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Cover design by Stanley Kirinde

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

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CONTENTS

Ayutthia in the Twilight Years and its Triangular Relations with the V. O. C. and Sri Lanka*

The reign of king Boromakot (1732/3 - 1758) has been traditionally considered to be a Golden Age, or at least a brilliant one both in regard to material prosperity and cultural efflorescence. It appears probable that its achievement would have been assessed even higher but for the catastrophic events of the next reign. It is, however, by no means certain—in our view, at least—that the previous reign necessarily contributed substantially to those catastrophes. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this essay the traditional view will be adopted, namely that the twilight years of Ayutthia were in this reign, or, as prince Dhani Nivat phrased it, ..." when Ayudhia culture shone out for the last time in a particularly brilliant evening bloom before the night set in .... "[1]

Some light is thrown on these so-called twilight years of Ayutthia by certain documents to be found in Sri Lanka, A considerable number of them are in Dutch and a few in Sinhalese. A good deal of the latter have been published, though little use has been made of them for any consideration of Ayutthian history.[2] By and large, most of these documents have come into being in connection with the efforts of the Kandyan (or Sinhalese) rulers of the mid-eighteenth century to obtain Buddhist monks from Ayutthia in order to re-establish the *upasampada* or higher ordination, and the attendant circumstances and consequences flowing from those efforts. As the Dutch virtually controlled the sea-coasts of Sri Lanka preventing the Kandyan Kingdom from having independent relationships with the outside world, the Sinhalese had perforce to enlist the services of the V. O. C. (the Dutch East India Company) to establish contact with Siam,[3] with which the Dutch had had commercial relations for well over a century. Thus arose a triangular relationship

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1. "The Shadow-Play as a Possible Origin of the Masked Play" in *The Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemoration Publication* Vol II (Bangkok 1954), p.179.
2. Except for about three paragraphs in L. S. Dewaraja, "Thailand Repays Her Debt to Sri Lanka", Paper presented to the *Seventh Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia*, Aug. 1977, pp. 14-16.
3. The names 'Ayutthia" and "Siam"; are used interchangeably in this paper, as in much of the contemporary records, to denote the country later styled "Thailand".

between Ayutthia, the Dutch and the Sinhalese in the last two decades of king Boromakot's reign. The records referred to above, supplemented by other documents stemming from the V. O. C, such as those relating to the resolutions[4] taken by the Batavian authorities and their general reports to the Directors of the Company, together help to elucidate many aspects of the triangular relationship and also provide some information relating to conditions in the kingdom of Ayutthia itself.

Before entering into a discussion of the mutual relationships that arose between Ayutthia, the Dutch, and the Sinhalese, it is necessary to look into certain aspects of the relationships between the Dutch and the Ayutthian kingdom before the Sinhalese came into the picture. It must be remembered that although the Sinhalese and the Thai peoples had had close cultural relations [5] in the centuries prior to the coming of the Europeans, such relationships had been interrupted thereafter until, as far as we know, up to the fourth decade of the eighteenth century. The Dutch, however, had been in frequent contact with Ayutthia from around 1604 right down to about 1741. In fact, such incidental references as have been encountered during a scrutiny of several of the Company's records having some connection with Sri Lanka, suggest that Dutch interest in Ayutthia and contacts with it in the early eighteenth century have been steadier and more important than hitherto assumed.[6]

During the first four decades of the century, the Dutch remained, in general, the most important as well as the most formidable of the European powers with which Ayutthia had to deal. This was partly because of their exploitation of advantageous commercial treaties which they had wrested

4. For these, I have had to depend largely on the three volumes *Realia uijt de Secreete Resolutien des Kasteels Batavia genomen in Rade van India* (Hague-Batavia 1886) hereafter referred to as *Realia*.

5. *of.* W. M. Sirisena, *Sri Lanka and South East Asia. Political, Religious and Cultural Relations from A. D. 1000 to 1500* (Leiden 1978) especially pp.82–104.

6. In 1702 and 1703 complaints were received from Siam regarding the poor quality red cloth that the Dutch had sent (from Sri Lanka). See *Koloniaal Archief* (henceforth K.A.) of *Algemeen Rijksarchief* at the Hague, No. 1543 f.84 and 1560 f.167. By letter of 21 June 1702 the Directors (the *Heeren XVII*) of the V.O.C. ordered the Batavian authorities to purchase ivory from Siam as they had heard that large amounts were being transported from there by other traders, K.A. 1560 f. 161–62. For a further reference to Ayutthian exports of ivory two decades later, see Directors to Governor-General and Council (henceforth G.G. & C.) 28 June 1724 in *Sri Lanka National Archives* (henceforth *SLNA*) 1/795 unpaginated. In 1702 Batavia had placed an order for 20 to 25,000 lbs. of gum lac from Siam, K.A. 1545 f.79. In 1706, 1708 and 1710 concern was shown by G.G. & C. regarding Ayutthian elephants brought to the Choromandel region for trade. K.A. 1608 (Bd.1) f. 285, K.A. 1641 (Bd.1) f. 219 and K.A. 1657 (Bd.1) f. 55. Goods such as gum lac, tin, hides and skins are indicated as received or expected from Siam in the years 1703, 1711, 1714, 1717 and referred to in K.A. 1545 f.79, K.A. 1691 (Bd.1) f.272, K.A. 1722 (Bd.1) f.383 and K.A 1764 (Bd.1) f.387 respectively. The significance of the V.O.C.'s rather steady maintenance of a Factory at Ayutthia and often also at Ligor until 1741 has also to be noted. See W. Wijnaendts van Resandt, *De Gezaghebbers der Oost-Indische Compagnie op hare Buiten-Comptoiren in Azie* (Amsterdam 1944).

from the kingdom (largely by the use of or threat of using naval power), partly because they maintained an interest in dealings with Ayutthia which was much more sustained than that of their rival Europeans, and partly because of the relative proximity of their power, more especially their control over commerce passing through the straits of Malacca. The consciousness of this power and attempts to utilise it, however, appear to have brought about perhaps more disadvantages than advantages in their relations with Ayutthia, for the latter would tend to be naturally resentful and fearful of the actual or potential pressures and threats that it had to face from this foreign power.

In this connection, it is important to note that Dutch interest in trade with Ayutthia had what may be called positive aspects as well as negative ones. In regard to the former they wished to engross, if possible, the most important commercial products of the kingdom and, in fact, succeeded in obtaining a legal monopoly of the export trade in one of them, hides. Other important products in their eyes were tin (for the special collection of which they often had a factory at Ligor), sappan wood and other timber (often transported as ballast to the Netherlands throughout the mid-eighteenth century and before), rice (in particularly great demand when Java supplies were disrupted or harvests failed in the purchasing centres in Bengal or the Coromandel coast), gum lac (of which, sometimes, there were inadequate supplies)[7] and sugar (which, remained important until the production of Java sugar in the course of the eighteenth century). There were also articles generally of less importance such as lead, pepper, ginger, honey and other foodstuffs. Ayutthia also served as an emporium for the goods of South Asia as well as of East Asia, and, therefore, one finds the Dutch themselves transacting business in Chinese goods or with Chinese merchants[8] in Ayutthia- They would, of course, far rather have seen no Chinese merchants in Siam,just as they frowned on the presence of Indian merchants because in their view, the competition from both these groups spoiled the Company's own trade by pushing up the prices of Ayutthia's exports and lowering Dutch profits from its imports. The Chinese competed with the Dutch in bringing., amongst other things, copper and, to a lesser extent, silver from Japan, and the Indian merchants reduced Dutch profits in one of the most important of Ayutthia's imports, namely, textiles from Surat and the Bengal and Coromandel coasts. From time to time items such as horses, spices, curios, and firearms also figured in the record of Siamese imports.[9]

7. K.A. 1545 f. 79

8. See eg. *Realia* III. p.203

9. For the articles of trade see further n.6 above and *Realia, passim*; *Wouter Schoutens Reys-Togten naar en door Oos -Indien* 2nd ed. (Amsterdam 1708) p.45; Francois Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, Vol. 2 Pt.2 Sixth Book, *Beschryvinge van Siam en onsen Handel aldaar*. (Dordrecht–Amsterdam MD CCXXVI,)p.63; Rong Shyamananda *A History of Thailand* (hereafter: Shyamananda) 3rd ed. (Bangkok 1977), pp.66, 72,73.

The negative aspects of Dutch commercial policy towards Siam lay partly in trying to prevent or curb the activities of other foreign traders. The attempts at monopolizing the kingdom's exports were aimed at that objective, as was also the control of shipping through the Straits of Malacca. But these aspects of the V.O.C's commercial policy were not directed only against other foreign traders, they were also directed against the overseas trading activity of the Ayutthian state itself. They were particularly annoyed regarding Ayutthian ships taking elephants for sale to the Coromandel region or to Bengal and bringing back Indian piecegoods; because the kingdom's export of those animals reduced the V.O.C's profits from the sale of Sri Lankan elephants[10] to Coromandel or Bengal merchants, and its direct imports of textiles reduced Dutch profits as middlemen for that commodity. The stipulation in the Treaty of 1664 prohibiting the employment of even a single Chinese on Ayutthian ships, on pain of confiscation of the vessel by the Dutch[11], was undoubtedly aimed as much against the overseas trade of Siam as against Chinese commercial interests. In this situation there was bound to be resentment on the part of the Siamese and mutual suspicions on both sides.

Nevertheless, despite all this, Ayutthia–Dutch relations continued with but slight interruptions during the first four decades of the eighteenth century, as we have already noted above. Moreover, these relations remained important enough for the Directors of the Company and the Batavian authorities to devote a separate section to Siam in their annual correspondence, quite apart from the implications of the other evidence which has already been noted. For the kingdom itself, the relationship was of consequence not only because of the pressures which the Dutch could bring to bear on it and the trade which they conducted with it, but also because important outlets for Siamese rice – one of the kingdom's most important exports – necessarily lay in Malacca and Batavia. The fact was that the demand on the Indian coasts for Siamese rice from Mergui was

10. See n.6 above. In Oct. 1746 we find G.G.& C. informing *Heeren XVII* that, in order to help the Dutch trade in elephants in Sri Lanka, they have asked the Governor and Council (henceforth G.& C.) there for any ideas as to how the Company could prevent elephants from being brought from the coasts of Arakan, Pegu and Kedah. K.A. 2528 (Bd.2) f 641.

11. Shyamananda, p. 73. For mid-17th century V.O.C. attempts to cause ill-feeling between the Courts of Japan and Siam with a view to disrupting commercial relations between them, and its attempts to oust the Japanese and all other foreign competitors from Ayutthian trade, see Holden Furber *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 16co-18co.* (Minneapolis 1976) (hereafter: Furber) p.20.

largely confined to years of bad harvests, so that the ultimate destinations of most of the Siamese grain exports appear to have been the rice-deficit Dutch possessions in the so-called East Indies Archipelago, especially the Moluccas, and, not infrequently, their possessions in Sri Lanka. But as no direct trade with these areas was permitted, Ayutthian ships had to dispose of their grain at Malacca or Batavia.[12]

The above are some of the important factors and considerations of a rather general nature in the commercial relations between the two parties. Before going on to some of the more specific developments in King Boromakot's reign, it is relevant to note a few matters about the Dutch East India Company's factory at Ayutthia (or Judja as it is usually called in Dutch correspondence). It lay several miles to the south of the capital on an islet at the mouth of the Menam river and close to the main sea-port and its customs houses. It consisted of a spacious and impressive lodge as well as commodious warehouses. The Dutchman in charge of the Factory was usually referred to as the **Opperhoofd** or Chief, and when conditions were good he had a sizeable establishment to manage with a book-keeper, clerical hands, a surgeon, a few sailors and guards, and several native (or indigenous) employees. This Chief was responsible for the purchase and shipping of export goods and the provisioning of all Dutch ships that called. At the same time he had to order, store, and sell goods received for disposal in Ayutthia. Moreover, except on rare occasions when special commissioners or ambassadors were sent for the purpose directly from Batavia the Chief had to serve not only as the Company's commercial agent but also as its diplomatic agent. Like most other foreigners, this Chief appears to have had little or no access to the royal court itself but only to its Minister of Finance the Praklang who was also the Minister generally in charge of foreign affairs. The commercial activities of the foreigners thus came under his supervision and control. Contrary to the impression one gets from many European accounts, the Chief in charge of a foreign factory had little direct contact even with this Minister. This fact could be surmised from evidence in certain letters – which will be looked at more closely by and by – written by the Chief at the Ayutthia factory to the Dutch Governor in Sri Lanka in the mid-eighteenth century. For instance, in the letter dated 3rd November 1755[13] addressed to Governor Loten, it is evident that although the Chief, Nicholas Bang by name, refers to important requests made on the King's behalf by the Praklang (whom he usually refers to as His Excellency, the Lord Bercquelang), it is only an interpreter whom Bang sees and discusses with at every stage. Except for certain monopoly rights acquired

12. See *Realia* III. p.204 and pp.92-96 below for evidence of rice and other goods being brought from Siam by ships of the King and the Crown Prince.

13. S.L.N.A. 1/2066 unpag. See also letter of 30 Nov. 1756, S.L.N.A. 1/2067 unpag.

in regard to the export of hides and probably of tin, the Dutch were, therefore, in no specially privileged position in their dealings with the king and his officials.

In point of fact, the Dutch appear, from time to time, to have been dissatisfied with their position in Siam and around 1705, and again around 1730, the idea of withdrawing from there was mooted.[14] The reasons for this dissatisfication have generally been ascribed to the rapacious and dishonest conduct of the Siamese Court and its officials. Whatever the reasons, the Directors appear to have been keen on maintaining the Dutch presence and carrying on commercial activities. After the accession of King Boromakot, however, it appears, according to the Company's records, as if even the enthusiasm of the Directors might evaporate.

Actually, even immediately prior to that event relations between Ayutthia and the Dutch do not appear to have been cordial, because when news was received of the new King's accession, the Batavian authorities decided on the 7th July 1733 not to write to him or his Praklang unless they were formally informed of the investiture. A year later they were annoyed by the new King's arrangements regarding exports and were considering a protest.[15] The arrangements refered to required the Dutch (and doubtless other foreigners) to make their purchases of products from four merchants (or merchant-houses) that had been appointed for the purpose by the state. These arrangements appear to have been considered by the Company to be vexatious obstacles in the way of proper trading activity. On the other hand, the arrangement might have been made with a view to better control and supervision of trade transactions by the foreigners, so as to prevent irregularities, including evasion of state dues and smuggling in general. That such fraudulent practices were resorted to or attempted, is indicated by the special concern shown by the Dutch in 1737 to prevent a spy from being planted on behalf of the court in the so-called "lower wharehouses" of the Company.[16] Moreover, it appears to be very likely that the four authorised merchants handled only the articles of state monopoly, in which case it may have only implied a re-organisation in the system of royal monopoly that had been known even in the mid-seventeenth century.[17] A basis for this view is suggested by the evidence in Nicholas Bang's letters two decades later which indicates that many individuals were involved in selling rice to foreigners,

14. *Realia* III, pp 203-04. For a brief moment around 1705 the comptoirs at Ayutthia and at Ligor do not seem to have been operating.
15. On these two matters see *Realia* III, p.203.
16. *Ibid*
17. Shyamananda, p.72 for the mid-17th century position.

subject to certain newly-imposed royal regulations.[18] (There is, of course, the possibility that the liberalisation of the rice trade might have taken place subsequent to the 1734 arrangements.)

To return to the consideration of Dutch attitudes towards Ayutthia, we gather that by 1738 the Dutch were finding one of the articles which they had been interested in buying from the kingdom, namely, gum lac, becoming too expensive for their trade. Two years later they are found complaining about much more serious matters such as a debt owed by the king and his refusal or disinclination to renew the contracts or treaties. On the 26th July 1740, the Batavian authorities decided that the Company would continue in Siam even one more year only if the king made suitable promises regarding these matters; otherwise, it would withdraw leaving behind two natives to look after the flag and the property.[19] The latter part of their decision indicated, however, that in any case they contemplated returning at some later date.

This, then, was the position in the Company's relationship with king Boromakot when the kingdom of Kandy sought Dutch assistance to obtain Buddhist monks from Siam with a view to re-establishing the *upasampada* (or higher ordination) in Sri Lanka. One of the first communications of the new king of Kandy, Sri Vijaya Rajasimha (1739–1747) had been to inform the Governor of Dutch territory in coastal Sri Lanka regarding his intention of sending envoys and obtaining monks from Siam, Arakan, Pegu or some other place where Buddhism was thought to be practised in its purest form. He inquired further as to from which of the places named by him monks could be obtained most easily and also whether the Dutch knew of any Buddhist regions other than those named by him. The Dutch were unable to enlighten him more than to say that Pegu and Arakan were the closest to Sri Lanka.[20] The king and his advisers, however, appear to have considered Siam to offer the best prospects of obtaining suitable monks and decided that other places were to be inquired from only if they did not succeed in Siam. Accordingly, in June 1740 he requested the Dutch Governor Bruyninck (1740–1742) to provide a vessel for the transport of the envoys whom he intended sending shortly. The Governor after some discussion with his Council decided to accede to the request in view of the advantages which were expected for the Company as a result of pleasing the king.[21]

18. Letters of 3 Nov. 1755 and 30 Nov. 1756 S. L. N. A. 1/2066 and 1/2067 respectively (unpag.).
19. *Realia* III, p.204
20. "Diary of ambassador Ras Macquet" S. L. N. A. 1/2733 unpag.
21. Council Minutes, 16 June 1740, S. L. N. A. 1/78 f. 365–66

Thus it was, that on the 20th February 1741 a Sinhalese mission, with Ayutthia as its ultimate destination, left Colombo for Batavia by the Sri Lanka-based Dutch ship, the *Constantia*.[22] It arrived at Batavia towards the end of April 1741 with a letter from Governor Bruyninck earnestly requesting the Batavian authorities to provide all possible assistance to the mission to proceed on the next leg of their journey to Siam. Whilst seeing to the due accommodation of the mission at Batavia, Governor-General and Council, nevertheless, decided to stand on ceremony by not according the status of an embassy to the mission, on the ground that it had brought no letter from the court addressed to them. This must have been of no consequence to the mission and its leader, Doranagama Muhandiram, when compared with the bigger problems which they soon had to face. It was just about this time (May 1741) that news of the violent rupture of Dutch relations with Siam appears to have been received at Batavia. How much of the story or what kind of story, was made known to Doranagama and his companions is not known, but he was made to realize that the Siam voyage was out of the question. So he decided to achieve the objectives of his mission by sailing to Pegu, for which purpose Batavia placed the same vessel, the *Constantia* at his disposal.[23]

The voyage to Pegu of Doranagama ended in disaster as the *Constantia* was wrecked on a sandbank, the letters and presents entrusted to him were lost and most of his companions were drowned.[24] Luckily, along with one other Sinhalese, he managed to reach the shore and ultimately establish contact with the Buddhist clergy in Pegu who were ready to help with monks for the *upasampada*. But without the letter from his king – apparently letters to the Pegu and Arakan rulers had also been entrusted to him at Kandy – he was unable to finalise any arrangements and soon made his way back to Sri Lanka.[25] It is interesting and also relevant for our present purposes to note that another Sinhalese - perhaps he had left the *Constantia* at some point before the shipwreck or had drifted away from Doranagama after the tragedy - had apparently succeeded in getting to Mergui, a part of Siam which the Dutch had always been trying to dissuade the Sinhalese from going to.[26] By whatever means, this Sinhalese, Vilbagedara Muhandiram, had succeeded in contacting a Siamese Viceroy– probably the Viceroy of Tenasserim - and he had received assurances on behalf of the King of Siam that monks could be made available, but that some suitable means should be found for transporting them to Sri Lanka. Vilbagedara had also discussed possible means of transport and alternate routes with the Viceroy and reached some understanding with him.

22. G. & C. to G. G. & C. 20 Feb. 1741, *S. L. N. A.* 1/1157 unpag.
23. On the above, *Realia* I, p. 217 ff.
24. G. & C. to G. G. & C., 2 Feb. 1742, *S. L. N. A.* 1/1158 unpag.
25. G. & C. to G. G. & C., 2 Feb. 1742, *S. L. N. A.* 1/1158 unpag.
26. Secret Council Minutes, 10 Feb. 1742, *S. L. N. A.* 1/742 unpag.

Accordingly, in February 1742 the Kandyan Court requested the Dutch Governor to provide a ship either for a direct voyage from Sri Lanka to Mergui or for transport via Malacca to Ayutthia.[27] It also requested that certain letters addressed to Arakan, Pegu and Siam (apparently to the Courts) should be forwarded to those respective places.[28]

Whilst the latter request appears to have been complied with, the bigger question of providing a ship seems to have been referred to Batavia. By this time, the attitude of the Dutch had changed. They were stressing the expenses and the maritime risks involved in these voyages to the Company. Moreover, they were annoyed and, apparently, also embarrassed at the very adverse report that Doranagama had made to the king regarding the attitude of the Batavian authorities towards his mission. It was therefore decided in June 1742 to instruct the Governor to decline as politely as possible any request for the provision of a ship. After Van Imhoff became Governor-General, we find objections raised in 1744 even to the forwarding of letters from the Sinhalese court to other kingdoms and a criticism of the accommodation already made - on the ground that such correspondence between these rulers could not be trusted[29] For these reasons the Dutch prevaricated and played for time when further requests were made for assistance. In fact, In January 1744, before the receipt of Van Imhoff's orders, the Governor had - as a strategem of prevarication and procrastination - tried by devious means to sell the idea that it was necessary to first obtain a satisfactory response through correspondence with any particular country before any envoys were sent to fetch monks from it.[29a]

This change in Dutch policy appears to have contributed very much to a rather unaccommodating and even hostile attitude on the part of the Court in many matters, For instance, facilities which had been readily granted in friendlier times were denied in regard to the collection of cinnamon in the king's territories and so also were the facilities for the transport of elephants, through the king's lands, from Dutch possessions in the southwest coast to the elephant market in the north of the island. Moreover, when the Dutch attempted to prevent certain disaffected Sinhalese from crossing over to the king's territory by establishing small border posts, the troops were driven out and the watchposts were destroyed by the king's men. Finally, an even more significant danger signal was given by the Court when it requested that if the Dutch were unable to trans-

27. *Ibid*
28. Dissawe of 3&4 Korales to Colombo Dissawe--letters received in Colombo 15 Sep. and 2 Nov. 1742, S. L. N. A. 1/3261 unpag.
29. On the above, *Realia* I, pp.217, 238 G. G. & C. to XVII K. A. 2506 (Bd.3) f.994.
29.a S. L. N. A. 1/90 f.78.

port its envoys to Pegu for fetching monks for the *upasampada* they should at least transport them to Madras, from where the envoys could get to Pegu with the aid of the English.[30]

The point was taken by Governor - General Van Imhoff and his Council. In September 1745 they gave secret instructions to Governor Van Gollenesse to the effect that if he thought that by persistent Dutch refusal, the king would turn to the English, they were not only authorising him, but also ordering him to provide the necessary facilities to the Court to fetch monks from Pegu. If it preferred to send its envoys by a Company's vessel via Batavia, that was to be granted, but it appeared more feasible, as the Batavian authorities informed Van Gollenesse, to hire some Hindu or Muslim vessel at Nagapatnam for a direct voyage to Pegu because every year in times of peace those people were accustomed to navigate to Pegu.[31] The Batavian authorities could give those instructions all the more happily because since 1744 at least they had evinced a new interest in Pegu and had already told the Governor of Nagapatnam to find out whether there might be some worthwhile profit or advantage for the Company in Pegu. In fact, one wonders whether in 1741 too, they had arranged for Doranagama's voyage towards Pegu with their own commercial advantages there in mind. There is no doubt, however, that their new instructions were meant not only to placate the king and thereby induce him to adopt a more favourable attitude towards them; but also to see what further advantages they could obtain in Pegu itself; because even in 1746 we find Batavia repeating the instructions of 1744 to the Nagapatnam government.[32]

Meanwhile, the receipt of positive orders to provide transport for Kandyan envoys to Pegu, presented some problems to Governor Van Gollenesse in Colombo. He had hitherto been prevaricating and putting off the Court's requests on the ground that Pegu was all the time in a state of war and turmoil. In his communications to the Court at the close of 1745 and early 1746, therefore, he distorted the instructions from Batavia and said that he had been asked to provide transport to the king's envoys to Pegu if meanwhile the wars in that kingdom had ceased and, if not, to send them on to Batavia from where they could be sent to Siam or to some other country where Buddhism was practised in the pure form emphasised by the Court.

The courtiers of the King sent a reply saying that the story about war in Pegu was only a fabrication of the Governor himself and that they suspected that the alleged Batavian instructions were also a similar concotion,

30. On the above. G. G. &C. to Gov. van Gollenesse, 24 Sep. 1745 (Secret), S. L. N. A 1/2227 unpag.
31. *Ibid*
32. On the above, *Realia* III, p.39

and further that no envoys would be sent to Batavia, unless the Court received prior information regarding the kingdom and the state of Buddhism in the country projected for the mission.

Thereupon Van Gollenesse addressed the King saying he had been exceedingly grieved by the answer, because the Court had never before expressed such disbelief in the truthfulness of a Governor of the Company, all the more because he was second to none in his respect and loyalty to His Majesty. He added that since he believed that the displeasure of the Court had been caused through incorrect reports of some evil-intentioned men, he would try to convince the Court of his innocence ultimately by his unchanging loyalty and respect. He also stated that, as the ambassador whom he was now sending to the King would explain, it would take far too long a time to achieve the objective of the Court if there was delay in trying to obtain prior information about any prospective country and the state of Buddhism in it, whereas success would be quicker if the envoys were to be sent to Batavia in March next to proceed thence to Siam or such other country, where Buddhism was practised in the desired manner.[33]

Despite all these explanations and protestations of good faith, the King and his chiefs were not easily convinced that they should send their ambassadors to Batavia to proceed from there to Ayutthia or to some other kingdom in order to fetch the required monks, particularly because the Dutch themselves had – not so long ago – impressed on them the necessity of first obtaining a satisfactory response before despatching any such envoys. The exaggerated notions of the time taken for communications which the Governor tried to instil in the Court through his envoy must have made the Court all the more wary. For instance, Van Minnen (the Dutch ambassador) was made to say that it would take one year to take the King's letter to Batavia, a further year to send it to Siam, yet another year to receive an answer and hand it over in Kandy and thereafter it would take a further two or three years for the King's ambassadors to get to Ayutthia and bring back Siamese monks. From the earlier accounts of Doranagama and Vilbagedara, the Court knew that all this was deliberate exaggeration of the highest degree. It, therefore, tried its best to avoid taking the Governor's advice and persisted in its attempts to obtain monks from Pegu and Arakan. When it began to emphasize more on Arakan, Van Gollenesse wrote on 13th October 1746 to say that he had just heard from reliable sources that the turmoil there was worse than in Pegu![34]

33. Gov. to King 19 Jan 1746; Instructions for ambassador van Minnen, 18 Jan. 1746, S. L. N A 1/3335 unpag. One cannot help noticing how often shifts in Dutch policy were forcing the Governor to virtually eat his own words, and that his credibility in the eyes of the Court, therefore, must have been pretty low.

34. Court Ministers to Gov., 25 Sep. 1746, S. L. N. A. 1/3263 unpag.; Gov. to Chief Minister, 13 Oct. 1746, S. L. N. A. 1/3335. It is instructive to ponder for a moment on the extent to which war and turmoil are sometimes created in Asian kingdoms–and also for what kind of reasons–only on paper, in the records of European Companies; and on how much history has been uncritically built out of such creations.

With that the resistance of the Court ended, for we find the Governor writing on the 21st November 1746 to the Ministers of Court expressing his unbounded joy to hear that it had agreed to send envoys to Siam via Batavia.[35] To a series of questions from these Ministers, the Governor got one of his chief officers, Abraham Arnouts, to provide answers and himself wrote supporting what Arnouts had said. Arnouts told the Ministers that the Hollanders knew what kind of religion was practised in Siam because they had been trading there for a very long time. Further, he could personally assure them that the religion that was taught and practised was the very same one as in Pegu, and that often monks went from Siam to Pegu. He knew all this because he had been the Chief in charge of the Company's interests in that kingdom. As to whether the Dutch had received information from the ruler of Siam to the effect that one could fetch monks from there, that, he was unable to say positively; since, however, the Governor-General Van Imhoff himself had suggested the idea of procuring monks from that country, it must undoubtedly be quite certain. Van Gollenesse, whilst confirming the statements of Arnouts, stressed the fact that because of the friendship that existed between the V. O. C. and the king of Siam there was no doubt that Van Imhoff would be able to obtain monks for the envoys from Kandy.[36]

Although it has been assumed that an embassy was sent to Ayutthia for monks because the Court was persuaded by the personal knowledge and advice given by Arnouts,[37] we have seen that the decision had been taken well before the date of Arnouts' letter, and also that as early as 1742 Vilbagedara had indicated the possibilities relating to that kingdom. It is relevant also to note that Arnouts, despite his claim and the support given to it by Van Gollenesse, does not figure as Chief in charge of the Dutch factory at Ayutthia in the well-known work of Van Resandt.[38] Indeed there is no mention at all in that work of his name in relation to any of the factories or comtpoirs of the V. O. C. We may also note, in regard to the above replies of Arnouts and Van Gollenesse, that Van Imhoff had not originated the idea ascribed to him, and that at this time the relations between the Company and the Kingdom of Siam were by no means as friendly as claimed by the Governor.

35. Gov. to Court Ministers, 21 Nov. 1746, S. L. N. A. 1/3335 unpag.

36. Arnouts to Dissawe of 3 & 4 Korales, 15 Dec. 1746; Gov. to Dissawe of 3 & 4 Korales, 16 Dee 1746, S. L. N. A. 1/3335 unpag.

37. L S. Dewaraja, *The Kandyan Kingdom 1707-1760.* (Colombo 1972) pp.89-90 and L. S. Dewaraja "Thailand repays her debt to Sri Lanka: A study of the cultural contact between the two countries from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries", paper presented to the *Seventh Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia*, Bangkok, August 1977) p. 9.

38. See work cited in n.6 above.

Fortunately for the Dutch, the Court was not aware of these facts and it not only adopted a friendlier attitude towards the Company than before, but also proceeded to make speedy arrangements for the embassy to Siam. It was dispatched with requisite letters and presents from the King Sri Vijaya Rajasimha in the first half of January 1747 to Colombo. It ultimately sailed on the 3rd February by a Dutch vessel for Batavia. The three ambassadors and their retinue disembarked at Batavia on the 17th March and were "received with more (marks of) distinction than (ambassadors) of other rulers in these parts."[39] According to the letter of 3rd May 1747 from Governor-General Van Imhoff and his council to the Dutch Government in Sri Lanka, these ambassadors were yet waiting for the turn of the monsoon to proceed to Siam.[40]

What really happened around this time, and later, requires much effort to unravel. The letters sent by Van Imhoff and his Council to the *Heeren* XVII, or Directors of the V. O. C., and some of the information given by Van Gollenesse provide us with much on the lines of the generally accepted version of events.[41] According to this the Sinhalese ambassadors were given all possible help by Batavia. They however, returned without accomplishing their objective of obtaining Siamese monks, but "with pretty promises" from the Siamese Court that they would be given the required monks provided that they returned "with another letter from the new king, (because that [letter] of the deceased could no longer suffice) along with what should necessarily accompany it, by which is to be understood, acording to the usual manner of Eastern nations, sufficient presents". In addition, these letters also give some information which is not part of traditional knowledge. Thus according to the Batavia letter of 29th September 1747 to the XVII only the third-ranking ambassador, Wilbagedara by name, went over to Ayutthia, and the other two, Meedeniya and Doranagama stayed behind at Batavia to await the outcome of their colleague's efforts.[42]

On 25th October 1747, Van Gollenesse wrote a letter giving this news to ambassador Jan Bauert who was on his way to Kandy, and said that as it was likely to give rise to various questions from the Kandyan ministers, he must say that he could give no replies because the ship bringing all this news had arrived during his absence from Colombo. Thereafter, in the instructions of 4th December 1747 to Ambassador Jacob van Zoelen who was sent to convey condolences on the death of Sri Vijaya Rajasimha to the new king, he was instructed to tell the courtiers that the

39. C. R. O. *India Office Records*, Mackenzie Collection, Private, No 31 (*Realia*..) p. 89
40. S. L. N. A 1/994 unpag.
41. For a repetition of much of this version see the book and essay cited in n. 37 above (and at the same pages).
42. For these letters, K. A. 2061 (Bd.2) f.348 and K. A. 2575 (Bd.1) f.63 respectively.

three Sinhalese ambassadors who had been on the point of leaving Batavia for Ayutthia, had changed their mind, just a few days prior to departure, and only the third had gone there along with the Company's *commissiant*, or special envoy. If he was asked why that had been so done, he was to state that although he had been in Batavia at that time he could not say anything for certain; but that he had heard one rumour saying that possibly a single ambassador would be adequate to bring those monks to Batavia; and another rumour to the effect that the third ambassador alone had gone ahead to see in advance whether any Buddhist monks would be willing to come over to Sri Lanka. Three months later ambassador Spiering was given more or less the same instructions for answering any queries on this subject and the reasons for the delay in the return of the mission.[43]

It is apparent from all this that right from the time he first heard about it, in October 1747, Van Gollenesse felt the need to still any disquiet at the Kandyan Court over the arrangements made by the ambassadors after their arrival in Batavia, and the consequent delay that was bound to arise in regard to the completion of the mission. There is also no doubt that the new arrangements had been completely unexpected by the Court and Van Gollenesse knew about it. Moreover, the letter sent by the ambassadors by the same ship which brought letters to Van Gollenesse in October from the Batavian authorities appears to have thrown no light on the problem, because Van Gollenesse who had seen its contents[44] before forwarding it to Court, felt compelled – as we have already seen – to try to meet the queries expected from the Kandyan ministers. But if the decision to send only the third amongst their colleagues to Ayutthia had been taken by the ambassadors themselves, there was no need for Van Gollenesse to be in such a flurry about this matter.

