tale of this largely illiterate sailor and ship captain's son who endured nineteen and a half years as a captive of the redoubtable Rajasinha II in the late 17th century has had its infinite variety, like Shakespeare's Cleopatra. It has neither withered through age, nor staled by custom. Knox was born on 8 February 1641 and died at the ripe old age of nearly eighty on 19 June 1720, happy in the satisfaction of seeing his close encounter with the Kingdom of Kandy in successful print, but denied the long anticipated pleasure of the second edition of his interleaved copy published before his death. That this elusive and long-lost edition of his famous book took three hundred and nine years to be made available to expectant lovers of Knoxiana is one of the primary urges of this further addition to the literature on the intrepid and inquisitive Englishman. In 1976 my

"Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom, 1660-1679 : A Bio-Bibliographical Commentary" was published in the *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* Vol. 1, No.2, December 1975, pp 81-151, 7 illus. It charted the destinies of both man and book from Knox's birth to death, the further adventures of the two interleaved copies, and provided a detailed, copiously annotated and critical survey of the literature pertaining to this abiding favourite and durable classic of Ceyloniana. My commentary sought to chronicle its history and validate its position up to the moment of compilation.

As I mentioned there, Knox had occupied a leading place in my affections from an early age, and a quarter of a century of foraging for material and information in my own University Library in Peradeniya and other repositories, here and abroad, only whetted the desire and stimulated the impulse of laying bare the fruits of this research. It is pertinent to this story to recount a day in London in late 1955 when S. Arasaratnam, K.W. Goonewardena and I (a trio of Peradeniya colleagues on study leave in England) became aware, over dinner in the University of London Students' Union cafeteria, that the long mislaid and untraceable interleaved copy of Knox's *Ceylon* had come to light in the British Museum Library. Further, that its eventual discoverer Dr. H.J. Braunholtz, Keeper of the Department of Ethnography and the retired Ceylon Government Archivist, Jan Hendrick Oliver Paulusz, had been entrusted with the task of editing it for publication by the Hakluyt Society, London. That Arasaratnam and Goonewardena went on to become established authorities on the activities of the Dutch in Ceylon is also germane to this story. Thereafter, each year the *Annual Report and Statement of Accounts* of the Hakluyt Society carried the news that this edition was "in active preparation". Braunholtz died a few years after the commencement of the undertaking, and the main challenge devolved on Paulusz alone. My interest was kept alive by inquiry from the Society periodically and on 13 May 1975 in the course of finalising my 1975 commentary I wrote to the Society and received a reply from Mrs Alexa Barrow (its Secretary) on 22 May 1975: "It is hoped that *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon* by Captain Robert Knox edited by H.J. Paulusz will be published within the next two years. The footnotes are at present being typed which fill me with optimism, although years of experience warns me not to be too optimistic!" In my response of 03 June 1975, I expressed pleasure over her news, but I went on to say that I picked up "the warning signals in your qualified message of optimism". I further pointed out that the Society had bestowed on Paulusz initials that had rightly belonged to the late Braunholtz, in its letter and annual publicity lists.

By late 1979 I had learned from an unimpeachable source in the University of Cambridge (close to the horse's mouth in the Hakluyt Society) that the Society had been disappointed by the final product as provided by Paulusz, and expressed a desire to have it revised and reworked by someone else, presumably more expert in the field. Soon after an Australian student of Sri Lankan literature (James Crouch) whom I had kept informed of my own work on Knox had himself inquired from the Society on 8 March 1980 about this proposed and long-deferred publication, and been informed by Mrs Alexa Barrow on 4 April 1980 that: "We regret the Society's edition of Knox's Ceylon has been abandoned". The trio who had celebrated the news in 1955 with an

extra pint of ale each were naturally let down---incidentally all three became confirmed Knox aficionados, and these concerns were displayed in my previous commentary as well as this addition. It was a matter of some surprise, therefore, that Goonewardena chose to ignore completely in his otherwise scrupulous and thorough review of Paulusz's interleaved edition the significant fact that the work had been commissioned over three decades earlier by the Hakluyt Society for publication in its impressive and renowned series, and that this had not happened. Perhaps he wished to desist from heaping further indignity upon the editor? I have elected to put the record straight in the interests of historical accuracy, as well as disclosing the true antecedents of this edition.

The news was particularly saddening for me as I had been buoyed up by the appreciative comments arising from my labours of 1975. In addition the tercentenary of Knox's celebrated first and extremely rare folio edition of 1681 was almost upon us, and on my own initiative I decided to interest an Indian antiquarian reprint publisher--Navrang of New Delhi--on the desirability of undertaking a highly prized venture in facsimile publication. Unfortunately, since it took some time to locate an immaculate and perfect 1681 edition (complete with map, portrait and all the plates) in India, the first facsimile reprint of Knox appeared one year and seven months after the actual tercentenary of 1 September 1981 in May 1983. It was both pleasure and reward in abundance, the more so because I had been afforded the privilege of contributing a lengthy introduction to it (see no. 1). The demand proved so encouraging among Knox-starved customers, that it provoked a further reprint in identical format ten years later with an Afterword by me (see no. 4).

In between the first and second facsimile 1681 reprints it became known that Paulusz, baulked of his ambitions by the refusal or reluctance of the Hakluyt Society to publish his work, and having had, doubtless, the results of his long, painstaking and arduous labours returned to him, had not retired hurt. He must obviously have been immensely relieved and happy to have his edition of the interleaved Knoxes accepted for publication by Tisara Prakasakayo, Dehiwela, in Sri Lanka. His indiscriminate and unbalanced undertaking (going beyond, perhaps, what the Hakluyt Society had ever originally intended) finally saw the light of day in two stiff-board, dust-jacketed volumes in 1989 [i.e. 1990] (see no. 5). The comments I now put down are indeed passing strange. On p. 2 of Paulusz's Foreword to his interleaved edition of Knox, Vol. I, he mentions that H.J. Braunholtz initiated steps to edit the interleaved Knox with H.W. Codrington, C.C.S., as joint editor. The latter's death in 1942 and the war put paid to that effort. On p. 470 of the same volume (last page) he reveals that Braunholtz, on becoming Keeper of the Department of Ethnography, British Museum, had reported his discovery to the Hakluyt Society in 1939 with a view to publication. It is typical of Paulusz's editorial techniques that this obviously linked information has had to be garnered from two pages in the same volume separated by 468 pages in between! Even more baffling, nay misleading or perplexing, is the fact that nowhere in his Acknowledgements or Foreword (or indeed anywhere in the two volumes) in this long-awaited edition of a supposedly definitive Knox does Paulusz reveal that: (a) it had originally been commissioned by the Hakluyt Society from H.J. Braunholtz and

himself in 1955: (b) the date of Braunholtz's death and what his specific contributions had been; (c) whether they were utilised by Paulusz or not; (d) no mention, whatsoever, that the Hakluyt Society had turned down his edition around 1980; and (e) what, if any, reasons were given for such abandonment. All these are open to further inquiry or speculation. Even Knox, the greenhorn scholar, would have been most bemused.

In my Afterword in the 1993 folio 1681 edition, I had stated that I planned a critical review of Paulusz's edition when the *Addendum* to my 1975 Knox commentary was to appear. This work has been delayed in the last five years by problems of ill-health, increasing age and other scholarly projects. Hence, the elaborate and clinical dissection of Paulusz's edition I had looked forward to writing has been effectively and more devastatingly forestalled by Prof. K.W. Goonewardena in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka,* Vol XXXVII, 1992-93 (1994), pp. 117-144. I am in agreement with him on all grounds, and can only congratulate him on exposing the purblind nature of Paulusz's scholarship and the unnecessarily long-winded, even haphazard and disorderly, character of his editorial labours. I am naturally glad to have been spared the ordeal of going over the same ground, with perhaps a slightly different emphasis, but essentially similar results. My comments in this work may, therefore, be taken as complementary to his and starting some hares too. I am unaware of any other review of the interleaved Knox at the time of writing. As in the 1975 work, this too is divided into two sections: (a) Editions, Versions and Digests; (b) Criticism, the Man and his Book. I must point out that my major or only concern has been to supplement my pioneer commentary on Knox, with material published after 1975, and in a few cases, earlier literature which had escaped my notice.

That encounter in 1955 continued to shed its afterglow, and it has been left to all three to contribute their particular expertise to reframing the portrait of Knox's narrative skill and descriptive prowess in the light of later developments in history and anthropology. That is my only excuse for offering this final tribute to the audacious and venturesome English captive in 17th century Ceylon whose story when it was first published 317 years ago rated only one notice in *The London Gazette* No. 1648 of 1-5 September 1681, and then in *The Term Catalogues, 1668 - 1709 A.D.* (Edward Arber) *Vol. 1 1668 - 1682*, p. 461, as a bound folio edition priced at 10 shillings. It has been worth its weight in gold since to antiquarians and rare book collectors as well as to the never decreasing tribe of students and scholars of Sri Lanka's mediaeval lore, in one way or another.

I began this sequel to my 1975 Knox pursuit on 24 March 1998, the 50th anniversary of my marriage, and it was finished on 7 May, my wife's birthday. It is dedicated to her love and understanding, and a shared interest in this irresistible chase.

I wish to thank the Editor of *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* for accepting it for publication.