When, in the light of all this we look at what took place in Batavia shortly after the arrival of the Sinhalese ambassadors in March 1747, we find that Governor – General Van Imhoff and his colleagues appear to have played a much bigger role in that development than their ordinary letters generally indicate.

On the 21st of April 1747 they decided to open a letter addressed by the King of Siam to the King of Kandy and to get it translated in order, as they said, to see whether there was anything in it relating to Buddhist monks.[45] Although they mentioned the presence of the Sinhalese ambassadors in Batavia as a pretext for this action, it was an extraordinary breach of diplomatic etiquette, not to speak of ordinary morality, and that, by officials who resented the least breach by others of what they considered

43. All the above instructions are in *S. L. N. A.* 1/3336 unpag.
44. See letter of Van Gollenesse of 25 Oct. 1747 to Bauert for some of its contents.
45. C. R. O. *India Office Records*, Mackenzie Collection, Private, No 31 [*Realia..*] p. 13

to be normal civilized practice. The Ayutthian ruler's letter must have been in response to a letter from the Kandyan King relating to the latter's quest for monks for the *upasampada*. But there is no indication that its contents were divulged to the Sinhalese ambassadors. Obviously, the entire episode must have been secret as a serious offence, liable to cause a rupture with two kingdoms, had been committed.

At about the same time a letter written by ten Siamese monks had been received at Batavia.[46] There is no indication of its contents, nor of the person to whom it was addressed. It is very likely, however, that it must have been addressed to the chief monk in Kandy, as we find the practice in Sri Lanka and Siam to have been for simultaneous letters to be addressed by the king and/or his chief minister as well as the chief monk to their respective counterparts in the foreign country. However that may be, it was immediately after reading that letter that it was decided to provide passage to the third-ranking Sinhalese ambassador to proceed to Ayutthia via Malacca. On perusal of that letter the prospects of obtaining monks for the *upasampada* must have appeared uncertain. If it had been otherwise, all three ambassadors should have been sent; also certain other decisions taken on that same day, the 16th May 1747 would not have been taken. They were to the effect firstly that the Dutch *commissiant* or special envoy who was being sent along with the third Kandyan ambassador to Ayutthia was to look around there for Buddhist monks and try to obtain them and, second, that the Governor of Malacca too should do the same around Tenasserim and in other places.[47]

It appears certain that the decision to send only one of the Sinhalese ambassadors to Ayutthia was a result of secret deliberations in the Governor-General's Council. In fact, the Council had virtually taken over the Kandyan diplomatic mission to that kingdom, for not only was their *commissiant* Gerrijt Fek, entrusted with the task of procuring monks for the *upasampada* and provided with a set of secret instructions, even the Sri Lankan ambassador, Vilbagedara, going with him (for the same purpose), was provided with a document for his guidance by this same Council.[48] These documents were considered and approved in the secret meeting of the Council on the 23rd May 1747 and Fek and Vilbagedara (with two other Sinhalese of lower rank) left shortly thereafter for Ayutthia via Malacca by the Dutch ship *'s Heeren Arendskerke*.[49]

46. *Realia* I, p. 217
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. G G. &C. to XVII, 29 Sep. 1747 K. A. 2575 (Bd.1) f. 63. This refers only to Vilbagedara, but it is certain, from subsequent information, that Fek accompanied him.

We fortunately possess certain valuable information in the Sri Lanka National Archives relating to the progress of this mission. They are to be found in extracts from three of Fek's letters to the Batavian authorities.[50] There is startling information in the extracts from his first letter dated 16th November 1747 addressed to Governor - General Van Imhoff alone. He says that on arrival in Siam (or the roadstead of Ayutthia apparently), he pretended to the authorities that the Sinhalese emissaries had come to fetch the monks and their retinue who had been promised by the letter sent from Siam to Batavia via Malacca. They had brought two ships for the purpose, one for the monks and one for the emissaries themselves. He, therefore, requested that they be conducted towards the city so that they could make their further representations to the King through the medium of the Praklang. At this point, it is necessary to remark that the doubts and suspicions that arise from the above statements will be taken up shortly and for the present, some of the further developments, as given by Fek will be noted.

As requested by him, Fek and the Sinhalese emissaries were speedily conducted up the river and apparently left at the V. O. C's mansion or lodge. There was no *Opperhoofd* or Chief in charge there because Fek says that he disclosed matters regarding the letters, presents, and textiles that he had brought with him, to the Warehouse - Keepers of the Company. On the 3rd November, by prior appointment Fek and the Sinhalese emissaries had a formal audience with the Praklang, which turned out to be mutually satisfactory, according to Fek. Some time later Vilbagedara and his two companions, had been secretly questioned on various matters by the Praklang or his agent. One question related to what letters of credential they had brought with them "to indicate the genuineness of their" commission, for without such letters, they were told, their solicitation for monks would be fruitless. They had replied that they had brought with them a letter from the Chief Monk of Kandy to the Chief Monk of Siam, and another from the Chief Minister of the country to the Chief Minister of Siam. Fek says that this reply had caused great satisfaction and monks had been promised. (At what points, if any, he himself was present is difficult to determine.)

In view of this satisfactory state of affairs, Fek says that he decided "to put more horses to the wagon which had already begun to roll along". Accordingly, he obtained a second audience with the Praklang by making a present of about eight-hundred rix-dollars, mostly out of his own pocket, so that he could "hand over the silver 'Siam - depicted'[51] wash - basin and jug presented by Your Excellency for the king (for use by His Majesty for washing his feet), a present of cloths etc. for the Crown Prince and

50. All these are in S. L. N. A. 1/2227 unpag.
51. "... silver Siams beschreeve Lampeth..."

another on behalf of the Company to the Praklang for obtaining a free trade". But just at this stage, the *Commissiant* began to come up against difficulties. He says that although it had previously been agreed that the letter brought for the Chief Monk by the Sinhalese envoys would be accepted the following day by that hierarch, he was now told at the audience with the Praklang, "according to the intriguing manner of the Siamese", that the Chief Monk was ill and that, therefore, that letter too would have to be received by the Praklang himself. Fek's reply, as indicated in his letter, was in the nature of a lesson in diplomatic etiquette. He said that it was the custom amongst all peoples that letters from kings should be handed over to kings – Van Imhoff, we saw earlier, did not belive in that! – from chief ministers to chief ministers, from priests to priests from townsmen to townsmen and from peasants to peasants; and, therefore, in case of indisposition on the part of the chief monk it could be handed over to the second [in rank]; but that he would none the less submit to the decision of the Praklang.

Apparently the decision was not favourable, because Fek goes on to give a Machiavellian interpretation of the Praklang's actions. He says that "the promise and the hope which the Praklang had given to him and the Sinhalese emissaries at first had been only with a view to getting hold of the presents and, thereafter, to refuse the requests, in the old manner, using all manner of frivolous evasions." He says that in case he had not given any presents, then that would also have served as a pretext to not only refuse the monks but also the trade for this year.

There are, of course, other interpretations that could be given and one of the most obvious would be something like the following: The Praklang noticed how Fek had pretended at first that he had come merely to assist the Sinhalese emissaries to obtain the monks that had been promised by the Siamese, and how under this pretext he had got up to Ayutthia. The Ayutthian Chief Minister must also have received information about the goods that the Dutch had brought for sale, thus providing a more credible explanation for the bringing of two Dutch ships than the tale spun by Fek at the very outset. His suspicions must have been confirmed by the information obtained from Vilbagedara and the other two Sinhalese by questioning them in the absence of Fek. The fact that probably the Sinhalese knew nothing about the Ayutthian king's letter addressed to the Kandyan ruler and sent about the same time as the letter from the ten monks, and the news that the principal Sinhalese ambassadors had been prevailed upon to stay behind in Batavia keeping back the letter and presents from the Sinhalese king to the Ayutthian monarch—these would have been some of the more significant information elicited by the Praklang. If anything

further was required to make him doubt the good faith of the Dutch in regard to the Kandyan mission, it must have been provided by Fek's disclosure, at the second audience, of the commercial and diplomatic objectives of Batavia.

We can now see why a categorical offer of providing Ayutthian monks for higher ordination purposes in Kandy, had apparently not been divulged to the Kandyan ambassadors, and why they were prevailed upon to send one of their number to scout around for monks in Ayutthia – and that too virtually under the wings of a Dutch diplomat, and with no letters or presents for the Ayutthian monarch. Most of the actions of Batavia now fall into place, and so does Van Gollenesse's frantic concern to allay the doubts and disquiet of the Kandyan court regarding the way in which its mission to Ayutthia was faring.

The Dutch had decided to use the pretext of supporting a Kandyan mission seeking monks for the *upasampada* in order to re-establish their old trading position in Siam without embarassment and any loss of face. If all three Sinhalese ambassadors, including especially the spirited and experienced second ambassador, Doranagama, had gone to Ayutthia taking with them the royal letter and presents to the Ayutthian monarch, then the Dutch would have had no place in the mission; or, at most would have played far too subsidiary a role to push through their own interests with much success.

How much the Company hoped to achieve by virtually undermining and subverting the Kandyan mission can be gauged by noting first of all the parlous state of their relations with Ayutthia around May 1747, and thereafter also by seeing what hopes and ambitions they then entertained by an improvement in those relations.

On the first point we may note at the outset that the clash between the Dutch and Siamese at Ayutthia early in 1741 had been of a pretty serious nature,[52] perhaps even more serious than hitherto suspected, because information from Fek's further narrative (which we shall presently consider) suggests that the Dutch sailors had gone berserk attacking even Buddhist monks. With this incident the Company withdrew its establishments at both comptoirs in Siam – Ayutthia and Ligor – only leaving behind a couple of men to look after its effects at Ayutthia. When in June 1741 letters were received at Batavia from both the King and the Praklang, (whether to complain against the Dutch or to try to placate them for any action taken by Ayutthia, we do not know), the attitude of the Batavian government indicated either arrogance or resentment; for, it decided to open them

52. See W. Blankwaardt, "Notes on the Relations between Holland and Siam", in *The Siam Society-Selected Articles from the Siam Society Journal* Vol.VII (Bangkok 1959)p. 28

without any of the customary ceremonial. Nevertheless, Batavia appears to have carried on some trade with Ayutthia in subsequent years by sending ships annually.[53] In fact as late as 27th June 1746 the decisions had been to continue the trade in that manner for another year or two, and also that it was too premature to consider renewing the treatise with the king. Furthermore, although in 1740 the Dutch had been complaining about a debt owed by the king, either it had been paid subsequently, or the claim was without foundation, because when they ultimately decided to re-establish friendly relations, we find them discussing the payment only of a debt which *they* owed to the king.[54] This brings us to the point when the arrival of the Sinhalese embassy bound for Ayutthia provided them with an opportunity of re-establishing friendlier relations with that kingdom by manipulating that mission and its objectives.

Having decided to manipulate that mission, Governor-General Van Imhoff and his Council took a number of secret decisions on the 12th May 1747. The first was to settle the dispute over the debt owed by the Company to the King of Siam. A sum of about 3000 guilders was to paid to the king for some 1076 textile items due to him, that money being in turn recovered for the V. O. C. from the estate of the late *Opperhoofd* at Ayutthia named Willem de Ghij, who was held directly responsible for the debt. Decisions were also taken regarding the manner of conducting the trade at Ayutthia and the relevent instructions that should be given to the *commissiant* who was being sent there. The importance of this trade for the V. O. C. can also be gauged from the information in Fek's letter which we have already seen. At the same session a preliminary decision was taken to re-establish the comptoir at Ligor. Moreover, from these resolutions we also see the importance to the Company of the connection with Siam for their trading activity in certain areas outside that kingdom too. This we see from the decision to resume the trade along the Malayan coast which had apparently been given up when the comptoir at Ayutthia, and still more that at Ligor, had been withdrawn. In this area too Indian textiles were the money-spinner for the Company as it is said that textiles must be exchanged in this region only for gold (from the mines of the region) or for money.[54a]

Having considered the kind of stakes that the Batavian authorities had been playing for when they decided to manipulate the Sinhalese embassy bound for Ayutthia to their own advantage, we can now consider Fek's further reports regarding his ostensible dual mission in Ayutthia – the obtaining of trading rights for the Company and monks for the Kandyan

53. *Ibid*. The warehouse-keepers mentioned by Fek in 1747 suggest also the maintenance of a collecting-centre for goods.
54. *Realia* III, pp.203-04
54a. *Ibid* p.204

king. The next report (also in the form of a letter) after that of 16th November was dated 28th December 1747. The extracts from it deal almost exclusively with the question of obtaining monks. Fek puts forward as a time-tested truth that there was no matter which the king and his ministers did more light-heartedly than that of misleading or deceiving the Honourable Company and its servants, and, he says that the Court's ultimate response to his request for monks was an example of that axiom. When he pointed out that in their own letter they had promised to provide monks if the Sinhalese themselves came and requested it – here we get more details of the letter opened at Batavia, either that of the king or of the ten monks, – then the Ayutthians replied to the following effect: that by that they had meant that the Sinhalese should come with a ship and crew of the King of Kandy and not with the Company's ships and men. This was because the Company's men did not have enough respect for their (Siamese) monks and in fact in 1741 they had assaulted several monks and fatally wounded one of them. Apart from that, the Dutch crew would in their ships be running above the heads [that is the cabins] of the monks, and would be killing fish, poultry and pigs in their presence, things which were offensive to their religious beliefs. As a result those monks would not be able to make the voyage in a fitting manner. These were the reasons given by the Ayutthians.

We thus see the impact of some of the happenings of 1741 on the Ayutthians and also a portrayal of the real difficulties the Buddhist monks would have had to face normally on the Dutch ships. Fek, however, considered them to be paltry pretexts. Nevertheless, he offered to eliminate all those problems by sailing with the monks in a Siamese vessel to Batavia, or even direct from Mergui to Sri Lanka by a royal Ayutthian vessel that was due to sail for the Coromandel coast in the coming February; but all to no avail. Fek concluded thereby that no monks could be obtained by friendly means from the Ayutthians. From the reaction of the Siamese authorities it is evident that they had conceived the most serious distrust of the good faith of the Dutch and Fek himself gives a hint of this when he says that the Ayutthians are "a people who will not believe anything unless they can see and feel it."

Finally, we come to the extracts dealing with the farewell audience granted to Vilbagedera and his two companions. The relevant letter is dated the 27th January 1748. After a special evening's entertainment provided apparently in honour of them, the Sinhalese were given leave to depart from Ayutthia. At that audience, the Praklang – it must have been he, although the extract does not specifically mention him, – "assured the Sinhalese on behalf of the King that if their king were to send a vessel directly from Ceylon, without any Europeans, but with a distinguished embassy and proper

[letters of] credential,[55] as had happened in former times, then they [Ayutthians] would refuse no monks." The emphasis on the exclusion of Europeans is noteworthy. It suggests that the intermeddling of Van Imhoff and his colleagues in the affairs of the Sinhalese embassy destined for Ayutthia, and its manipulation to suit the Company's interests, had come to be suspected, as well as resented, by the Siamese Court. The references to a distiguished embassy and proper letters of credential also point to the damage done by the Batavian authorities because, undoubtedly at their instance, the leader of the embassy, Meedeniya Mohottiar and the next in rank, Doranagama had both been left behind at Batavia along with the royal letter and presents of Sri Vijaya Rajasimha for the ruler of Ayutthia. The recollection of Sri Lankan embassies received in ancient days may also be noted as a matter of historical interest. Regarding this letter of 27th January, it remains to be noted that whilst Fek discounted the Praklang's promises as being insincere, he noted that the Sinhalese gave full credence to them. Fek's argument was that the promises could not be kept – and that it must have been so intended – because the Sinhalese had no ships of their own and thus would be unable to fulfill one of the essential conditions laid down by the Praklang. On the other hand, the Sinhalese probably saw in the Praklang's stipulation not much more than a concern to see that the Dutch were in no position to meddle with any future embassy.

It may be recalled at this juncture that Governor-General Van Imhoff and his Council had given a very brief account to the Directors of the Company of the Sinhalese embassy to Ayutthia.[56] When we look at that account we notice that the reference to letters of credential in Fek's letter (noted above) is given a peculiar elaboration by Governor-General and Council. The relevant portion of this General Letter to the Directors reads :"... with another letter from the new king (because that [letter] of the deceased could no longer suffice) along with what should necessarily accompany it, by which is to be understood, according to the usual manner of Eastern nations, sufficient presents." Thus van Imhoff and his Council have added several new elements of their own to Fek's report.

One is that a letter from the new king was necessary as that of the deceased king no longer sufficed.[57] This fabrication, which the Dutch appear to have attempted to pass off as the truth even in Sri Lanka, has caused serious misunderstanding of the attitude of the Ayutthian Court and of the true reasons for the failure of the mission. The accepted view came to be that King Boromakot, on receipt of the news of the death of

55. "... *een gedistingueerde ambassade en goede credentiale*..."
56. See above, p. 66
57. This idea is emphasized even more–and this time as if it had indeed emanated from the Court of Siam–in the ordinary letter from Batavia to Colombo on 31 July 1748 in S. L. N. A. 1/996 unpag.

King Sri Vijaya Rajasimha, did not agree to send any monks to Sri Lanka as he was not sure about the attitude of the new monarch towards Buddhism.[58] But one near-contemporary work the *Sasanopakara Samgraha Vastuva* sets out to a large extent the correct position. It says that when the Sinhalese ambassadors returned from Ayutthia to Batavia with the intention of going back with the royal letter of Sri Vijaya Rajasimha and his presents so as to hand them over to the Ayutthian monarch and obtain monks, they were informed of their King's death by the Hollanders who further told them that it was not proper to take any monks to Kandy without informing their new king.[59] The confirmation of this is to be found in a Batavian letter which we shall consider presently. The other fabrication of the Batavian authorities was to the effect that the Ayutthian Court had required that along with the Kandyan king's letter there should be what should "necessarily accompany it." and which Batavia says meant nothing else but "sufficient presents." They add a further "Orientalism" by suggesting that this was the usual grasping manner of Eastern nations.

These concoctions are significant in many ways. First they serve—or, at least, are meant to serve – as masks to hide the real reasons for the failure of the mission. Second, if believed in, they could mislead and cause serious misunderstandings between the two Asian countries concerned, and also mislead the Directors of the Company themselves. Third, they reflect attitudes and ideas relating to Asian rulers which were being sedulously propagated by the Company's employees, and, one could say, by Europeans in general, in relation to non-European countries.[60] Fourth, the self-delusion and the *idées fixes* that result from such frequent fabrications and the resulting inability utimately to appraise and understand the policies and actions of Asian governments and peoples, have also to be noted. Last, but not least, all this should make us ponder on the tremendous extent to which our understanding of the history of Asian countries, based so much as it is on European records taken at their face value, must necessarily be vitiated and far from accurate—except where the volume and the nature of the documents enable us to unravel the other side of the story.

The "official" confirmation, as it were, of much of what we have established regarding the manipulation and subversion of the Kandyan mission by Van Imhoff and his council is to be found in their secret letter of 2nd

58. See n 41 above; Kotagama Wachissara, *Saranamkara Sangharaja Samaya* (Colombo 1960) pp. 139, 181.

59. Annexure to *Vimana Vastu Prakaranaya of Gammulle Ratnapala*, Ed. by Vatuvatte Pemananda (Colombo 1926) p.241.

60. For indication of ideas and attitudes in the European background itself which fostered the formation of such stereotypes, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London 1978) 55-73; and Leon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth, A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*, Transl. by Edmund Howard (Lond. 1974), pp.142-82.

August 1748 to Governor Van Gollenesse.[61] Whilst still more or less suggesting that the ambassadors themselves despatched the third-ranking person amongst them to Ayutthia, they say: "and we have also ourselves deemed that to be the best (method) so that the possibility or impossibility of achieving the prime objective of their journey, [namely that] of obtaining Buddhist monks, could be ascertained in advance." The way—or at least part of it—in which they had sold this idea to the Sinhalese ambassadors can be gauged from the continuation of this argument. It is to the effect that the above was the best arrangement so as "not to risk the prestige of the embassy by proceeding on an uncertain footing towards a fruitless and bad outcome." They go on to say that the third ambassador referred to had conducted his inquiry satisfactorily with the full support of the Company at every stage. He had subsequently returned to Batavia and reported that monks had been promised in Siam if they were fetched with the [appropriate] appurtenances. Here, once again, they provide their own elaboration by saying that it really means that "a more distinguished embassy and more ample presents" would have to be brought than "these, which according to information appear to be as poor as those which had been brought by them for the Governor-General." Whilst we shall have occasion to return soon to this question of presents, we might note the confirmation of one other important conclusion that we had arrived at.

This relates to the requirement of a letter from the new king. That this was not a requirement laid down by the Ayutthian ruler but a well-contrived spanner in the works thrown at the embassy by Van Imhoff and his Council appears from their own words in this letter:

> "Therefore, we, taking into account the death of their master and [the fact] that the previous embassy [ie: the one under consideration] appears thereby to have somewhat lapsed, have thought it best to send back the second and third of those ambassadors – but without any ceremony – from here to Ceylon, to ask for further orders from the present king."[62]

The first ambassador, Meedeniya, was to remain at Batavia so as to keep behind some semblance of a mission, until such time as the king should recall him and thus put an end to the mission and the idea of obtaining monks. Van Imhoff and his Council had also thought of the possibility of the king sending fresh ambassadors to make another attempt and had attempted to convince Doranagama and Vilbagedara, before the letter were sent back to Sri Lanka, about the very poor prospects before even a more prestigious embassy. They particularly tried to impress upon them the

61. S. L. N. A. 1/2227 unpag. Van Gollenesse's frantic efforts to still any disquiet at the Kandyan Court (see pp. 62-65 above) will now become meaningful.
62. *Ibid.*

utter reluctance – so they alleged–of the Ayutthian monks to make such a long journey, particularly a sea voyage, and that various pretexts had been made by the Ayutthians simply because monks could not be made available. But Doranagama who referred to his own experiences in 1741 was not impressed. He maintained that the difficulties of a long sea voyage could be eliminated by transporting the monks directly from Mergui to Trincomalee (in the north-east of Sri Lanka) and that monks could be obtained from Ayutthia for transporting from Mergui, quite apart from the fact that they could also be obtained *in loco* along the Mergui coast.

Doranagama was so confident and specific about the possibilities, that the Batavian authorities sounded a special note of warning in that same letter to Governor Van Gollenesse to expect a proposal based on Doranagama's ideas from the Kandyan Court, and explained how and why it should be rejected. First of all, they said that no V. O. C. ship could be sent to Mergui without running the danger of an encounter with the enemy (that is the French, with whom the Dutch were by now at war). They pointed out that the French squadron involved in Coromandel operations often sailed to the region around Mergui for shelter during the period of adverse weather. Moreover, the ships and crew were badly needed at this time for other services by the Company. They believed that the Court would prefer to send the mission to Mergui with a view to saving on a present to the Court at Ayutthia, but since Mergui belonged to that kingdom, any diplomatic mission would be unsuccessful unless the approach was first made to Ayutthia itself. Van Gollenesse was told that the expected request from Kandy could be rejected by him on those grounds. If, however, it proved to be impossible to deflect them from their determination to obtain monks from Ayutthia, then they should be persuaded to do so by sending an embassy via Batavia. This would cause the least inconvenience to the Company because there was usually more than ample space for the purpose in the ships sailing both from Sri Lanka to Batavia as well as from Batavia to Ayutthia. On the other hand, once the ambassadors obtained the requisite monks at Ayutthia, they could go with them overland to Mergui and find sea-transport from there to Trincomalee or some other port in Sri Lanka.

Having said all that, they authorised the Governor, in case he felt that the Kandyan presents for Ayutthia appeared to be too meagre, to supply some items from the Company's stores also. They were however, to be of such value as to be very pleasing to the Kandyan Court, but would yet not be quite equivalent to the value of the friendship of the Court for the V. O. C. ! Needless to say, this seeming generosity and concern for the success of a future Kandyan mission to Siam has to be placed in its proper context. We have already seen how the 1747 mission had been manipulated and subverted to serve V. O. C. purposes. Moreover, Governor-General

and Council had no real idea about the nature or the value of the presents that had been brought by that mission to Batavia for Ayutthia. They merely concluded that according to information – from whom or from where it is not said – those presents appeared to be "as poor as those which had been brought for the Governor-General" Since the embassy was meant for the Court of Siam and Batavia was only a point of transit, it is certain that the presents for the Court must necessarily have been more valuable than those to the Governor–General, quite apart from the fact that the Governor–General must have been rated far lower for this purpose than the king of Siam. It is relevant also to keep in mind the fact that it was natural for the Gover nor - General to have underestimated the value of presents received by him, as that appears to have been the standard practice of V.O.C officials with regard to presents received publicly – private ones were never disclosed – lest the Directors take them over for the Company and assign a token amount (or leave only the trifles) to the actual recipient.[63].

There is a final point of the greatest importance (and of the greatest relevance to what we have been discussing) in that same secret letter of 2nd August 1748 to Van Gollenesse. The relevant section of the letter reads as follows:

> "... for, in case we cannot really divert those people [the Sinhalese] away from the [idea of] fetching of those foreigners, [ie: the Ayutthian monks], which, however, should be made as long-drawn-out as possible, since it is apparent that as long as this history remains unfinished, the Court will [continue to] be rather more tractable than otherwise in regard to our interests on Ceylon...."[64]

In view of this clear formulation of the Machiavellian policy advocated by Van Imhoff and his Council, (and, of course, in the light of what has already been noted) we can now be absolutely certain that they had not only manipulated the Sinhalese embassy to Ayutthia of 1747 for the furtherance of Dutch interests relating to that kingdom, but also that they had worked assiduously towards the complete failure of that mission.

Meanwhile, of the two ambassadors returning to Sri Lanka, only Vilbagedara survived the voyage. The first reports from the Court thereafter served to dispel the fears of the Batavian Government that Doranagama's ideas regarding a direct voyage from Sri Lanka to Mergui for bringing Ayutthian monks might be taken up by the Court. In the same

63. For evidence having a bearing on this question, see Van Gollenesse to G. G. & C. 31 March 1749 (Secret) and Same to Same 29 July 1749 (Secret) in S. L. N. A. 1/2227 unpag.

64. S. L. N. A. 1/2227 unpag.

secret letter of 31st December 1748[65] in which he conveyed that re-assuring news, Van Gollenesse also promised his superiors that he would try his best to direct matters according to the plan suggested from Batavia.

Hardly was the ink dry on that letter when he faced insistent Kandyan demands that the next mission to Ayutthia should be transported direct to Mergui. Although he succeeded, after very great efforts, in turning them away from that idea, he had to ruefully admit to Batavia that he could not shake them off from their further proposal, which was that their ambassadors should be transported via Malacca direct to Siam, without touching at Batavia. In reply to objections raised by Van Gollenesse (apparently regarding the exclusion of Batavia from the projected itinerary) the Sinhalese ministers had claimed that the route they proposed was one that had been recommended to them by the King of Siam himself.[66] Futhermore, according to that plan the Sinhalese ambassadors on arrival in Ayutthia would be provided with requisite monks and sent over land to Mergui, from where they could obtain passage to Trincomalee.

In this secret letter to Batavia of 31st March 1749[67] (which gives the above information), Van Gollenesse says that he was ultimately forced to promise the Kandyan ministers to emphatically request Governor-General and Council for transport for the Sinhalese ambassadors in the coming August and for the timely despatch of Meedeniya from Batavia to Malacca (with the presents that were in his charge) so as to await the arrival there of those ambassadors The Governor concluded that he would abide by whatever instructions he received from Batavia.

Van Imhoff and his Council stated in their reply by secret letter of 29th July 1749[68] that the Governor's letter had been received too late to grant the request for a ship that year, but that it could be granted the following year, 1750. In the meantime, they would send ambassador Meedeniya ahead to Malacca to await the arrival of the other ambassadors. They also informed Van Gollenesse that they expected that any ship that was used for the voyage to Ayutthia should return to Batavia with a lading of Siamese sappan wood, since another V. O. C. vessel could be assigned to fetch the ambassadors and any monks with them from Mergui.

Whether the readiness to help the Court expressed in this letter had by this time become genuine or not, it is difficult to say. But by then there were factors operating which made good relations with the Court even more necessary than before. For instance, in the course of 1748 the

65. *Ibid.*
66. All this seems to indicate a fair understanding of the Machiavellian role that had been played by the Batavian authorities regarding the 1747 embassy.
67. S. L N. A. 1/2227 unpag.
68. *Ibid.*

threat from the French in the East had become more alarming to the Dutch and Batavia had ordered Van Gollenesse to canvass the King's support in case of any French appearance on the island and the Governor had reported success in that endeavour.[69] Although peace was restored in Europe during the course of the year between France and Holland, not only did that news take time to reach the two parties in the East,[70] but also the Dutch continued in suspicion of French intentions. Moreover, the Kandyan Court mixed friendliness with firmness, and at times even with aggressiveneses. Thus we find Van Imhoff and his Council on the 17th of October 1749 approving the fact that Van Gollenesse had informed the Kandyan ministers by way of remonstrance "that such conduct on their part could well cause our enthusiasm for the providing of Buddhist priests to weaken"![71] But neither this hint and expostulation nor even strong protests were of any avail. By April 1750 Van Golleness was in a quandary and wrote to Batavia saying[72] that a firm attitude has achieved as little as friendly gestures and presents, and asking for advice since he did not know what to do in the circumstances. By this time Van Imhoff and his Council were preoccupied with serious warfare in Java itself[73] and they were in no position to advocate, much less support, an aggressive policy in Sri Lanka. The time was propitious for genuine Dutch assistance to the Kandyan Court in its attempts to obtain Ayutthian monks for the restoration of the *upasampada*.

On the first of August 1750 five Sinhalese ambassadors with their entourage left for Ayutthia via Malacca by the Dutch ship the *Wiltrijk*. As Meedeniya had died many months prior to that and the presents in his custody had thereafter been sent back to Kandy from Batavia,[74] this was an entirely new embassy, with the experienced Vilbagedara as one of the ambassadors. Trustworthy details relating to the progress of this mission are known (largely from traditional sources), and in so far as these have been examined and published,[75] no discussion is required here. From this point onwards, therefore, we need note only what may be new or inadequately utilised information, or what may be required for indicating the sequence of significant events or by way of correcting inaccuracies – on matters relevant to the purposes of this essay.

69. Secret letter of 22 Oct. 1748, S. L. N. A. 1/2227 unpag.
70. It was only early in 1750 that Van Gollenesse received news of a definitive peace. See letter of 27 Feb. 1750, S. L. N. A. 1/2227 unpag.
71. G. G. &C. to G., 17 Oct. 1749 (Secret), S. L. N A. 1/997 unpag.
72. 30 April 1750 (Secret) 1/2227.
73. cf D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, 2nd ed, (Lond. 1964) pp.313-14.
74. G. G. &C. to G. & C., 17 Oct. 1749, S L. N A. 1/997 unpag.
75. For relevant literature, see P. E. E Fernando, "An Account of the Kandyan Mission sent to Siam in 1750", *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies* hereafter (CJHSS) Vol. 2 No. 1 (Jan. 1959) pp. 37-83; Kotagama Vachissara, *Saranamkara Sangharaja Samaya* (Colombo 1960); and n 37 above; also, O. Frankfurter, "Siamese Missions to Ceylon in the 18th Century" *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol iv pt.1 (1907)pp. 23-25

We have seen that right from the beginning the Sinhalese interest in Ayutthia had been religious and they sought the instrumentality of the Hollanders to convey messages between the two kingdoms, to gather information and, finally, to convey ambassadors to, and fetch monks from, Ayutthia. The Dutch responded – or sometimes seemed to respond – to this call for assistance with the definite objective of placating the Kandyan ruler and securing advantages for themselves. In fact, the Batavian authorities had been frequently referring to the trouble and expenses that the Company had been undergoing in giving this assistance and doubtless the cue was taken by the Governor at Colombo. By their letter of 21st August 1752 Loten, who had succeeded to the Governorship in 1751, was specifically instructed by the Batavian authorities to expatiate on the trouble and expenses undergone on the King's behalf, whenever appropriate opportunities arose in his dealings with the Court.[76]

Whilst the Dutch were stressing the fact that they were providing difficult and expensive services solely in order to help the King's religious interests, they were actively utilising every such service to pursue their trading interests in Siam. We saw[77] how Van Imhoff and his Council had informed Van Gollenesse that any ship sent to Ayutthia should return with a lading of sappanwood to Batavia. Very soon another item of commerce, rice, became even more important, although that was not quite at the expense of sappanwood, because this wood could usually be loaded as ballast. The rice was required more especially for supplying the Company's establishments in Sri Lanka. The usual sources of supply had been Bengal, even more the Coromandel Coast region, and, of course, Java itself. But a series of famines and political turbulence in the 1750's coupled with dearer prices had virtually ruled out supplies from the Indian areas and during that same period even Batavia was in severe straits to obtain supplies for itself and its possessions in the archipelago on account of the so-called Third Javanese War of Succession from 1749 to 1757 (and its aftermath). As Governor-General and Council explained later on (in 1759) to the Directors, they had been forced by these circumstances for some time past to look towards Arakan and Siam for "purchase of that necessary article of food."[78]

This increase in the rice trade (examples of which will be given in due course), is of some significance for the economic history of Ayutthia during this period; particularly because it is reasonable to presume that other Europeans, such as the English, the French and the Portuguese, as well as many Indian traders and perhaps others on the Malaysian Coast,

76. S. L N. A. 1/1000 unpag. See also G. G. & C. to XVII, 30 Dec. 1752 K. A. 2684 (Bd 3) f. 638-39.
77. See p. 79 above.
78. K. A. 2832 (Bd.1) f.50-51.

also increased their commercial dealings with Ayutthia on account of the shortfalls and disruptions in rice supplies from their usual sources or simply because Ayutthian rice prices had, in the circumstances, become more competitive. (We may also recall in this connection the statement of the Batavian government relating to French squadrons wintering in the Mergui region.). All this would point to a considerable increase in commercial activities – particularly in relation to rice exports – during the latter part of King Boromakot's reign. It would also indicate a significant strength and flexibility in the kingdom's agricultural sector, in that it was able to orientate itself to meet increased export demands. Moreover, an increase in the trade with the Dutch during this period is of significance in contradicting the view that commercial relations with them had been diminishing throughout the eighteenth century.[79]

We can obtain some idea of the Dutch trade with Ayutthia in the 1750's–apart from certain other information–by following the movements of ambassadors and monks between that Kingdom and the Kingdom of Kandy, as well as from certain extant letters from Nicholas Bang, the Dutch *Opperhoofd*[80] or Chief at Ayutthia, together with the information from certain other V.O.C. records.