Note on the plate

This remarkable and elaborately conceived and executed portrait in oils by P. Trampon is reproduced by kind courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, London. It is obviously a much later portrait than the familiar Richard White engraving of 1695, when Knox was 54. But the painting is undated and the Museum Catalogue has no date for it either. A clue to its possible date is provided by the fact that Knox's left hand is resting on a manuscript book which bears the title *Memoires of my owne Life 1708.* It is known that Knox was using a second interleaved copy of his first edition of 1681 from 1696 to 1711 to put down his memoirs, referred to in his Last Will and Testament of 30 November 1711 (confirmed for the last time on 4 April 1720) and this copy came to light in the Bodleian Library, Oxford in October 1900. It was first edited by James Ryan and published in 1911, and is commonly referred to as the "Autobiography". It is a matter of some curiosity that there is no mention of this later impressive portrait done twelve years before his death. Concerning its first reproduction anywhere see No. 33 and related comments.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY
A : EDITIONS, VERSIONS and DIGESTS
(In Chronological Order)

1. KNOX, Robert. *AN HISTORICAL RELATION OF THE ISLAND CEYLON IN THE EAST INDIES.* With an Introduction by H.A.I. Goonetileke, former Librarian, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. First Facsimile Reprint by Navrang Publishers and Booksellers, New Delhi of the Original Edition published in London in 1681. New Delhi, 1983, xvi, (24), 189 p., front. (port), fold map, 17 copper plate engravings on 15 plates. Folio (30 x 15 cms). Publishers black cloth binding with gilt lettering on spine. Printed in India by Mr Sehgal at Rahul Offset Works, A-44, Naraina Industrial Area, Phase 2, New Delhi and published by Mrs. Nirmal Singal for Navrang Publishers and Booksellers, New Delhi, 110012.

This is the very first facsimile reprint of the original 1681 folio edition, published in London by Richard Chiswell, printer to the Royal Society. There have been other reprints after 1681, but never before a complete photolithographic reproduction in exact replica fashion. The Richard White portrait of Knox (dated 30 Dec. 1695) and the 1681 facsimile title-page follow the special introduction by H.A.I. Goonetileke on pp. vii-xvi. The introduction concentrates on narrating the circumstances surrounding the gestation of Knox's text and his adventures in seeking a second expanded edition in his lifetime thereafter. The vicissitudes affecting both the autobiography (published only in 1911) and the interleaved copy of the 1681 edition are discussed in detail. There are observations too on the contemporary and subsequent impact of this perennial source book for Sri Lankan studies. After over three centuries it retains its unassailable place as the most highly prized and sought after artifact in the antiquariun literature on the island. Copies of the first edition, when available, fetch sensational prices, and this elegant and dignified reprint provides an opportunity for all Knox lovers to possess the first and most celebrated book on Sri Lanka in the English language in its original format, with the portrait, map and illustrations at a most reasonable price. The Indian price was Rs. 250/-. The attractive jacket had the portrait of Knox on the cover, and a small map of the island on the back. This reprint of Knox won the prize for the best designed and printed book in India in 1983.

A Sri Lankan edition of this reprint was also published by special arrangement with Navrang, New Delhi, in Colombo by K.V.G. de Silva & Sons (Col.) Ltd., in 1983. The collation and cataloguing description are identical with the Indian edition. There was also a stiff board cover facsimile printing of the 1983 edition in 1984 at a still cheaper price.

2.KNOX, Robert. *An historical relation of Ceylon, together with somewhat concerning Severall Remarkeable passages of my life that hath hapened since my Deliverance out of my Captivity.* Colombo: M.D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., (1983). lvii, 400 p., front (port), 18 plates, fold. map. Quarto (23 x 15 cms).

The present edition is a reprint of the original 1911 edition by James Ryan published

by James Maclehose & Sons. Glasgow. This is the first complete reprint of this edition which included the Knox autobiography left out of the controversial (yet much quoted) 1958 reprint by the *Ceylon Historical Journal*. The text of the Historical Relation occurs on pp. 1-275, and the Autobiography is on pp. 277-400. This reprint has been reset and not reproduced (as it should have been to ensure accuracy) photolithographically. It is a great pity, considering the claims made for its legitimate superiority over the 1958 reprint, that three essential illustrations in the original 1911 edition have been omitted. The excuse provided (on p. viii) is untenable, as a copy with those illustrations could easily have been located in Colombo itself. There is a brief introduction by V.O. de Alwis Gunewardane on pp. ix - xiii.

3.KNOX, Robert. *RELATION DE L'ILE DE CEYLAN*. Introduction, revision de la traduction et glossaire par Eric Meyer. Editions LA DECOUVERTE/MASPERO. 1, place Paul - Painleve. Paris Ve. 1983. 289 (4) p., 2 maps (front). (La collection de puche la Decouverte. 66). Octavo (18 x 11 cms).

This is a completely revised translation of the text of the French Lyon edition of 1693, with the following changes. No illustrations from the 1693 edition were reproduced, and only a small section of the famous map is given as a frontispiece. The format of the book, perhaps, prevented the entire map being included. There is a modern map of the island by Raymond Ghirardi facing the frontispiece, while a single illustration from the original appears on the cover in unfamiliar colour. Meyer, the well known French scholar and student of Sri Lankan society and economic history, provides a full and critical introduction on pp. 7-33, setting the author and book in historical perspective. There is a select bibliography on pp. 30-33. There is a glossary-index on pp. 281-289. Chs. 12 & 13 are omitted from the fourth part of the text, and only an extract of the final Ch. 14 is given. It is a curious coincidence that this French edition appeared in the same year as the very first facsimile reprint of the 1681 edition.

4.KNOX, Robert. *AN HISTORICAL RELATION OF THE ISLAND CEYLON IN THE EAST INDIES*. With an Introduction and Afterword by H.A.I. Goonetileke, former Librarian. University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka. New Delhi: Navrang Publishers and Booksellers, 1993. xviii (24), 189 p., front (port), fold. map., 15 plates. Folio (30 x 15 cms).

The second facsimile reprint of the original 1681 edition, ten years after the first. The identical coloured dust jacket adorns this second reprint as well, but the paper used is of superior quality to that in the 1983 edition. The Indian price was Rs. 300/-. The only addition to the 1983 reprint is the Afterword on pp. xvii - xviii, which deals in brief with the principal reprints and new editions of Knox's epic story.

5.KNOX, Robert. *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon. Revised, and Brought to the Verge of Publication as the Second Edition of Robert Knox. Together with his Autobiography and All the New Chapters, Paragraphs, Marginal Notes added by the Author in the Two Interleaved Copies of the Original Text of 1681.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by J.H.O. Paulusz. 2 Volumes. Dehiwela

(Sri Lanka): Tisara Prakasakayo Ltd. (Printed at the Tisara Press, 135, Dutugemunu Street, Dehiwela), 1989 (i.e. 1990). Volume I: xvi, 508 p., front (port), 2 plates, fold. chart.; Volume II: lii. 688 p., front (port), 18 plates, fold map. (The Ceylon Historical Journal Monograph Series--Volumes Thirteen & Fourteen). Quarto (21 x 14 cms)). Vol. I (price Rs. 700/-); Vol. II (price Rs. 980/-). Stiff-board covers, with dust jacket on each volume. The front inside flap of each jacket carries a brief biographical sketch of the editor (J.H.O. Paulusz) born 21 September 1900, and then resident in North Wales, by a former Director of the Department of National Archives, Sri Lanka, G.P.S.H. de Silva. This note appears on the back of the title page in each volume. "This Second Edition includes all additional material written by Robert Knox for his second edition during the years 1681 to 1713 and hitherto unpublished. It also includes all the glosses inserted by Knox between the lines of the printed text. There have been numerous editions of Knox's book in many languages and in many forms in the 308 years between his first edition and the second".

This bibliographer cannot help drawing attention in the first place to two intriguing points which cannot escape notice. The long-winded title includes the phrase: "Brought to the Verge of Publication as the Second Edition by Robert Knox." Is this Knox's own usage ere he died, or that given by Paulusz before the Hakluyt Society rejected his labours? The second curious point is that the imprint date of Vol. I is given as August 1989, while the imprint date of Vol. II is May 1989. Thus the second volume precedes the first in time, even though the contents of the second cannot be truly comprehended without reference to the first.

The contents of the first volume are as follows:

> 1. Explanatory Note on Types used in Text, p. xi; 2. List of Abbreviations and Symbols, p. xii; 3. Errata, p. xiii; 4. Acknowledgements, pp. xv-xvi; 5. Introduction to Second Edition, pp. 1-470. (There is an unlisted Foreword on pp. 1-7, dated 18 April 1989 from Westbury, Wiltshire, U.K., by J.H.O. Paulusz, perhaps the last contribution before this edition went to press in Sri Lanka). The Introduction proper begins on p. 9 and includes a long, discursive, and rambling account of the history and fortunes of the Kandyan Realm from the late 16th century to the last half of the 17th century in which the main burden of the treatise is designed to defend VOC (or Dutch) policy in its dealings with the Kandyan kingdom, and to denigrate the native monarch and his supposed duplicity and treachery which takes us up to p. 293. There are references to Knox and his fellow-captives and details of their confinement in this section as well. A major portion of his historical review is taken up with refuting and rejecting the writings of Arasaratnam and Goonewardena (see my commentary on Goonewardena's article No. 27), but nowhere in the comprehensive Index or meagre Bibliography do their names feature, despite his reference to an important 1958 contribution by Goonewardena by name on p. 415. Amnesia, wilful omission or both?