The Sinhalese ambassadors who had left for Ayutthia by the *Wiltrijk* had had to tarry till the end of 1750 at Malacca on account of inclement weather and perhaps also shortcomings in seamanship on the part of the ship's officers. When the ship ultimately left a second time from Malacca, the Governor of that place gave further instructions to the officers relating to Batavia's requirements of sappanwood from Siam,[81] and it appears that shortly after arrival at the roadstead of Ayutthia in the spring of 1751, the *Wiltrijk* disembarked the embassy personnel and goods and left for Batavia with the required cargo. The Sinhalese ambassadors mention that on their approach to the Ayutthian roadstead, they had encountered another Dutch ship there.[82]

As is well-known, the Sinhalese embassy was successful. King Boromakot, who is known in the Sinhalese records as King Dharmika,[83] not only made arrangements to send his own ambassadors and monks for the *upasampada* along with the Sinhalese ambassadors, but also provided a ship

79. eg. Shyamananda, p. 84.
80. Bang appears to have held a lesser rank for some time in the late forties and very early fifties.
81. G. & C. in Malacca to G. & C. in Colombo, 10 Dec. 1750, S L. N. A 1/2064 unpag.
82. P. E. Pieris (Transl.) "An Account of King Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka (1750 A. D.)" in *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (hereafter JCBRAS) Vol. XVIII No. 54 (1903), p.22. These casual references to ships are noted so as to gain some idea of Dutch trade with Ayutthia.
83. and in some Ayutthian letters to Kandy too. See below pp. 89 and 91

to convey the monks, his ambassadors and one of the Kandyan ambassadors. Vilbagedara. The other envoys left by a Dutch ship, the *Tulpenberg* which had been sent for the purpose as well as, doubtless, for taking a lading of rice for Colombo.[84] The royal vessel, however, sprang several leaks on the voyage and after some repairs at Ligor it had to return to Ayutthia with the monks and the ambassadors. A series of ensuing calamities, including the loss of several of his ships, made it difficult for King Dharmika to make quick arrangements for another suitable ship for the voyage to Sri Lanka. It was then that Vilbagedara made arrangements with two Dutchmen who owned a newly-built ship (one owner, it is significant to note, was the *Opperhoofd* Bang himself),[85] to hire that vessel to make the voyage to Batavia, with a view to taking another ship from there to Sri Lanka. Ultimately Vilbagedara and his companions, on arrival at Batavia, were provided safe passage to Sri Lanka by the V. O. C. ship, the *Oostkappel*, in March 1753.

Meanwhile, the Sinhalese ambassadors on the *Tulpenberg* which had proceeded ahead of the royal ship, had tarried at Malacca for that ship. Growing anxious about the delay they had sent a message to the city of Ayutthia by a sloop at Malacca which was engaged in trade with Siam.[86] Some time later they received instructions in the name of the King asking them to proceed ahead to Sri Lanka. This was done, and they reached Colombo some time before the arrival of the *Oostkappel* at Trincomalee. Before proceeding further, however, we may note the significance of the presence at Malacca of a sloop trading regularly to Ayutthia and the ownership of a trading vessel by two Dutchmen at Ayutthia itself, one of the owners being the *Opperhoofd* himself. These, together with the movements of the other Dutch vessels which we have chanced upon, give some further idea of the importance of trade with Ayutthia at this time. A further clue is provided by orders which had been sent to Bang from Batavia as early as July 1750 instructing him to hire ships if the company's ships failed to arrive in time to take in goods from the kingdom.[87]

The *Oostkappel* by which Vilbagedara and the monks had been brought to Trincomalee, had arrived there early in May of 1753. Shortly afterwards, the monks had been conducted to Court, and received there, with great honour. Their subsequent labours in restoring the higher ordination and in instructing Sinhalese monks and laymen were so satisfactory and so greatly appreciated that the Ayutthian ambassadors could happily return home early the following year. Moreover, the Dutch received great kudos and thanks for the part they had played in enabling these monks to be brought

84. Council Minutes (Colombo) 30 May 1753 S. L. N. A. 114 unpag.
85. P. E. E. Fernando, "An Account ··· 1750", *CJHSS* Vol. 2 No. 1 p. 72
86. P. E. Pieris, "An Account··· (1750 A. D.)" in JCBRAS Vol. XVIII No. 54 p.36
87. *Realia* III, p.204

and for their conduct both at sea and on land towards the mission as a whole and the monks in particular. There is no doubt that the credit of the Company went up tremendously both in Siam and in Kandy (though in the latter various problems would lead to a diminution of much of that credit in due course). The skippers and officers of Bang's ship as well as of the *Oostkappel*, and the *Opperhoofd* at Trincomalee had behaved with such courtesy and consideration that there was special praise for them from the Sinhalese as well as the Ayutthians. The chief Siamese monk, the Rev. Upali Maha Thera wrote a special letter of appreciation of all those persons to Loten on the 11th March 1754.[88] The presents sent by the Sinhalese ruler Kirti Sri Rajasimha to the Governor-General Mossel and the Director-General Van Gollenesse (the former Governor) as well as to Governor Loten in recognition of the Company's services were so valuable, that Loten and the Batavian authorities departed from the usual practice and acknowledged their extraordinary nature and took particular pains in regard to the counter-presents.[89]

In February 1754 the Ayutthian ambassadors were conducted to Colombo by some high-ranking Kandyan officials to enable them to return home. Apart from other presents, these ambassadors had received from the King three tusked elephants in token of royal esteem. But acording to Loten they wished to dispose of them as elephants were not lacking in their own country, and he therefore made a fine bargain by paying half the animals' value to the ambassadors, who were ultimately given transport to Ayutthia by the ship *Amstelveen* which had been assigned for the Siam trade.[90]

Meanwhile, we know from Bang's letter of 6th November 1753 that V. O. C. trade with the kingdom had been continuing. He had shipped in the *Sloterdijk* 1,320,000 pounds of rice for Colombo and 110,000 pounds of sappanwood as ballast. In 1754 apart from the *Amstelveen* there had arrived the *Leijden* in which Bang shipped to Loten's Government 1,219,845 lbs. of what he describes as "ordinary rice" and 50,000 lbs. of sappanwood. In June 1755 Batavia had sent the ship the *Elswout* for another shipment for Colombo, and Bang despatched 1,293,600 lbs. of rice and a further 39,600 lbs towards the ship's rations. On this occasion, however, he complained to Governor Loten and Council by letter of 3rd November 1755 that he could have shipped much more if only the skipper, one Dirk Stijne, had not been such an evil-natured fellow who had loaded some rice on his own account thus depriving the Company of further ship's space. That there must have been another side to this story is indicated by the fact that, (as

88. S. L. N. A 1/3264 unpag, For Loten's reply see S. L. N. A. 5/6. /9/15.
89. G. G. &C. to XVII, 31 Dec. 1754, K. A. 2719 (Bd. 2) f.634-35
90. G. G. &C. to XVII, *Ibid.* f.636, *Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten for his Successor*, 1757 (hereafter, *Loten's* Memoir) Transl. by E. Reimers (Colombo 1935) p.58.

Bang himself reported), the skipper had refused to countersign, in the usual manner, the bill of lading and the accounts relating to Bang's expenses on behalf of the vessel.[91]

In the last-mentioned letter (of 3rd November 1755), Bang indicates that he had had to face certain other problems. The Praklang had sent word requesting on behalf of his King that some monks and three high officials should be provided with passage to the Kingdom of Kandy on the *Elswout*. According to the form that was apparently expected of him by the V. O. C., he says that he tried several times to talk the Siamese out of that idea by pointing out the heavy expenses that the V. O. C. had to incur on each voyage to Sri Lanka and back. But he says that he had to agree when, finally, he had been asked whether the Company no longer desired to maintain friendship with the Kingdom of Ayutthia as well as with that of Kandy. He adds that a few days later the interpreter came and informed him on behalf of the Praklang that His Majesty had ordered that some presents, all gold work, should be made ready by that Minister for sending to the Dutch Governor in Sri Lanka and the Dutch Officer – in – Charge at Trincomalee, and that both these officials should receive them at the Court of Kandy. We know from a letter of the Praklang to the First Adigar in Kandy that certain other very valuable presents were sent by another ship to the Governor - General at Batavia.[92] Thus these were the Ayutthian counterparts to the Kandyan presents to various Dutch officials granted in connection with the 1751 – 53 mission.

Yet another problem which Bang says he next faced was a request that he should translate into Dutch, with the assistance of the Ayutthian interpreter, a letter written in Siamese in the name of the Praklang. This too he says he tried to avoid, putting forward the argument that it would be better to get it translated into Portuguese or even into Tamil because there were Portuguese – and Tamil-speaking people resident in Ayutthia who knew the Siamese language throughly – unlike him, apparently. But he was told, so he says, that the Praklang had more confidence in him than in the others. So he had to do it as best as he could and he says that he translated the main points, leaving out the unnecessary circumlocutions as much as possible. Finally, the Praklang had sent word to him requesting that he should write to the Dutch Governor in Sri Lanka requesting the latter to receive the Siamese, more especially the monks, courteously and well until they should receive orders to go up to the Kandyan Court. Bang, of course, gave the necessary assurances.

91. For Bang's letters to G. & C., see *S. L. N. A.* 1/2064 and 1/2065. For the dispatch of *Elswout* from Batavia, see G.G. &C. to XVII, 30 Dec. 1755, K.A. 2738 (Bd.2) f.599.

92. See H. W. Codrington, "A Letter from the Court of Siam" in *JCBRAS* Vol XXXVI Pt.III No. 99 (1945) pp 98-99. The Praklang's letter is dated 25 Oct. 1755.

The *Elswout* left Ayutthia on the 15th November 1755 with its cargo of rice as well as with the Ayutthian monks and ambassadors together with the presents mentioned above. But on the 9th January 1756, it was wrecked off Arunagama (modern Arugam) within sight of the Sri Lankan shore. The ambassadors and the majority of the monks and almost all the crew were able to save themselves, apparently with the aid of the Kandyan King's subjects on shore. About these monks and ambassadors, it is adequate for our present purposes to note that they were conducted up to Kandy and that the monks helped to support and supplement the work of the monks of the first mission and that the ambassadors duly returned home after some time. We may also note that while Governor Loten and his Council were lamenting the loss of the rice,[93] to bring which the *Elswout* had been specially and specifically despatched to Siam by the Batavian authorities, those authorities themselves were instructing the Governor to impress on the King of Kandy the expenses that the Dutch "were incurring year in and year out to please his Majesty, whereby in addition to all this, only recently they had had to suffer the heavy loss of one of their costly ships, the *Elswout*, which they had sent last year to Siam for the service of His Majesty for fetching priests of the Buddhist doctrine."[94] This once again provides an illuminating example of the type of diplomacy that was being practised at times by the Company and points to the need not to take, without proper verification, certain types of statements in the V. O. C.'s correspondence at their face value.

The next movement between Sri Lanka and Ayutthia arose when the ambassadors who had come on the second mission from Siam as well as several of the monks from both missions wished to return home. King Kirti Sri assigned three Sinhalese ambassadors to accompany them and at his request Governor Loten provided the necessary transport. On the 25th March 1756 the entire party left Colombo in the ship *Akerendam* for Batavia[95] and we find that they completed the second leg of the journey to Ayutthia too by the same ship. From a letter of Nicholas Bang to Loten of 30th November 1756[96] we know that the *Akerendam* reached Ayutthia on the 12th July after a voyage of about a month from Batavia. He says that after the Sinhalese ambassadors had had audience with the king on the 1st August they had been conducted to his factory by Ayutthian officials so that until the time of their departure they could reside there. He adds that he was sending Loten the account of the expenses incurred by him on their behalf.

93. Loten & C. to Director Jan de Roth & C. at Surat, 12 Feb. 1756, S.L.N.A. 1/2115 unpag.
94. As reported in G. G. &C. to XVII K. A. 2759 (Bd.2) f 508.
95. Loten's *Memoir*, p.58
96. S. L. N. A. 1/2067 unpag.

It appears further from this letter that the *Akerendam* had been sent to Ayutthia by the Governor – General and his Council also for the purpose of transporting a lading of rice to the Dutch establishments in Sri Lanka, and that closer on its heels the ship *Leckerland* had also been despatched from Batavia for the same purpose.

This particular year, however, the Ayutthian authorities were not prepared to sell any rice to the Company. That at least is what we gather from Bang. The action was very probably not due to any shortage of rice, because we know from Bang's letter that the King had made certain exceptions in favour of three Dutchmen, and that too with concessions exempting much of the permitted quotas from the payment of export duties. Fifty *coyangs*[97] was to be allowed for the account of Governor Loten and fifty *coyangs* for that of the Dutch Chief at Trincomalee, both quotas being free of the duty. The skipper of the *Akerendam* itself, the Captain-Lieutenant Cornelis van der Stam was to be allowed a similar quantity free of the duty and a further 150 *coyangs* subject to the payment of that duty. These three persons were accorded such privileged treatment as a mark of special favour because they had been helpful in various ways to the Ayutthian missions to Sri Lanka. In fact, we know that the Sinhalese ambassadors had eulogised Van der Stam for the great consideration and understanding he had shown, particularly in regard to the monks, and that King Dharmika, accordingly, had caused valuable presents to be given to him with the remark that " though he is a Hollander by birth, and an outsider, yet, he is possessed of a mind which takes delight in the religion of the Buddha."[98] As to why the King sefused to permit any sale of rice to the V. O. C. itself, we shall consider later on.

Faced with the above situation, Bang summoned the officers of both ships to his lodge in the Dutch factory and declared that it was not proper to load private goods on a Company vessel and that, therefore, Van der Stam should obtain the rice in his own name out of the Company's funds and transfer it to the Company. Van der Stam was not agreeable to this proposal saying that the purchase of rice had been permitted only to him and that he should, therefore, pay for it and take it over on his own behalf; if, however, when he arrived in Colombo and found that the Company wished to have the rice, he would then dispose of it accordingly. But in a month's time we find that he had been more or less won over to Bang's views. In reply to the latter's questions, Van der Stam replied that he had not yet received the license to get the rice measured for taking it over, but that he had made arrangements with various persons to obtain the rice

97. From Bang's letters it appears that a Siamese coyang was 2,640 Dutch pounds (a Dutch pound being 0.494 Kg.)

98. As related in "Letter from the Commander-in-Chief of the King of Siam to the Commander-in-Chief of the King of Kandy, 15 Oct. 1756" in *Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission* (Colombo 1935) p.61

from them; that, furthermore, he really wished to give that grain to the Company, but that he was afraid that the Siamese would not supply him with any rice if they heard that it was being purchased for the Company, and that, therefore, as soon he received the rice, he would come in secret to Bang and fetch the cash for its payment.

When matters were in that state, there occurred a sudden and disastrous flood whereby, Bang says, "the entire land was flooded." (This must have occurred around October 1756.) One result of it was that the suppliers were unable to mill the paddy, and consequently not more than 200 *coyangs* could be obtained. Another result was that the price of the rice also went up considerably. Whether it went up as high as Bang says skipper Van der Stam informed him is quite another question.

There remained the problem of the *Leckerland*. When, as he says, he found that no measures that he could think of, including bribery, would succeed because the King had absolutley fordidden any exports to the Company, Bang decided to ship on it the 337 *coyangs* of rice which had been loaded the previous year, 1755, in the ship the *Appelboom*, but which had later been unloaded and stored in the harbour storehouses when it had been discovered that the ship was leaking badly. In addition to the rice, he mentions having shipped 50,000 lbs. of sappanwood on the *Leckerland*. It remains to be noted that both the *Akerendam* and the *Leckerland* arrived safely in Sri Lanka in mid – February of 1757, the former bringing back with it the three Kandyan ambassadors and their retinue.[99]

The next Dutch document, relevant to our purposes that we come across is Bang's letter of 15th December 1757 addressed to Schreuder, the new Governor of the Dutch establishments in Sri Lanka. It relates to probably one of the last public acts of importance performed by King Boromakot. This was the despatch of a third group of Buddhist monks to Sri Lanka along with their retinue and presents for the Court of Kandy. King Boromakot had ordered the Praklang to ask Bang to send a letter to the Dutch Governor in Sri Lanka requesting him to provide all facilities so that the mission could get to Kandy from Dutch territory as speedily as possible. Accordingly, the Dutch Chief at Ayutthia incorporated that request in his letter referred to above, sent by the ship *Lapienenburg*, which apparently provided the transport for this mission. Though it has not been possible to gather more details regarding it,[100] this third mission of monks from Ayutthia is of significance for the relations

99. Jan Schreuder (new Governor at Colombo) & C. to G. & C. at Malacca, 14 June 1757 S. L. N. A. 1/2116 unpag.

100. except that the ship reached Sri Lanka at the end of August 1758 as established from an endorsement in the aforesaid letter of Bang's in S. L. N. A. 1/2068 unpag.

between the two kingdoms and for Sri Lankan religious history, because hitherto only two religious missions from Ayutthia during King Boromakot's reign have been noticed, apart, of course, from the bogus religious mission headed by Prince Teppipit[101] in the next reign (which is not relevant to our discussion).

Before concluding this paper it will be useful to take a look at some matters that had not been taken up for discussion earlier (or only briefly noted) so as not to lose the thread of the discussion too much at that stage.

The prosperity of the Kingdom of Ayutthia and the riches at its disposal in King Boromakot's reign can be surmised, *inter alia*, from the accounts of the Sri Lankan envoys given on their return home. Although the general impression gathered from such accounts has been recently noted,[102] a more concrete idea could perhaps be obtained by noting some particulars relating to the offerings sent by the King in 1755 to the Tooth Relic at Kandy, and to some of the presents sent at the same time to the Governor-General at Batavia. According to the letter[103] from the Praklang (styled, incidentally, as Commander-in-Chief of Siam) sent on orders "of the great King Dharmmaka" to the First Adigar or Chief Minister of Kandy (likewise referred to as Commander-in-Chief), the offerings sent for the Tooth Relic consisted of a gold canopy weighing over 275 *kalandas* (which is about 3½ lbs. avoirdupois) and a gold *mandapaya* or miniature pavilion set with gems and about 1½ cubits in height and weighing 658 *kalandas* (over 8 lbs. avoirdupois) and three cloths made of gold thread set with gems. It is relevant to note that the canopy and the pavilion are said to have been 'made of the gold found under the earth by the merit acquired by prayer for the attainment of Bodhi····" thus indicating the exploitation of gold mines in contemporary Siam. It may also be noted that the Crown Prince had also sent a golden canopy and three flowers of gold as offerings to the Relic. The Governor-General had been gifted with a gold plate shaped like a lotus, a gold water-container, a gold cup, a gold tray, two gold "receptacles" *(karandu)*, a gold oil-container, a gold-worked knife and another weapon of gold, a gold betel-tray and, finally, one large gold tray to hold all these presents. The Governor of Colombo had also been sent articles of similar variety and value and the Dutch Chief at Trincomalee some ten gold-worked articles of apparently somewhat lesser value.

101. See Shyamananda, p 90.

102. L. S. Dewaraja, "Thailand Repays··· to the eighteenth centuries," in *Seventh Conference ···of Asia* p.14.

103. dated 25 Oct. 1755 in "A Letter from the Court of Siam" transl. by H. W. Codrington JCBRAS XXXVI Pt. III No. 99 (1945) pp.97-99. It is instructive to compare the presents to the G. G. with the presents sent for presentation to king Boromakot by G. G. van Imhoff in 1747.

It is pertinent to note that these and other lavish offerings were being made and expensive religious and cultural missions were being sent under the shadow of great losses and tragedies. (We have already noted some effects of the great flood of 1756). In 1752 after Vilbagedara and the Siamese monks had been forced to return to Ayutthia when the royal ship had proved to be unsuited for the voyage to Sri Lanka, King Boromakot, despite his own disappointment at the turn of events, encouraged the disheartened Vilbagedara saying that he would make further arrangements for the voyage. Shortly after that, however, greater disasters befell the kingdom. News was received that one of the King's ships bound for Sinnapattanam (Madras) with a valuable cargo, including elephants, had been wrecked in a storm and that only 7 or 8 of the crew had managed to escape in a boat. Close on its heels came the information that four other ships, all royal vessels, (as the context suggests) riding at anchor in the harbour of Mergui had been wrenched off their moorings in a storm and lost in the open sea. As if all that were not enough, the Crown Prince died only a few days later.

Vilbagedara says that at this point the King had sent word asking how he could consider sending monks from his kingdom under such circumstances. The Sinhalese envoy's reply was to the effect that he too was in great distress at the misfortunes that had occurred, but "that the uncertainty of the future, grief and death are nothing new in our world of sorrow" and that His Majesty should, therefore, hasten to fulfil his desire to spread the knowledge of the one thing that was beyond uncertainty, the doctrine of the Buddha. He buttressed his arguments further by extolling the power and glory of the Sri Lankan ruler to whose kingdom the monks were to be sent. King Boromakot's response was such that Vilbagedara was happy to think that he had won over the King to a more philosophic attitude towards the recent misfortunes, and, thereby, to a more favourable concern for the successful conclusion of his mission.[104]

The death of the Crown Prince, referred to a short while earlier, calls for some comment. The accounts of the Kandyan envoys indicate that this prince had been closely associated with the King's activities and, in particular Vilbagedara's account suggests that Boromakot was greatly affected by the death of this prince, and, furthermore, there is nothing there to indicate that death was due to anything but natural causes. In view of these circumstances and the fact that according to the evidence of Vilbagedara – which was contemporary – the Crown Prince's death occurred in the latter part of 1752 and not in April 1756 as the accepted view indicates, that view of his death under rather disreputable circumstances seems to require re-examination.[105]

104. See JCBRAS Vol. XVIII No. 54 pp. 43-44; CJHSS Vol. 2 No. 1 pp. 40-41

105. *Ibid. Of.* W. A R. Wood A *History of Siam From the Earliest Times to the Year* A D. 1781··· (Bangkok c 1924) p. 237; Shyamananda, p. 89.

Several of our documents also shed some light on the personality, as well as the administration, of King Boromakot. The Sinhalese accounts, besides indicating his graciousness, liberality and humanity, underline the piety of this ruler. The letter from the Praklang to the Chief Minister at Kandy serves to support that view still further. For instance, the three cloths sent as offerings for the Tooth Relic in Kandy are described as "made with gold thread set with gems by the royal hand of the great king Dharmmaka."[106]

From the evidence of our documents it is also apparent that the King had assigned much important day to day state activity to his chief ministers and other officials under them. He did not debase the aura of kingship by granting personal audience to every foreigner who came with the name of ambassador. Our evidence tends also to dispel the view emanating from the European records that it was easy to get to know what happened in court circles and that the Dutch Factors were almost on terms of familiarity with the highest officials in the kingdom. We have seen how the *Commissiant* Fek and Vilbagedara himself had audience only with the Praklang in 1747/48 and that too, apparently because Fek had given a show of being primarily involved in the Sinhalese mission seeking Ayutthian monks. Fek even claims that he had had to spend money to obtain an interview. As for the *Opperhoofd* Bang, we notice that his direct dealings are with an interpreter or some other minor officials rather than with the Praklang. In 1752 the Sinhalese ambassadors obtained audience with the monarch only because they had come with proper letters from King Kirti Sri Rajasimha, and during their embassy they also had contacts with many of the highest officials.

Although the Praklang and other principal officials had been delegated important powers and functions, it is apparent that King Boromakot had to be kept informed of all important matters and ultimate decisions regarding such matters undoubtedly rested with him. Thus it was that the king had had to be informed regarding the mishap near Ligor to the ship transporting monks to Sri Lanka, and his orders had had to be awaited regarding further action. Similarly, the loss of a royal trading vessel off the Indian coast and four other vessels in Mergui had all been reported to him as the overseas trading activity of the state appears to have been a vital concern of the Ayutthian ruler.[107]

In point of fact, the King's interest in economic activity appears to have been great and merits some further consideration. At the same time, however, it is useful to keep in mind the fact that not only many specific decisions, but even general policy must have been arrived at on the basis of

106. See n. 103 above
107. On the above see *CJHSS* Vol. 2 No. 1 pp.57ff.

information, and even the advice, received from his officials. The nature of several decisions which we come across would preclude arbitrary and uninformed action on his part, whatever the generally accepted view might be.

We have already noted quite early in this essay how and why King Boromakot appears to have prohibited foreign traders from buying certain goods except from four merchants appointed for the purpose. In October 1754, Bang had reported that the King's officials would not permit him to buy rice unless he paid the customary export duties. It would appear that until then the Company might have been exempted from the payment of such duties. This sudden action of the Court was in all probability a retaliatory action taken on receipt of news of the arrest, at Batavia, of the captain of a royal vessel a month or more earlier. In fact, the Governor – General and Council had themselves been perturbed at this action taken by their Commissioner for Maritime and Commercial Affairs because of possible repercussions and they had resolved in Council that in future no such action should be taken without their foreknowledge.[108] Then again, the King's action in 1756 prohibiting the supply of any rice to the V.O.C. had probably been, partly at least, in retaliation for the arrest and imprisonment at Batavia of the supercargo of one of his ships for alleged responsibility for the abduction or illegal transport of eight Batavians.[109]

Whatever may have been the motivation for the King's orders, the *Opperhoofd's* evidence, taken at its face value, indicates that these orders could not be subverted by bribing the Praklang or by other corrupt practices. This could also perhaps be taken as an index to the effectiveness of the king's authority even in the last years of his rule. In fact, even where the higher officials of the king were not involved and the dealings of the Dutch were only with the lesser officials and the suppliers, the impression one gets is that even in such cases, business was conducted in an orderly and, if need be, firm manner. We have seen that the number of rice suppliers appears to have been considerable and not confined to four big merchants or merchant-houses. Van der Stam had had to contract with several persons for his rice supplies in 1756 and he had told Bang that he could not take delivery until he had received the letter of authority *(permissie brief)* which alone would enable him to obtain supplies.[110]

On the question of trade, another important point to emphasise is the evidence that contradicts the generally held view that there was a steady decline in Dutch (and other European) trade with the kingdom from the beginning of the 18th century, and indeed that the trade appeared to be

108. (Secret Resolution of) 20 Aug. 1754, *Realia* III p.309
109. Secret Resolutions of 26-29 Aug. 1755, *Ibid* p. 204
110. Bang to Loten &C , 30 Nov 1756 S. L. N. A. 1/2067 unpag

of little importance.[111] We have noticed evidence to indicate that apart from the ships of the V.O.C., there were private Dutch ships belonging to non-officials and even officials of the Company. Bang's ship and the sloop encountered by the Sinhalese envoys at Malacca provide part of this evidence and a resolution of 10 July 1752 taken by the Batavian authorities adds to that evidence by pointing to the presence of private Dutch traders at Ligor too.[112] Moreover, the position of Ayutthia as an emporium of trade for the products of South and West Asia as well as East and Southeast Asia is apparent from the description of the numerous peoples whom the Sinhalese envoys encountered in the palace grounds of Ayutthia in 1751. Apart from the Europeans, consisting of Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Spaniards and Danes, the envoys mention having seen Chinese, Javanese, Malaccans and Pattanis as well as men from Ava and Pegu on the one hand and an amorphous group described as Moors as well as two groups of South Indians, two Indian mendicant-type groups and men from Delhi and Surat, on the other[113]. We may also recall in this connection Bang's reference to Portuguese – and Tamil-speaking people. The occasional glimpses of the activities of the royal Ayutthian merchant fleet (further glimpses of which will be given below) also testify to the great commercial activity of the kingdom.

There is a curious fact often associated with the royal ships which appears to have led to somewhat misdirected speculations or assumptions. The fact that many of the ships' captains happened to be foreigners and several of them Englishmen, led some writers to misconceive and exaggerate the role of foreigners, more particularly of Europeans, in Ayutthian navigation. For instance, Nunn would have us believe that it was the European merchant adventurer who saved the Ayutthians from despotic and irrational attitudes to commerce and enabled them to emerge from "the obscurity of a veiled Eastern existence."[114] Even a more recent writer, himself a respected Thai academic, appears to have been influenced by this view and suggests that it may have been the English who taught navigation to the Thais.[115] This, despite the fact that Chinese, Indian and Arab navigators had been frequenting Ayutthian ports both before and after the arrival of the Europeans. Some of them had even settled down in the kingdom and joined its merchant marine, which operated ships to various

111. *eg.* W. Nunn "Some Notes upon the development of the commerce of Siam" in *The Siam Society, Selected Articles from the Siam Society Journal* Vol. III (Bangkok 1959) p.220; John F. Cady, *Southeast Asia : Its Historical Development* (Mc Graw Hill 1964) p. 279; Shyamananda, p.84.

112. *Realia* III p 204

113. JCBRAS Vol. XVIII No.54 p.24

114. W. Nunn "Some Notes upon··· Siam" in *The Siam Society Selected Articles* ···, Vol III p.226.

115. Shyamananda, p75. But this same author had earlier noted(p.66) the high'y significant voyages of Siamese ships to Japan, around the third decade of the 17th century.

parts of Southeast Asia and even across the Bay of Bengal. Perhaps, even more siginificant is the fact that the rather far-flung conquests of Ayutthia during earlier periods of its history, particularly along the Malay Peninsula, could not have been achieved or maintained without the aid of ocean-going vessels, and still more significant could be the long voyages to Japan early in the 17th century though they operated only for a few years.

The real role of European sea-captains in Ayutthian trading vessels has to be sought not so much in the lack of Ayutthian or non-European navigators, but in the fact of coercive European political and naval power in key areas of the Indian Ocean. On account of this reason, Asian merchants had often had to resort to shipping their merchandise in vessels flying European flags[116]–particularly those of the more powerful maritime nations – which in the mid-18th century were those of the English, the French and the Dutch. Where, as in the case of Ayutthia, a ruler engaged in commerce did not wish to compromise his sovereignty too much by seeking the protection of a foreign flag, his ships could ensure some degree of protection by obtaining passes of navigation from the relevant European power and enhance that protection by employing as Captains (or other principal ships' officers) subjects of a powerful European nation. This latter expedient might even enable those ships to trade in certain areas not covered by passes, though at some risk. Such captains, because of the prestige, and the potential backing, of their nationality would not usually be harassed or trifled with by the agents of any European power in Asia so readily as in regard to an Asian skipper. In fact, they and, therefore, their ships would receive the greatest consideration possible under the circumstances. Moreover, such European skippers would also have the advantage of cultural affinity and greater linguistic and other knowledge, for dealing more successfully with officials of another European nation.[117]

116. See K. N. Chadhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760* (New Delhi/London 1978) p.119. Chaudhri's example relates to merchants of Bengal shipping merchandise in vessels flying European flags in order to avoid any Dutch embargo. For an example of merchants on the other side of the subcontinent using this device, see K.A. 1500 f. 1404 for news of 8 ships of Surat having been despatched to Bengal "by the Moors, under English flags."

117. As examples, we could note the following: Cotton piece-goods constituted one of the items regarding which the Dutch attempted to exercise strict monopoly rights in the Sri Lankan waters. In 1703 a vessel belonging to a Muslim merchant was found to have 21 undeclared packs of Surat cloth when its pass from the Dutch *Commandeur* at Cochin stated that it was sailing without any goods, for southern Choromandel via Sri Lanka. Though the Dutch fiscal officer at Colombo made a move to confiscate the cloths, Governor and Council did not permit it. The reason appears to have been the fact that the ship was being navigated by an Englishman (K. A. 1500 f.1404). The second example is perhaps even more instructive, and it relates to another article of contraband, cinnamon. In 1705/06 two ships were caught with cinnamon in them. In the case of an English sloop (*Den Vliegenden Tijd*, according to KA 1605-f.191) commanded by an Englishman named William Cawley all that the Dutch did was to make a futile complaint to Madras. But in the case of a Bengal vessel called *Lechima Varsal* goods were not only confiscated, but the crew-members who were held responsible for the smuggling were corporally punished, though the Dutch officials declared that they had deserved the death penalty. The lesson to be noted from this contrasting treatment is not erased by the fact that the strength of Mughal land-power in Bengal ultimately forced the Dutch to restore the confiscated goods. K. A. 1608 (Bd. 1)f. 288.

Under these conditions it was natural that Ayutthian vessels engaged in overseas trade should tend to have European skippers (or may be even some other ship's officers). That these were, for the most part, Englishmen was also to be expected in view of certain historical developments and special circumstances confronting Siamese commerce. Of all the European nations, the Dutch had maintained the steadiest contact and trade with Ayutthia. At the same time, their efforts to monopolise aspects of Ayutthian commerce and frequent quarrels leading, sometimes, to serious conflict, had made them out to be the biggest potential maritime threat to the kingdom. The situation was aggravated by the Dutch at Malacca, hindering, or even totally preventing, trading vessels from the Indian coasts and from parts of the Malay Peninsula as well as from China, coming to trade in Ayutthia.[118] In addition, the V.O.C. and Ayutthia were active rivals in the trade in elephants with India, the V.O.C. being keen on a monopoly for its elephant exports from Sri Lanka. Moreover, the Dutch were more strict than the English and other European nations with regard to regulatinns (and their enforcement) prohibiting their nationals from taking service under any other nation"[119] In these circumstances, it was natural for Ayutthia to look for skippers for its ships from among the English, who were active in the so-called countty trade, and whose prestige as a nation had begun to eclipse that of the Dutch. Another potent factor in the situation must have been the fact that Ayutthian elephants found their market at the English possession of Madras, from where in return a certain amount of the much-valued Coromandel cloth is likely to have been obtained for Ayutthia. Thus although the English employed on Ayutthian ships were not servants of the English East India Company, they must have had a good measure of backing from the Company's officials not only because they were compatriots but also because there were certain tangible benefits arising from the Ayutthian trade.