From p. 293 Paulusz begins to unfold in detail (gathered from nearly 30 years of

search and research) the resourceful and enthralling life and times of "Robert Knox (1641-1720) Master Mariner Merchant and Author. Aspects of His Life and Fortunes". Birth, ancestry, family connections, school; Kinship with Bonnells (his mother's family); Knox Ward; Puritan Discipline, Adolescence, Captive at Kottiyar; Godric: Patron Saint of Pedlars; Taken Prisoner; The So-Called Knox's Tree; Visitors to Lanka Trepanned; Estate of the Elder Knox: Letters of Administration; Knox's Earliest Statement After Escape; State of English Captives, Conditions at Kandyan Court; Beard and Knight, Udamala Adasins Death; Report by D. Balk; English Captives as Pedlars; Raja's Physical Appearance; Escape of Day and Kirby 1683; Raja Tries to Lure or Coerce European Envoys into His Service; The King's Preference for Foreigners; Later Escapes; Policy of Appeasement Fails; Last "Anne" Sailor Escapes; Knox's Homecoming (c.1680), Coffee House Life, Book Published, Sails Again in Tonquin Merchant, Sept. 1681; Coffee House Visits; The "Historical Relation" is published 1 September 1681; England Still "Plot-Mad" when Knox's Book Appeared; The Illustrations; The Artist/Limner; Illustrations Rare in 17th Century Books; MS of Hooke's Diary Yields Clue; Two Qualities of Paper Revealed by Watermarks; King Charles II Receives Knox, December 1683; Pioneer in Tea Trade; Knox as Guide to Sinhalese Language Proficiency Assessed; Draft Sinhalese-English Word List by Knox and Hooke; Notices of Knox's Ceylon: Reviews, Comments, Summaries, Translations; Reviews, Reprints, Extracts Edited by Writers in English; Publications in Sri Lanka; Works by German Nationals on Lanka Coeval with Knox; Knox Becomes Slave Trader; Servitude Makes the Enslaved Callous; Knox Calls at Cape Town; The Portrait of Knox: 1695; Home from the Sea. Old Age; Last Will. Death; Some Dutch Maps Before Knox; Sinhalese Lekam Miti Used as Framework; Ceylon Map shown to Knox; The Works of Portuguese and Dutch Historians; Fernao de Queyroz; Ribeiro's "Historical Tragedy", Baldaeus: "Description of Ceylon"; Appendix; Knox "Historical Relation"; Sober, Austere, Prim Matter of Fact Narrative; Robinson Crusoe. Defoe's Debt to Knox; The Lost Interleaved Volumes; Second Edition; Vigilance of D.W. Ferguson. The above are the exact sequence of sectional headings between pp. 293 to 470, and their rather patchy and ill-arranged order is not exactly helpful in following a clear direction or purposeful chain in the evolution of the book; 6. Works Bearing on Knox or His Times. pp. 471-476. A bare listing (sans pagination or collation of either monograph or periodical) of 132 works relating to Knox and his period. Some writings noticed in the text of the book are excluded, while others of little or no importance are included. It would be true to say that the bibliography is shockingly destitute and of limited use. The opportunity of providing a proper bibliographical listing of relevant literature on Knox has been sadly passed over for reasons difficult to understand. 7. Glossary, pp. 477-481; 8. Index (to Vol.1) pp. 483-508. The portrait of Knox by White in the Bodleian Library appears as the frontispiece facing the title-page (not p.1 as listed on p. ix); the Genealogical Chart of Knox's Family (folding) is between pp. 298-299; the facsimile title page from the 1681 edition is between pp. 380-381; and a page from the interleaved copy showing Knox's handwriting is between pp. 428-429. A discomforting feature of the Acknowledgements on pp. xv-xvii is that apart from the customary thanks in general to the staffs of libraries used in Europe and one institution in Sri Lanka--the Ceylon National Archives--and a few names of officials in institutions, no specific debt is

acknowledged to any foreign or local scholar of the Dutch period in modern times (let alone in the meagre listing of works used). Four persons who helped with Paulusz's inadequate knowledge of Sinhala are thanked, as well as one friend who supplied references, photocopies, books and documents. Naturally the publisher and printer who were courageous enough to undertake this disowned work in Sri Lanka are thanked for their expertise. The edition was, however, disposed of at bargain prices in 1992.

The portrait frontispiece in Vol. II is of the same engraving by White as found in Vol. I. The extra plate facing p. 270 is titled "Manner How the Women Carry Their Children" and is not found in the original edition of 1681. It is, according to Paulusz, drawn by Knox himself, and was found among the interleaved papers. The draughtmanship is extremely clumsy and amateurish, though the idea is conveyed graphically enough. One of Paulusz's revelations after assidous research strengthens greatly the earlier surmise that the artist was Knox's younger brother James. Robert Hooke's Diary sheds new light on the view that the arist-engraver could well have been James Knox who died on 23 March 1681. The circumstantial evidence pointing to him as the illustrator is buttressed by entries in Hooke's Diary for 1681 revealing the fact that James did the sketches "partly to honour a family debt" (Vol. 1. p. 391). The folding map faces p. 476 at the end of the text. Contents: 1. Explanatory note on Types used in Text. p. ix; (Abbreviations and Symbols Used, p.x); 2. The Preamble by Knox dated 10th December 1695. pp. x-xvi; 3. Extract from Minutes of the Court of Committees of the East India Company, dated 10 August 1681, p.xvii; 4. Letter to Mr. Chiswell from Sir Christopher Wren dated 8 August 1681 pp. XVII-XX; 5. The Epistle Dedicatory dated 1st August 1681. pp. xxi-xxv; 6. The Preface by Robert Hooke. pp.XXVII-XXXIV. 7. Letter of 18 May 1680/81 inscribing the book to the patronage of the East India Company, pp. xxxv-xxxviii; 8. The Contents. pp. xxxix-li; (Illustrations, p. lii); 9. Text of Second Edition, pp. 1-502; 10. The Epilogue and the Autobiography (Note by Editor), pp. 503-509; 11. The Epilogue, pp. 511-523; 12. The Autobiography, pp. 525-671; 13. Postscript, pp. 673-674 (The editor notes that these two pages "should be read immediately after p. 502"). The Knox Coat of Arms (Henry Knox) is found on p. 514; 14. Index to Vol. II. pp. 675-688. There are seven crude small line drawings in the text on pp. 32, 38, 57, 83, 169, 190, 213, later additions in the interleaved manuscript intended to illustrate certain contrivances and implements.

6. KNOX. Robert. *An Historical relation of the Island CEYLON in the EAST-INDIES; TOGETHER, With an ACCOUNT of the Detaining in Captivity the Author and divers other Englishmen now living there, and of the AUTHOR'S Miraculous ESCAPE. Illustrated with Figures, and a Map of the ISLAND.* Austin (Texas): Palinda de Silva, September 1995. (24), 189, (3) pp. 17 copper-plate engravings on 15 plates, fold. map. Folio (30 x 15 cms.)

Another exact photolithographic reprint of the original folio edition of 1681. Bound in plain black cloth boards, with no dust-jacket. The fly leaf bears the text "For those who are to follow, lest they forget".

7. BARROW, Sir George. *2nd baronet*. An epitome of Robert Knox's "Historical relation of the island Ceylon" (1681). *Ceylon: past and present*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995. Chs. 1-3, pp. 7-80.

This is a facsimile reprint of the first edition by John Murray of London in 1857, and was critically noticed and commented on at No. 26 in the 1975 work. The three chapters are in essence a digest or epitome of the 1817 edition of Knox, subjoined to *The History of Ceylon from the earliest period to the year MDCCCXV...* by Philalethes, A.M. Oxon (i.e. Rev. Robert Fellowes. LL.D).

8. CORDINER, Rev. James. Knox's account of the King and Government of Candy in the year 1681. The Kings Great Officers and Governors of the Provinces. Military strength and mode of warfare. *A Description of Ceylon, containing an account of the country, inhabitants and natural productions: with narratives of a tour round the island in 1800, the campaign in Candy in 1803, and a journey to Ramisseram in 1804*. New Delhi: Navrang Publishers and Booksellers, 1983. (Facsimile reprint of the 1st edition of 1807, published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, London; A Brown, Aberdeen, 1807). Vol.2, Pt. 2, Ch.7. pp. 324-345.

These copious extracts from Knox's own text relating to the King of Kandy and his administration are contained in Cordiner, and were commented upon extensively at No. 20 (pp. 113-114) of my 1975 commentary. There are briefer extracts in Vol. 1 from Knox as well, also noted in the 1975 entry.

B: CRITICISM - THE MAN AND HIS BOOK
(In alphabetical order of authors)

9. ANTHONISZ, Reginald Gerald. *Report on the Dutch Records in the Government Archives at Colombo, with appendices*. Colombo: H.C. Cottle, Govt. Printer, 1907. (6), 138p., front. map, 6 plates.

There are translated extracts and facsimile pages of original manuscripts. Anthonisz provides the English versions re-translated from the Dutch relating to Knox and his fellow captives on pp. 98-102 in letters exchanged in October 1669-July 1670 with the Dutch authorities in Colombo. Anthonisz goes on to remark: "As far as I am aware no allusion to the events here recorded occur either in Knox's own book or in any of the Dutch accounts of the island which have been published." In fact Donald W. Ferguson, the indefatigable Knox sleuth, reproduced almost all of it in *The Monthly Literary Register and Notes and Queries for Ceylon* Vol. 4, No. 2, Feb. 1896, pp. 28-46 noticed at No. 50 (pp. 128-129) of my 1975 Knox commentary. These were reproduced almost immediately in his *Captain Robert Knox* (1896-1897) noticed at No. 51 (1975). In the interests of bibliographical completeness, it is included in this *Adendum*, in fairness to Anthonisz. Paulusz mentions these documents as found in both Anthonisz and Ferguson in his introduction (Vol.1), pp. 250-259.

10. ARASARATNAM, Sinnappah, The Kingdom of Kandy: aspects of its external relations and commerce, 1658 - 1710. *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies* (Peradeniya) Vol. 3, No. 2, July-Dec. 1960, pp. 109-127.

Studies the pivotal role of the foreign relations of the only real seat of indigenous Sinhalese power in the island, with special reference to the major part of the rule of Rajasinha II (1628-1687). Both the 1681 and the interleaved copy of Knox in the British Museum are made use of in places.

11. _____ De Voc in Ceylon in Coromandel in 17 de en 18 de eeuw. *De Voc in Azie*; ed. by M.A.P. Meilink - Roelofsz. Bussum: Fibula - Van Dishoeck, 1976, pp. 14-63.

A sketch of the Dutch-Portuguese wars in Ceylon in the first half of the 17th century, and the Dutch alliance with the Kingdom in the interior highlands, followed by subsequent Dutch territorial expansion. The essay deals with all aspects of the economic, social and religious incursions of the Dutch in the island and has bearing on the period of Knox's captivity as well.

12. _____ J.H.O. Paulusz on the 1638 Westerwolt Treaty in Ceylon. A rejoinder. *Bijdragen tot de taal. land - en volkendunde ven Nederlandsch - Indie* (The Hague) Vol. 138, Nos 2&3, 1982, pp. 191-205.

Considers that Paulusz's article acquitting the Dutch of dishonest conduct in their relations with Rajasinha II raises a number of issues of fact and interpretation relating to the history of the VOC in the East as well as in Ceylon. Questions of historical methodology, the use of primary sources, and the problem of bias in history also emerge, and this rejoinder takes up all these questions in detail, in the course of exploring Paulusz's weaknesses and inadequacies of scholarship. Reasserts the historical position of shady behaviour on the part of the Dutch, reviews the weight of evidence in favour of this view, and then takes up in sequence the points on which Paulusz relies for his new interpretations. Each of these are then shot down in tatters, and Paulusz's preconceived notions of Rajasingha's treachery and double-dealing, and "the Dutch can do no wrong" concept riddled and put to flight. In the course of the discussions, further light is thrown on the true aims of VOC policy in Ceylon in the overall ambitions for eastern trade in this region. Concludes that Paulusz has failed every test of historical scholarship in modern times, and has merely acted as a contemporary mouthpiece of the one-sided evidence available in the Dutch sources (see also nos 34 & 35).

13. _____ *Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658 - 1687.* New Delhi: Navrang, 1988.xxii, 256 p., 2 maps, 5 illus.

A reprint of the first edition of 1958, listed and annotated for its relevance to Knox studies in the Dutch period at No. 33 (p. 121) of the 1975 commentary.

14. _____ The consolidation of Dutch power in the maritime regions 1658-1687. *University of Peradeniya. History of Sri Lanka Vol. II. c 1500 - c 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995. Ch. IX, pp. 211-232.

Emphasises that the permanent establishment of Dutch power in the island was achieved by violating the 1638 treaty with Rajasinha II, aggravating hostility with the Kandyan kingdom, and finally by the Dutch capture of Colombo in 1656. Knox was a captive from 1660-1679 and witnessed these changing fortunes between the Dutch and his royal abductor.

15. BLOOMFIELD, Frena. The real Robinson Crusoe, *Serendib: The Magazine of Air Lanka.* (Colombo) Vol. 1. No. 1 January 1982. pp. 30 - 31 + 33, illus.

A popular description of the English sailor, a captive of Rajasinha II for nearly 20 years. The remarkable map is reproduced on p. 44.

16. BRIGGS, David G. Early writers on coins of Asia. II. Robert Knox, captive in Ceylon. *Numismatics International Bulletin* (Dallas, Texas). Vol. 14, No. 7, July 1980. pp. 199-207, 3 plates, 4 text illus.

Describes the "three sorts that passeth for Coin in the King's Dominions" as Knox says it in his *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon* (1681). As identified by Codrington in 1924 they were Portuguese double and single tangas of the Saint type, the *tangam massa* and the *podi tangama* worth 9d, and 4 1/2 d, larins made by private parties, five of which went to the piece of eight; and silver fanams, struck by the King, of which seventy five make a piece of Eight or a Spanish Dollar. The author supplies his own observations while relying on Codrington's analysis.

17. DESAUVAGE, Alain. Rajasinha II (Galerie des Rois de Ceylan - 2). *Lotus* (Brussels) No. 9, Dec. 1978, pp. 12-17.

On the personality and rule of this King of Kandy, who reigned for over half a century, and whose detenu Knox became for nineteen and a half years.

18. DE SILVA, Rajpal Kumar and BEUMER, Willemina G. Mieke. *Illustrations and Views of Dutch Ceylon 1602-1796. A comprehensive work of pictorial reference with selected eye-witness accounts.* London: Serendib Publications; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988. viii. 495p., front. (col. map), plates, text illus. (col. & black & white).

In the section entitled: "Customs, Occupations, Dress, Flora and Fauna", pp. 350-425, the original English edition of Robert Knox (1681) and the Dutch edition of 1692 have been drawn upon for copious illustration. On pp. 351-2, the authors discuss the exposure of Knox to the island in the 17th century. The illustrations from the 1681 edition are scattered on pp. 354, 360, 362, 363, 366, 370 (2), 372, 374, 376, 379, 383, 388 (2), 404 (2), and 420. In fact all 17 folio format copper-plate engravings in the

1681 edition are reproduced in greatly reduced size. The illustrations from the Dutch 1692 quarto format edition by Jan Luyken (which the authors consider more animated and detailed than the originals on which they are based) are on pp. 354, 361, 362, 366, 371, 372, 374, 376, 377, 379, 383, 388 & 404. All 13 etchings from this Dutch edition are reproduced in reduced size, including the frontispiece. On p. 452, the entire page is devoted to a brief discussion of Knox and his book, and the frontispiece portrait of Knox by White and the title-page in the 1681 edition are reproduced alongside in greatly reduced size.

19. DEWARAJA, Lorna S. Administration systems. 1, Kandyan Kingdom. *University of Peradeniya. History of Sri Lanka. Vol. II. c. 1500 - c. 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995, Ch. 12. pp. 321-341, 3 charts.

In describing the principal features of the Sinhalese monarchical system, and the bureaucratic hierachy deriving from its patronage, the evidence of Knox (1911 edition) is used in a few instances.

20. _____ The Kandyan Kingdom, 1638-1739: a survey of its political history. *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka. Vol. II. c. 1500 - c. 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995. Ch. VIII. pp. 183-209.

The period surveyed in this chapter begins with the treaty signed by Rajasinha II in 1638 with the Dutch in good faith to protect his sovereignty and to oust the Portuguese. The sixty years of his rule are analysed in terms of the intransigence of the Dutch and his own internal problems, and some reliance is placed on Knox's interleaved edition of 1990 to support some of the views expressed.

21. _____ Religion and the state in the Kandyan Kingdom: the 17th and 18th centuries. *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka. Vol. II: c. 1500 - c. 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995. Ch. XVI, pp. 453-469.

Relies on Knox as well for examples of close links between religion and state, with special regard to the tolerance displayed towards believers in other faiths than Buddhism.

22. _____ The social and economic conditions in the Kandyan Kingdom in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *University of Peradeniya, History of Sri Lanka. Vol. II: c. 1500 - c. 1800.* Peradeniya, 1995. Ch. XIII. pp. 375-397.

References by Knox in the 1911 edition are freely used to illustrate the system of social gratification, categories of rank and caste, birth, office, wealth, dress, and specific styles of living in the discussion of the seventeenth century.

23. GOONERATNE, Brendon. *The Epic Struggle of the Kingdom of Kandy, and its relevance to modern Indo-Sri Lankan relations.* London: Argus Publications, 1995. (4) 21 p. front. (plate), 23 plates (16 col:), folding plate. (The Sally Sage and

David McAlpin Lecture, 1990).

On p. 5 Gooneratne pays tribute to Knox as an important source book for students of the period, and the epic reign of Rajasinha II, his captor is examined on pp. 7-9. A letter written by the King to the Dutch Governor Jacob van Kittenstein on 6 August 1652 in Galle is reproduced in Dutch translation at the back of the book in facsimile. The author is a medical practitioner and antiquarian resident in Australia. He is Chairman of Friends of the Ancient Cities of Sri Lanka in Australia.

24. GOONETILEKE, H.A.I. Introduction. *An historical relation of the island Ceylon in the East Indies* by Robert Knox. New Delhi: Navrang, 1983. pp. vii-xvii.

This special introduction to the very first facsimile reprint of the original 1681 folio edition of this celebrated book is designed to display the text in its historical setting and to narrate the circumstances that motivated its telling at the time. It is a bibliographer's introduction which focuses on the series of events surrounding its first publication, the attempts by Knox to produce a second edition in his lifetime, and the influence of the book on succeeding generations of scholars and students of Sri Lanka.

25. Afterword. *An historical relation of the island Ceylon in the East Indies* by Robert Knox. New Delhi: Navrang, 1993. pp. xvii - xviii.

The only addition to the 1983 reprint, dealing in brief with descriptions of the principal new editions of Knox, and concise annotations.

26. GOONEWARDENA, K.W. Kingship in seventeenth century Sri Lanka. *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* Vol. III. Nos. 1 & 2, 1977, pp. 1-33.