In the way in which the Dutch authorities handled the problem of the Ayutthian vessel involved in the illegal removal of eight persons from Batavia in August 1755 there appears to be some indication of their reluctance to take firm action against an English skipper through fear of possible repercussions not only at the Siamese Court but also perhaps with the English Company. The original decision of the Batavian authorities had been to hold the captain of the vessel, George Pant, responsible for the illegal action. But the ultimate decision was to consider the supercargo (who

118. Some clear evidence of this is furnished by the Batavian resolutions taken in 1759, the year after King Boromakot's death. (Their implications are valid for his reign too). That of 16th March says that the King of Palembang may be granted a pass to send a vessel to Johore and Siam (*Realia* II p. 19); and that of 1st May says that any navigation via Malacca towards India will in no way be permitted (*Realia* III, *p.* 204).

119. See XVII to G.G. & C. 24 July 1704, *Hoge Regeering* 517 f.60 in *Algemeen Rijksarchief* at the Hague.

was apparently not an European, as his name is not given) more culpable, to keep him under arrest, and to frame charges against him. As regards the captain, Pant, the decision was merely to get the Dutch Resident in Ayutthia to request the Siamese authorities to hand him over to the Dutch for legal action. It may be surmised that by making such a request they could avoid the problem altogether if the request was refused, and if it was granted, part of the onus for Dutch action could be placed on the Ayutthian Court.[120]

From much of the foregoing it should be apparent that the problems relating to trade that arose in king Boromakot's reign between him and the Dutch did not really arise on account of his or his officials' irrational or arbitrary actions. Regulations to conduct the foreign trade of the kingdom did not mean the creation of an unintelligent royal monopoly or the engrossing of all trade, as generally assumed, but rather it appears to have been an attempt to obtain the most favourable trading terms for the kingdom and its people, according to the understanding of the king and his officials. The evidence relating to the extensive trade and the great prosperity of the kingdom suggest that the policies pursued had been beneficial.

Given the nature of Dutch monopoly policies and the rather self-righteous and arrogant attitudes displayed – in common with other European powers – towards Asian rulers and people, it is not surprising to find all the blame for what the V.O.C. considered to be unsatisfactory conditions of trade, laid at the door of the Ayutthian King and his officials. We have already seen how unscrupulously Governor-General Van Imhoff (and his Council) subverted the purposes of the Kandyan mission to Siam in 1747 in order to further Dutch objectives. But except on rare occasions when the true policies and actions are laid bare in secret letters, the general impression one gets at first sight from the V.O.C. records is that of a great mercantile organization pursuing honest profit, frustrated and harassed at every turn by the arbitrary, irrational, dishonest and corrupt actions of indigenous rulers and officials. The impression thus created is so overwhelming that one wonders how any significant commercial activity could even survive in such a kingdom, let alone create the kind of prosperity which left the Sinhalese envoys almost without words to describe it.

It is the "Orientalism" which Said[121] illustrates in relation to "Islamic Asia" at a somewhat later date that one generally encounters in 17th and 18th century European reportage relating to the Ayutthian Kingdom (and

120. *Realia* III, p. 204, Sea also n. 117 above.

121. Said, *op. cit* p. 259 refers to the Orientalists' assertion of "the Oriental's fundamental incapacity for trade, commerce, and economic rationality", and that is precisely the type of assertion that we encounter in the reportage of the period under review.

indeed other Asian kingdoms too). On that basis is built up the persisting Orientalism in the 20th century which enables a Cady, for example, to say in respect of 18th century Ayutthia:

> "... commercial intercourse under the royal monopoly was becoming increasingly difficult. The suspicion of European traders in particular outweighed the court's interest in either bribes or imported luxuries."[122]

We have already noted something of the nature of the royal monopoly and that it did not cover all articles of trade and also that commercial intercourse appears to have increased during this reign. As for the suspicion of European traders, it could not have been the result of irrational xenophobia; because, throughout the periods of European contact, there is evidence of warm welcome to European traders as long as they conducted their affairs relating to the kingdom with honesty, and peacefully. The manner in which throughout Thai history foreigners of every hue or religion (who seemed to be deserving) have been admitted to very high official position and even into the ranks of nobility, stands in stark contrast to the xenophobia of European opinion at the time towards non-white or non-Christian. Where European traders appear to have been suspected, it was often for very good reasons, as we have already noted.

As for the Court's alleged interest in imported luxuries, it is difficult to assess from the data of our documents, how important that was. But on the only occasions when we find mention of Ayutthian imports in Boromakot's reign, they relate to textiles. We have already seen how in 1747 the Company owed the King some 1076 textile items. The second reference is provided by a Batavian resolution of 8th April 1755[123] whereby it was decided to supply only a fourth part of the cloths ordered by the King and that too provided the Company could obtain at least 20 to 25 per cent, profits on it. Incidentally, the decision to supply only a quarter of the demand might imply a shortage of supplies at Batavia or more likely a fear lest Siamese re-exports along the Malayan coasts might spoil the markets there for the Dutch. However that may be, we notice that in both instances the Ayutthian demand was for textiles and the quantities involved suggest that the interest was not primarily in luxury cloths. In fact, the evidence relating to the very early 18th century which we have cited above indicates that the bulk of the textiles was not of any luxury nature.[124] Finally, we have to note in this connection that the Orientalist image required that the Asian ruler should appear to be a despot wallowing in unsatiated luxury based on ruthless exploitation of his subjects.

122. *op. cit.* p. 279
123. *Realia* III, p. 204
124. See n. 6 above

On the allegation of bribery (and corruption) put forward by Cady, there appears to be frequent reference to it in the Dutch Company's documents, and it was a regular charge in European records against all Asian rulers and their officials. There is no doubt that like in all states, both in the East and in the West, there must have been the evils of bribery and corruption in the Ayutthian kingdom, just as much as King Boromakot like all other rulers must have enjoyed certain luxuries of kingship. But there is always the question of the extent to which these things are carried, and the evidence at our disposal does not make possible an examination of that aspect. On the other hand, however, there is good reason to doubt the veracity of many, if not most, of the charges of bribery and corruption levelled at the King and his officials in these records. In that connection, we have to note that dishonest practices were part and parcel of the day to day life of V.O.C. employees and defrauding their own paymaster was not the least of those practices.[125] In fact, to claim reimbursement of bribes that had *never* been given to Asian rulers or officials must have been one of the easiest frauds to practise on the Company.

We have already seen from the evidence of Vilbagedara how Nicholas Bang, the Chief of the Dutch comptoir at Ayutthia was a joint owner of a private trading vessel. That was an obvious contravention of the Company's regulations against private trade by its employees. It also gives us room to think that or instance, the rice that was not available for the Company's ships might have been available for his own vessel. Moreover, we find that, so far as the official records went, Bang had successfully masked his interest in the ship, it being described by Governor-General and Council in a letter of December 1753 to the Directors as a vessel belonging to a Dutchman who was not in the employ of the Company.[125a]

The credit-worthiness of the European complaints regarding bribery and corruption in Ayutthia can also be tested against the experience of the Sinhalese envoys. In their reports, there is not the slightest hint of any necessity to bribe anyone. On the contrary, they were overwhelmed by the largesse of the king's officials – doubtless on royal instructions. Not only were lavish food provisions and sumptuous repasts provided for them, they were also presented with many articles to serve them as offerings to temples and monks. That was not all. Very substanial sums of money (amounting in *ticals* to well over 600 rix-dollars) had also been presented to them for utilisation as they pleased.[126] This information is quite a contrast to the claim made by the Dutch envoy Fek who said that he had had to disburse over 800 rix-dollars merely to obtain an audience with the Praklang and, what

125. For a valuable and sparkling discussion of this subject, see C. R. Boxer. *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600 - 1800* (Pelican Books 1973) pp. 225-30.
125a. K. A. 2700 (Bd. 2) f 525
126. *CJHSS*, Vol. 2 (1959) pp. 59-83

is more, we saw that Fek made it a point to mention that most of that money had been spent out of his own pocket and thus not out of the Company's funds entrusted to him. All this evidence strengthens the argument for doubting the veracity of much of the complaints made against the Ayutthian state.

On the other hand, if there happened to be even some element of truth in the complaints, there is a case for considering that situation to have been created very much by the Company itself. This is because apart from any propensity on the part of its employees to involve themselves in corrupt practices, the V.O.C. authorities themselves encouraged their subordinates to engage in all manner of underhand activities, as we have already seen, for example, in regard to the mission entrusted to Fek in 1747. Some forty years earlier, also in relation to Siam (but before Boromakot's reign) we find Governor-General and Council instructing another envoy to contrive by covert methods the re-establishment of the comptoirs at Ayutthia and Ligor.[127]

Unless we note this kind of information and examine their implications we are left with an entirely false and puzzling picture of a reign such as that of King Boromakot's – puzzling, because it is difficult to reconcile traditional accounts of a Golden Age supported by outside testimony of great peace and prosperty, on the one hand, with European records depicting rampant bribery and corruption, arbitary and rapacious adminstration and utter irrationality in economic affairs, on the other. Fortunately, to clinch our arguments as it were, it is possible to adduce one of those all too rare outbursts on the part of the Directors of the V.O.C., when, their patience exhausted and their hopes of high profits frustrated by the dishonesty and inefficiency of their employees, they review some of the Company's dealings in Asia with an extraordinary dispassionateness and reveal the sordid truths about their employees' conduct which they had discovered but had tried to live with – probably in the vain hope that the Company's profits would yet be satisfactory enough.

The observations of the Directors *(Heeren XVII)* of the Company are particularly relevant to Ayutthia in the time of King Boromakot as they occur in the section on Siam in their letter of 25th August 1740 to the Governor-General and Council at Batavia.[128] On account of their impor-

127. Secret Resolution of 6th April 1706, *Realia* III, p. 203. For an example emanating from the highest authority, and relating to Sri Lanka, see the instructions of *Heeren XVII* to G. G. & C. in letter of 17 July 1722 asking them to see that textiles were sold to the Kandyans surreptitiously, if it could not be done with the King's consent. (*Hoge Regeering* 517 f .92 in *Algemeen Rijksarchief.*)

128. *S. L. N. A.* 1/813 unpag.

tance and significance for our discussion the relevant paragraphs are given below *in extenso*:

> "The complaints of the servants [of the Company] over the rapacity [*vinneschuijkhijt*] of the native rulers – and if it is not the ruler himself, then it is the Berquilang or the Governor–are so manifold that if one could believe them one ought not to hesitate at all to completely give up the navigation and commerce with Siam and Japan, Persia and other comptoirs of the East, *(Indien)* where also it happens to be so; as one has already been forced to do with Mocha. But as against that when one sees what our saintly servants of the Company also do, on their part– how on Sumatra only a few years ago they have helped themselves with salt measures provided with double bottoms and grooves, [*croos*] taking away the upper bottom when they receive salt from the natives, and putting it back when they [themselves] have to measure it out; how in various parts of the East, and in this [kingdom of] Siam itself, false weights have been used, apart from many other such tricks, which (in so far as they have come to our knowledge) have been enumerated in more detail... [elsewhere] - [when one sees all this,] one could well imagine and believe that most of the problems and disputes have been caused by the Company's servants themselves.
>
> We should like to have such persons just asked whether in such a case the Europeans would have been better or milder [in their reactions], and whether by this manner of conduct the Company must not necessarily lose all honour and respect amongst those Princes, however intractable they may be depicted to be; and whether, indeed, the Company's servants have not, from time to time, been the cause of all the quarrels and troubles which one has so often in the letters laid at the door of the said Princes?".

A Merchant Story

"Good people, whose passion for their bodies has been washed off with the water of compassion, abandon even (these) wretched bodies as they would dry grass, to extinguish the flaming misfortunes of the world: but those whose minds cling, do not."

It is in illustration of this thematic statement that the story of a sea-faring merchant, the *Sārthavāha-jātaka*, is related. This Jātaka is the second tale occurring on folios 14a-22a of the so-called *Avadānasārasamuccaya* (Ms. Add. 1598) preserved in the Cambridge University Library[2]. The story is also found on folios 171a-176a of the *Jātakamālāvadānasūtra* (Ms. No. 139) kept in the Tokyo University Library.[3] The colophon of this text indicates that it is the thirty-sixth story of a *Jātakamālā*.[4] It is similarly described as the thirty-sixth story in the colophon[5] of the text contained on folios 199b-205b of a manuscript kept in the Ryukoku University in Japan, reference to which is made by Ariyoshi Sanada in *Ōtani tanken taishōrai: Bonbun butten shinyō* (results of the Ōtant expedition: Materials for Buddhist literature in the Sanskrit language)[6]. The *Jātakamālāprakriyā* of the National Archives, Kathmandu, filmed as B 9713 under the German-Nepalese manuscript preservation project, contains the *Sārthavāha-jātaka* described again as a thirty-sixth story,[7] on folios 91b-94a.[8] The text of the story contained in these four manuscripts hereafter referred to as A, B, C, and D respectively, is the same except for a few variants. Written in a mixture of ornate prose and verse, the

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1. *jarattṛṇaṁiva śarīrakāṇy api*
   tyajanti santo na ca liṅgamānasāḥ
   kṛpājalakṣālitadehamatsarā
   jagadvipatti valanopaśāntaye (Sārthavāha — jātaka vs. 1)
2. C. Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library*, Cambridge, Cambridge 1838, pp 134-5; Bendall lists the jataka as the first tale here It was similarly noted under story no. 1 in a brief summary of the contents of this ms. in The *Avadānasārasamuccaya* by Ratna Handurukande in *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Cultural* Volume I, edited by Perala Ratnam, April 1972. Folio No 13 containing the colophon of the preceding story, the *Ṛṣipañcaka-jātaka*, and the beginning of the *Sārhtavāha-jātaka* was missing in the manuscript. Consequently the first story of the collection could not be identified.
3. S. Matsunami, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*. Tokyo 1965 pp 58,229. Matsunami gives a wrong name, *Arthavāha-jātaka*, in his enumeration of the titles of the collection on p. 229.
4. *iti Śrīvātakamālāyāṁ Sārthavāhajātakam sattriṁśattamam samāptam.*
5. *iti Sārthavāhajātakam sattriṁśattamam*
6. *Chūoajia Kodaigo bunken. Seiiki bunka Kenkyu daiyon* (Literature on the Central Asian languages of the old ages. *Seiiki Studies pertaining to Culture*) Nr. 4. 1961.
7. *iti Śrījātakamālāyāṁ Sārthavāhajātakam sattriṁśattamam samāptam*
8. The variants from this manuscript were sent to me by Prof. Michael Hahn

Sārthavāha-jātaka contains sixty-one verses. A fully metrical version of the story occurs on folios 21a–27a of the *smabhadrāvadānamālā* (Ms. No. 429) kept in the Tokyo University Library.[9] This version, the *Sārthavāhajanmāvadānaparivarta* consisting of 164 verses, referred to as E in this paper, forms the fourth chapter of the *avadānamālā*. Here, the *Sārthavāha* story is presented as being related by the Elder Upagupta to King Aśoka. Verses 2–59 of the *Sārthavāha* text of A, B, C and D are quoted in E, the *avadānamāla* text. The variant readings of E differ notably from those of A, B, C and D. The author of the text is not named in any of the manuscripts. The possibility of Gopadatta. author of the *saptakumārikāvadāna*, being the author of this legend as well, has been suggested by Michael Hahn in his paper on Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta, two authors in the succession of Āryasūra *(Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series I* Tokyo, The Reiyukai Library 1977, p. 16).

The full text of the *Sārthavāha-jātaka* is currently being prepared by the present writer to form a part of a proposed edition and an English translation of the first five stories of the *Avadānasarasāmuccaya*. The *Sambhadrāvadānamālā* version will be appended to this edition. The following abstract of the *Sārthavāha* story is based on this edition.[10]

'Though the Blessed One, as a bodhisattva,....had, furthermore, the power to attract the splendour of wealth by merely wishing for it, because of the equipment of merit he had accumulated, and was endowed with means of abundant wealth, (He) went to the great ocean, accompanied by voyaging merchants travelling in agreement, with the sole intention of affording protection from distress to those who had taken to the seas.[11]

Then the merchants gradually entered the ocean, which had long rows of crevices, fearful with croondiles, and an edge bright with foam, scattered on account of its shelter being shaken by the tide.[12]. In a moment, whether because of their deeds dreadful at their ripening, or as the course of nature would have it, the sea became even more violent than it would during the age of destruction, seizing their hearts (with

9. Matsunami, *op. cit.* pp 152, 236

10. My thanks are due to Professors J. W. de Jong, Michael Hahn and Ranjini Obeysekere for suggestions relating to the text and translation quoted in this article.

11. *Bodhisattvabhūtaḥ kila bhagavān . . . samupacitapuṇyā-sambhārataya cābhiprāyamātreṇāpidravinavibhūtyākarsanaprabhuḥ prabhūtavittopakarano 'pi san kevalam udadhigata jagadvyasanaparitrāṇāyaiva samketapracārasāmyātrikaparivrto mahāsamudram upajagām*

12. *athāvagāḍhāḥ payasāṃ nidhānam*
*kumbhīrabhīmāyatapaṅktirandhram**
velācalopaghnaviśīrnaphena-
sitāntalekham vanilaḥ kramena (zs. 2)
* *Sic E. BCD gambhi, verse missing in A*

fright).[13] Seeing that ocean, which swallowed as it were the sky along with the sun, the moon and the stars, with its waves as high as mountains, cleft asunder by the force of the winds, they, one and all, miserable at heart, were full of anxiety indeed, because of the danger to their lives.[14] Their faces bereft of lustre, they paid obeisance to the *Bodhisattva*, as they went deep into the ocean, which was fearful, affording no protection.[15] Looking up at the *Bodhisattva*, they spoke to him in this manner, stammering in a sad voice.[16] "You are our refuge from misfortune. Therefore O Most Honourable One, save us, who lie in the belly of Death, from danger, like a father showing compassion to his sons.[17] It is not right to delay now, O Lord. This ship beaten by the water will crumble to pieces. O Heroic One, these large fish, their eyes as red as polished *guñja* fruits, dart to and fro on all sides."[18]

Then that Great Being spoke, consoling those friends.[19] "Oceans do not live with the dead. This indeed is ever known of them. Therefore, may you good sirs cross the ocean, so hard to cross, taking recourse to my dead body.[20] If I do not use this body to gain virtue of this sort,

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13. *tatkarmabhir vā parināmaraudraiḥ*
svabhāvato vāmbunidhiḥ kṣaṇena
paryādadāno hṛdayāni teṣām
samvartakālādhikadāruṇo 'bhūt (*vs.* 3)

14. *anilabalavibhaktaiḥ śailatuṅgais taraṃgair*
nabha iva nigirantaṃ sārkanakṣatraccandraṃ
taṃ udadhim avalokya prāṇasaṃdehadolāṃ
kṛpaṇakamanasas te sarva evādhirūḍhāḥ (*vs.* 7)

15 *jalanidhim avagāḍhās te nirākrandabhīmaṃ*
muṣitavadanaśobhā bodhisattvaṃ praṇamuḥ (*vs.* 9 *cd*)

16. *ity uccūr āgadgadaślokanthāḥ*
taṃ bodhisattvaṃ samudīkṣamāṇāḥ (*vs.* 10 *cd*)

17. *pīteva putrān anukaṃpamānas*
tan no bhayān mṛtyukarodarasthān
vimocayāsmān paramāryasattva
tvan naḥ parītrāṇam upadravebhyaḥ (*vs.* 14)

18. *vilambituṃ nātha na yujyate 'dhunā*
vibīryate naur iyam ambutāḍitā
sphurantya amī vīrasamantato jhaṣāḥ
pramṛṣṭaguñjāphalaraktalocanāḥ (*vs.* 19)

19. *Atha sa mahātmā ·· tān sahāyān āśvāsayann abravīt*

20. *mṛtena sārdhaṃ na vasanti sāgarāḥ*
*prasiddhir eṣām iyam eva śāśvatī**
ato mamāśritya mṛtaṃ kaḍevaraṃ
taranta santo 'mbudhiṃ sudustaraṃ (*vs* 20)

*Ao vatam BC °vatiṃ

which yields incomparable happiness, of what use is this carcass, shunned and feeble, so like a bubble in the ocean whirled by the wind?"[21]

Then those people···worshipped that Great Being with all their limbs (laid prostrate), embracing his feet, and spoke as follows.[22] "All of us would readily go to death right here in the great ocean, but we are unable to do this ignoble deed (of letting you die).[23] What is the use of wealth or life here, seeing the destruction of an excellent friend like this, very rare to find? Therefore, O Strong-minded One, refrain from this rashness."[24]

Then the *Bodhisattva* spoke as follows, pacifying those friends as if sprinkling them with the ambrosial waters of compassion mixed with contentment.[25] "If you have any feeling of faultless friendship and affection towards me, then it is not right that you sirs should obstruct an act of virtue that has fame as its ornament.[26] If I do not rescue you from this ocean so hard to cross, how can I save the world from the ocean of *saṃsāra* (existence)?[27] After using my body to bring about the happiness of protecting you sirs, I shall certainly gain a body of virtue, which cannot be broken asunder, cut up or carried away, imperishable, unscarred

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21. *evaṃvidhe yadi na kāyam imam prayokṣye*
puṇyāgame nirupamāna sukhānubandhe
ko 'rtho 'munā parihṛtena kadevareṇa
*vātāhatāmbunidh ibudbudadurbalena*** (*vs.* 27)
** mss. °dhivurvuda°

22. *Atha te puruṣās ··· taṃ mahāsattvaṃ ··· pādayoḥ*
samparisvajya praṇamya ca sarvāṅgair ity avadan.

23. *kāmaṃ nidhanam atraiva sarve vayaṃ mahodadhau**
yāsyāmo na tu śakyāmaḥ kartuṃ etad anāryakaṃ (*vs.* 32)
*ABC *kāmaṃ atraiva nidhanaṃ sarva eva mahodadhau*

24. *evaṃvidhasya vyasanāni dṛṣṭvā*
suhṛdviśeṣasya sudurlabhasya
prāṇair dhanair vā kim ihāsti kṛtyaṃ
tat sāhasād vāraya dhṛtceitaḥ (*vs.* 33)

25. *Atha bodhisattvaḥ ··· samanveṣyaṃs tān sahāyakān*
anukampāmṛtavāribhiḥ siñcann iva tṛptivisaṅgair ity abravīt.

26. *sauhārdaviśrambhaniratayā vo*
yady asti kā cin mayi cittavṛttiḥ
na kartuṃ arhanti tato bhavanto
dharmasya kīrtyābharaṇasya vighnaṃ (*vs.* 40)

27. *yadi nābhyuddariṣyāmi yuṣmān asmād duruttarāt*
katham uttārayiṣyāmi lokaṃ saṃsārasāgarāt (*vs.* 44)

and unsurpassed.[28] Sirs, setting aside confusion, lay hold of my dead body, as you would a raft: clinging to one another, arrive at a spot in (any) direction, led by the speed of the water or by the wind; supporting yourselves with leaves, roots, fruits, water and such like, unfailing in your friendship towards one another, depending on deeds done by yourselves, and contemplating the nature of the world, await the result of your actions." The *Bodhisattva* spoke thus and remained closely attentive for a moment.[29]

Though restrained by a hundred friends, with tears streaming from the corners of their eyes, the Righteous One gave up concern for his own body, distressed as he was by the misfortunes of the people.[30]

The *Bodhisattva*, the Great Being, strengthened his vow to (achieve) peace for all beings, in this manner.[31]

"May I, through this virtuous deed, rescue all helpless beings immersed in the ocean of existence, which has delusion as its whirpool, death as a sea-monster, conceit as the stones in it, desire as its water, and anger as a creeping serpent, which is turbid with passion, and is shaken by the wind of sorrow."[32]

Having thus made an unshakable vow, he whose mind was as firm as iron, gave up concern for his own body, though it had been acquired through a hundred good deeds, and delighted in mind, he split open his

28. *bhavatparitrāṇamaye sukhodaye*
niyojya kāyaṃ niyataṃ mayāpsyate*
abhedyam acchedyam ahāryam avyayam
*niruttaraṃ** dharmaśarīraṃ avraṇaṃ* (*vs.* 47)
**mss. kāmaṃ* ***D* °*ttamaṃ*

29. *Gataviklavā bhavanto madīyaṃ udgataprāṇaṃ śarīraplavaṃ ivālambyān yonyasaṃsaktikayā varivegavaśena yena vātena vā digbhāgena sthalaṃ upagamya parṇamūlaphalajaladibhir yapayantaḥ parasparaṃ avipannasauhṛdāḥ karmasvakatūvalambino lokasvabhavaṃ aveksamānā vinītavivādaśokadainyāḥ kāryāvsaānaṃ āgamayata. Ity uktvā bodhisattvo muhūrtaṃ ekāgramano babhūva.*

30. *nivāryamāṇo 'pi śataiḥ suhṛdbhir*
bāṣpāmbuvisyandivilocanāntaiḥ
sādhuḥ svadehasrayaṇīṃ apekṣām*
tatyāja lokavyasanopataptaḥ (*vs.* 49)
**mss. sādhu*

31. *Bodhisattvo 'pi mahāsattva iti pranidhim upahrmhayām āsa*
śāntaye sarvasatvānām.

32. *mohāvarte maraṇamakare mānapāśānagarbhe*
tṛṣṇātoye madanakaluṣe krodhasaṃsarpisarpe
magnaṃ lokaṃ bhavajalanidhau śokavātāvadhūte
puṇyād aśmād aham aśaraṇaṃ kṛtsnaṃ uttārayeyam (*vs.* 52)

own belly with a knife, in order to rescue living beings, his heart perturbed by their pains and sorrows.[33] Then were heard the auspicious words of the gods, the *vidyādharas*, the *yakṣas* and the *rākṣasas* as follows. "His beautiful and charming body, full of virtue, is destroyed."[34]

That body of that Lord, pleasing though bereft of life, lovely in colour like polished gold, lay radiant as though held with delight by the goddess of fortune.[35] Then they, the corners of whose eyes were red through the shedding of tears, clung to his body as they would to a raft, and by taking resort to the strength of his vow alone, crossed that ocean with its circles of waves struck by the claws of sea-monsters.[36]

Thus did that Blessed One, whose pure thoughts were filled with compassion, do what was very hard to be done, for the well-being of the world. Therefore, make your minds serene with regard to him, the kinsman of the world, the victorious one, the unique hero, engaged in helping all beings.[37]

The *Sārthavāha* story outlined above deserves comparison with the story said to have been related by the Blessed One with reference to the five Bhadravargika/Bhadravargiya monks *(pañckānām bhadravargiakānam, jātakam)*, recorded in the *Mahāvstu Avadāna*,[38] the bare content of which is as follows. The monks spoke to the Blessed One and made a statement

33. *evan kṛtvā pranidhim aclam sādṛisārasthirātmā*
tyaktāpekṣaḥ sucaritaśatopārjite 'pi svadehe
nistrimśena pramuditamanāḥ pātayām āsa kuksim
svām śokārtivyathitahṛdayaḥ prāninām tāranāya (vs 53)

34. *atha śuśruvire girah subhāh*
suravidyadharayakṣaraksasām
iti citramanoharāśrayāh
patitās tasya gunopasamhitāh (vs.54)

35. *lakṣmyā samālabdham iva prakāmam*
pramṛstacāmīkaracāruvarnam
samudgataprānam api prasannam
rarāja tat tasya vibhoh sarīram (vs. 58)

36. *ālambya plavam iva te 'tha taccharīram*
bāṣpāmbuvyati karapātalāntanetrāh
utterur makarakarakṣatormicakram
tasyaiva pranidhibalāśrayāt samudram (vs. 59)

37. *tad evam atiduṣkarāni bhagavān asau bhūtaye*
cakāra jagatām kṛpāparigatāmalādhyāsayah
prasādayata tatra mānasam ato jagadbāndhave
samagrabhuvanopakārakaranaikavīre jine (vs. 60)

38. Le Mahāvastu, Texte Sanscrit publiē pour la premiere foi set accompagnè d' introductions et d'un commentaire, par E. Senart, Tome troisieme, Paris MD CCC XCV II, pp. 353-356

obviously in admiration, about the incident of his rescuing the five Bhadravargiya monks, who were followers of heretics, from the ocean of existence *(saṃsāra)* and establishing them in the safe land *(kṣemasthala)* of *nirvāna*. The Blessed One said that it was not only then that he rescued the five Bhadravargika monks, but that on a previous occasion too, he had sacrificed himself and saved them from (being drowned in) the ocean, when they were helpless, their ship being wrecked at sea. As the monks were curious to hear of that other instance, the Blessed One related the past story.

In the past, some merchants went out to the great ocean, by ship, to earn wealth. Their ship, attacked by a monstrous fish *(makara)* was wrecked. The merchants swam for sometime. There were five merchants near the leader, who himself was keeping afloat by swimming. However, it occurred to the leader that they would not be able to cross the ocean in that manner. He realised that death was imminent for all of them. Then, recalling an old saying that 'the ocean does not spend a night with a dead body' *(śrutaṃ ca me mahāsamudro mṛtakuṇapena sārdhaṃ rātriṃ na prativasati)*, he decided to sacrifice himself and save the five merchants. He asked the five merchants to cling to his body, and then he cut his neck with a knife, which he happened to have with him. The dead body, with the merchants laying hold of it. reached the shore in the course of the night. The great earth trembled at this time and there was a big noise The *devas*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas* and the *asuras* made inquiries as to what was happening in the great ocean. The deity presiding over the great ocean responded by reporting the incident and exclaiming that the *'Bodhisattvas*, doers of that which is difficult to be done, are bent upon helping all beings' *(duṣkarakāraka bodhisattvā [h] sarvasattvānām anugrahapravṛttā.)*

The prose section of the *Mahāvastu*, giving the above account, is followed by a set of fifteen verses bearing the same content. The story ends with the Blessed One identifying the leader of the merchants as himself and the five merchants, who were saved, as the five Bhadravargika monks.

Rajendralala Mitra gives a synopsis of the same *Jātaka*, as occuring in a manuscript of the *Mahāvastu Avadāna* kept in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta,[39] which differs from the version given in Senart's edition in matters of detail only. I quote Mitra:

"The Bhikshus enquired how it was that the five men of respectable antecedents, who were the followers of *Tīrthikas* and were therefore ill-disposed to the Lord's creed, were so easily converted. It was an indication of very great sagacity in the Lord that he made them his

39. *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta 1882, p. 159

staunchest adherents first of all. In one of their previous existences, they were cast into the sea together with the Lord, who was the captain of the merchantmen. They were all floating on the raging surge without the faintest hope of being wafted to firm land. On a sudden they found the captain, whom they all implored to save them. Equally distressed with the rest, the captain happened to remember an old saying, that the sea never drowns a corpse. He instantly commanded them to lay fast hold of him, which they did. He drew out a knife and plunged it in his breast. With his dead body, they all were thrown upon the shore."

The most notable difference between the *Sārthavāha-Jātaka* and the *Mahāvastu* version is the absence of the *nidānkathā*, the incident leading to the narration of the story in the former, and of course, the consequent identification of characters at the end of the story. The points of detail in which the version of the *Mahāvastu* in Senart's edition (A), and that in the manuscript, the content of which is reported by Mitra (B) differ, which interest us in relation to the *Sārthavāha-Jātaka* are as follows. 1) The leader of the merchants decides to save the merchants on his own accord in A, while the merchants implore the leader to save them in B, as they do in the *Sārthavāha-Jātaka* as well (vss. 11-19. 2) The leader of the merchants cuts his neck with a knife in A *(sārthavāhena śastrena svagalakam vikartitam)*, while he plunges his knife in his breast in B. The mode of killing himself adopted by the hero of our text, the *Sārthavāha-Jātaka*, is that of splitting his own belly with a knife (53c: *nistrimśena pramuditamanāh pātayām āsa kuksim*). The number of merchants saved is nowhere mentioned as five in the *Sārthavāha-Jātaka*. A hundred, presumably a figure given here to denote a large number, are referred to in verse 49. It is probable that the original version of the legend referred to many merchants being saved by the *Bodhisattva*, and that the redactors of the *Mahāvastu* limited the number to five to suit their purpose in introducing the story in a particular context.

It may be noted here that the *Sambhadrāvadānamālā* version of the story also describes the circumstance leading to the narration of the story, which description is substantially the same as that given in the *Mahāvastu* versions. The *Sambhadrāvadānamālā* presents the story in the form of a dialogue between King Aśoka and his teacher, the Elder Upagupta. Aśoka pays obeisance to Upagupta, states that the Buddha established the five Badravargiya monks in the good doctrine leading to enlightenment, even though they were heretics holding false views, and requests him to relate the story for his benefit (vss. 1-6). The Arhat Upagupta declares that the Buddha had indeed established heretics holding false views in the good doctrine even in the past (vss. 7-8) and proceeds to narrate the *sārthavāha* story (vss. 9ff.). The identification of characters occurs in verse 161.

Our *sārthavāha* story is referred to in the thirteenth stanza of the *Jātakastava* of *Jñānayas as*, a work consisting of twenty stanzas, the text of which has been printed by H. W. Bailey,[40] and an English translation of which, along with the text has been published subsequently by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.[41] I quote Shackleton Bailey's text and translation of the relevant stanza.

saṃrambhāt phaṇināṃ phaṇāhaticalād bhīmormimālād apāṃ
patyur yan maka [ra] cchātāvilulitāt paryastanaukā narāḥ
premṇā kāyamahāplavena bhavatā tīrṇāntam āpāditās
tatkarmātiśayena tena nikhilā lokāḥ kalatrīkṛtāḥ

"Because for love you brought the shipwrecked men to shore by the great ship that was your body, out of the ocean which was convulsed by hosts of monsters, garlanded with dreadful waves, and shaken by the hood-blows of the hooded ones in their fury, therefore by that pre-eminent *karma* all mankind has become your consort."

The Khotanese *Jātakastava*, belonging to the same literary type as the Sanskrit but differing largely in content,[42] also makes reference to the *sārthavāha* story. Story No. 25 in the Khotanese *Jātakastava* relating to 'the shipwrrecked merchants' appears to be a parallel to our story, as is clear from the strophes bearing numbers 91 and 92 in the text, Dresden's English translation of which I quote here.[43]

"In the ocean separated by mountain peaks, with broken ship, the merchants were helpless. In compassion for their sake, you gave up your life. They clung upon you and escaped to the shore.

You feared lest the merchants should perish in the water. They on their part reached their homes; all their pains were dispelled. You went alone to the other world for their security. Therefore, 0 good being, homage to you and again homage."[44]

R. Handurukande

40. *The Jātaka-stava* of *Jñānayasas* by H. W. Bailey, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol IX, 1937:39, pp. 851.859
41. *The Jātakastava of Jñānayasas*, D, R, Shackleton Bailey, *Asiatica· Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig 1954, pp. 22-30
42. H, W. Bailey *op, cit*, p, 851
43. The *Jātakastova* or 'Praise of of the Buddha's Former Births. Indo-Scythin (Khotanese) text, English translation, Grammatical Notes and glossaries. Mark J. Dresden. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol. 55, Part 5 Philadelphia 2955
44. Dresden (ibid. p. 449) notes that a close Chinese parallel is to be found in CCC No. 67 (I: 245-257)

The Administrative Organization of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra from Sigillary Evidence

The Great Monastery of Nālandā, the ruins of which were unearthed a few decades ago, was a major seat of learning in early medival times in eastern India; some present scholars do not even hesitate to call it 'the University of Nālandā'.[1] Detailed studies have been carried out on architecture, iconography, epigraphy and many other aspects of the physical remains of the institution brought to light by archaeological excavations. Much has also been written about the educational and religious functions of the Great Monastery.[2] Yet, the administrative organization of Nālandā has hardly received reasonable attention from scholars except for a few passing references and remarks based mainly on the accounts of the two famous Chinese travellers, Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing.[3]

Apart from the educational and religious functions it performed, Nālandā had no less an important a part to play as a major economic institution. From time to time Nālandā was endowed with a wide variety of economic assets such as land, houses, money and livestock. For instance, Hiuen-Tsang reports that when he was a resident of the monastery, Nālandā had no less than one hundred villages under its control,[4] and in I – tsing's time the number had risen to about two hundred.[5] Nālandā also had a large labour force in its service. Hence, for a complete understanding of the functions and services of the institution and also to evaluate its place in history, it is essential to study the way in which the establishment administered its internal affairs as well as the way in which it managed the property in its possession.

In the present study we can make limited use of the records of Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing, the two Chinese travellers who spent a good part of their stay in India at Nālandā, where they were engaged in learning Buddhist Vinaya and copying and collecting Buddhist scriptures. Although they have left invaluable information on Nālandā in their memoirs, their evidence

1. H D Sankalia, *The University of Nālandā*, second revised edition, Delhi, 1972,
2. A. Ghosh, A, *Guide to Nālānda*, Third edition, Delhi, 1950, H. Sastri, *Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 66, 1942, and Sankalia, *op. cit.*
3. Hiuen-Tsang visited India in the first half of the seventh century A. D., And I – tsing was there from A. D. 671 – 695.
4. S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsang by the Shaman Hüwi-li* 1911, pp. 112 – 113.
5. J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I – tsing*, Oxford, 1896, p. 65.

is largely limited to the daily functions of the monastery and its educational and religious activities, and is hence of limited value for a study of the organizational aspect of the administration.

However, a large number of seals and sealings[6] found at Nālandā provide valuable data for the study of monastic administration, certain aspects of which are not made clear by the Chinese travellers. Though seals have been used by many religious institutions in contemporary India[7] only Nālandā has yielded such a large number of seals and sealings containing valuable information.[8] Most of the legends on the Nālandā seals and sealings have been deciphered and translated, but some of them need more careful reading and re-interpretation, as the value of the information that can be gathered from the seals depends largely upon the interpretation of certain terms used in the seal-legends. However, any attempt at using the evidence of the seals and sealings is beset with the formidable problem of providing an acceptable chronology for the material. As the seals contain no dates or other information that could help determine their chronology, the only justifiable method would be paleographical. As is well known, paleography has its own limitations as a method of determining chronology. Hence, placing the material obtained from the seals and sealings in a proper chronological order would be extremely difficult, and one can only resort to a rough scheme of dating. However, the large majority of the seals and sealings could be assigned on paleographical grounds to the eighth century onwards; and only a few may be assigned to the sixth or seventh century A.D.[9] Since it is difficult to arrange our data in a precise chronological order it is unavoidable that the present study should take the shape of a general discussion on the subject.

Among all the religious groups in ancient India it was the Buddhist *saṅgha* that seems to have been the first to emerge as an organized religious order based on permanent residence. Even at the time when the *saṅgha* did not have permanent dwellings the monks were governed by an accepted code of dicipline, i.e. the Vinaya. With the gradual change to a more permanent form of residential life, new Vinaya rules were laid down for the purpose of administering the affairs of the monasteries. Rules governing every aspect of monastic life were discused at their meeting; at the same time, the duties of every resident monk and his obligations towards the community were also laid down.[10] The decisions pertaining to the administration of a

6. Here the term sealings is used to mean seal impressions as distinct form Original Seals.
7. For a discussion on this matter see K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, Lucknow, 1972, pp. 136 ff.
8. The Monastery no. 9 at Nālandā alone has yielded no less than six hundred and ninety seals, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (henceforth M·A·S·I·), 66, 1942. pp. 1–136.
9. Thaplyal, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 and M·A·S·I· 66, p. so.

particular monastery were taken by the assembly of the entire community of resident monks, and thus the management of the affairs of a monastery was the responsibility of the whole community of monks living there.[11]

The original concept that authority was vested in the *saṅgha* as a whole was still the basis of the administrative organization of the monasteries at the time when Nālandā was a flourishing Buddhist centre. Although the concept of private property held by individual monks seems to have been well established by then, any property donated to a monastery was generally considered to be the common property of the monks of the four quarters. In practice, however, each individual monastery had ultimate authority over its property. When Hiuen-Tsang was admitted to the Nālanda monastery, the assembly of monks announced through the deputy incumbent that Hiuen-Tsang would be entitled to use 'all commodities used by priests and all appliances of religion in common with the rest'.[12] I-tsing,[13] making a direct reference to the property of the *saṅgha*, writes: 'A gift to the church, whether a field or a house or some insignificant thing, is understood to be given for the clothing and food of the priests (sic). Thus the church can make use of the benefactions as it likes without any fault, as long as it carries out the original intention of the giver,. Thus it is clear that the ultimate authority over monastic property was vested in the community of monks resident in the institution.

As such, all the major decisions concerning the internal administration and the management of property was taken at the assembly of the congregation. The Assembly met in sessions, presided over by a senior monk, to decide the affairs of the monastery.[14] When Hiuen-Tsang sought permission to stay at Nālandā for sometime, his wish was put to the Assembly which announced its approval through the deputy incumbent.[15] It was the Assembly that arranged the *uposatha* and other caremonies of the monastery.[16] I-tsing[17] states that at Nālandā, it was the Assembly that assigned rooms and servants to resident monks. The disposal of the belongings of the dead monks was also carried out by the Assembly. At this meeting the *saṅgha* decided what items among the belongings of the deceased should be restored to the common property of the community and what items should be divided among those present.[18]

10. S. Dutt. *Early Buddhist Monachism*, London, 1924, pp. 98 ff.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 146 ff.
12. S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsang by the Shaman Hwui-li*, London, 1911, p. 106.
13. J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago, by I-tsing. Oxford*, 1896, pp. 193-194.
14. S. Beal, *op. cit*, p. 106.
15. *Ibid.*
16. I-tsing, *op. cit*, p. 63 and pp. 147-149.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-191.

Another important function of the Assembly was the distribution of the income from monastic property among its inmates. I-tsing says that in Indian monasteries the produce of the farms and gardens and the profits arising from trees and fruits were distributed annually in shares among the resident monks.[19] Most probably this was done at the end of the *kathina* ceremony, for according to I-tsing[20] himself, on the *pavārana* day, either the laymen presented gifts or the *sangha* itself distributed them, having brought all kinds of gifts before the assembly. The majority of the seals found at *Nālandā* bear the legend *'Sri Nālandā-mahā vihāra – caturdiśāryabhiksu-sanghasya'*, which may be translated as '(The seal) of the *saṅgha* of Venerable Bhikṣus of the Four Quarters at the Nālandā *mahāvihāra'*.[21] As these seals refer to the entire community of monks at Nālandā, it is evident that they were used to signify the authority of the Assembly.

One of the seals refers to a monastery within the *mahāvihāra*; this seal bears the legend *(Nālandā) yam śrī śakrāditya-kārita-(vi)hāre-caturdisi-ārya mā (ma)hā-bhiksusaṅghaya."*[22] The legend may be translated as '(The seal) of the *saṅgha* of the Four Quarters in the monastery caused to be built by Śri Śakrāditya, at Nālandā'. Obviously, there were several other monasteries or *vihāras* of this kind on the premises of the *mahāvihāra*. Hiuen-Tsang[23] refers to six such *vihāras* erected by various kings from time to time. The Nālandā Copper Plate[24] of Devapāla refers to another monastery built by Bālaputradeva, the King of Sumatra. In fact, the archaeological excavations have brought to light the structures of seven large monasteries at Nālandā.[25] The existence of a separate seal referring to the congregation of monks of one of the monastic institutions within the *mahāvihāra*, strongly suggests that individual monasteries had their own assemblies that looked after some of their own internal administrative affairs. This assumption is supported by a statement in I-tsing's account, according to which at Nālandā, in certain instances, the monks assembled in their individual monasteries as it was not convenient for all the monks to get together every time a need arose.[26] It would not have been an easy task for the Assembly to carry out every function involving the administration of a large monastic complex of the dimensions of Nālandā having thousands of monks and lay students as well as a large number of servants. Hence, the

19. *Ibid.*, P. 193.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
21. M.A.S.I. 60, 1942, pp. 39-40. The mention of the *saṅgha* of the Four quarters' is worth noting. This shows that, although in practice the authority of individual monasreries had long been established. in theroy at least, the original idea of the *sangha* of the four quatters was still alive.
22. M A.S.I. 66, 1942, p. 38, no. S.I. 848.
23. S. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–111.
24. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, 1923 24, p. 322, Il. 37–38.
25. D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, Calcutta, 1971, p. 87.
26. I–tsing, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

growth of monastic institutions into large educational establishments with huge resources would have paved the way for a decentralized form of administration under the control of the General Assembly.

Further evidence from seals suggests that, for the proper functioning of the administrative machinery at Nālandā, at least some of the administrative functions had been kept under the surpervision of select groups of monks. One of the seals carries the legend *Śrī-Nālandā-cīvara-kostikāyātārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya*.[27] This may may be rendered as '(The seael) of the *bhikṣusaṅgha* engaged in the repository of robes'. The provision of robes for monks was one of the objectives of most of the endowments made to the Buddhist *sangha*. From I-tsing[28] we learn that in Indian monasteries the robes for the monks were supplied out of the common funds. The expression *cīvara-kosthikā* on the seal suggest the existence of a repository or a store specially maintained for the storage of robes and it seems that this store was kept under the supervision of a group of monks. Probably this group was responsible for the procurement and the distribution of robes among the resident monks.

Another seal has the inscription *Śrī-Nālandā-mūla-navakarmavārika-bhikṣūṇāṁ*.[29] The term *navakarma* is found in a number of inscriptions recording donations to religious institutions; in these records, this terms occurs in the sense of construction of new buildings or repair work to the existing ones.[30] However, it is not clear what was precisely meant by *mūla navakarma* in this instance. As the word *mūla* may mean 'basic', 'main' or 'preliminary', it could be suggested that it meant the basic or preliminary repairs and construction work. On the other hand *mūla* could also have the alternative meaning of a community of monks living together, as seen in the Sri Lankan context, e.g. *Selantaramūla*. The term *vārika* has been interpreted by Monier Williams[31] as the 'chief person in a court or an assembly'. According to D.C. Sircar,[32] the Charter of Visnusena (c. 605–A.D.) of Valabhi, uses *vārika* in the sense of a government or local official. In south Indian inscriptions it is used to denote a member of the committee known as *vāriyam*, which mostly consisted of elected representatives of the villagers.[33] In early Buddhist literature, the monks who were elected by the assembly to look after various monastic affairs are referred to as *vārikas*.[34]

27. M.A.S.I., 66, 1942, p. 40, seal no. 9 R 15 d.
28. I - tsing, *op. cit.*, p- 193.
29. M.A.S.I., 66 1942, p. 37, seal no. S.I. 1005; S. 4, 40.
30. See for instance, *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, 1896 – 7. pp. 247 – 251, vv. 12ff.
31. M. Williama, *Sanskrit – English Dictionary*, 1889, p. 538, sv.
32. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXX: 1953 – 4, p. 179, 1·7; and D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 364.
33. *Epigraphiā Indica*, XXIII, 1935 – 36, pp. 27 - 28.
34. Cf. *paniya – vārika* etc.; for more examples and a discussion see *infra.*, pp. 8·9; for early Buddhist and Sri Lankan evidence see R.A.L.H. Gunawardena *Robe and Plough Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Mediaeval Sri Lanka*, Arizona, 1979, pp. 121 – 122.

It is important to note that in this intance, and also in the case of South Indian *vāriyams*, those who bore the title of *vārika* were elected by others to serve for a specific period. And as the work *vāra*, from which *vārika* is apparently derived, has the meaning 'term', choice', or 'appointment,'[35] it is possible that *vārika* originally meant a person elected to an office to serve in turn. Thus, on the strength of this interpretation, it may be assumed that the *navakarmavārika-bhikṣu* was a group or a committee of monks elected by the community to be in charge of the construction and repair work of the establishment.

Two other seals from Nālandā bear the inscriptions *Śrī-Nalandāyām caturbhagavad (ā) sanavārika-bhikṣūnā (m);*[36] and *Śrī-Nā* (for Nālanda) *Dharmapāladeve gandhakuṭi-vāsika-bhikṣūnām.*[37] The first seal refers to a committee of monks in charge of the seat (shrine) of the Four Buddhas. Probably they supervised the affairs of the shrine where the images of the four previous-Buddhas were kept for worship. The published text of the inscription on the second seal has to be translated as '(The seal) of the monks *living* at the Dharmapaladeva *gandhakuṭi* at Nālandā'. But there is some difficulty in accepting this reading. As *gandhakuṭi* is a shrine where the Buddha images are kept,[38] it is hard to believe that monks, too, were residing there. Nevertheless, this problem can be solved if we amend the phrase *vāsika-bhikṣu* in the published text to *vārika-bhikṣu*, and translate it as the committee of monks in charge of the Dharmapaladeva *gandhakuṭi*. Such a reading would not be unwarranted, for the word *vārika* actually occurs in a similar context on another seal which bears the legend *Śrī-Nālandā (yam)-Bāladitya (gandhakuḍi(ṭi)-vārika-bhikṣū (nām)*[39] This may be translated as '(The seal) of the committee of monks in charge of the Bāladitya *gandhakuṭi*'.

Another seal refers to a group of monks called *Sattraka-samavārika bhikṣu* at Nālandā.[40] Although the meaning of *vārika* is clear, it is difficult to explain the precise meaning of *sama - vārika*. Perhaps the prefix *sama* was used to emphasize the equal powers the members of the committee exercised over the affairs of the *sattra* or the free - feeding house, which was an important phenomenon of all major religious establishments of the time.

35. M. Williama, *op. cit.*, p. 943, s. v.
36. M·A·S·I·, 66, 1942, p. 38, seal no. S. I. 919, also see note 3 for corrected reading of the inscription.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 43, seal no. S. I. 730 (Pl. IV. b).
38. *Gandhakuti* was originally used to mean the residence of the Buddha but later on any shrine – room where a statue of the Buddha was kept came to be known as a *gandhakuti*. Of. G. P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London, 1937 (Vol. I), p. 745.
39. M·A·S·I., 66, 1942, p. 38, seal no. S. I. 675 (Pl. III. a); see *Ibid.*, note 4 for the corrected reading:
40. *Ibid.*, p. 39, seal no. S. 9, R. 91.

The basic functions represented by titles of the groups or the committees of monks, as revealed by the above mentioned Nālandā seals, reminds us of somewhat similar titles and functions mentioned in the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, where the rudimentary form of monastic administration is found. It describes how certain monks were appointed to be in charge of certain basic functions of monastic life when the need arose. Monks were appointed for posts such as *senāsanapaññāpaka*[41] (regulator of lodgings), *cīvarabhājaka*[42] (distributor of robes), *khādyakacāraka*[43] (distributor of food), *appamattavisajjaka*[44] (distributor of trifles) and also *navakammika*[45] (monk in charge of new buildings and repairs).

The practice of appointing monks to carry out essential functions would have developed to cover various other activities of monastic life when the *saṅgha* began to adopt a more settled life in *āvāsas*. This is attested to by the references to monastic officials such as *bhāṇḍāgārika* (overseer of stores), *bhattuddesaka* (distributor of rations) and others.[46] Certain texts associated with Northern Buddhism mention other posts such as *pānīyavarika*[47] (monk in charge of drinking water), *bhājanavārika* (monk in charge of vessels or utensils) and *prisṇḍaavārika* (monk in charge of gardens.)[48]

How the original practice of appointing monks to carry out different monastic functions developed in to a system in which such affairs were kept under the supervision of groups or committees of monks is not clear. However, the committee system was not completely unknown in monsatic affairs. For instance, the *Cullavagga*[49] recommends it as an effective way of avoiding lengthy discussion in resolving disciplinary matters among the *saṅgha*. Besides, the very corporate nature of the constitution of the *saṅgha* itself, must have paved the way for the practice of entrusting committees of monks with some monastic affairs. With the expansion of monastic institutions and the resulting increase in their functions, it would have become difficult for individual monks to attend to the needs of a large congregation. Hence, appointing committees of monks to be in charge of such affairs would have been an appropriate system for an efficient administration. Nalandā is the only monastic site that has yielded such a wide range of seals and sealings representing different monastic institutions. It

41. *Cullavagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, IV, 4, 3
42. *Ibid.*, VI, 21.
43. *Ibid*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.* VI, 5, 2.
46 *Cullavagga* (tr.) I. B. Horner, London, 1952, p. 248.
47. *Divyavadāna*, (ed. & tr.) E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 34ff.
48. For a discussion on these terms see H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburgh, 1896, pp 83 – 83.
49 *Vinayapiṭaka*, (Oldenberg ed.) II, *(Cullavagga)*, pp. 95 – 97.

is however, difficult to believe that such a committee system was unique at Nālandā; probably other large monasteries with similar administrative responsibilities, too, had to devise some form of decentralized administrative machinery.

Thought it is reasonable to assume that larger monasteries like Nālandā had an internal administration based on a committee system, there is hardly any evidence to ascertain precisely how these committees functioned or what the duties and responsibilities of their members were. It can, however, be said with certainty that these committees consisted of monks, but no positive evidence is forthcoming as to the method or the terms of appointment.

Very little is also known about the other institutions, offices or individuals involved in monastic administrations. From the records of the Chinese travellers it becomes clear that most of the larger monasteries in contemporary India were under the abbotship of senior monks sometimes referred to as *sthaviras*.[50] The Gohsrawan Inscription, which is datable to the middle of the sixth century A.D., shows that Viradeva, a learned monk from Nagarahāra,[51] was chosen by the *saṅgha* to govern Nālandā.[52] Probably in other monasteries too, the chief incumbents were chosen by the resident monks. Yet, it is not known whether this was done by the whole community of resident monks or only by those who were fully ordained. Hiuen-Tsang[53] observed that Satyabodhi, the head of Nālandā at his time, was very learned and, among the thousands of monks living there, he (Satyabodhi) alone was conversant with all sections of the *śāstras* and *sūtras*. From I-tsing[54] we learn that Jñānacandra, the head of the Tilaḍa monastery near Nālandā, too was a man of great wisdom and scholarship. Thus it is clear that attainment in scholarship was considered an essential qualification for monks to be elevated to the headship of at least places like Nālandā, that served as centres of education.

It may be assumed that, the chief incumbent or the director, according to Takakusu who translated I-tsing's work, was the head of the institution and at places like Nālandā, his main concern was education. In actual practice it seems that it was the deputy incumbent who was chiefly responsible for the conduct and the overall supervision of most of the affairs of the institution. Both Hiuen-Tsang and I-tsing refer to administrative

50. S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen – Tsang*, pp. 69, 106 and 158.

51. Nagarahāra was a major Buddhist centre in north – western India by the time of Hiuen – tsang, T. Waters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, 1904/5, I, pp. 182ff.

52. *Indian Antiquary*, XVII, 1888, p. 310, l. 11; *Nālandā – paripālanāya niyatāḥ saṃgha – sthiteryaḥ sthitaḥ*.

53. S. Beal, (tr.) *Si – Yu – Ki Buddhist Records of the Western World; Chinese Accounts of India*, London, 1881, pp. 110 – 111.

54. J. Takakusu *A Record of Buddhist the Religion*, P- 184.

functions carried out by the deputy incumbent, who is called *'wei-na'* in Chinese.[55] This term has been translated and reconstituted as *karmadāna*.[56] However, *karmādana* is not found in inscriptions nor is it used in any literary work of the period. Therefore it is difficult to determine the exact Sanskrit word used to denote the post of deputy incumbent. When Hiuen-Tsang was admitted to the Nālandā monastery, it was the deputy incumbent who made the relevant announcement to the community.[57] According to I-tsing[58] it was the duty of this monk to announce the time and the commencement of any service or ceremony by striking the gong. · I-tsing further mentions that the deputy incumbent supervised monastic affairs, but it is not mentioned what particular affairs they were.

Apart from the chief incumbent and his deputy, no other monastic official is mentioned in the records of the two Chinese travellers. It is also not clear whether any laymen were engaged in the internal administration of Nālandā in any official capacity, as was the case with certain contemporary Buddhist monasteries in Sri Lanka.[59] The fact that the committees in charge of various administrative affairs at Nālandā consisted entirely of monks strongly suggests that in this monastery the basic internal administration was carried out by the resident monks themselves.

Among the *saṅgha*, the learned and the senior monks were always treated with reverence. The *Vinayapiṭaka* recommends that only learned and capable monks be assigned with monastic duties.[60] From the Chinese travellers we learn that the congregation of monks was presided over by the senior monks at their assemblies.[61] The head of institutions too were chosen from amongst the most senior and the most learned monks.[62] While discussings the arrangements made by the congregation for the disposal of the belongings of dead monks, I-tsing[63] mentions that, if certain items of property in the possession of the deceased were not sufficient to be distributed among all the monks present at the assembly, such items should be divided only among the elders. On another occasion, I-tsing[64] mentions that the most learned among the *saṅgha* and those who had mastered at least one of the Three *Piṭakas*, were given the best rooms in the monastery and were also provided with monastic servants. These monks enjoyed the privilege of being carried in sedan-chairs when they were travelling. I-tsing

55. *Ibid.*, p 148, note 1.
56. For discussion, see *ibid.*, pp. 148 – 149.
57. S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen – Tsang*, p. 106.
58. I – tsing, *op cit.* pp. 148 – 149
59. Cf R. A. L. H. Gunawardhana *Robe and Plough, Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*, Arizona, 1979, pp- 100ff-
60. *Vinayapitaka*, I, 55, *Passim.*
61. S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen – Tsang*, p. 106.
62. I – tsin, p 192.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

further observes that, whenever such monks were entrusted with delivering lectures, they were relieved of monastic duties. Thus it is evident that the learned monks were entrusted with some monastic functions as well. But the most important fact that emerges from I-tsing's statement is that the learned and the most senior monks enjoyed privileged positions. If the seniority and the degree of mastery over scriptures were considered important in the assignment of monastic servants, rooms and other benefits, it is reasonable to assume that the same criterion was employed in the selection of monks for senior monastic appointments as well.

In referring to the general method of disposal of the belongings of deceased monks, I-tsing[65] states that, if money due on deeds and contracts entered into by the deceased was payable at once, it was to be realised immediately and distributed among the resident monks. Otherwise, the relevant deeds and contracts were to be preserved in the monastic treasury until such time as the money fell due. Though this is the only reference to monastic treasuries in I-tsing's records it is obvious that the treasury played an important part in the administrative affairs of monasteries. Besides, it is also clear from I-tsing's statement that the documents pertaining to financial transactions were preserved in the treasury.

The majority of seals and sealings found at Nālandā were discovered in a single site which is marked as monastery No. 9 in archaeological reports. In this particular building more than 690 seals (in fact most of them are sealings) were found in a single chamber.[66] It may be conjectured that these sealings were attached to certain documents so as to prove their authenticity and as documants issued by various authorities. The fact that such a large number of seals were found in a single chamber led Hirananda Sastri, who edited the inscriptions on seals, to conclude that this particular room must have been the record room of the establishment.[67] From the inscriptions appearing on the sealings it becomes clear that the sealings came from various authorities ranging from different administrative offices of the state to village councils, and from kings to individual monks;[68] there can be no doubt as to the fact that such a large number of sealings from various individuals and institutions came to Nālandā as a result of the extensive relations it maintained with outside bodies and individuals.

The evidence of seals and sealings throw welcome light on the relationship between the *mahāvihāra*, its villages and the subodinate monasteries. As we saw earlier, Nālandā had been endowed with more than two hundred villages by the end of the seventh century A.D. A fairly large number of sealings that bear the insignia and the name of the particular villages and

65· *Ibid.*, p. 192.
66· M. A. S. I. 66, 1942, p. 32.
67· *Ibid.*,
68· *Ibid.*, pp. 26ff.

also the legend *Śrī-Nālandā-Mahāvihāre-Caturdiśī-āryabhikṣu-saṅghāsya*. Thus it is obvious that these seals came from the villages that were under the control of the *mahāvihāra*. In fact legends on two village seals clearly state that those villages were attached (*pratibaddha*) to Nalanda.[70]

Eleven of the village seals make direct reference to the *janapadas* of these villages. According to lexicons *janapada* generally means 'a community', 'a nation' or 'people of the countryside'.[71] Yet none of these meanings suit the context of the legends on the Nālandā seals, as the *janapadas* are explicitly mentioned as belonging to villages. However, it may be pointed out that the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*[72] mentions *janapada* along with *gaṇa* and *śreṇi* which are undoubtedly corporate institutions. K. P. Jayaswal,[73] observed the obvious difficulty of taking *janapada* to mean 'a province' or 'a nation' in general and came to the conclusion that this word could also mean a corporate body. There is no difficulty in accepting this interpretation for the word *janapada* in our inscriptions, for it was apparently an institution within the village. Hence, it is quite likely that the *janapadas* referred to in the Nālandā sealings were village councils or similar institutions.

A few other sealings from Nālandā, though they refer to various other monasteries, bear the *dharmacakra* (flanked by deer) symbol which is identical with the insignia of the Nālandā *mahāvihāra*.[74] Although the same symbol has been used by some other monasteries like the Uddandapura *mahāvihāra* and the one at Saranath, the wheel and deer symbol found on the Nālandā seal is unique in its character and style.[75] The use of the Nālandā symbol on the seals of other monasteries seems to indicate that those monasteries were either subordinate to Nālandā or were subsidiary institutions. In fact one of the sealings speaks of a *janapada in* a *vihara* of a

69. *Ibid.*, pp. 41ff. S. I. 348, S. I. 789, S. I. 809, S. I. 645, S. I. 811, S. I. 836, S. I. 807, S. I. 787, S. I. 831, S. I. 547 etc.

70. *Ibid.*, P. 46, seal no. S. 9, R. 16 (Pl. IV., i) *Śri – Nālandā – prativa (ba) ddha – Māmnayika (or Māluyika) – grāma – jānapadasya; ibid.*, p. 47, Seal no. 3·9, R. 144 pl. V, a).

71. M. Williams, *Sanskrit – English Dictionary* (1989), p. 410.

72. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (ed. & tr. by G. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1914), I, pp. 360–361.

73. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Bangalore, 1955 (third edition), pp. 230–235.

74. M. A. S. I., 66 1942, p. 37, seal no. S. I. 455, p. 40, seal no. S. 9. R. 15, p. 44. seal no. S. I. 1006 (Pl. IV, c), S. I. 1006 (Pl. IV, d).

75. For instance the inscribed surface of the Saranath Seals is divided into two halves by double straight lines horizontally across the middle, and the upper part is occupied by the whell and deet symbol whereas in tha Nālandā seals the symbol occupies the entire ground. And the wheel (and deer symbol) appearing on the seals from the Uddanadpura *mahāvihāra*, is placed on a two–tier pedestal, but the wheel on the Nālandā seals, and the sealings from manastsies mentioned above is placed on a simple pedestal. – see *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 39, 1977, p.166 and M. A. S. I., 66, pp. 40 and 46, and compare plates III. d, with IV. d.

village attached to Nālandā.[76] *Srī-Nālandā-pratibaddha aṅgāmi-grāma-vihārastha-jānapadasya.* Thus it is very probable that Nālandā *mahāvihara* had a network of subordinate monasteries in different areas. Although we have no definite information as to the administrative organization of these local monasteries, the reference in the above mentioned seal to a *janapada* in the *vihāra* of the village of Aṅgāmi which was attached to Nālandā is noteworthy. The phrase *vihārastha-jānapadasya* deserves particular attention. It clearly shows that this *jānapada* was associated with the *vihāra.* On the strength of the interpretation we have suggested for the word *janapada* it may be argued that *janapada* in this instance indicates the assembly of monks at the *vihāra.* But then the question arises why it was called *janapada* when the general assembly of monks in other *vihāras* was always denoted as the *bhikṣu-saṇgha* in the sealings. Therefore it is tempting to suggest that this particular *janapada* was a corporate body similar to the village *janapadas* or committees, probably consisting of both laymen and monks, designed to attend to the secular affairs of the monastery as it was the case with some contemporary Hindu temples in India and Buddhist monasteries in Sri-Lanka.[77]

From the foregoing discussion it would have become clear that Nālandā had a complex and sophisticated administrative network designed to meet the requirements of both its internal administration and its proliferating economic responsibilities. It seems as if the internal administration of the Great Monastery was exclusively in the hands of the monks. However, the administration of some of the villages was carried out through the *janapadas* or village councils of the respective villages. A committee system based on the elected representation of resident monks appears to have been the main instrument in exercising the authority of the General Assembly of monks of the *mahāvihāra,* which was the supreme administrative body. Mastery over scriptures and seniority received weightage in monastic appointments. It is particularly important to note the great score laid on learning where the principle that the head of an educational institution should be a man of wisdom and erudition was recognized. Also, the special privileges extended to those who excelled themselves in learning was indicative of what the institution stood for.

One of the most interesting aspects that comes to light from the evidence of the Nālandā seals is the relationships between the *mahāvihāra* and its subordinate regional monasteries. Considering the large number of villages and other sources of revenue belonging to the *mahāvihāra,* it is

76. *Ibid.*, p. 47,seal no. S. 9, R. 144 (Pl, V. a) *Srī-Nālandā-pratibaddha-Aṅgāmi* (or *Bhūtikā*)-*grāma-vihārastha-jānapadasya.*

77. Cf. B. Stein, 'Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple', *Journal of Asian Studies,* XXXIX, 1959-1960, pp. 163-176. T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity,* Madras, 1955, p. 376, and R. A. L. H. Gunawardhana. *op.cit.*, pp. 100ff.

quite likely that the management of such property could not have been carried out directly by the central institution. Hence, a better solution would have been the transference of some of its authority to institutions that were located in the proximity of the villages. Therefore the closely connected network of subordinate monasteries would have been successfully utilized for the purpose of managing monastic property situated in distant areas.

P. V. B. Karunatillake

"The Horror! The Horror!": Conrad's View Of Women

> "In the context of "Heart of Darkness," with its theme of self-discovery, Marlow's assertion that women can take no part in the quest for truth is servere criticism"[1]

In the context of Conrad's misoghny, so ably expounded by Moser in the book from which the above words are taken, their particular import seems nugatory: throughout his works, Conrad's extremely bleak view of women indicates more profound reasons for dissatisfaction with them than Moser's comment here auggests. Besides, it is not only *Heart of Darkness* that is about self- discovery: most of Conrad's work involves the subjects more specifically, awareness of the salient if subtle weaknesses in the self. It is the aim of this study to show how thoroughly Conrad's view of women is bound up with that subject. Women, at any rate in their romantic aspect, are for Conrad the harbingers of doom to the unfortunate men whose faults they invariably inspire.

Almayer's Folly, Conrad's first novel, provides proof of this rule by virtue of its exceptional nature. It is unusual in Conrad's work in having a romantic centre of interest that does not involve the protagonist. I would suggest that it is for this reason that an aspect of Conrad's misogyny that Moser stresses is brought into prominence in this book only once: I refer to the enervating effect on man of woman's love, that Conrad here emphasizes, indeed, only when what is characterized as a triumph for Nina Almayer is her conclusive surrender to the Malay Dain Maroola–

> "The man was her slave. As she glanced down at his kneeling form she felt a great pitying tenderness for that man she was used to call – even in her thoughts – the master of life . . . She was content to see him as he was now, and to feel him quiver at the slightest touch of her light fingers"[2].