The author's primary purpose in this article is to discuss certain information derived from the records of the Dutch East India Company relating to the reign of the King of Kandy, Rajasinha II (c. 1628-1687). The new elements which emerge from it are intrinsically very interesting and valuable; some of their value lies in providing authentic contemporary documentation for what has hitherto remained as conjectures and assumptions based on oral traditions or a written tradition which was, however, held suspect as unhistorical. Discusses the diplomatic and military tactics and overall strategy employed by Rajasinha II to keep the Dutch at bay, and reveals the true nature and significance of the monarchical system in Ceylon. Rajasinha despatched on two occasions in 1684 and 1686 delegations to the Dutch Governor Laurens Pijl to further strengthen understanding and to convey the King's confidence in the Dutch. Exact and precise evidence regarding the Kandyan royal dynasty is available from the 1686 record of discussion, as available in the Dutch archives. On December 10th 1687 the Dutch were informed by the same ambassadors sent in 1686 that the King had died, but had invested his son with the mantle of kingship before his death. A further embassy on the 15th December gave fuller details of the death and cremation, and of the coronation of the new king, following a period of mourning. All the evidence points to a close connection between King and the people, the aura of kingship

bordering on the divine, and the strong bond between religion and ritual.

27. _____ Robert Knox: The Interleaved Edition. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka.* (Colombo). Vol. XXXVIII, 1992/93, pp. 117-144 (published 1994)

In the early ripeness of retirement the erstwhile Professor of History in the University of Peradeniya and long respected authority on the Dutch period of Sri Lankan history decides to subject the long-awaited edition by J.H.O. Paulusz of the interleaved 1681 Knox to a searching and critical review. Beginning with a concise history of the man and his book and the additional information added by Knox between 1681 and 1713 to the printed text, its discovery by Braunholtz in the Christy Library of the British Museum, and the 1911 edition of James Ryan of both the Historical Relation (1681) and the Autobiography in the Bodleian Library, Oxford discovered in 1900, he turns to the efforts of the editor of the definitive edition of Knox brought out three years earlier. Vol. I is apparently the introduction to Vol. II, which contains all the earlier and later historical and autobiographical material, but Goonewardena admits to both the disjointed and disparate nature of the Introduction which tends to confuse and mislead the reader. Though the contents contain valuable data and evidence from research their presentation is awkward and, in some instances, duplicated. Works subsequent to both the 1681 and 1911 editions have been noticed and discussed, but surprisingly the editor makes no mention or takes into consideration the important fascsimile edition of the 1681 Knox with an Introduction by H.A.I. Goonetileke in 1983, and of the latter's "very relevant and valuable publication" of 1975. "This article has covered much of the ground that Paulusz has ventured upon, as well as some new ground--and all that meticulously and in a scholarly fashion" (p. 120). It is indeed curious that Paulusz appeared to be unaware or chose to ignore the present writer's comprehensive contribution to Knox studies (1975), as also the first facsimile reprint of the original folio edition of 1681, the French edition (Eric Meyer), and the James Ryan (1911) reprint, all of 1983. At least the first (1975) work should have come to his notice, as the Hakluyt Society received twenty copies at its request. At the very least Paulusz's representatives or publisher in Sri Lanka should have kept him informed of these important new additions to the literature of Knox, especially as Paulusz wrote his Foreword to his edition as late as 18 April 1989.

Goonewardene now turns to examining the main thrust of the Introduction taking up over 300 of its pages which is devoted to re-writing the history of the 17th century, more particularly the reign of Rajasinha II (1628-1687). Though well aware of the historical revisions of this period by Arasaratnam and Goonewardena in the last three decades (even though no reference is made anywhere in this edition to their work in this field) there is little doubt that Paulusz is desirous of overturning or rejecting these relevant researches, and continuing his character assassination of Rajasinha II, as well as the founder of the Kandyan royal house, Vimaladharmasuriya himself, and Rajasinha's father, Senerat. In this objective he is at pains to absolve the Dutch of any fraudulence or duplicity in their policies with the Kandyan Kingdom. While Goonewardena sees no need to launch out on an extended assault on "all the

preposterous ideas on seventeenth century history which Paulusz has attempted to disseminate", he takes up a few of them for pronounced refutation. But it is with his total rejection of the revised notions of Rajasinha's reign as revealed by modern research that Goonewardena takes on Paulusz with scarcely veiled contempt. He tears to shreds the devices employed by Paulusz "to pass off his own flights of fancy or concoctions in order to denigrate Rajasinha", by providing various examples of such disregard of accepted evidence. To cut a long story short, Goonewardene concludes: "It would be a tedious waste of time and space to tackle his new interpretations and fabrications in detail. At the same time the reader has to be made aware of the fact that no reliance should be placed on the history of the period that he has presented before us" (p. 127). He goes on, however, to provide even more striking examples of the disingenuous and untrustworthy methods of historical scholarship employed by Paulusz to prop up his favoured theses. In the course of this assiduous exercise Goonewardena shows up Knox's unreliability as a true witness and Paulusz's attempts to use Knox as a fall guy for his own pet theories. Goonewardena returns to his earlier examination of Knox (1958) to indicate how the nature of his detention, prejudices, credulity, and naivete combined to confuse his notions of Kandyan society. Some evidence of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* is also provided.

Turning to Vol. II Goonewardena avers that the new material incorporated provide fresh information and new insights and view points, and considers the value of some of them as examples. Though Paulusz claims that: "Every sentence, phrase, or even word inserted by Knox in any blank corner has been included in the present edition", Goonewardena goes on to show by provision of some errors and omissions (on the basis of his own eye-copies or photocopies of the additional material) that Paulusz has fallen short of his own claims. Further in the interpretation or translation of Sinhalese words and phrases some serious errors perpetrated are noted, vitiating the value of the context or meaning. These take up pp. 139-142. On p. 142 Goonewardena sums up rather dismally: "It has been noted that the first volume is of very limited value because about three-fourths of it is devoted to the propagation of extremely fanciful and prejudiced versions of the history of the seventeenth century. As the merits of the volume are far outweighed by its demerits both the publishers and readers would have greatly profited by a one-volume publication limited to the present Vol. II but incorporating in it, by way of an introduction, the relevant and useful material noted in the first volume". Earlier on p. 139 the reviewer justifies his critical approach on the basis that even as it took over 300 years for this second edition to appear, Paulusz's edition would have to be "treated for all practical purposes as the last definitive one". A pretty depressing thought for all true lovers of Knox to live with indeed!

28. Knox's or the White Man's Tree. *Loris: The Journal of the Wildlife* and *Nature Protection Society of Ceylon* (Colombo). Vol.7, No. 4, December 1956, pp. 321-322.

Speculates whether the protected tamarind tree under which Robert Knox is traditionally supposed to have been captured is the real spot in either the case of the father or the son. (see also No. 39)

29. LEACH, Edmund Ronald. "What happened to *An Historical Relations* ... on the way to the printers?" *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: the South Asian Scene*, ed. by H.L. Seneviratne. University of Adelaide, 1989. (*Social Analysis*, No. 25, September 1989), pp. 18-21. An entirely plausible and legitimate speculation on how and why an impoverished, unlettered sailor of 40 years (held captive without writing materials) could have written and have published so comprehensive and absorbing a narrative (both general and specific in content and form) in the space of nine months. Leach suggests that Knox, far from dependence only on his cousin Rev. John Strype, may well have had more powerful and educated patrons and advisers in the Royal Society, besides Hooke and Wren. Also, the entirely one-sided account of Rajasinha's supposedly tyrannical and ruthless behaviour may have been inspired by the desire to expose the corruption and extravagance of an unpopular Catholic Monarch, Charles I. Leach surmises that Sir Josuah Childs, Daniel Defoe, and other unknown influential persons aided and abetted the production of a work, which was almost completed in manuscript by March 1681.

30. MASEFIELD. John Edward, *A Mainsail Haul*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954. 174p. (Mariners Library, No. 25). 1st edition 1905; 2nd rev. edition 1913.

On p. 110 he refers to Knox: "Captain Robert Knox . . . endured more than man is usually given to endure . . . Crankiness (he was not mad) . . . may have been gloomy: "hatred of women" was partly fear. His moralisings are never quite tedious; you see the man behind the writing. Life proved Knox to the bone before he earned his leave to write. On p. 114 "He went back to his father. Knox having been brought, as he would put it, out of the land of Egypt, became not a preacher but a slaver. His character seems to have gone to pieces. It often happens when the devil gets well, he forgets to pay his doctor's bill. Knox as a slaver is not a pretty figure" p. 116). I am indebted to Paulusz for this reference, and the relevant comments, from p. 414 of Vol. I (1990 edition). There is a brief allusion to Masefield in my note to No. 88 (Second) in the 1975 work.

31. METTHANANDA, Tilaka. Robert Knox's *Historical Relation* and the position of women in Kandyan society. *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* (Peradeniya) Vol. XX Nos. 1 & 2, 1994, pp. 106-132.

This article concentrates on the status, role and social condition of women in the area that Knox was familiar with. She focusses on the institution of marriage, formal marriage unions, marriage customs and ceremonies, marriage and the caste factor, monogamy and the religious factor, divorce and remarriage, adultery and loose behaviour, marriage and virginity, the dowry system, marriage and independence of women, polyandry, social position, social values, economic position and role, women and religion. In conclusion the writer inclines to the view that Knox's observations on the nature and functioning of 17th century Kandyan society are invaluable, and "a fine testimony to the power of observation, memory and reporting Knox seems to have possessed". But she draws attention to his misinterpretation of the marriage customs

and the relative position of the institution of marriage, arising from his strict Puritan conditioning based on the Christian value system. This led to his adopting a rather simplistic and rigid attitude to a far more complex and flexible indigenous Sinhala culture of the time, greatly different in form and structure to his own starchy and unbending ideas of morality in a totally different European society. Mettananda is in bibliographical error when she bases her essay on only two editions of Knox - the original 1681 edition "which included Knox's Autobiography" (which it did not, that coming only in 1911) and the "present second edition of J.H.O. Paulusz of 1993" [*sic*]. As the *Addendum* shows in abundant detail the so-called second edition of the interleaved Knox by Paulusz has the publication date 1989 (ie.e 1990), and is further seriously questionable as a true and accurate assessment and critical survey of Knox and his story in the Kandyan kingdom of Rajasinha II in the light of the devastating indictment of this edition by K.W. Goonewardena (see no. 27).