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1. Thomas Moser, *Joseph Conrad: Achievement and Decline*, Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1957; p. 79. I use this book as the basis of the present study; and, though I disagree with him at times, it will be generally obvious how much my conclussions owe to Moser's pioneering work.

2. Joseph Conrad, *Almayer's Folly – A Story of an Eastern River*, London, 1895, Ch, 11; Dent Collected Edition, 1947, p. 172. All page references to Conrad will be to the relevant volume in this collected edition. Passages other than this that Moser mentions, *op. cit.* pp. 52–4, in support of his contention that Conrad took a pessimistic view of the affair are susceptible of a different interpretation. For instance, when he quotes Dain's reaction to Nina's first kiss – 'He closed his eyes, surprised and frightened' – he omits to record that it goes on – 'at the storm raised in his breast by the strange and to him hitherto unknown contact' (*Almayer*, ch. 5; p. 72): a very differen kettle of fish from the timorousness Moser requires.

It might, indeed, even be suggested that one does not need to be a misogynist to realize that devoted sexual desire, which is basically what the scene is about can lead to a diminution of self-control and hence of one's other capacities. The strongest objection, it seems to me, that could be made is that Conrad need not have reminded us of the fact at this particular stage. At the same time, it must be granted that Conrad may have thought that this aspect of things required to be stressed, so that Nina might be shown as not sacrificing herself completely; which is what she could otherwise have been characterized as doing in abandoning her home for a totally new and unfamiliar environment. This was Almayer's view, and a description of the enslavement of Dain might have seemed to Conrad necessary to maintain a balance in the relationship of the couple and show that Almayer was wrong. I can quite accept that the assertion of this harmonized with Conrad's own perjudices on the subject but it cannot be claimed that the consequences for the final impression of the relationship of the couple are particularly unfortunate.

Conrad's favourable view of the couple is certainly exceptional in his fiction: they have the distinction of being the only pair of lovers in his major work whose union is fruitful [3]. There is no reason to suppose that this has anything to do with chronology and an increasing sense of pessimism and impotence or whatever. Rather, a far simpler explanation lies to hand in the fact that I have mentioned above: Dain is not the vital centre of interest in the novel. The emasculation that Moser detects with so many of Conrad's 'heroes' need not, therefore, affect him. He may be the romantic hero, but the character with whose weaknesses Conrad is concerned in the novel is Almayer himself.

Almayer, of course, is not impotent, as Nina's existence testifies; equally obviously, this does not affect the distinction enunciated above, because he is not a lover and never has been one. Conrad sketches quite clearly in the first two chapters of the book the cold-blooded nature of Almayer's approach to his marriage: there could be no danger of him losing himself in a romantic involvement. Conrad does suggest the relevance of the marriage to Almayer's destruction of himself in his egoistic and insubstantial longings but, by the time of the action of the book, as Moser notes, arguably with extravagent glee, Conrad is more interested in Almayer's relationship with his daughter than in that with his wife. The irony is that it is through her perception of that latter relationship that his daughter also rejects him–

3. Moser notes this, *op. cit.* p. 109; as does Richard Curle, *Joseph Conrad and His Characters*, London, 1957, though his account is far less illuminating – 'All Conrad's most attractive women are childless, and though this may be bound up with the situations to be developed, my impression is that it was designed for the purpose of centring all his study of their characters on their unfettered personalities.' (p. 92)

> "Between you and my mother there never was any love ...Then I saw that you could not understand me; for was I not part of that woman? Of her who was the regret and shame of your life".[4]

The obvious implication of all this is that Almayer erred in marrying someone of another race and also that error was symptomatic of a fundamental flaw in himself – for Almayer is also exceptional amongst Conrad's protagonists in being from the very beginning decisively flawed. Correspondingly, Nina can in no way be held responsible for Almayer's decline: she may cause Almayer disappointment but, in addition to suggesting how her share of native blood must separate her from Almayer's world, Conrad also reveals how extravagent, and therefore difficult to fulfil anyway Almayer's demands are–

> "And now his heart was filled only with a great tenderness and love for his daughter. He wanted to see her miserable, and to share with her his despair; but he wanted it only as all weak natures long for a companiouship in misfortune with beings innocent of its cause".[5]

On the whole, then, Almayer's tagedy is his own personal one. Here, for once, Conrad's concept of women had no part to play in the crisis. There is, however, one small hint of what might be called Conrad's more generalized pessimism, namely when Nina says to Almayer, "No two human beings understand each other. They can understand but their own voices"[6] This would be meaningless, since she goes on almost immediately to say that she and Dain do understand each other, were it not clear from what does follow immediately that she referring to the white world, to Almayer's world and the world in which all Conrad's major protagonists fight their battles. Nina, in acknowledging her allegiance to what might be called Malay traditions, in accepting the role of subservience as an Eastern bride that her mother had earlier sketched out for her, may be seen, not wholly fancifully, as denying in her conclusive parting from Almayer's fundamental concept of Western romanticism.

Hence the irony in Almayer's own reaction to her manifesto – "You want him as a tool for some incomprehensible ambition of yours."[7] Almayer had dreamed originally with regard to his marriage of a slave – a dream exploded by his wife's conviction that "according to white men's laws she was going to be Almayer's companion and not his slave";[8] his swift disillusionment had led to the opposite extreme, a vision of marriage

4. *Almayer*, ch. 12; p. 191.
5. *ibid.*, ch. 7; p. 102.
6. *ibid.*, ch. 11; p. 179.
7. *ibid.*, ch. 11; p. 180.
8. *ibid.*, ch. 2; p. 23.

as a struggle between two opposing personalities. The conscious submission which Nina was engaged in was beyond his comprehension. As such, he sees Nina's determination to go away with Dain as necessarily predatory.

I have suggested above that the remarks I quoted that do suggest predacity in Nina are to be seen as an antidote to the otherwise prevalent concept of her passivity in the role she chooses in her ethnic romance; and there is enough said about that role throughout the book to suggest that Dain need not share Almayer's fears. Yet I would suggest that Almayer is not isolated in his anxiety: the danger which he diagnozed appears to be one in which Conrad himself believed, albeit not dogmatically enough to make it obtrude itself in this book. Indeed, my suggestion that it can be traced here might seem fanciful, and I only make it, as an explanation of the otherwise excessive pronouncements I have quoted, because of its consonance with what is to follow: for, with *An Outcast of the Islands*, the qualms begin to display themselves with the vehemence with which they are to affect so much of Conrad's writing.

Like Almayer, Willems in the later book is involved with two women, unlike Almayer with both of them romantically. Not, I hasten to add, that he could ever have been described as being in love with his wife (which is why, presumably, his union is permitted to be productive); but Conrad makes it clear that he has some sort of emotional link with her, and the development of his reactions to their joint situation is a fundamental aspect of the novel. The importance to him of his initial authority over Joanna is emphasized on the very first page-"He fancied that nothing would be changed, that he would be able as heretofore to tyrannize good-humouredly over his half-caste wife"[9] -and it is her reaction to his disgrace that makes him feel conclusively unfitted for communion with mankind.

> "But he hesitated whether he would or would not disclose to Lingard the revolting completeness of his humiliation. Turned out of his house - and by his wife; that woman who hardly dared to breathe in his presence, yesterday. He remained per plexed and silent[10]."

Of course, Willems' sense of his disgrace is compounded by what Lingard reveals to him, that his wife is the daughter of his employer and that the marriage had, as it were, been thrust upon him; naturally Willems resents the now clear fact that he had been cleverly tied down for life to the appendages of the man who, having discovered his peculations, had insulted and dismissed him that morning; but Conrad mentions that, despite all this Willems contemplated taking her back provided that the reconciliation should most obviously appear to be of her seeking- "he told

9. Joseph Conrad, *An Outcast of the Islands* London, 1896, p. 3.
10. *ibid*, Pt. I, ch. 4; pp. 38 - 9.

himself solemnly that if she would come to him he would receive her with generous forgiveness".[11] Ultimately it was not his entanglement by marriage that mattered but the attack on his superiority; it was Joanna's assertion of herself in opposition to him that Willems found intolerable, and which had to be purged by supplication from her before the marital relationship could be restored. It is significant that Joanna appears to fall in almost at once with Lingard's attempts at a reconciliation, in spite of the bitter resentment she had displayed earlier in the day; Lingard's persuasive powers might be assumed to have been strong, but that they are so strong seems to me because Willems had to be depicted as demanding an extremity of submission from his wife–she yielded readily so that Willems could be seen to require still more. At the very beginning of the book what seems to me the morbidity of Willems' sense of honour where women are concerned has to be made clear.

Conrad, however, does not appear to consider Willems' feeling morbid; for the reason, I would suggest, that he believed as Willems did that the greatest concern possible had to be exercised by a man to guard his honour in his relations with women. The position is made clear with the assistance of a great deal of editorial material in the portrayal of Willem's second, much more dynamic, romance. There are certainly references to the fact that the woman in question is coloured, and this is to be seen as an important factor in the catastrophe (as is to be expected, Almayer's comments on the situation concentrate on this aspect of it); but there are also more general remarks about the destruction of and derogation from self that any involvement with a woman causes. I shall content myself by quoting just one characteristic passage that may stand for many–

> "With that look she drew the man's soul away from through his immobile pupils, and from Willems' features the spark of reason vanished under her gaze and was replaced by an appearance of physical well-being, an ecstasy of the senses which had taken possession of his rigid body; an ecstasy that drove out regrets, hesitation and doubt, and proclaimed its terrible work by an appalling aspect of idiotic beatitude. He never stirred a limb, hardly breathed, but stood in stiff immobility, absorbing the delight of her close contact by every pore".[12]

I have granted earlier, with reference to Nina and Dain, that such an account of the enervating effects of sexual desire need not of its own rouse suspicion. The trouble with *An Outcast* is that the concept is drilled into

11· *ibid.*, Pt. I, ch. 4; p. 38.

12· *ibid.*, Pt. II. ch. 6; p. 140. See also, for other accounts of Willems' weakening, pp. 69, 77, 80, 271, 334.

the reader in a manner that makes Conrad's obsession with it painfully clear. It might be objected to this view that it is not a fair criticism since that concept is, basically, Conrad's subject in the book, that Willems' act of treachery under the spell cast on him by Aissa is the central fact of the whole tale. If that is so, however, it is by no means clear: as Jocelyn Baines puts it.

> "Willems' worthlessness detracts from the impact of the book; his betrayal of the secret of the river to the Arab trader has not the inevitable or exclusive connection with his passion for Aissa that it should have; one feels that he would have betrayed the secret anyhow – merely out of spite"[13].

In short, we have a book with two subjects which prevent satisfactory development of either. The question that arises is, which did Conrad think was his basic subject – Willems' weakness (so that the book would compare with *Almayer's Folly*, the theme of which was Almayer's deficiencies, exemplified rather than inspired by his relations with women) or the havoc wrought on men by women (which, we shall see, is the theme of later works)? In favour of the former alternative is the fact that Willems appears to be a cad anyway; and the very first paragraph of the book, long and critical, I think upholds this view, that Conrad did intend that the flaw in Willems should be seen as a fundamental one that had nothing to do with the impact on him of women. Yet the fact remains that there is an ambiguity, so much so that Baines could suggest that this essential flaw is almost accidental in terms of what later appears as Conrad's basic subject in the work and the ambiguity, resting primarily on the weighty descriptions of the effect Aissa had on Willems, is enhanced by the doubling role enacted by his wife. After all, though we gather from the very first chapter that Willems is an unsavoury character, this knowledge is effectively overlaid by the impression created of the bitterness that dominates him over the next few chapters, the bitterness that arises from his wife's treatment of him. I have characterized Willems' reaction to this treatment as morbid; but I have also pointed out that Conrad does not share this view.

The idea, then, that Conrad seems to wish to present is that Willems was ruined by two women: his wife, who shattered his equilibrium to such an extent that he exiled himself to Sambir and brooded on his bitterness; and Aissa, who made him lose control of himself to such an extent that he betrayed what he had thought he stood for. The lesson is underscored by Willems' outburst to Lingard in which he draws a distinction between his own venial errors and the more serious ones he suggests had been thrust upon him –

13· Jocelyn Baines, *Joseph Conrad: A Critical Biography*, London, 1959, p. 162.

> "I borrowed. You know how much I repaid. It was an error of judgement... But I had principles from a boy. Yes, principles. Business is business, and I never was an ass. I never respected fools. They had to suffer for their folly when they dealt with me. The evil was in them, not in me. But as to principles, it's another matter. I kept clear of women. It's forbidden – I had no time – I despised them! Now I hate them!".[14]

The train of thought, comprehensible though bizarre, is extremely relevant. He goes on to emphasize his justification for hating his wife and, though he then mentions the effect Almayer's contempt, and also the isolation that enhanced, had had on him, it is apparent that the basic source of his resentment had been the woman: she, after all, had been the person who rejected him when he thought he had had a firm hold over her.

The morbid insecurity caused by that rejection must, I think, be remembered in the reading of the outburst about Aissa that follows–

> "You can't believe her. You can't believe any woman. Who can tell what's inside their heads? no one. You can know nothing. The only thing you can know is that it isn't anything like what comes through their lips. They live by the side of you. They seem to hate you, or they seem to love you; they caress or torment you; they throw you over or stick to you closer than your skin for some inscrutable and awful reason of their own – which you can never know!"[15]

Since Aissa had been devoted to Willems right throught her acquaintance with him, this speech would be unintelligible were it not for the train of thought that we have traced just before: we are not simply listening to a man made hysterical by his disgrace but to someone who is terrified that he is merely a tool in the hands of women.

Of course Willems has acted contrary to what must be suppose, *pace* Baines and also the Conrad of the first paragraph, to be his deepest instincts; and he has done so under the influence of Aissa. But he could certainly not have been described as being under her control: he himself recognizes, and in his more lucid moments expresses, that she was as much an instrument as he was. Yet his bitterness is reserved for her - and, more importantly, for what she might do to shatter his security rather than for what he has already done to lose his self - respect. The implication is that the second of the two alternatives suggested above has by now been adopted by

14. *An Outcast*, Pt. IV, ch. 4; P. 266.
15. *ibid.*, Pt. IV, ch. 5; p. 268.

Conrad; there is of course a qualification in this book, that Willems wasn't very much to start with anyway, but the part women have to play in his downfall has become by this stage the central feature of the work.

It continues so to the end, reaching its climax in the melodramatic scene of Willems' death, in which the two women prowl round him holding him captive, each anxious to hold him for herself and keep him from the other, each misunderstanding him at every conceivable moment and disobeying his smallest instruction; the scene would be farcical despite, or perhaps because of, the violence of catastrophe, were it not that Conrad's prose seems to suggest that the workings of Willems's mind at this juncture are of tremendous importance. Just before the scene there had been what might be seen as the culmination of Willems' sexuality, namely his impotence, after he had reached the desperate decision to attempt to forget his disgrace in Aissa's arms. His failure to be transported out of himself leads to a foreboding of death?.

> "It seemed to him that he was peering into a sombre hollow, into a deep black hole full of decay and of whitened bones; into an immense and inevitable grave full of corruption where sooner or later he must, unavoidably, fall".[16]

It is perhaps unnecessary to see any sexual symbolism here; but the juxtaposition of the two scenes and their joint implication concerning the fundamental cause of Willems' destruction ought not to be ignored.

Emasculation, then, in spirit as in flesh, may be said to have become the dominant concept in *An Outcast of the Islands*; its perpetrators dancing in tandem, so to speak, at the end around the grave of their victim. If this view seems extreme, it is nevertheless substantiated by the fact that the collection of short stories Conrad published two years after *An Outcast* takes up, in separate stories, what might be called the two dogmas of emasculation propounded in the earlier book. *The Lagoon* and *Karain, A Memory* are both accounts of men who have engaged in an act of betrayal under the influence of a romantic attachment to a woman; *The Return* is about a man who goes to pieces upon discovering, prompted by the fact that she had left him (although she does, in fact, come back), an inadequacy in his relationship with his wife. Moser points out a correspondence between this story and the moment in *An Outcast* when Aissa insists that Willems

16. *ibid.*, Pt. V, ch. 3; p. 339. Albert J. Guerard, *Conrad the Novelist*, Cambridge, Mass. & London, 1958, goes so far as to claim that 'The novel's only area of unconscious or half-conscious creation tells us that Willems is horrified by sex *from the first* and from the first threatened by impotence.' (p. 81) I have found Guerard's book extremely illuminating throughout. It also contains useful synopses of Conrad's plots for those who are less familiar with them than I presume.

must abandon his people and associate himself completely with her if he is to hold her to him; Moser suggests that the message in both works is the same, that the woman is shown as making clear that her emotions, whether of love or of hate, are stronger than anything the man has to offer. If he is right, the implication is that Aissa is personally more responsible for Willems' betrayal than is otherwise apparent. But the fact remains that Willems' later complaint has more to do with anxiety about her allegiance to him than with regret about what has been done already. It is in this, indeed, that their relationship approaches that of the couple in *The Return*, just as that of Willems and Joanna does.

Bearing in mind Willems' reaction, then, it would seem that this was for Conrad the vital consequence of the dominance of women as sketched above: the spiritual *ennui*, often to be expressed in terms of physical impotence, that grips the man. The act that has been committed pales in importance beside the diffidence the awed woman arouses. This, which is what associates Willems, on account of both his women, with Hervey in *The Return* is also what distinguishes him from Arsat and Karain in the other two stories. They, though very conscious of the crimes they have committed and that these were prompted by their feelings for a particular woman, exhibit no personal animosity towards the women in question. Perhaps this arises from Conrad's view of the difference between Eastern romance and the Western variety: black men, like white, can be overwhelmed by love for women, they can act contrary to the dictates of honour under this influence, they can also be fully aware of the implications of such weakness; but they feel no resentment towards the women concerned. Whatever the cause, Arsat and Karain, as Conrad presents them, have no personal fear of the women with whom they have got involved; at its simplest, they are dominated by their emotions and not by the women. There is not for them, as there is for Hervey and for Willems, an anxious awe about a separate consciousness that lies in wait to belittle them.

The awe felt by these characters derived of course from their creator himself; it is perhaps due to the tensions roused in Conrad by the presence of women that so much of his best work is remarkable for their absence. Another story in *Tales of Unrest* heralds this trait: *An Outpost of Progress* the individual serial publication of which was followed almost immediately by that of *The Nigger of the Narcissus*. Soon after came *Youth*, *The Heart of Darkness*, *The End of the Tether* and *Typhoon* ; later, *The Secret Sharer* and *The Shadow Line*. I have gone through the list to emphasize how many of what are generally acknowledged to be Conrad's masterpieces fall into the category of books without women; and it seems to me significant that the story, apart form the eatliest, that is widely thought least of amongst the above is The *End of the Tether*, the one in which a woman figures largest.

It might be objected to this that Captain Whalley's daughter only barely figures in the story. Yet my point stands, for what I am concerned with is not a character but a concept; and she is certainly the basic inspiration for those aspects of Whalley's conduct with which the book is concerned – namely, his derogation from the high standard of integrity to which a sailor ought to subscribe and which had been his own until he was faced with the problem of her dependence. He may, therefore, be said to conform to the pattern of those characters mentioned above who had also been led to behave badly because of women. There is, however a distinction: not that his daughter is in no way an active participant in his guilt (for the same might have been said of the women in *The Lagoon* and *Karain*), but that his actions spring from a carefully thought out moral decision, whereas those of all the others so far discussed resulted from passions that overbore all question, and indeed any conclusion, of deliberation. Whalley, in effect, did not ignore his other obligations under the influence of a woman, but decided that his responsibility to his daughter was paramount.

I don't think there can be any doubt that Conrad felt he was wrong so to decide. Though he grants that Whalley had 'drifted' into his error 'from paternal love, from incredulity, from boundless trust in divine justice meted out to men's feelings on this earth', nevertheless the consequence is that 'He had nothing of his own — even his own past of honour, of truth, of just pride, was gone. All his spotless life had fallen into an abyss.'[17] This in fact seems to me to provide the answer, usually if not always, to those who accuse Conrad of sentimentalization the fact that Conrad is able to depict clearly all the reasons for inferior conduct, and thereby to evoke sympathy for his protagonist, does not prevent his judgement on such conduct from being equally clear and forcefully adverse. Whalley, in attempting according to false lights to stand by his daughter, has lost himself; when he realizes this he has no alternative, it is made clear, to going down with his ship–the imminent destruction of which he cannot but associate with the loss of his own character.

In the present context, however, the important fact is that Whalley's daughter hardly appears in the narrative herself, her presence is not required for the catastrophe she precipitates. As we shall trace later on as well, Conrad was perhaps anxious, being generally a fair man, to make this aspect of his concept of women clear: not only that the woman could not be held responsible (this we had noted before), but also that that question is irrelevant in comparison with the primary interest of his tales, which is a man's internal considerations about his honour. Conrad,

17. Joseph Conrad, 'The End of the Tether' ch. 14, in *Youth – A Narrative; and Two Other Stories*, London, 1902; pp. 324 & 319.

18. See, for instance, Moser, *op. cit.* pp. 137 foll. on *The Shadow Line*.

indeed, seems to me to go out of his way to show, even though those considerations are usually prompted by relations with a woman, that women are incapable of appreciating them. The ending of *Heart of Darkness* (which prompted the comment with which this study begins) and that of *End of the Tether*, for instance, exhibit a certain similarity in depicting the two women totally without comprehension of the problems their menfolk have faced. In both cases the expressions of love, so different in quality and quantity from the emotions experienced by its objects,are conclusively ironical.

On a par with these women is Mrs. Mc Whirr, so utterly at odds with her husband, the Captain in *Typhoon*; also and more amusingly, in *Falk*, the grotesque tale of cannibalism that appears in the same volume, Hermann's niece who marries Falk in the end. This last female does not utter a word in the course of the story, which Moser suggests is due to a failure in technique-'Throughout the narrator can only assert feelings and ideas rather than dramatize them.";[19] rather, I would suggest that the niece never speaks because Conrad has no illusions, and does not wish the reader to have any either, about her having anything to contribute to the issues at stake. The story is about the male characters who figure in it, their relations with themselves and each other; the niece is simply the catalyst who sets the story in motion and a touchstone, in her final singleminded determination to marry Falk notwithstanding his confession, to illuminate the anxious cerebration which the others have devoted to the problem. It is not easy to assess the tone of the story; the moral questions are certainly not as carefully examined as in other of Conrad's works; but, not only in the light of those others but also from passages in the story istelf, I have no doubt that Conrad thought the question of Falk's guilt an extremely important one. As such, the incapacity of the niece to view the question must be seen as irony directed at her; she is beneath, not just beyond, comprehension of the vital issues.

These women, inhabiting a completely different world from that in which their menfolk engage in their moral preoccupations, seem to be a long distance away from the destructive females of either sort, objects of deranging romance or agents of stultifying rejection, whom we have seen in the earlier works. Yet, as *End of the Tether* suggests, separation itself did not spell security. However, there was an acute sense of obligation involved there. In *Amy Foster* Conrad goes on to consider how the fact of alienation can in itself prove fatal. The work is structurally an odd one, its catastrophe being skimmed over in a very few lines; yet, even if the subject of the work is *'the tragedy of a man who could not acclimatise himself*

19. Moser, *op. cit.*, p. 100. See, however, Baines, *op. cit.* p. 262, for Conrad's own explanation – though that is even less convincing.

in a foreign country'[20], the title indicates that the part played by Amy herself should not be under-estimated. Her appearances in the story are certainly significant: it is her original kindness to him that Yanko cherishes when he has nothing else; it is her willingness to marry him and bear his child[21] that gives him the illusion that at last he is settled; and so it is her rejection of him that makes him despair and causes his death.

Yet Conrad makes it clear that the rejection is not an act for which she could be held morally responsible, the way Joanna and Mrs. Hervey could have been for theirs. She is beneath such questions of responsibility: just as her instincts had led her first to be kind to Yanko and then to marry him, so her instincts later lead her to fear and loathe and repulse him; there is no sense, with her, of claiming that she should have known better. But so, too, just as she cannot be blamed for her final rejection, she cannot be praised for her original act of kindness: any act of contact is purely accidental, the two individuals occupying, as it were, two entirely separate worlds. Yet such accidents can prove fatal, when they are not recognized as such. In a sense the catastrophe was Yanko's fault, in his having tried to construct something more from the situation; the message seems to be that such ties and commitments had best be avoided. As in the case of Captain Whalley, Yanko's act does not spring from passion; though, unlike Whalley, he cannot be described as a moral agent conscious of the implications of his actions, his quest in pursuit of commitment springs like Whalley's more from sentimental considerations than sexual ones. Yet even these lead to destruction; although , since he is not a moral agent, it is not by a form of betrayal on behalf of women, as in the case of the other characters considered, Yanko as surely destroys himself in spirit, just like those other characters, as in flesh. He is a victim, in this case not of a woman but of the gulf between men and woman; and his destruction springs from his attempt to establish some interaction between them.

The Rescue, begun before these stories (though finished long after), shares some of their traits as well as those of the earlier works discussed: at its simplest, the story is that of a betrayal of faith by a man while under the influence of a woman. Yet it is not simply in the grip of his passion for Edith Travers that Tom Lingard fails to live up to his basic responsibilities; rather, the destruction of his native proteges Hassim and Immada

20. Gustav Morg, *The Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad*, London, 1930, p. 169. See Guerard, *op. cit.* pp. 49 – 50, for other aspects of the story.

21. The capacity to procreate here does not affect the point I made earlier about Conrad's penchant for childlessness; and not only because here, as in 'Gaspar Ruiz', the child has a part to play in the plot. The two short stories share another characteristic which is significant: namely that in both the marriage in question is between two people who have nothing in common socially, the man being in the position of a supplicant; his attachment to his wife springs from food and shelter given at a crucial moment when otherwise he might have died. In effect, the man had nothing to lose in the first place: emasculation, evidently, could only be avoided by those who were *in extremis* anyway.

and the conclusive blow that catastrophe delivers to his own vision of himself are inexorably set in motion by his original decision to try to protect the passengers and crew of the Travers' yacht; and that decision he had come to before his involvement with Mrs. Travers began. Again, even after he had become obsessed by her, Lingard still remained anxious to do his duty. His problem was to distinguish wherein his duty lay; the underlying problem, that his perception was clouded by his feelings for Mrs. Travers, was perforce something that was veiled from him. He is unlike Willems, then, and Karain and Arsat, in that they did something they knew was wrong under the relevant feminine influence. Lingard, like Whalley rather, found himself in the throes of a dilemma, albeit one caused by a feminine factor that clouded the previous clear view of duty.

The comparison, however, is not illuminating enough of itself. Miss. Whalley was, after all, many miles away whereas Mrs. Travers is shown as having an active part to play in the course of Lingard's indecisiveness. It is she who lays on him the burden, not of trying to save the yacht, which he was trying to do anyway, but – a far more complicatd matter–of rescuing her husband and his companion (who had been captured in the course of an imprudent walk they had taken in contravention of Lingard's advice); It is she who fails to give Lingard at the end the ring that might have indicated to him the imminent danger facing Hassim and Immada. Conscious as she is of her influence over him, she both acts and refrains from acting at strategic intervals in a manner that serves to precipitate the tragedy.

But, as Moser points out, she is not blamed for this. In his thorough and impressive analysis of the book he points out that 'Conrad excuses Mrs. Travers' actions and makes her a victim of chance'[22]; transferring the blame, Moser shows, insofar as it can be attributed to human agency, to the Jorgensen who does not give Mrs. Travers any explanation of the ring he asks her to hand over to Lingard and thus allows her to believe that it is unimportant. In addition, Moser draws attention to the fact that Conrad has Lingard declare that, even had she given him the ring, he would have done nothing– "it would have been to one that was dumb, deaf, and robbed of all courage."[23]

This last, however, seems to me to answer Mower's point; as well as the one he makes, wider in its implications, about Conrad idealizing Lingard too(in comparison primarily with his treatment in *The Rescuer*, the originalversion of the book, but also with his other heroes elsewhere)–

22. Moser, *op. cit.* p. 149. There are instructive points about *The Rescue* made throughout Moser's book.

23. Joseph Conrad, *The Rescue – A Romance of the Shallows*, London, 1920, Pt. VI, ch. 8; p. 450.

> "What had begun as a most promising portrait of a romantic, egoistic, meddlesome figure becomes in the published book the characterization of a conventional hero of popular fiction, a generous, brave, inherently good man brought low by bad luck, human misunderstanding, and the machinations of fate."[24]

On the contrary, Lingard is quite patently brought low by his unmanning allegiance to a woman; he may be presented at the start of the book as a better man than Conrad originally intended but that makes his fall from grace all the more grave: and the catastrophe that occurs is as fittingly destructive of his character and the life he lived as are Willems' and Whalley's acts of betrayal.

It is for this reason, indeed, that when Moser claims that Mrs. Travers was whitewashed the only instance he can cite is that of the ring: it is almost as though Conrad defends her there because he is anxious to underplay simple active responsibility, as opposed to the more insidious influence as to which she was not an agent but merely a vehicle. That influence he had detailed earlier on in such abundance as to make it apparent that it was part of his very theme-

> "She stood by his side: Every moment that fatal illusion clung closer to his soul – like a garment of light – like an armour of fire··· (with reference to an early act of violence that increased the tension of the situation in which he was trying to balance)···In this fatality Carter was a mere incident. The real cause of the disaster was somewhere else, was other, and more remote. And at the same time Lingard could not defend himself from a feeling that it was in himsllf, too, somewhere in the unexplored depths of his nature, something fatal and unavoidable···He had lost touch with the world. He had no thought. He was in the state of a man who, having cast his eyes through the open gates of Paradise, is rendered insensible by that moment's vision to all the forms and matters of the earth; and in the extremity of his emotion ceases even to look upon himself but as the subject of a sublime experience which exalts or unfits, sanctifies or damns···but was this life – this profound indifference, this strange contempt for what his eyes could see, this distaste for words, this unbelief in the importance of things and men? He tried to regain possession of himself, his old self which had things to do, words to speak as well as to hear. But it was too difficult ···Surrender was better, the dreadful ease of slack limbs in the sweep of an enormous tide and in a divine emptiness of mind ··· (And, to sum up, when

24· Moser, *op. cit.* p. 150.

vision returns after the disaster)...“What is an accident?...Accident ... I have just come back to life and it has closed on me colder and darker than the grave itself.”[25]

Moser claims that Lingard is emasculated by being stripped of his weaknesses; the excess of quotation above has been designed to show, on the contrary. that the emasculation of Lingard is a process deliberately conducted by Conrad in the course of the novel, with the feminine influence of Mrs. Travers being shown to be the instrument. Indeed, it is conceivable that it was to show the extremely debilitating effects of that influence that Lingard was deprived of the weaknesses that were independent of it: and, correspondingly, Mrs. Travers must be shown to be blameless, because Conrad's theme is not the havoc wrought by destructive women but the havoc wrought by any woman who is allowed entry into a world with which she has nothing to do. The stark simplicity of the characterization (which is what, despite the convoluted cerebrations described, is all there is) accords with the dogmatic basis of the theme. For Conrad the fundamental tragedy was that two characters with widely divergent lives should be brought together and led to think that they had something in common.

The point is underscored in the description of the final meeting and the preparation for it, Mrs. Travers, recalling Lingard's “capacity for passion”,[26] wonders whether she would ever come back to the yacht; when they come together Lingard, claiming to see her clearly for the first time, declares ‘But now the world is dead.”[27] The scene does, of course, recall that between Willems and Aissa, mentioned above, in which his impotence before her is registered; but, even more importantly, it also suggests the final scene of *Heart of Darkness*, where Kurtz' fiancee still dwells on her love for him, whereas he had had passed far beyond such emotions. As in the beginning when she never understood, despite his extraordinary attempts to explain himself to her, what Lingard was about or what Hassim and Immada meant to him, so at the end, despite all they had been through together, Mrs. Travers remains completely ignorant of Lingard's inner life. The alienation sketched in the short stories discussed above here receives its fullest treatment; and, though Lingard is one of the few of Conrad's protagonists who does not die, the destruction wrought on his life by the intrusive woman is so marked that, as Baines remarks of the book, ‘Its mood of defeatism and world-weariness is even more pronounced than that of *Victory*, which does at least contain a positive admonition.[28]

25. *The Rescue*, Pt. IV, ch. 4, Pt. V, ch. 4, Pt. VI, chs. 5, 6, 7;. 226, 329, 415, 431–2, 443.
26. *ibid.*, Pt. VI, ch. 9; p. 461.
27. *ibid.*, Pt. VI, ch. 9; 463.
28. Baines, *op. cit.* p. 419.

An even stronger mood of defeatism pervades *Freya of the Seven Isles*, a short story that shares some remarkable characteristics with *The Rescue*. The reason for the greater pessimism of the tale is that Freya and Jasper there are avowedly in love so that, unlike in the case of Lingard and Mrs. Travers the story is quite simply about their relationship and its destruction; the similarities in the two tales are, however, instructive.[29] Amongst the more significant of these, in the present context, though apparently a small thing in itself, is Jasper's devotion to his brig: though the boat is no rival in the way that Lingard's commitment to his natives was, it could very well have been which is why it is not surprising that its ruin leads to such despairing apathy on Jasper's part. Conrad, indeed, stresses the romantic aspect of Jasper's attachment to his boat – 'there was nothing unnatural in Jaspar Allen treating her like a lover.'[30]

The other striking feature for us here is what might be called Freya's self-contained attitude to the relation. There is no doubt that she is in love with Jasper, but she is crucially aware of the demands of her own personality throughout. Thus, she refuses to marry Jasper, despite his importunity, until she is twenty-one (a delay that is shown to contribute to the tragedy) because then there would be "no mistake in people's minds as to me being old enough to know what I am doing";[31] that such a mistake was conceivable was because Freya was determined to elope, so as to save her farther from the worry he would undergo if he knew about her marriage in advance. Conrad expresses Freya's reasoning thus – 'He was capable of making himself ill, and then she wouldn't have the heart to leave him. Here you have the sanity of feminine outlook and the frankness of feminine reasoning'.[32] It hardly needs Conrad's further comments for this to be recognized for the irony it is.