32. NANAYAKKARA, Vesak. The captives. *A Return to Kandy. Over Balana and Beyond*. 2nd ed. revised. Colombo (Arasan Printers for S.A. Nanayakkara), 1977. pp. 173-193, frontispiece portrait from 1681 edition facing p. 175; 3rd ed. revised. New Delhi: Navrang & Lake House Bookshop, 1994. pp. 181-201, frontispiece portrait from 1681 edition facing p. 183.

An unchanged account of Knox's incarceration repeated from the 1st edition of 1971, noticed in the 1975 work.

33. NEEDHAM, Rodney. Robert Knox and the structure of absolutism. *Exemplars*. Berkeley (California): University of California Press, 1985. Ch.3, pp. 44-56, 1 plate.

Using "The King can do no wrong" (Sir William Blackstone) as motif, Needham examines some extreme examples of the absolute and "tyrannical" nature of Rajasinha II's kingship in the 17th century, based on some not very precise observations of his English captive for nineteen and a half years, who exhibited most, if not all, of his puritan prejudices in his not always exact assessments. Needham uses the King's right to break any legal or moral code at the top end of the scale and the Rodiyas (beggars) mistakenly referred to as "Veddahs" to live outside the normal authority and penalties of established society. The subject of incest (the reported liaison of the King with his daughter) figures largely in the attempt to portray royal licence at its most potent, and comparisons with Egyptian and Inca royal mores are made. To his credit Needham admits that Knox may have been (a) exaggerating reports; and (b) referring to permitted behaviour in general, and not specifically directed at Rajasinha II. If Needham had been aware of the literature on the caste of Rodiyas, especially M.D. Raghavan's *Handsome Beggars: The Rodiyas of Ceylon* (1957), he would have realised how and why they were banished from the social order. The heinous offence originated from the supply of human flesh (instead of the customary venison) to the King's table by a clan of Dadda Vaddas (outcast Veddas) who were hunters, Knox calls them *Roudeahs*, *Beggars* who live, and have their dwelling in remote parts. The degradation in the social scale has died hard even to this day, despite enlightened

attempts by the authorities to elevate their singularly lowly status. The illustration is of a new portrait of Knox in the National Maritime Museum, London, showing the later ship's captain at a desk with a quill pen in hand, wearing an elaborate and striking wig headpiece. Neither name of artist nor date is provided. This naturally led to my own inquiries from the Museum which revealed that the portrait in oils was by P. Trampon and entitled *Captain Robert Knox, 1642-1720*, of the East India Company. A reproduction from a print kindly supplied by David Taylor of the National Maritime Museum adorns my present labours. It is indeed curious that Paulusz's strenous researches over thirty years had failed to locate this significant portrait of the by then illustrious voyager. Since Knox was born on 8 February 1641, the Museum date is incorrect.

34. PAULUSZ. J.H.O. The 1638 Westerwolt Treaty in Ceylon: charges of Dutch deceit disproved. *Bijdragen tot de taal-land -en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch - Indie* (The Hague), Vol. 136. Nos. 2 & 3, 1980, pp. 321-352 (2 appendices).

An attempt to defend the Dutch against the overwhelming evidence of past historical findings, of the charge of perfidy and sharp practice in an important treaty settlement with the Kandy king which soured subsequent relations between the two countries. Asserts that the historians of recent times, especially Goonewardena (1958) and Arasaratnam (1976), have displayed grievously faulty logic and substituted surmise for facts in their analyses of this phase of Dutch history in Ceylon. The gaps in their accounts are here supplied which, in the writer's opinion, shed an altogether different light on this episode. Paulusz evaluates the Treaty, and describes the many occasions on which Rajasinha II deliberately flouted its terms, which, in his opinion, provide enough evidence to dispel the long-held view that the Dutch were both fraudulent and untrustworthy. For refutation of this position see Arasaratnam (No.12) and Paulusz's rejoinder below.

35. _____ Professor Arasaratnam's rejoinder. Some comments. *Bijdragen tot de taal. land-en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Inde* (The Hague). Vol. 138, Nos. 2 & 3, 1982, pp. 206-210.

Replies to Arasaratnam, and provides a list of some of the more glaring errors with corrections, and repeats the grounds on which he made his original defence of the Dutch.

36. PERIS, Merlin. Knox on elephants. *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* (Peradeniya) Vols. XVII & XVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, 1991-1992 (published 1994). pp. 1-32, 2 plates.

Deals almost entirely, as the title implies, with Knox's account of elephants on the island as found in his *An Historical Relation. . .* (1681)--elephant behaviour and human responses to them are never far from the centre of attraction. The veracity of Knox as a dependable witness is a by-product of this exercise. Peris devotes three entire pages early on to the significance of these pachyderms. Knox's observations are

substantiated by modern scientific observations in the main. The emphasis on tusked elephants for ritual and state functions was quite evident to Knox. The use of elephants in war and for more terroristic and defence purposes is also touched upon as Knox depicted Rajasinha II as a despot who was in fear of being dethroned or disowned--a palpably false notion on the whole. The mode of using elephants as executioners is also mixed up. It is in the notice of the manner of capture of elephants that Knox is found to be least reliable or open to question. Knox's naivety is most apparent here, as well as his gullibility. In conclusion, Peris sums up what is now becoming better known and accepted regarding the authenticity of Knox. "This simplicity and candour of the man has, from the first publishing of the *Historical Relation* won him a reputation for honesty. What is regrettable, however, is that this has often been confused with veracity, since as we have seen in the case of our own limited subject of attention, Knox is not only surprisingly ill-informed for one who had spent such a long period of time among the Sinhalese, both in his own village and outside, but also surprisingly ill-comprehending or gullible- not to mention certain innate prejudices which he harbours against both the King and the people, whom he, not withstanding the unique nature of his imprisonment, persists in seeing as his enemy". That, in brief, is a telling summation of the value of Knox in general, and, more particularly, in the context of the area of elephant lore and knowledge which is Peris's special concern here. Throughout the critical essay reference is made to more reliable and modern scientific analyses of elephants, tame or wild. The two illustrations are relevant plates from Knox.

37. POWELL. Geoffrey. *The Kandyan Wars: The British Army in Ceylon 1803 - 1818*. New Delhi: Navrang, 1984. 320 p., 29 illus., 2 maps. front and back end paper maps. (19th Century Military Campaigns).

This is a facsimile reprint of the Leo Cooper 1st edition of 1973 published in London, and the author's use of Knox's observations and insights into 17th Century Ceylon, and the character and disposition of the Sinhalese are made use of skilfully. This work was noticed earlier at No. 80 in the 1975 commentary.

38. RAHEEM, Ismeth. Robert Knox as ornithologist *Loris: The Journal of the Wildlife and Nature Protection Society of Sri Lanka* (Colombo). Vol. XVII, No. 4, December 1986. pp. 176-177.

A brief account of Knox's vivid and accurate powers of observation of flora and fauna, by reference to two striking examples of avifaunal species--which are the Paradise Flycatcher and the Malabar Pied Hornbill. The relevant extracts are quoted from p. 28.

39. RANKINE, Esmee. Knox's Tree. *Island Interlude*. Colombo: Lake House Investments Ltd., 1971. Ch. XI. pp. 63-65.

Discusses the controversies regarding the tamarind tree in Muttur under which Robert Knox's father was captured. But later investigations following new evidence lead to

the surmise that the real tree was two miles up a small river close to Kottiyar- Muttur, 9 miles from the Muttur Ferry. Paulusz deals with the problems associated with recognising the tree on pp. 311-314, in a section "the so-called Knox's Tree", and the confusion arising from the identical name of father and son. The son was captured on 4 April 1660 at Kottiyar, and his father six days later as he sat under the disputed tamarind tree. The son was taken prisoner twelve miles inland at Killiveddy. The real place was about two miles to the east of the memorial tablet set up at the base of the wrong tree in the late 19th century on the initiative of Hugh Nevill, C.C.S. The tree was near the Palaya-turai ferry and landing stage (now bridged), and is known locally as *Palaya - Puliya* (a species of tamarind) but the actual tree is still an open question says Paulusz on p. 314 of Vol.1. The matter of the disputed tree was also discussed at Nos. 86, 90 & 102 in the 1975 commentary.

40. SENEVIRATNE, H.L. History, anthropology and the present volume: Introductory note. *Identity, Consciousness and the Past: The South Asian Scene*. University of Adelaide, 1989. *Social Analysis: Journal of Cultural and Social Practice*, No. 25, September 1989). Introduction. pp. 3-17.

This volume started out from an earlier project designed to celebrate the tercentenary of Robert Knox's *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon (1681)*, but ended up celebrating what the editor regards as the broader significance of the work--the interweaving of anthropology and history, neither of which in contemporary parlance was present in Knox's time. The significance of Knox's account of captivity in a tropical island is mentioned in passing, and its never-failing fascination. Only the essay by Edmund Leach (to whose memory the volume is dedicated) deals specifically with Knox (see No. 39). It may not be out of place to indicate that Seneviratne's *Rituals of the Kandyan State*. Cambridge University Press, 1978, relies on Knox in a few instances to support social systems and rituals in the Kandyan kingdom. This volume was reprinted as a monograph in 1997 by Oxford University Press, New Delhi, omitting Leach's essay.

41. VALENTIJN. Francois. *Francois Valentijns Description of Ceylon* tr. and edited by Sinnappah Arasaratnam. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1978. xv. 395p., 12 plates (incl.front.). 7 maps (1fold.) (Hakluyt Society 2nd series, Vol. 149).

This is the first critical edition and reliable English translation of any part of this vast and encyclopedic work, a veritable mine of information culled from a multitude of sources with immense industry and intelligence of this Dutch pastor during his period in the East 1685-1713, even though he never set foot in Ceylon. It consists of the first twelve chapters of the portion entitled *Beschrijvinge van Ceijlon* included in the fifth volume. Sinhalese, Portuguese, Dutch and English sources, both published and unpublished, are utilised with remarkable skill and close attention to detail. Valentijn was born

in 1666 and died in 1727, soon after his major work was published. (see no. 42) In an illuminating and informative introduction (pp. 1-60) Arasaratnam discusses the importance of his work for students of the Dutch period, as important as Baldaeus and Knox. The text of the translation is on pp. 65-374. On pp. 32-33 the special reliance on Knox is discussed, as Valentijn realised its value when a Dutch translation was published in 1692 in Utrecht. He borrowed heavily from Knox as the latter was familiar with the interior highlands. The topographical, zoological and anthropological notices of the Kandyan Kingdom are taken from Knox, and the patterns of society and social life directly so; Sinhalese names of plants, animals, and birds too. But since he had no first-hand knowledge, Valentijn's remains a less involved, detached, scientific and scholarly study, reflecting both his education and standing in society. To sum up the debt, the involvement naturally becomes more factual than sensitive to locale and indigenous colour and life.

42. VALENTYN, Francois. *Oud en nieuw Oost - Indien.* Dordrecht. Amsterdam: Joannes van Braam, Gerard onder de Linden, 1724-1727. 5 Vols., port., maps, plates. *Beschryvinge van het eyland Ceylon.* Vijfte deel, Agtste book. 462p, maps, plates.)

A translation of the Ceylon section in two manuscript volumes by Andrew Armour was presented to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain by Sir Alexander Johnston early in the 19th century. There is a typescript of this manuscript in the University of Peradeniya Library, but this translation is considered to be both "a very incorrect and imperfect translation", according to Sir J.E. Tennent *Ceylon* 5th ed (1860) Vol. II, p. 32. And Arasaratnam concurs in his Introduction to his English translation of Valentijn (1978) p. 21.

[**Postcript** As I correct the proofs in October 1999, it is one year since the death of Prof. Sinnappah Arasaratnam, one-time colleague and always friend, and I would like to offer this second foray in Knoxiana as a tribute to the memory of an esteemed scholar and versatile historian of the Dutch presence in Asia.]

H.A.I. GOONETILEKE

BOOK REVIEWS

"GLADLY WOLDE SHE LERNE AND GLADLY TECHE:" FELICITATION VOLUME FOR PROFESSOR YASMINE GOONERATNE AO. D.LITT.

Editors: Devika Brendon and Brendon Gooneratne
London: Argus, 1999. ii+147pp

To compile a Felicitation Volume for a distinguished professor is a task that is fraught with many dangers. Ever so often, the contributors, determined to do justice to the friend/author/colleague being felicitated, bring out a collection that is mushy or overly "learned"--the one resulting from excessive affection and the other on account of individuals trying too hard to construct essays that are worthy of the occasion. Additional dangers present themselves when editors solicit "multi-disciplinary" articles from academics residing in various countries to establish that the subject of the Felicitation Volume has diverse interests and is universally known. Such wide-ranging contributions for their part often result in publications that are unwieldy, even inchoate.

This Felicitation Volume for Yasmine Gooneratne flirts with such dangers yet never succumbs to them. Several contributors make their affection or respect for Gooneratne apparent by including positive references to her or to her writing. That the book is edited by her husband and daughter also ensures that the personal element will figure prominently in the work. A closer scrutiny of the volume reveals, however, that the focus is generally on the topics involved and not on the person being felicitated. While some of the twenty six articles are outstanding contributions to scholarship, such submissions are interspersed with personal reminiscences, poems, fiction, and even reproductions of letters that provide variety and a sense of wholeness. What makes this collection to which representatives from almost every continent have contributed cohere is that the selection overall concentrates on issues that are in some way related to Yasmine Gooneratne--Australia, Sri Lanka, British and American Literature, the Commonwealth, colonialism, postcolonialism, migration, and her own literary or critical output. Given the constraints of writing a review, it is not possible to refer to all the contributions, especially to those on postcolonialism which outnumber the rest. Still, the few discussed will, I hope, persuade others, too, to peruse a book that will appeal to a wide-ranging readership.

Although Yamine Gooneratne built her reputation as a university teacher, a literary critic, and a poet, the volume begins with two articles that focus on a talent that she developed later in her career--the art of writing fiction. Rüdiger Ahrens' "Imperial Reflections in Yasmine Gooneratne's Fiction" is one of the most important studies of Gooneratne's novels to appear thus far. Having first provided a theoretical framework to

her article and next placed Gooneratne's work in the context of this frame, she provides an insightful analysis of both *A Change of Skies* and *The Pleasures of Conquest*. According to Ahrens, *A Change of Skies* which is "structured in a complex way in order to render plausible the complexities of an immigrant's life and experience" (3) ultimately proves (through Edward) and disproves (through Barry, Jean and Edwina) Horace's dictum which is used as an epigraph in the novel and reproduced in the article that "He who crosses the ocean may change the skies above him, but not the colour of his soul" (4). By setting down a novel with characters drawn from several ethnic backgrounds and by focussing on the dynamism of individuals, like Edwina, Gooneratne "might want to show us a world in transition from an imperial past to a present of cosmopolitan liberation" (5), Ahrens claims. To make the point that this essay is crucial reading for those interested in studying Gooneratne's fiction is not to say that I agree with the critic's views *in toto*. She notes "an apparent authorial development towards greater pessimism" (9) in reading *A Change of Skies* and *The Pleasures of Conquest* in relation to each other. It was V.S. Naipaul who rejected the claim that he was a satirist by stating that he lacked the tremendous optimism necessary for the satiric task which includes a certain confidence that the world could be changed for the better. Gooneratne, unlike Naipaul, displays *some* optimism even though she is saddened by some of the horrors she describes. There can be no doubt that her criticism of the new forms of imperial conquest is rendered in a manner that is much more devastating than in the previous novel. The new imperialism, as manifested in characters like Stella Mallinson, Philip Destry, and others, however, is satirized with considerable humour and in the actions of one of the "victims," Leila Tan, the author shows the manner in which such exploitation could be countered. True enough, Rohan's (the other victim's) return to the country as "the epitome of western capitalism" (9) is disturbing, but the scene in question is rendered as a surreal fantasy and more in the nature of a warning rather than a prediction. In such a context, it is difficult to conclude with Ahrens that "she [Gooneratne] nevertheless resorts to the fatalistic recurrence of past events and makes us believe in the inescapability of imperial constellations" (9). "Imperial constellations" will always pose a threat, but the novel demonstrates some instances when they could be resisted, if not overcome.

Richard W. Bailey's "The Past Has Become Another Country" begins as a nostalgic piece which draws parallels between the major changes that have decimated the rural centre in his ancestral counties of Michigan and the decay of the old walauwes in Sri Lanka as depicted in Yasmine Gooneratne's *Relative Merits* and *A Change of Skies*. It becomes apparent as the essay progresses, however, that his opening gambit masks his real interest which is Gooneratne's use of language, which according to the latter is the only way of communicating or preserving the past and the present. Bailey's analysis of the myriad ways in which Yasmine Gooneratne perpetuates her "romance with the English language" (14) is excellent and informative. It is a pity, therefore, that (perhaps hampered by the exigencies of writing an essay that was to be part of a large collection) his analysis of *The Pleasures of Conquest* is sketchy as opposed to his comprehensive examination

of *A Change of Skies*. A more extensive study that included a substantial examination of a novel that is equally fertile for a linguistic analysis would have been infinitely more valuable.

Diana Brydon's essay is a timely reminder to some current postcolonial pundits who give due credit to major figures, like Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayathri Chakravorti Spivak, that they need to acknowledge the signal contributions made by those critics of Commonwealth Literature whose work was forgotten when the more densely theoretical forms of postcolonial criticism became fashionable. She commends Yasmine Gooneratne's *Diverse Inheritance: A Personal Perspective on Commonwealth Literature* which was published in 1980 for being "remarkably prescient in the directions it charted for future modes of cultural work within the postcolonial sphere" (35). In the body of her essay, Brydon argues why Gooneratne should be given this distinction by providing examples from *Diverse Inheritance*. Here, Gooneratne's cautionary note on the dangers of translation, her insistence on the importance of diversity, and her belief that it is impossible to divorce "the construction of literary and national identities from the particularities of historical context" (36) are shown to anticipate the work of later critics.

Bruce Bennett's piece makes reference to Yasmine Gooneratne's fiction, too, yet his focus is on the "Australian Literary Engagement in the Asia-Pacific" in general. To this writer, "[p]art of Australia's period of decolonisation has been marked by an increasing recognition of, and interest in, the countries of Asia" (18). His essay traces the history of this engagement beginning with the early "native's" fear of the Chinese who worked in the goldfields of South Western and Western Australia, through the kind of writing that emerged during and after the Korean war, to the contemporary period. The contemporary period is twofold, he argues: the writings produced by Australians who had visited Asia and the work of Asians who had settled down in Australia. Yasmine Gooneratne, Brian Castro, and Arlene Chai are three writers of this group who are briefly examined. While expressing satisfaction about the new attitude shown towards Asian Studies by Australian colleges and schools, Bennett urges that Asian academics and others in their turn include Australian studies in their curriculum.