> Those further comments however illuminate the situation further— "Jasper's feelings were in such subjection that he had never even remonstrated against the decree... And then to console him he had the brig which seemed pervaded by the spirit of Freya, since whatever he did on board was always done under the supreme sanction of his love... (the meaning of which is made clear in the exchange between Freya

29. Moser, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–102, draws attention to some of these, but in terms of the general pattern he discerns in Conrad's later work, so that he omits some of the crucial correspondences between the two works. Baines, *op. cit.* p. 375, has some interesting remarks on Conrad's determination on a tragic end for a more purely romantic story than most of his.

30. Joseph Conrad, 'Freya of the Seven Isles' ch. 1 in *'Twixt Land and Sea–Tales*, London, 1912; p. 157.

31. *ibid.*, ch. 3; p. 167.

32. *ibid.*, ch. 3; p. 166.

> and her father after the disaster)... "my dear, the only thing he loved was his brig" "Perhaps," she says to herself,... "perhaps it is true. Yes! I would never allow him any power over me".[33]

This clarifies what had been suggested before in the dimunitives such as 'child' and 'boy' which Freya had used on Jasper as he lay with his head in her lap, in a manner similar to that in which Lingard laid his head on Mrs. Travers' knee. Moser suggests that Jasper 'equates the loss of the brig with the loss of his manhood: he considers himself a "man disarmed for life by the loss of the brig, and, it seems to him, made unfit for love to which he had no foothold to offer".[34] But the loss of manhood had, in fact, come earlier, with Jasper"s very embarkation on the relationship with Freya, in which he had abandoned all initiative and resoluteness of his own.

Where Moser does have a point is in that the brig was, as the passage quoted above makes clear, in some sense a compensation to Jasper for that loss. It is for this reason that he feels his deprivation of that too so sorely, and why he then requires some positive token, almost of submission, from Freya to restore him to life–

> "If I had been a man I would have carried her off, but she made a child, a happy child, of me. Tell her that the day the only thing I had belonging to me in the world perished on this reef I discovered that I had no power over her... Has she come here with you?" he shouts, blazing at me suddenly with his hollow yes. I shook my head. Come with me, indeed! Anaemia: "Aha! you see? go away, then, old man, and leave me alone here with that ghost," he says, jerking his head at the wreck of his brig."[35]

He does not get that token because, as this passage indicates, Freya is ill; whereby Conrad avoids the issue that the passages quoted show lies at the heart of the book. This avoidance, however, cannot be considered an artistic failure, for the reason that 'Freya' is too slight a story to carry the weight of Conrad's obsessive theme. That this is so becomes obvious when we consider how unsatisfactory, inded unconvincing, either the giving of that token (by Freya bringing herself in acquiescent devotion to Jasper) or its deliberate denial would have been. The easy way out provided by the illness is in fact the only way; but it is nevertheless significant that knowledge of that illness is kept from Jasper so that he ends, as he began, feeling himself scorned by Freya. The responsibility for this particular

33· *ibid.*, chs. 3 & 6, pp. 167 & 237.
34· Moser, *op. cit.* p. 101.
35· *'Freya', ch.* 6; p. 236.

disappointment is cast upon old Nelson, just as in *The Rescue* the responsibility for the final disaster is given to Jorgensen. This, as I have suggested before, may be due to Conrad's highminded decision not to saddle his women with any guilt for the catastrophes his heroes undergo; that, in their various ways, they are the basic cause of the catastrophes, however, emerges through the protective covering.

I have mentioned before that the stories in *Tales of Unrest* deal on a small scale with the themes Conrad concentrated on in his longer work; the same might be said of the stories in *'Twixt Land and Sea*, although they are of course more substantial than those in the earlier book. Thus, 'Freya' foreshadows *The Rescue* as well as other later work; *The Secret Sharer* is, as mentioned above, one of the remarkably impressive works without women; and *A Smile of Fortune*, the other story in the book, also has its correspondences as we shall see. Its protagonist is recognizably the same young man who obtained his first chance of a captaincy in the much better known *The Shadow Line*, and in the same way may be seen to be undergoing a test of maturity; in this case, though, (as we have come to expect from Conrad) one that involves a woman. This particular female factor has been explored at interesting and illuminating length by both Moser and Guerard [36], and their concern with the fundamental impotence of the captain before Alice Jacobus is admirable; but it seems to me that they do less than justice to the conclusion of the story. Baines, on the other hand, does discuss the conclusion, but not very satisfactorily –

> "It is doubtful whether he realised how reprehensible he had made the Captain appear. There is something very distasteful about the way in which the Captain goads and, rather lubriciously, flirts with Alice... Thus, although he does in the end pay for his behaviour, this is fortuitous... nor is the resignation the 'full price' for such an action".[37]

The error here is to imagine that the captain can be blamed for the fascination exercised over him; Conrad makes it quite clear that the captain is attracted despite himself –

36. See Moser, *op. cit.* pp. 96 – 8, Guerard, *op. cit.* pp. 51 – 4. The latter, indeed, (p. 13) classes this with four other stories he characterizes as based on personal experience and therefore analyzes as a sort of introduction to Conrad. 'A Smile of Fortune' is, as he notes, the only one of these that deals with women. See Baines, *op. cit.* pp. 95 – 100, and also Norman sherry, *Conrad's Eastern World*, Cambridge, 1966, pp. 32 – 4, for the autobiographical correlations. Both these accounts point out important distinctions between the fact and the fiction.

37. Baines, *op. cit.* p. 375.

> "What folly was this? I would ask myself. It was like being the slave of some depraved habit. And I returned to her with my head clear, my heart certainly free, not even moved by pity for that cast-away (she was as much of a castaway as any one ever wrecked on a desert island), but as if beguiled by some extraordinary promise".[38]

He is enticed without any concious effort on his part; the moment something, the kiss, occurs to activate his consciousness, he realizes that he has got to reach a decision; the buying of the potatoes is, as it were, what allows him to make an unbiased decision since it seems to satisfy some sort of an obligation (although this involved the father and not the daughter, it could have been claimed that that was all his attendance at the house entailed) and therefore serves to shelter him from further guilty feelings of responsibility (about the daughter) in making his decision; and thereupon he determines to depart. But a price has to be paid; and it is not simply the potatoes, as he had perhaps hoped at first but his first command and all that that meant to a sailor.

For the guilty sense of responsibility remains. The captain is aware that Alice has begun to feel for him, and he cannot therefore go back to her vicinity unless he were prepared to reciprocate. Baines' answer would be that he should. But that would be to ignore what for Conrad was the more important responsibility a man had, namely that to himself. It would have been an absurd sense of honour that would have led the captain to marry Alice Jacobus, because such a conclusion would have been a travesty of the basic principles of his character on which honour rested. At the same time, the girl's honour too had been compromised and, though this was not as important as his own, it had to be taken care of as far as was possible within the limitations set by his own imperatives: whether it had been his fault or not, he had been the cause of her indiscretion, and he therefore had a responsibility to serve her. We don't have to remember the other characters in Conrad who had been trapped into imprudent marriages to realize that the greatest tragedy here would have been for the captain to have married Alice; but, short of that, given that he had permitted himself to be drawn into the fatal orbit, he had to be punished-indeed, more appropriately for a character in Conrad, he had to punish himself. The wages of sin could not, after all, be simply a matter of potatoes; if not quite death in this case, they had at least to approach the sort of grave self-sacrifice to which a captain's withdrawal from his command amounted.

And so we come to *Lord Jim*. It might have been deduced from what has been said in the last paragraph that I believe Conrad intended the reader to have no doubt that Jim's action in giving himself up deliberately

38· Joseph Conrad, 'A Smile of Fortune' ch. 5 in '*Twixt Land and Sea – Tales*; p. 59.

at the end to his death was admirable. This is not a universal view: even so perceptive a critic as Guerard suggests that there is at least an ambiguity in Conrad's own attitude. Guerard's suspicions are the more surprising in that he believes, and argues convincingly, that Jim realizes that the leniency which he shows to Gentleman Brown springs from the affinity with him that he is, culpably, driven to recognize[39]; that is, Jim acknowledges his responsibility for the catastrophe that, resulting from Brown's vindictiveness, hits the natives who believed in him. Given the assessment of Jim's action in persuading the natives to let Brown go –

> "In this simple form of assent to his will lies the whole gist of the situation; their creed, his truth; and the testimony to that faithfulness which made him in his own eyes the equal of the impeccable men who never fall out of the ranks."[40]

so that, when the massacre occurs, he is both agent and victim of a betrayal that removes him conclusively from those ranks; given the words of the French Lieutenant which Guerard recognizes that Conrad endorses –

> "But the honour – the honour, monsieur....The honour....that is real – that is! And what life may be worth when....when the honour is gone – *Ah ca par exempel* – I can offer no opinion."[41]

given, indeed, Marlow's dominant attitude even while expressing what seems to be the ambiguity –

> "He is one of us – and have I not stood up once, like an evoked ghost to answer for his eternal constancy. Was I so very wrong after all?"[42]

it seems to me that there can be no doubt that Conrad's view was that 'An act of cowardice had to be expiated with the supreme act of courage, the deliberate going to meet certain death.'[43] and that Jim's final act of self-sacrifice is to be seen in this supremely heroic light.

39. Frederick R. Karl, *A Reader's Guide to Joseph Conrad*, London, 1960, assesses the situation succinctly – 'in letting the predatory Brown escape from Patusan, Jim recognizes that a forceful decision cannot be made by an imperfect being and that his tainted past precludes making strictures against even a criminal. '(p. 122)
40. Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim – A Tale*, London, 1980 ch. 43: p. 393.
41. *ibid.*, ch. 13; p. 148.
42. *ibid.*, ch. 45; p. 416.
43. Baines, *op cit.* p. 252. Baines, oddly enough, appears to think Jim innocent with regard to Brown – 'he was by European standards right to let Brown and his men go; the offer of "a clear road or else a clear fight" expressed the conviction of an honourable, civilised man, and not mental paralysis' (p. 250). This indulgence seems to me to give even greater conviction to the assertion that follows, that Jim was nevertheless in honour bound to sacrifice himself.

There are, however, obvious reasons for the misinterpretation. This is not a situation of simple certainties, as with Singleton or McWhirr, as to Conrad's endorsements of whose actions there can be no doubt. Again, where there is hesitation as to the right conduct, an author's view as to actions he deplores can be recognized quite readily through his presentation of the consequential suffering – as in the case of Lingard and, indeed, of Jim with reference to the liberation of Brown - and its revelatory impact on the agent. Dubious actions an author underwrites are less easily recognized as such; yet, as I have suggested before with *The End of the Tether* and *A Smile of Fortune* and as also emerges from *The Secret Sharer*, there are occasions when Conrad can be seen clearly to endorse the final results of his protagonists tortured cerebrations.

That first story helps, too with another point that contributes to the difficulty, namely that Jim's act is one of suicide; that in general seems to readers a fault, so that the act is therefore to be condemned. It is certainly true that a number of Conrad's failures are shown as inviting their deaths and that such ends are to be seen as negative ones; but there is clearly a great gap between the despairing demises of Willems and Jasper, which are depicted as being imposed upon them in a way that may be said to parallel their tragedies, and Jim's own death, chosen almost triumphantly and more clearly self-imposed – again in a way that could be thought to parallel his tragedy. Indeed, there is even a distinction between his death and that of Whalley which, while deliberately chosen in atonement of his error, was also the outcome of a personal despair. Jim's was more unalloyedly an act of atonement to others and, it may be said, therefore more purely an act of self-sacrifice. It was, in effect, a supreme act of courage rather than of cowardice, positive and not nihilistic.[44]

Once this is recognized, it is apparent that the only reason to suppose we are meant to take an adverse view of Jim's conduct is the abandonment of Jewel; and it is also apparent how trivial such a reason is. Yet there is the fact that Conrad does stress it: first through emphasizing her anxiety that Jim would leave her, then in stressing her bitterness when Marlow comes across her in Stein's house after the event, again in describing her hysteria at the moment of Jim's decision, and finally in Marlow's notes of ambiguity in his summing up –

44. Guerard's doubts are connected with his question, *'Is self-destructive behavior moral, and courageous?'* (*op. cit.* p. 143) In raising this question 'in connection with Jim's sudden departures from his jobs when reminded of the *Patna*', however, Guerard suggests the answer; as he did earlier in trying to make a distinction between Jim's sense of guilt and his sense of disgrace. What Conrad criticizes is the behaviour connected with the latter – such as the running away from the jobs; the final sacrifice clearly arose from the former. Had it simply been a question of disgrace, Jim could have fought or run away in an attempt to live it down (indeed, he would have been likely to come across people like Baines who would have assisted him to the view that he had not done anything disgraceful). It was precisely because his action was connected with what he was rather than what he appeared as that he made his expiation.

> "But we can see him, an obscure conqueror of fame, tearing himself out of the arms of a jealous love at the sign, at the call of his exalted egoism. He goes away from a living woman to celebrate his pitiless wedding with a shadowy ideal of conduct....He is gone, inscrutable at heart, and the poor girl is leading a sort of soundless, inert life in Stein's house".[45]

The apparent consequence of all of which is that, as Moser puts it, 'after Jim's death, Jewel changes...into an extremely effective, utterly pitiless judge of Jim's moral conduct. Jewel gives Marlow an important attitude towards Jim's final, equivocal act'.[46]

Yet, as I have said, there were other attitudes: Marlow's own, and also Stein's. Moser claims that Stein was disappointed – and he doubtless was – but not, as Moser suggests, with Jim personally; as is clear from his response to Jewel's complaint that Jim had been false – "No! No! Not false! True! True!"[47] Again, albeit through Marlow, Conrad introduces a comment upon Jewel's judgment – 'She could not understand'[48] – that pervades the ensuing scenes in which Jim is acting out his decision and suggests forcibly the gulf between his conceptions and hers. That Moser should omit this is the less understandable in view of the comment that heads this study which he had made, just before his analysis of *Lord Jim*, on a previous assertion on the theme. As I suggested before, with reference to *The Rescue* and elsewhere, for Conrd women inhabited an entirely different world from that of men; it is with the moral problems of the world of men that Conrad is concerned, not with the alien world of the women.

But there is more to it than that, Moser goes on to draw a further comparison between *Lord Jim* and *the Rescue* –'he cut out Edith Travers and substituted Gentleman Brown'[49] that is, the temper was no longer a 'supposedly sympathetic female' but a more obvious villain. Yet that is only half the story. Jim after all, has to undergo not one temptation but two, not only that of Gentleman Brown but also that of Jewel, the supposedly sympathetic female.[50] In both cases the temptation arises from what was to Conrad a misplaced feeling of sympathy; the more appealing

45. *Lord Jim*, ch. 45, pp. 416 — 7.
46. Moser, *op. cit.* p. 85.
47. *Lord Jim*, ch. 37; p. 350.
48. *ibid.*, ch. 45; p. 410.
49. Moser, *op. cit.* p. 83. The relevance of this identification provides one of the best answers to Baines' view that I have cited in a previous note: for Conrad, the doing of the so-called decent thing could easily amount to a fatal act of irresponsibility.
50. Moser, *op. cit.* p. 86, suggessts that Conrad had hinted early on that Jewel would destroy Jim. However, in establishing this point through the vegetation images to which he devotes much attention throughout his book, Moser omits to consider what the hint – if indeed there is one – actually meant.

one, to the reader at any rate, it would seem, being that which arose from the sympathetic female. Jim, however, having succumbed to Gentleman Brown (perhaps because of that, and the consequent conscious strengthening of his fibre), succeeds in resisting Jewel and fulfilling the demands of his honour; and if there are readers who therefore convict him of irresponsibility, it is because they ignore what was to Conrad the more fundamental question of a man's responibility to himself. They ignore the pointers that Marlow, underneath his superficial uncertainty, so clearly provides –

> "the question is whether at the last he had not confessed to a faith mightier than the laws of order and progress....One wonders whether this was perhaps that supreme opportunity, that last and satisfying test for which I had always suspected him to be waiting, before he could frame a message to the impeccable world.[51]

To compare small things with great, A *Smile of Fortune* underlines this aspect of *Lord Jim*. At the same time, it differs in an instructive particular. In both cases, what seems to be a betrayal of a woman is essential for the preservation of honour, in both cases this betrayal is in itself neither crime nor atonement. The atonement in the one case is the renunciation of the ship, in the other the renunciation of life itself; the betrayal in either case is simply a necessary concomitant of the preservation of honour. The nature of the crime, however, marks a vital difference, in the one case it actually lay in the original indiscreet flirtation, in the other it was the totally unconnected indulgence to Gentleman Brown; so that in the one case the betrayal was a positive act in the drama, in the other it was simply a negative corollary of the important issue. This is significant in terms of the different implications of the two stories : the captain is merely a private individual, involved in his own particular story; Jim, for all the idiosyncratic nature of his fate, is, as Marlow repeatedly tells us, 'one of us.' In both cases the fate of the woman is to be seen as unfortunate, but it is in Jim's case that we see the wider significance of Conrad's singleminded resolution of the relationship. It is here, with the ' "Nothing can touch me," he said in a last flicker of superb egoism'[52] of Conrad's finally most triumphant hero, that Conrad's misogyny asserts itself most profoundly: the woman, here, and hence for all 'of us', was not merely an irrelevancy but a burden that had perforce to be cast aside when the protagonist at last beholds 'the face of that opportunity which, like an Eastern bride, had come veiled to his side.'[53]

51. *Lord Jim*, ch. 36, p. 339.
52. ibid., ch. 45; p. 413
53. *ibid.*, ch. 45; p. 416.

I have dealt so far mainly with Conrad's early works, and I intend now to comment on the later major ones. Yet, as might be apparent from the exceptions to this procedure, and also from my subject, there is another more conclusive distinction that governs the division, which relates of course to the presentation of women. In the works I have dealt with already, women are depicted as a hostile force of some sort, occasionally actively so, more often than not simply because of their incomprehension of male values (so that the hostility takes the form of their providing a motivation Conrad suggests is in opposition to the more healthy one that would govern the male in isolation.) In the works to be looked at now, whatever moral influence women are depicted as having on their men is seen, on the contrary, as an essentially sympathetic one: women now act and think in conjunction with men rather than in opposition to them. That this distinction accords so closely with a chronological one suggests a development in Conrad's thinking that appears attributable to an increasing optimism about women.

The consequences of this new vision are not, however, as satisfactory as they might have been anticipated to be. Moser diagnozes the problem when, in the chapter which he entitles 'The Later Conrad's "affirmation" ' where he discusses the novels that mark most clearly the altered outlook, he declares that Conrad's view of his protagonists now appears to be that 'Their greatest good is to lose themselves in a love that will blot out all awareness of the world and bring the semblance of death'.[54] The exposition of this nihilistic aspect does not, though, reveal the whole truth: Moser is right about Conrad's view of the negative consequences of his so-called affirmation, but there must also be a certain amount of doubt as to Conrad's judgement (which Moser thinks entirely favourable) on the manner of this affirmation. Moser argues throughout this chapter that Conrad is less critical than he would have been at an earlier stage in his career, about the deficiencies in his protagonists that lead to what amounts to self-immola-tion. This does not seem to me to be the case. I have already argued the point in dealing with *The Rescue*, which Moser includes in the chapter mentioned; whereas I argued, with regard to Lingard's failure therein, that Conrad was as dogmatic as he had been before about the fatal effect women had on men and that the only 'softening' discernible was the expression to a much more heightened degree than before that women could not be held morally responsible for that unfortunate effect.

The Rescue was, however, conceived and even begun early on so that it could without difficulty be yielded up to the category which I have dealt with already: for Moser's view to be challenged effectively I shall have to deal rather with the other works he discusses. Of these, *The Shadow Line* is another of the works without women, so that discussion of it would be largely irrelevant to my subject. It is, however, necessary (and helpful) to

54. Moser, *op. cit.* p. 143.

point out that Moser's attempt to associate this work with the others in which he sees the pattern of easeful death is unsatisfactory: he has to refer to Conrad's mournful remarks about the cook Ransome, while granting that as far as the captain, the protagonist of the story goes, Conrad's conclusive remarks indicate a continuing and dominant devotion to work. It seems to me extremely significant that the only hero in these conjoined works who is not reduced to nothingness (Lingard–whose later career had been chronicled already–does not die but, as I have shown, that does not affect his essential destruction) is the only one who is not brought into a relationship with a woman.

Moser's account of Conrad's misogyny seems, then, to be incomplete: while recognizing that it persists into this later period, he suggests that it is manifested chiefly in Conrad's portrayal of particular women, particularly when they play an active part in the proceedings; I would suggest, on the contrary, that its most notable manifestation continues to be in the accounts Conrad gives of the destructive effect women have upon men. The difference now is that this occurs not only when the women are hostile or alien, but even when Conrad shows them as being in sympathy with the men. The occasionally sympathetic accounts Moser notes of women spring from this source: when the women are obviously on the side of the men there are fewer qualifications to be made about them than otherwise. There ultimate effect, however, continues to be the same–and the more remarkably so in the light of the congruencies that Conrad does depict. It might have been supposed, in the case of any other writer anyway, that at least once these would have led to a happy ending. But from happy endings the later 'affirmations', with the exception of course of *The Shadow Line*, are singularly exempt.

Of the two books I have not yet mentioned which Moser also includes in this category *Victory*, despite its title, is the more negative, the one that accords better with the pattern I have suggested; it is perhaps for this reason that Moser devotes less attention to it than to *Chance*. There, as the title implies, chance has a very large part to play in the action; in *The Rescue*, as I have pointed out, events arise not from chance but from human motivation, and the same seems to me to be true of *Victory*. Indeed, Moser seems to grant as much when he writes that

> 'In *Victory* there is a series of perfectly plausible misunderstandings between Heyst and Lena rising out of her secret plan to trick Ricardo.....At the end Heyst blames himself for not putting his "trust in life", but surely chance, not conscience, is at fault'.[55]

55. *ibid.*, p. 141.

That, of course, is the point. However understandable and forgivable the excesssive diffidence (that causes the misunderstandings) which either feels with regard to the other, the reason for this is clearly a matter of conscience rather than of chance. The issue is obscured only when the question of culpability is introduced; but the fact that Conrad did not want anyone to be found guilty does not mean that he did not intend to show in what and in whom the cause of the disaster lay.

The precise nature of that cause, however, is a somewhat complicated matter to resolve. Moser records that careful reading reveals that 'the terms of Lena's victory are all *against* life.'[56] Equally important, though Moser does not note this, is the fact that there is no victory at all for Heyst, that his death is in effect 'an act of total despair.'[57] This is apparent not only from the oft-quoted epitaph he pronounces on himself but also in the mention of 'his fastidious soul. which .... kept the true cry of love from his lips in its infernal mistrust of all life'[58] and even before that, more importantly, in the description of the doubt that

> "entered into him – a doubt of a new kind, formless, hideous. It seemed to spread itself all over him, enter his limbs, and lodge in his entrails. He stopped suddenly, with a thought that he who experienced such a feeling had no business to live–or perhaps was no longer living".[59]

This distinction is an important one: for Lena death is simply a concomitant of victory, for Heyst it is the material equivalent of the spiritual denial of life.

The tragedy then, for with Conrad even more than with most one is concerned with spiritual tragedies, is Heyst's; correspondingly, he is to be seen too as its primary cause (which is why it can be pointed out that Lena's own fatal determination to play a lone hand arises from the diffidence he expresses; the tentative nature of the relationship between them to which that diffidence gives rise being finely explored by Conrad in the two extraordinarily distant conversations the couple indulge in while walking). It is, however, important to consider carefully Conrad's view of the special nature of Heyst's final collapse. It is with regard to Morrison that Heyst says, "I only know that he who forms a tie is lost."[60] given the epitaph, "woe to the man whose heart has not learned while young to hope, to love-and to put its trust in life",[61] the obvious assumption to be

56. *ibid.*, p. 142.
57. Baines, *op. cit.* p.397.
58. Joseph Conrad, *Victory – An Island Tale*, London, 1915, Pt. IV, ch. 13; p. 406.
59. *ibid.*, Pt. IV, ch. 11; pp. 391 – 2.
60. *ibid.*, Pt. III, ch. 3; pp. 199 – 200.
61. *ibid.*, Pt. IV. ch. 14; p. 410.

made is that Conrad intends us to feel that Heyst has arrived at a more mature and better wisdom that is more appreciative of ties; yet, though it is with regard to the second tie that Heyst makes his recantation and though his complaint comes after the first, the actual consequences of those ties suggest a different view. It is not simply that, whereas the consequence of the first was a renewed interest in life that led to the association with Lena, the second led to his death; rather, it is the frame of mind before that death that is important, and in particular the fact that it was a negative one even before Lena herself died. Whereas the first tie had left Heyst essentially in possession of himself, the second, in itself possessing him so completely. could be said to have transmuted him substantially–so that he experienced the 'doubt' that made him feel he 'perhaps was no longer living'. There is, of course, the implication that that doubt had its origins in the detachment which Heyst had hitherto cultivated towards life; but it does not seem to me that Conrad sketches the causal connection as clearly as he might have done had that to him been all. After all, there is the fact that with reference to his other tie, that to Morrison, Heyst had felt no doubts. There seems to me to be a hint, therefore, that the doubt in the case of Lena had a broader origin.

It may be as well here to compare *The Planter of Malata* a short story written at the same time as *Victory*, a story which Moser includes in the chapter on which I have based the present argument. He remarks there that it

> "..... closely resembles its exact contemporary *Victory* both in characters and story. The hero, Renouard, is another Heyst, sensitive, romantic, withdrawn from society..... Renouard, too, falls in love and takes his beloved with him to his private island. When she discovers that he has lied to lure her there, she rejects him and leaves. Renouard's only friend, a newspaper man, visits the island to see what has happened and finds evidence that Renouard has committed suicide by drowning."[62]

What Moser does not mention here is the vital difference that associates this story with those discussed earlier on: that, whereas Lena was entirely on Heyst's side, Felicia Moorsom was antagonistically alien to Renouard. But there is good reason for this omission, namely that in both cases the consequences were the same: the hitherto detached man entered upon a romantic attachment at the expense of his life and also of, more importantly and causally, his commitment to life.

> Conrad had, at a certain point in his story been critical of Renouard– "Renouard was inclined to evade the small complications of existence. This trait of his character was composed of a little indolence. some disdain, and a shrinking from contests with certain forms of vulgarity."[63]

62. Moser, *op. cit* p. 144.

63. Joseph Conrad, 'The Planter of Malata' ch. 7 in *Within the Tides – Tales*, London, 1915; p. 55.

This, and the early traces of Felicia's attraction towards him, might have led one to suppose that the disastrous confrontation between them would have been obviously attributed to his shirking to tell her early that the man she had been looking for was dead. Not quite. When she rejects the passion he declares immediately after revealing the death Conrad remarks of her – 'The truth vibrating in his voice made her recoil slightly, for he was not fit to hear it – not even a little – not even one single time in her life',[64] that is, it is not Renouard's conduct that is at fault but, fundamentally, his being attracted to a woman who could not appreciate him.

Of course this passage refers only to the particular woman; but, since we have noted already that Conrad did not in general find his women culpable, it is not surprising that his criticism of Felicia does not arise from a more widely applicable basis. It is otherwise with his view of the man's reaction, where his comments are not confined to the individual case –

> "But his resignation was not spared the torments of jealousy: the cruel, insensate, poignant, and imbecile jealousy, when it seems that a woman betrays us simply by this that she exists, that she breathes and when the deep movements of her nerves or her soul become a matter of distracting suspicion, of killing doubt, of mortal anxiety".[65]

This, indeed, is why Moser is justified in connecting the story with *Victory*: we recall Heyst's own fatal doubt. That, it had seemed, sprang from the particular circumstances, Heyst's idiosyncratic diffidence and Lena's consequential anxious secrecy. But Conrad perhaps was not complacent: he may indicate Heyst's inadequacies, he may note Renouard's weaknesses, but the fundamental source of the disasters is a more general one. It is for this reason that Moser's inclusion of this late example of an actively destructive woman in this particular chapter is illuminating. Renouard, a stronger character than Willems or Alvan Hervey, is equally shattered by a woman's scorn—but Conrad here suggests that the disintegration had begun even before the woman became scornful, simply by virtue of the attachment itself. This, combined with the hints of Heyst's own derogation from self, suggests that Moser ought perhaps to have detected emasculation even when Conrad sought to affirm.

Chance, with its satisfactory resolution of the romantic complications in it, seems to provide a counter example to this view. Besides, as Moser puts it, in his assessment of the book, with its first half being

> "... in some ways, a feminine version of *Lord Jim* .... In *Chance* the evil is *outside* Flora. All that is required of Flora is that she open her eyes to it. She has no responsibility during her crisis there are many

64· *Ibid.*, ch. 10; p. 78.
65· *ibid.*, ch. 4; p. 34.

> things Jim could have done, things he ought to have done as a responsible ship's officer; and Jim is aware of these responsibilities at the time ...For Flora, the inner problem is secondary to her discovery of how bad other people can be. Throughout the novel Flora's conduct is impeccable"[66]:

that is, where Conrad had earlier been anxious to assess people's weaknesses, here he is content simply to record the malignity of the external world. In *Chance*, the individual's contribution to his fate would seem to be an issue no longer.

Yet the passage quoted above itself supplies the explanation of this apparently unusual aspect of the book: the passage refers to Flora alone. What is in fact remarkable about the book is that it devotes so much attention to the establishment of Flora's character so that, in the particular account of the romantic complication, she is a participant of immediate importance, more so than any of the other women we have noticed. But there is nothing remarkable about the view of the world that removes responsibility from her: as we have noted already, and by this stage certainly, Conrad's theory was that women could not be thought of as moral agents. This book, albeit with regard to a very special case, simply carries on the process a trace further by showing why precisely culpability should be denied. As far, indeed, as what might be called the facts of the case go, Conrad clearly indicates Flora's own contribution to the confusion– 'it is so true that the germ of destruction lies in wait for us mortals, even at the very source of our strength, that one may die of too much endurance as well as of too little of it' [67]; but he has made it more clear this time than ever that it would be absurd to blame the woman for her unfortunate effect.

With regard to Anthony, however, Conrad is less indulgent; as we would expect him to be in dealing with that half of the human race he accented as being moral agents. The refusal to pair off, that Conrad here characterizes as being, under certain circumstances, 'a sin against life, the call of which is simple. Perhaps sacred [68] is quite clearly his decision, in which Flora merely acquiesces; and Conrad endeavours to prevent us from seeing it as arising simply from an idealistic and renunciatory romanticism–

> "If Anthony's love had been as egoistic as love generally is, it would have been greater than the egoism of his vanity – or of his generosity, if you like – and all this could not have happened··· I am forced to think that his vanity must have been enormous."[69]

66. Moser, *op. cit.* p. 136.
67. Joseph conrad, *Chance – A Tale in Two Parts*, London, 1913, Pt. II, ch. 3; p. 310.
68. *ibid.*, Pt. II, ch. 6; p. 427.
69. *ibid.*, Pt. II, ch. 4; p. 331.

At the same time, Conrad also suggests in the fashion that by now we have come to expect that Anthony himself was a victim of forces beyond his control –

> "I konw also that a passion, dominating or tyrannical, invading the whole man and subjugating all his faculties to its own unique end, may conduct him whom it spurs and drives, into all sorts of adventures, to the brink of unfathomable dangers, to the limits of folly, and madness, and death."[70]

In effect we are back at the old familiar cause of disaster: women, for reasons far beyond their own control, cause chaos in the minds of fine and otherwise upstanding men. When the woman is basically sympathetic, there has to be a catalyzing force in the man, it would appear, to lead his mind astray – vanity in Anthony, diffidence in Heyst; but a consideration of the presentation of those particular forces indicates that it is only in conjunction with an attachment to a woman that they lead to trouble. In short, both Anthony and Heyst would have been perfectly safe had women not crossed their paths and enthralled them.

It might of course be objected that Anthony's trouble was of relatively brief duration, and that he achieved an entirely satisfactory relationship with his wife. The first factor of significance with regard to this is that it is the very resolution of the problem that owes most in the book to chance rather than to conscience: had young Powell not happened to spy by pure accident the machinations of Flora's father, it is likely that the couple would never have come to a satisfactory understanding. As far as their own characters went, and especially that of Anthony, obsessed as he was by his concept of delicacy in the face of female vulnerability, resolution would have been improbable without outside interference: the complication caused by conscience had to be settled by chance. Besides, there is more to it than that There is the fact that Anthony is arbitrarily killed off after six years of marriage. Conrad's one novel in which relations between hero and heroine reach a satisfactory conclusion is not allowed to rest at equilibrium Disaster, though admittedly it is not causally connected in any way with the relationship itself, has to occur.

My own explanation for this is that, when it came to the point, Conrad simply could not stand the pairing off. It might be suggested that there is an alternative explanation, namely that Conrad wanted young Powell's story to be rounded off happily at the end and that therefore Anthony had to be got rid of so that Flora would be free to marry again. This alternative seems to me to provide even stronger

70. *ibid.*, Pt. II, ch. 4; p. 329.

evidence of Conrad's misogyny than the first. It is not that second marriages are any evidence of a deficiency of affection with regard to the first (Conrad, indeed, takes pains to make Flora enunciate how perfect her union with Anthony had been) but that they do inevitably take away from the effect when the subject of the story is the earlier romantic relationship that is to be seen as concluding satisfactorily. It is for this reason that such second marriages are unusual in literature; a happy ending for young Powell does not in itself provide a good enough motive for Conrad's flaunting of the conventions, in this his only novel with what might have otherwise seemed a conventionally happy conclusion. It would be futile to attempt to extrrct some particular judgment about women from this dissonant note, but it seems to me that it does provide fairly thorough corroboration of what has been suggested throughout this study, that Conrad's view of the romantic relations between men and women was an unconventional one and that he saw no source of satisfaction in such relations.