If Bennet explores the connections between Asia and Australia in the cultural realm, Alison Broinowski examines the political and sometimes sociological ramifications in these relationships. She justifies her paper, especially in relation to this Felicitation Volume, thus:

> Poking around in the history of Australia's associations with Asian countries, as I have been, I am struck by how often Australians and South Asians have held views of each other that are equal and opposite, and how those ideas condition our thinking even now. What better opportunity to survey our `double vision' than this commemorative

> volume, dedicated to a scholar whose work is situated on the cusp between two cultures. (26)

The author's account of the interactions among influential political figures, like Nehru, Gandhi, Sir Robert Menzies, and Tagore, is not comprehensive and not meant to be either. But the paper explores the intriguing dynamics among mid-century politicians who strove to assert their identity (sometimes a perceived superiority); in the process, Broinowski reveals fascinating insights into the chauvinism, racial arrogance, and scheming ways of very able, iconic figures who have shaped the destinies of the regions under review. Unlike Bennett, she does not make a direct plea for greater cooperation between Asians and Australians. But in her concluding section, in which she demonstrates how Sri Lankans and other Asians have been accepted into or have adapted to Australian society, she traces significant parallels among Nehru's vision of a "New Asia" via an "Indian Renaissance," the aspirations of some South-East Asian countries to achieve an "Asian Renaissance," and the contributions Asians have made in creating a "new Australia." What is implied is that further cooperation between Australian and her Asian neighbours is both inevitable and desirable.

The work of Frantz Fanon and Chinua Achebe has been conjoined by several academics over the years because the former's theories help in part to explain Achebe's novelistic task. Both writers are interested in issues like colonization, neo-colonialism and decolonization. Cynthia Vanden Driesen's explication of Achebe's novels in relation to Fanon's theories is not always startlingly original but her carefully argued piece stresses an aspect of Fanon's work that is not often highlighted--the importance of reconstruction, as opposed to violent revolution. Despite her generally supportive views on Fanon, Vanden Driesen concludes that "Fanon's eliding of the function of gender could have materially circumscribed his view of the redemptive possibilities" (41), possibilities that she identifies in Beatrice in Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah*.

Alistair Niven's "Millennial Energy: Reflections on the Current State of Commonwealth Poetry" discloses how the "oral origins of poetry are re-asserting themselves" (109) after a generation or two of poets, influenced by T.S. Eliot, Ezra Pound and others, "suppresse[d] their voices and retreat[ed] into complex intellection" (109). What he finds particularly appealing in Commonwealth poetry is that many of its exponents now adopt a range of forms and traditions. Niven emphasizes his point by quoting examples from Indian, Australian, and African poetry. While noting that poetry is experiencing a remarkable boom at present, he laments that there are no means of rewarding excellence in poetry. His hope for the future is that the Commonwealth Prize for Poetry will be reinstated by a collective effort of Arts councils in the Commonwealth and that they would then facilitate the distribution of small press publications around the world so that poets who have no access to major publishing houses will be able to disseminate their work among a larger audience.

Early critics of Commonwealth Literature made much of the East/West theme. Although the term has fallen into disuse over the last ten years or so, it is inevitable, perhaps, that a volume honouring an early exponent of Commonwealth/Postcolonial Literature would include an article on this motif. On another note, issues pertaining to women that gained some prominence in the 1960s are now central in all fora of academic discourse. While Vanden Driesen's and Wolfgang Zach's contributions examine the latter theme, Rajiva Wijesinha's "Sex and the Single Girl: Scott's Recommendations for the Raj," for its part, combines both. Wijesinha feels aggrieved that

> Paul Scott, the most profound chronicler of the colonial experience, should now be largely forgotten. Anaesthetized by the sentimentalization of the television version of his book, dismissed in accordance with that version by Salman Rushdie as a celebrant of imperialism, his extraordinarily powerful critique has faded away. (127).

His absorbing essay demonstrates how the lives of Daphne Manners and Sarah Layton, and to some extent their relationships with Hari Kumar and Ahmed, respectively, exemplify the manner in which the Raj could have "reconstructed" a more meaningful and rewarding relationship with India and vice versa. Sarah's gradual "discovery" of herself and her success in escaping the "prison" represented by Imperial rules that "protected" women are carefully delineated in a essay that will prompt further, more enlightened readings of Scott's *Raj Quartet.*

Yasmine Gooneratne, as the introduction informs us, is "an internationally recognised authority on Jane Austen" (i) and has been Patron of the Jane Austen Society in Australia from its foundation. Consequently, it is fitting that two of the most engaging essays are on this eighteenth century British novelist. Although Susannah Fullerton's "A Lifetime of Reading Jane Austen" and Meenakshi Mukherjee's "Jane in the Tropics" appear to approach Jane Austen from entirely different perspectives, both essays establish that Austen is not a dated author and that her novels continue to provide fascinating material for literary scholarship. In a comprehensive study of Austen's characterization, depictions of love and courtship, multifarious ways of generating humour, control over language, and subtle manipulation of the readers' responses, Fullerton argues that Austen's novels improve with each reading and that they can be appreciated in different ways at each stage in one's life.

The other essay on Austen is, as it were, a post colonial response to the former. Mukherjee focusses on the

> [. . .] scramble now to dislodge the writer--once seen as the epitome of self-sufficient Englishness--from her safe and sanitised countryside with

> its neatly trimmed hedgerows-- to relocate her in the context of a chaotic and bustling world outside the temperate zone where fortunes were being made empires founded, epidemics encountered, trade routes opened up and slaves transported across oceans to work in sugar plantations. (97)

Mukherjee's piece is valuable both to Jane Austen specialists and the general reader because she debunks the "ice maiden" image that critics in preceding centuries had created about Austen by citing the work of contemporaries, like Edward Said, David Nokes, and John Halperin, who have established from sources on Jane Austen's family and from her own texts that she was very much aware and even affected by events in the Caribbean and India. Particularly revelatory is the manner in which Mukherjee traces how recent critics have gradually established that Austen's aunt Philadelphia was Warren Hastings' mistress in India. In her brief readings of some of the novels, Mukherjee highlights Austen's ability to ironise characters who are complacent, self-satisfied with their life in England, and have no interest whatsoever in the world outside, while regarding with sympathy characters, like Fanny Price, who show such an interest but can do little to promote the same. She cautions those recent critics who have claimed a "proto-feminist" (101) status for Austen, however. In her very sensible conclusion, Mukherjee demonstrates the futility of postcolonialists trying to disprove Austen "unconscious complicity" in the imperial exercise. Her paper, she avers, "merely places Jane Austen in a global grid, highlighting the details that stand out for us readers in the tropics, hopefully to initiate a new reading of her novels"(101).

No Felicitation Volume dedicated to Yasmine Gooneratne would be complete without some reference to the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, where she obtained her first degree in English and taught for ten years. Shelagh Goonewardene's contribution serves this need. Hers is neither a scholarly essay, nor a tribute to Gooneratne. It is an edited collection of letters she sent her fiancé while she and others of the University Dramatic Society (including Yasmine Gooneratne) were involved in practicing and performing Shaw's *Major Barbara* . Goonewardene's descriptions of the sights and sounds of Peradeniya and the camaraderie that was created when the company travelled to Jaffna capture the halycon days of the fifties and sixties when the Peradeniya myth and aura were being established. To readers of Goonewardene's generation who attended Peradeniya during those "privileged," heady days, the essay provides opportunities for nostalgia. To others who entered this institution a generation later, it gives an indication of what might have been had social transitions, political mismanagement, and other factors not intervened. To international readers this submission demonstrates why Peradeniya features so often in Sri Lankan Literature in English and evokes such responses in its former students who are domiciled in all parts of the globe.

The space usually allotted a review unfortunately prevents me from doing more than merely cite the names and the general areas covered by others who have made this such an abundant volume. These include charming personal pieces by Devika Brendon, Diana Giese and Doireann Macdermott; poems by Syd Harrex and Edward Baugh; fiction by Michael Wilding ; and essays on postcolonialism, literature, and other concerns by Gareth Griffiths, Koh Tai Ann, Peggy Nightingale, Wolfgang Zach, Develeena Ghosh, Ken Goodwin, Peggy Nightingale, Catherine A. Runcie, John Stephen, and Mark Macleod. Many of these persons are distinguished academics in their own right, and my not being able to dwell on their contributions at any length demonstrates the level of exellence that readers could expect to find in the volume under review.

Towards the end of R.K. Narayan's *The Sweet Vendor,* a stone carver informs Jagan that they always leave a small flaw in the statues they create because the figure of Nataraj they had once carved was so perfect that it became alive and walked through the public streets causing fear and confusion among the villagers. The "flaw" ensures that such disturbances do not recur and that some equilibrium is maintained. Neither Devika Brendon nor Brendon Gooneratne will claim perfection for this volume. This book, which was (presumably) edited in Australia, published in England and printed in Sri Lanka, was also perhaps put together in some haste to enable it to be presented on the same day as the launching of Brendon and Yasmine Gooneratne's book on John D'Oyly; consequently, the volume carries more typographical errors than one would expect in a publication of this kind--the tri-continental exercise has taken some toll. Then again, Ahrens' essay suggests that Yasmine Gooneratne belongs to the family of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike (2) when in fact Gooneratne is related to the family of Mrs Bandaranaike's late husband S.W.R.D Bandaranaike. To dwell on such occasional lapses is carping, however. "'*Gladly Wolde She Lerne and Gladly Teche: 'Felicitation Volume for Professor Yasmine Gooneratne AO. D.Litt.*" does credit to the editors, the authors, and most importantly the woman it seeks to honour. Since the contributions cover a wide spectrum, futhermore, the book will appeal to many. It will indubitably rate as one of the better Felicitation Volumes written for a Professor.

S.W. PERERA

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