As for Conrad's last works, Moser's discussion of them in the chapter entitled 'The Exhaustion of creative Energy' suggests how little purpose there would be in going into them at any length. It might be worth while, however, simply to draw attention to some interesting features, that might prove relevant here, of the two complete novels amongst them. The heroes of both *The Arrow of Gold* and *The Rover* enter upon romantic attachments in which some sort of triumph might be claimed to result for either. Beyond that there does not seem to be much familarity between the two books: the first hero, George, is very young, the second, Peyrol, extremely old; George's love is consummated, Peyrol's not; Rita leaves George at the end so that he should be free of her, Peyrol sacrifices himself so that Arlette should be able to enter upon a relationship with the man she really loves; George is at the end of the book ready, in a manner of speaking, to embark upon the real business of life, Peyrol has allowed himself to be killed.

Yet, though the concepts behind the books might seem at first sight to be entirely distinct, associations can be traced and ones that, despite the ostensible triumphs, connect them with the more pessimistic basic preoccupations that we have traced. The triumphs, indeed, are perhaps permitted because neither hero is the usual adult Conrad protagonist with a highly developed awareness of the issues as they concern character – I refer in the case of George primarily to the extreme youth that Conrad stresses but, as Moser detects, there are also more obvious resemblances to Peyrol – 'Even more indicative of Conrad's own feelings of exhaustion and desperation are the descriptions of George's love pangs. George acts more like a sick old man than a young lover'[71]

71· Moser, *op. cit.*, p. 195,

a love that leaves them happy seems to be the privilege only of the deficient. In addition, of course, there is the fact that the actual result of these affairs is less satisfactory than the affirmative attitudes of the protagonists might have been thought to require:George is wounded in a duel because of his love and, though Rita nurses him back from the verge of death, she then leaves him; Peyrol, of course, dies.

I have noted before that death is not necessarily a defeat in Conrad and Peyrol certainly, like Jim, actively chooses his own death – which is why it seems a triumph. Yet the differences are more important than the similarities: Jim goes away from a love in which he was desperately desired to remain and from a world in which he could still have striven to justify himself; Peyrol leaves a love which had nothing to offer him and a world in which he had nothing more to do. In effect, however morally sound he might be at the end, there is less triumph in his sacrifice than despair, albeit the quality of this last is certainly different to that we have seen in for instance, the case of Willems. Conrad, however, might well have laid another stress on the matter – for him. Peyrol would have been triumphant because he died in action instead of wasting his life in enervating admiration of Arlette. He had, after all, in *The Arrow Of Gold* suggested as a reason for Rita's departure –

> "You know that this world is not a world for lovers...No, a world of lovers would be impossible. It would be a mere ruin of lives which seems to be meant for something else."[72]

It does not appear from the novel itself that Conrad approved unequivocally of Rita's action. But what there is, combined with what we have seen elsewhere, suggests that he would not have been unhappy that George was released for other things. A satisfactory issue for lovers could not, for Conrad, have ever been dependent on love itself.

There remain the three novels of what might be called Conrad's middle period, which seem to me, as women are concerned at any rate, to be more positive than those of Moser's time of 'affirmation'. They are different from these latter in that the women in them are not actively involved in their males' spiritual development; at the same time, they differ from the earlier works in that here the the women do not stand, either actively or passively, in the way of their men. There are, however, similarities to both the sorts of women we have seen so far, and these will become clear with a little attention.

72. Joseph Conrad, *The Arrow of Gold – A Story between Two Notes* London, 1919, Second Note; p. 350.

Of all Conrad's female characters, Emilia Gould in *Nostromo* has received the most praise[73], and rightly so I think. Nevertheless, Moser seems to me to go too far in his declaration that

> "Of all his women, Emilia Gould alone is admitted to the moral hierarchy. Her quiet, unobtrusive life follows a path of moral involvement and disillusionment similar to that of the male characters.[74]

Moser goes on to mention Mrs. Gould's two deviations from the straight and narrow: that she had concealed some news from her husband, a concealment that had precipitated the arrival of the fatal load of silver and hence the revolution of Sulaco; and that she conceals Nostromo's fraud concerning that very silver. Of these, the second concealment does not seem to me to be morally equivocal at all; far from it expressing 'her fellowship with Nostromo's corruption', the ensuing scene with Giselle makes it clear beyond doubt that Mrs. Gould is rather asserting simply her rejection of that silver and the corruption which it stood for. With regard to the first incident, of course, there is more. Conrad himself states that 'She had been corrupted by her fears at that time, and she had never forgiven herself.[75] But what he immediately goes on to say indicates in what way we should look on that account of her feelings.

> "Moreover, that silver, which would never have come down if her husband had been made a quainted with the news brought down by Decoud, had been in a roundabout way nearly the cause of Dr. Monygham's death. And these things appeared to her very dreadful".

That is, it was not a sin to be expiated but simply an act, of deceit as it was, that involved her with the silver over which so many people had behaved so greedily and so cruelly. It was only an extreme degree of punctiliousness that could have caused so much regret over the action. After all, as Conrad showed in the very careful account of her decision to acquiesce in Decoud's determination to suppress the news of the insurrection from her husband, her motives were cretainly not mercenary and could only misleadingly be described as selfish.

What would justify Moser's language is if she had been presented as so affected by the deceit as to have been prevented by her consciousness of it from acting as a restraint upon her husband in his pursuit of 'material interests'. Yet, far from that being the case, the very decision to deceive him had been reached in a sense through awareness that her

73. See Curle, *op. cit.* pp. 90 – 6, for a surprisingly illuminating account of her virtues.

74. Moser, *op. cit.* pp. 87 – 8.

75. Joseph Conrad, *Nostromo – A Tale of the Seaboard*, London, 1904, Pt. III, ch. 13, p. 557.

husband had already moved beyond her control. Mrs. Gould's inability to live up to what her husband had claimed he saw her as -

> "The best of my feelings are in your keeping, my dear." he said, lightly, and there was so much truth in that obscure phrase that he experienced towards her at that moment a great increase of gratitude and tenderness,[76]

has nothing to do with what might be called an active moral failure on her part, springing from diffidence born of the deceit she had practised; the sequel to the words just quoted shows that the process had begun long before the incident of the concealment. That incident is not to be seen as detracting from Mrs. Gould's ideal goodness, thereby rendered less effective than it would otherwise have been. It serves rather to emphasize the delicacy of her character, and thereby the extreme nature of what might be called the prescribed view on the corrupting effects of the silver.

We have to seek elsewhere for the reason for Mrs. Gould's ideal goodness being so ineffective when it comes to her husband[77]; but of course we do not have to go far. We have seen already that Conrad felt that men and women, and the more noticeably so when they were romantically involved with each other, had entirely separate moral lives. The difference here is that it is Mrs. Gould who is, as it were, underwritten, and Mr. Gould not. At the same time, I think Moser is wrong to talk about 'an extended, and moderately complex, characterization of a woman.' Mrs. Gould's character is essentially simple; it is Mr. Gould's development that is of interest in the relationship, as appears from Conrad's occasional attempts to consider the matter[78] Without going too deeply into that question, suffice it to say that Mrs. Gould, morally speaking, remains a passive figure. As far as Dr. Monygham is concerned we may recognize her effectiveness, but we also recognize that it is his own conception of her that is of importance. As far as the relationship in which she might have been thought to have some sort of responsibility is concerned, activity is the more noticeably precluded. Since whatever conception Gould might have had of her is outweighed by his conception of the silver, the consequence is the nullity we have noted elsewhere.

The marriage of the Verlocs in *The Secret Agent* concludes in a much more eventful conjunction with the notorious stabbing scene;

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76. *ibid.*, pt. I, ch. 6; p. 72.

77. And we have to do this while remembering that, as Moser puts it in the paragraph from which I have quoted above, 'Conrad avoids any close examination of her married life.'

78. See *Nostromo* Pt I, ch 6, Pt. II, ch. 1, Pt III, chs 4 & 7, passim; and also Curle, *op. cit.* pp. 81–9 The deficiencies in this exercise are perhaps the consequence of the relatively hurried manner in which the novel is brought to a conclusion – though I grant that it would be dangerous to argue from that to any but a very limited extent about Conrad's interest in Charles Gould's character.

but of course this excessive climax arises precisely because 'the Verlocs are morally so isolated from each other as to be utter strangers'[79]. It is because Mr. Verloc had not the slightest suspicion that Winnie had married him not for himself but for Stevie's sake that he could look upon the destruction of Stevie which he wrought as merely an unfortunate accident; it is because of her own unsuspected motive for the marriage that, Stevie dead, Winnie feels that there is nothing more to bind her to Verloc – so that his assumption that they can go on as before seems to her utterly outrageous. As in the case of the Goulds, the moral balance in this case too is on the side of the wife; Conrad's Preface, which indicates that for once in a novel his centre of interest in a woman, would make that clear, even were Verloc not so self-involved and Winnie so self-sacrificial. But this should not blind us to the fact that, being 'capable of a bargain the mere suspicion of which would have been infinitely shocking to Mr. Verloc's idea of love'[80] she had used him quite singlemindedly; Conrad's first description of the Verlocs going to bed, after Mr. Verloc has just had his shattering interview with Mr. Vladimir, suggests concisely quite how totally alien from her husband Winnie is. Without allowing us to lose sight of his obvious failings, Conrad actually succeeds in making us have some sort of sympathy for Verloc, used as he is by an employer and a wife for their own ends, with no thought for him at all: he is as much a victim of these ruthless forces as Stevie is of his callousness. Again, while his myopic self-concern is to be seen as bringing its retribution upon him, correspondingly Winnie's own myopic self devotion can be seen as rousing its own particular retributive force. Each pays the penalty for not having bothered to think about the other. We are back, it seems in the world of Almayer's Nina, where, "No two human beings understand each other."—except that in this case, emphatically, the couple are married, and have actually managed to live together for seven years without noting the deficiency[81].

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79. Moser, op. cit. p. 94.

80. Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent – A Simple Tale*, London, 1907, ch. 11; p. 259.

81. I have mentioned before that the stories in *Tales of Unrest* involved themes Conrad was to treat at greater length in his larger work. The one story therein I have not mentioned yet, 'The Idiots', foreshadows *The Secret Agent* inasmuch as both are stories of wives who murder their husbands: in both tales there are so many indequacies in the wife s condition that such murders seem their only way of expressing them elves (It is perhaps significant that, just before she kills Verloc, Conrad emphasizes Winnie's likeness to her idiot brother). Winnie's precise mental level suggests why she, like the wife in 'The Idiots', has to kill whereas Conrad's othet destructive women employ more being anything but a victim in the relevant intercourse between am arride couple takes an even more effective way out than the more forceful women. However, perhaps to emphasize the absence of culpabiltey, Conrad makes both examples of this genre become so desperate as a result of their action that they take their own lives. The characters of the men, as Conrad presents them, may prevent us from feeling that any great loss has occurred. Nevertheless, this ought not to blind us to the fact that these men too, like so many others, are fatal victims of their involvement with women.

There remains *Under Western Eyes*; which seems at first sight an apology for all the above in its presentation of women. There is not only

> "the real advance towards an understanding at once mature and compassionate of woman; there is not a trace of gratuitous or obsessive denigration in the lifelike portraits of Nathalie Haldin, Mrs. Haldin, Teklaor even Sophia Antonovna[82]".

in addition to the depiction of the women as individuals, there is a sol the much more important feature that Conrad seems to have a positive view of the interaction between hero and heroine. It is primarily through the effect Nathalie has on him that Razumov is brought to make his confession and achieve redemption. It is as though the concept of *Lord Jim*, the novel which most closely resembles this in theme, has been reversed so that, far from the woman standing in the way of the hero's triumphant fulfilment of self, she now inspires it. *Under Western Eyes* stands, then, as a sort of half-way house between the early novels where women stood in opposition to men or in disjunction from them and so between them and their ultimate good and the later ones where women act in conjunction with men in their effort to achieve some good: here, Nathalie Haldin represents a code of values against which Razumov tried to fight but in the ultimate acceptance of which lies his salvation (It is no matter that his salvation involves physical destruction for, as we have seen, that, is reached through free moral choice, did not preclude triumph). Where Jim had to reject what Jewel stood for to redeem his own personality, Razumov has to yield to what Nathalie stands for to do the same.

Yet we must beware of treating this as an unqualified panegyric of involvement with women. As I have shown, the catastrophic conclusions of the later work suggests that, if this is a half-way house, it lies between one depressing view of the consequences of such involvement and another Yet Nathalie is undoubtedly a beneficial force here. Is it that for once, and once only, Conrad changed his mind and decided to underwrite romance?

The form of that question supplies the answer to the problem: it is that the climactic conjunction between hero and heroine in *Under Western Eyes* is in fact a denial of romance. The effect Nathalie has on Razumov leads him to give up the prospect of any further association with her, let alone a romantic one.

In a sense Razumov is like Jim, in that his fulfilment of an ideal self requires an abandonment of the woman in the case; and, while Jewel fought against this, whereas Nathalie is held to have precipitated it, it must

82. Guerard, *op. cit.* p. 220. I am not sure whether Mrs. Haldin comes off quite as well as the others. It may not be gratuitously so, but the characterization of her is somewhat unpleasant (see pp. 322 foll.).

be remembered that it happens without any initiative on her part. The decision to act is entirely Razumov's own—and ought perhaps to be seen in the light of his diffidence throughout about his action: Nathalie may be the catalyst, but his bitter consciousness of guilt had existed long before he saw her. Besides, though in the end Nathalie, 'unlike Jewel in a similar situation, comes to endorse his action the immediate consequence of Razumov sundering himself from her for ever is "impossible to be more unhappy···It is impossible···I feel my heart becoming like ice.",[83]

So even in this, Conrad's most positive affirmation in his major work of the role of women, we see that the pattern is not so very different after all. The women may provide the inspiration for goodness, but goodness itself seems always to require an absence of any sort of intimate relationship; indeed, for the most dynamic assertions of goodness by Conrad's characters, those involving the two most flawed of his protagonists in their attempts to make up for those flaws, a specific rejection of women seems to be required. Razumov is left in a pitiful physical condition, to be looked after by the a sexual Tekla; Jim, dying, had an ostensibly grimmer bride; but their triumphs are indubitable. In sharp contrast to them is Heyst, who had striven to live together in harmony with a woman, only to provide her with an elusive victory and himself with despair; and even more so Willems and Lingard and the rest who had sacrificed themselves to women who had no conception at all of the vital interests of these men. An attachment to a woman, whether her interests were opposed or akin to one's own, Conrad repeatedly shows to be fatal to the soul of man. The message is clear even though, perhaps because he was a sailor and a gentleman, Conrad never states it direct. The closest he came, I am tempted to suggest, is in making Marlow state of Kurtz' anguished cry, "'The horror! The horror!'" that he had uttered his fiancee's name; amongst the many ironies of that statement the most profound perhaps is that it came from Conrad's heart.

Rajiva Wijesingha

83. Joseph Conrad. Under Western Eyes, London, 1911, Pt. IV. ch. 3; p. 356.

Review Article

Sri Lanka and South East Asia- Political, Religious and Cultural Relations from A. D. 1000 to c. 1500.

by W. M. Sirisena

(G. J. Bill, Leiden, 1978)

Early historical writing on pre-modern Sri Lanka, hardly took note of her relations with South East Asia. The *University of Ceylon History of Ceylon*, (Vol. I, Parts I and II, Colombo, 1959, 1960), marks a slight improvement by including glimpses of contact with South East Asian countries. Historians of Sri Lanka seem to have been conditioned by the overwhelming Indian impact on the island which resulted in an Indo-centric view of Sri Lanka history. This in turn, has perhaps blurred the South East Asian perspective. In this context, Dr. W. M. Sirisena's study of Sri Lanka's relations with South East Asia (originally a doctoral thesis accepted by the Australian National University) becomes the more significant. Indeed, other scholars working in this field are likely to welcome this publication.

The work does not deal with the whole of South East Asia, but is restricted to 'Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, the Malay Peninsula and some islands of Indonesia with whom Sri Lanka had relations in the period from the eleventh to the sixteenth century.' (p. 2) While there is reason for excluding a part of this extensive region, Sumatra and Java, especially the latter, wherein the Sinhalese had built an Abhayagiri Vihāra, possibly with much in common with the monastery of the same name at Anuradhapura, as far back as the eighth century A. D., should have been included. *(Artibus Asiae*, XXIV (1962), pp. 241-48) It need not be necessarily assumed that Theravada Buddhism was the only connecting link. Indeed Theravada teachers of Sri Lanka seem to have been quite familiar with the doctrinal interpretations of non-Theravada schools and teachers, both local and foreign, as is best illustrated by the thirteenth century *Visuddhimārga Sanne*. Hence pre-Muslim Java and Sumatra with a substantial Buddhist heritage, should not have been left out in this survey. One other point about the title of this book is that it deals with the political, religious and cultural relations (from 1000 to 1500 A. D.), but significantly leaves out trade and commerce which invariably may have paved the way for the relations surveyed here. The exclusion of trade and commerce leaves a discernible void in the text.

The book consists of six chapters: 1. Political relations of Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110 A. D,) and Parakramabahu I (1153-86 A. D.) with Burma and Cambodia 2. The invasions of Canbrabhānu 3. Religious contacts between Sri Lanka and Burma 4. Sri Lanka, Thailand and Cambodia: religious contacts 5. Architectural cross-currents 6. Effects on sculpture

The first two chapters deal with political relations with Burma, Cambodia and the Malay Peninsula, while the rest of the book is a survey of religious and cultural relations. The author's task in doing justice to these themes is admittedly a most difficult one. He has to take a firm grounding in the historical developments of a fairly extensive region, covering not one but several countries in South East Asia, before their relations with Sri Lanka could be examined. Unlike his counterpart working on Sri Lankan themes, with the facility of quite a few Pali and Sinhalese chronicles of proven historical value, beside a wealth of epigraphical material falling into an almost unchequered chronological sequence, the author has to grapple with chronicles and narratives composed in comparatively recent times, which seem to rest on rather doubtful foundations. Inscriptional sources, though by no means numerous and not as detailed as one would desire, nevertheless have a substantial supporting value. The fact that these sources are wide ranging, spread over several countries and written in their different languages, makes it even more difficult for the author to find safe anchor. In evaluating the results of his research, one has to bear in mind these constraints.

The problems discussed in the chapters dealing with political history are: (1.) the question of whether Vijayabāhu I, the eleventh century Sri Lanka ruler, had received military assistance from his Burmese counterpart, Anawratha, in the former's struggle against the Colas who had occupied the northern part of the Island, (2.) the invasions of Burma by the Sinhalese ruler Parākramabāhu I (1153–86) and (3.) the invasions of Sri Lanka by the Malayan ruler Candrabhānu towards the middle of the thirteenth century. These issues have received the attention of distinguished scholars like Nilakanta Sastri, Georges Coedes and S. Paranavitana and subsequently they have been examined further in several doctoral theses. All this, however, does not preclude fresh enquiry, especially a separate study of Sri Lanka's relations with South East Asia The author is aware of the difficult situation he is in, when he states that 'one is inevitably faced with the problem of the lack of material' and adds 'Therefore one, is justified in making assumptions, tentative suggestions and hypotheses.' (p. 16). This guideline set out at the commencement of the first chapter, which is unlikely to receive ready endorsement, seem to have influenced his writing quite noticeably. A thorough examination of the sources of information is imperative in a study of this nature. The Sri Lankan chronicles it is true, need not be subjected to this rigorous test, as they have already been examined by other scholars. But the Burmese and the Siamese chronicles, written in comparatively recent times, and therefore removed from the events on which they are called upon to bear testimony by several centuries, necessarily call for meticulous scrutiny. Unfortunately the brief account of these chronicles furnished by the author, hardly answers to this exacting demand. *The Glass Palace Chronic'e of the Kings of Burma (Hmannan Yazawin)* was compilied as late as the first

half of the nineteenth century. Whatever its dependence is on older sources, it is bound to be an unsafe guide to lead us to an understanding of eleventh and twelfth century Burmese history, let alone her relations with a distant island like Sri Lanka in that period.

There is a reference in the *Cūlavaṃsa* to Vijayabāhu's war with the Colas, suggestive of some attempt by this ruler (Ch. LVIII, 8-10), to get assistance from his Burmese counterpart Anawrahta for his war effort 'The King (Vijayabāhu) sent to the King of the Rāmañña country: numbers of people and much costly treasure. Then arrived in the harbour many ships laden with various stuffs, camphor, sandalwood and other goods. By all kinds of valuable gifts he inclined the soldiers to him and with large forces at his command, he took up his abode at Tambalagāma. After examining this, a cautious Nilakanta Sastri concluded: 'The mission sent by Vijayabāhu got him no additional military strength and virtually resolved itself into a trade or courtesy enterprise' (*JRASCB (NS)*, IV, p 49). Our author, too, arrives at the same reasonable inference on the question of military aid: 'at present we cannot be sure whether Vijayabāhu received any military help from Anawrahta'. (p. 21) But less convincing is his subsequent inference: 'There is no doubt about Vijayabāhu receiving economic aid from Anawrahta for the *Cūlavaṃsa* says that, following Vijayabahu's request, ships arrived in Sri Lanka laden with camphor sandalwood and other valuable goods' (p. 20). It is doubtful whether anything called 'economic aid' was ever known in those ages. Moreover, the commodities which these ships seem to have brought in bear no relevance to a military situation. Consequently, its difficult to belive that the arrival of these ships 'would have eased Vijayabāhu's situation'.

In his discussion of the invasion of Burma by Sri Lanka's Parākrama bāhu, (1153-86) and of contacts with Cambodia during his reign, the author displays greater care and restraint. It ia a more balanced account of the factors which led to a temporary estrangement of the friendly relations between the two countries. In this section of the book one notices that the author has had to make frequent reference to commercial links which, as stated earlier, brings out the need to have included commercial relations, too within the scope of this survey.

The invasions of Sri Lanka by the Malayan ruler Candrabhānu, dealt with in Chapter II,have been examined in detail in previous publications. But these events must necessarily be re-examined in a book dealing with Sri Lanka's relations with South East Asia. However Sirisena neither breaks fresh ground, nor does he introduce us to any new sources.

The documents bearing on the problem of Candrabhānu such as the Jaiya Inscription, the Kudumiyamalai Praśasti of Vīra Pāṇḍya (1253-75)

and other Pāṇḍyan inscriptions, as well as the accounts of the chronicles of Sri Lanka, are of tremendous historical importance. Even after years of study by different scholars, some aspects of the career of Candrabhānu still remain obscure. Much of what Sirisena gives on Candrabhānu, is a resume of that which is already known from previous publications. Where he differs, the issues need to be examined much further as they are highly debatable. One key point to be borne in mind, which has perhaps not been sufficiently appreciated by the author, is that Candrabhānu cannot be studied in isolation, for the issues connected with this ruler are almost inextricably interwoven with other problems, such as those related to Kaliṅga Māgha, the Pāṇḍyan invasions of the Island, and perhaps even the beginnings of an independent kingdom in the extreme north of Sri Lanka, with its nucleus in the Jaffna Peninsula.

Some of the positions taken by Sirisena are of far-reaching significance in the mainstream of Sri Lanka's political history, and therefore need careful consideration. For instance he says: 'When Candrabhānu invaded Sri Lanka for the first time (1247 A. D.), Māgha had an independent Kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula' (p. 46) and cites Paranavitana ('The Ārya Kingdom in the North of Ceylon; *JRASCB., NS.*, VII (1961), pp. 191–92) and Indrapala in support of this claim. (*Dravidian Settlements in Ceylon and the Beginnings of the Kingdom of Jaffna* Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of London 1965, p 456). This claim does not seem to rest on strong evidence., and it does not seem to be reconcilable with the picture that emerges from sources that were much closer to these events.

The *Culavamsa* and the *Pūjavaliya* give a graphic account of Māgha's military organization. It consisted of a highly fortified chain of fortresses, covering practically the entire north western and north eastern littoral from Mannar to Trincomalee. (*Clv.*, LXXXIII, 15–18; *Pjv*; ed. A. V. Suravira, Colombo, 1961, p. 116). These were located at Kotthasāragāma (Kottiyar), Gaṅgātalāka (Kantalai), Kākālayagāma (Kavudulu), Padiratta (Padaviya), Kurundī (not identified but possibly close to the north eastern coast), Mānamatta (n.i. possibly on the north western seaboard), Mahātittha (Mantai), Mannārapattana (Mannar), Pulacceritittha (n.i. possibly in the Jaffna Peninsula), Vāḷikāgama (Vallikāmam), Goṇaratta (Trincomalee), Gonusuraṭṭha (n.i.) Madhupādapatittha (Mīpāṭoṭa in *Pjv*; close to Mannar?) and Sūkaratittha (Kayts). His capital which was equally fortified, was located at Polonnaruva, where he was formally consecrated soon after the capture of the capital city. Both chronicles give more or less identical accounts. It is important to bear in mind that the author of the *Pūjāvaliya*, Mayurapāda Thera, was beyond doubt a contemporary of both Māgha and Candrabhānu – virtually an eye – witness of these events. He was not an ordinary layman, but a learned monk of senior standing, as testified to by his own writings. The *Pūjāvaliya*, as stated in the text, was composed in the thirtieth regnal year of Parākramabāhu

II (1236-70) in 1266 A. D. includes a major part of the last chapter (xxxiv), while its concluding portion was added in his thirty fifth year, or shortly after during the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu I (1272-84) (A. Liyanagamage, *The Decline of Polonnaruva and the Rise of Dambadeniya*, 1968 pp. 11-14). That section of the *Cūlavaṃsa* which deals with these events (Ch. LXXX—XC), if our arguments are tenable (*op. cit.* pp. 8-11), seems to have been written during the reign of Parakramabahu IV (1302-26) or not long afterwards. Its author is not known, but the chronicle continued with the old historical tradition of the Island, substantially along the lines taken by its previous authors, though it lacked the richness and glamour associated with its older parts. Thus, while the *Pūjāvaliya* is contemporary with the events connected with Māgha and Candrabhānu, the *Cūlavaṃsa* with less certainty we may say, was behind these events by much less than a century. Though the intellectual calibre of the author of the latter is not known, his writing has the imprint of a man of learning very probably a member of the Buddhist Order.

Neither of these two authors offers the slightest indication that Māgha was ever the ruler of an independent kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula. They do say that Māgha was consecrated at Polonnaruva and that he ruled from that city. They also agree that he was finally defeated by Parakramabahu II and that he fled the capital, though there is no mention of his ultimate fate. Now, what evidence is there for the view endorsed by Sirisena that Māgha had set up an independent kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula, when Candrabhānu invaded Sri Lanka for the first time in 1247 A. D. ? It is true that the name (or title) 'Vicaya Kulaṅkai', possibly the equivalent of 'Kalinga Vijayabāhu', a name or title attributed to Māgha in the fourteenth century *Nikāyasaṃgrahaya* alone, is mentioned as the name of the founder of the Arya Cakravarti Kingdom, in the legendary accounts of the beginnings of that kingdom, found in the Tamil sources of a much later date.

Even if the name Vicaya Kulaṅkai is taken as a reference to Māgha it does not necessarily follow that he was the founder of that kingdom. A more plausible explanation would be that Māgha who had full control over the whole of Rajarata including the extreme north of Sri Lanka for decades, with his fortified bastions at Vallikāman in the heart of the Jaffna Peninsula and at Sūkaratittha in its vicinity, together with several more on the north-eastern and noth-western littoral, had left a strong imprint in the memories of the people of that region, so that at a later date, Māgha came to be regarded as the founder of a separate kingdom there. Moreover, Māgha's soldiers, referred to as Keraḷas and Damiḷas in the *Cūlavaṃsa*, received generous shares of plundered property: 'Villages and fields, houses and gardens, slaves, cattle, buffaloes and whatever else belonged to the Sinhala, he had delivered upto the Keraḷas. The *vihāras*, *piriveṇas* and many sanctuaries he made over to one or another of his

warriors'. (LXXX, 76 ff.) If these activities left an impression of permanent animosity against Māgha amongst the Sinhalese, as reflected in their chronicles, the reverse would have been the imprint in the Tamil sources of a later date, especially with Māgha's decidedly anti-Buddhist religious policies, and fervent commitment possibly to a form of extreme Saivism. Further, he was supported by a powerful army of Keralas and Damilas estimated at 24,000. The possibility indicated above, gains some confirmation by the fact that the *Mattakalappu Purāṇam*, a Tamil chronicle, again of a comparatively late date, which incorporates traditions of the Tamils in the Batticaloa area, puts Māgha in a favourable light, highlighting his anti-Buddhist activities

There are other arguments against accepting Māgha as the founder of an independent kingdom in the extreme north of Sri Lanka. It is true that once the Ārya Cakravarti Kingdom was founded there, and when Rajaraṭa had been abandoned by the Sinhalese who moved to the southern and central areas of the Island, where they established their kingdoms, the Sinhalese chroniclers were not sufficiently conversant with developments in northern Sri Lanka. But certainly up to about the end of the thirteenth century, when the beginnings of the Ārya Cakravarti Kingdom are discernible, the Sinhalese chroniclers were aware of what was going on in Rajaraṭa, including its northern extremity. This is quite clear from the graphic accounts of Māgha's fortifications including those in the Jaffna Peninsula and its vicinity, cited .above.

Considered in this light, if Māgha, who ruled over Rajaraṭa for almost four decades, and with whom the Sinhalese chroniclers were particularly concerned because of the violence he inflicted on their religion, had founded an independent kingdom in the Island's northern extremity after being defeated by Parakramabahu II (1236–70), it is strange that the events went completely unnoticed. Moreover, Māgha must have been quite advanced in age at the time of his defeat. Assuming that he invaded the Island when he was 30 years old, after a reign of 40 years (according to the *Pūjāvaliya*,) he would have been 70 years of age by the time he was defeated. Though not impossible, it is unlikely that he entertained further political ambitions such as carving out a kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula. A chronological point implicit in the *Pūjāvaliya* and the *Cūlavaṃsa* accounts, that Magha had been defeated sometime before the date of Candrabhānu's first invasion, a possible argument in favour of the hypothesis that Māgha retreated to Jaffna to set up a Kingdom there, cannot be accepted at its face value for reasons already examined. (A. Liyanagamage, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–30.) Even if this is conceded, it does not necessarily follow that Māgha founded a kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula. Apart from all these considerations, what militates most strongly against this proposition, is the complete lack of positive evidence n the principal sources which points in that direction. The present

digression on Māgha, justifiable in our view in the light of the seemingly unfounded dilineation of the final stage of his career and its bearing on the mainstream of Sri Lanka's political history, has of necessity to be extended to cover certain aspects of the career of Candrabhānu as well. Sirisena seems to accept as historical facts, suggestions and possibilities offered by previous writers on the subject without further examination. And what is more, having accepted them and depending on them, he moves on to make further inferences. Two passages quoted below would illustrate the point made here;

1. 'If we accept Coedes, we have to believe that Candrabhānu went back to his kingdom in Tāmbraliṅga at some stage after the failure of the first invasion. As the Pāṇḍiyan inscription speaks of a son of Jāvaka, it appears that Candrabhānu's son was in the Jaffna kingdom when Vīra Pāṇḍya sent his expedition, When Candrabhānu led the first invasion he would have left his kingdom in charge of his son, who would then have been in Tāmbraliṅga. We have already seen that Candrabhānu secured the Jaffna kingdom for himself and after the Pāṇḍiya invasion he become a vassal of the Pāṇḍya empire. Thus, as far as the security of the Jaffna kingdom was concerned, it would have been quite safe, as the Pāṇḍiyas were then quite powerful. It is not impossible that Pāṇḍiyan left some troops in Sri Lanka. Now Candrabhānu would have thought of going back to his own kingdom in Tāmbraliṅga to look after matters there while preparations were going on for the second invasion of the Sinhalese kingdom. Therefore he would have sent for his son before he left Sri Lanka so that he could leave the Jaffna kingdom and the preparations for war in his care until his return.' (p. 47).

2. 'According to our sources Candrabhānu had a formidable army. The *Cūlavaṁsa* says that he had a number of Damilas from the Cola country, Pāṇḍya country and elsewhere. Indrapala is of the opinion that he did not bring all these South Indian soldiers from India but recruited some in Sri Lanka itself. This interpretation seems right, because if Candrabhānu was well established in the Jaffna kingdom, before he launched his attack, there were a number of Tamil settlements from which he could recruit his troops. In fact Māgha invaded with a strong force of Tamils and when he captured Polonnaruva, he colonized the northern regions of Sri Lanka with them. The army would have continued in service uder him in Polonnaruva, and even after his retreat to the Jaffna Peninsula they would have followed him there. Therefore when Candrabhānu inherited the Jaffna kingdom which had been under Māgha, the Tamil forces would have continued their service under the leader. Furthermore, when Sundara Pāṇḍya subjugated the Jaffna Kingdom

which was then under Candrabhānu, some Pāṇḍya troops would have been left behind under his service. These would account for Candrabhānu having Tamils at his disposal, when he invaded the Sinhalese kingdom. It is not impossible that he also recruited some Tamil mercenary forces from South India.' (p. 51).

The extent of speculation reflected in these passages, is plainly discernible and requires no comment. However, one issue which takes the form of a major conclusion, namely the claim that 'Candrabhānu inherited the Jaffna kingdom which had been under Māgha' deserves further examination. We have already seen the weakness of the claim that Māgha, after his defeat at the hands of the Sinhalese king, carved out a separate kingdom for himself in the Jaffna Peninsula. Assuming that Māgha indeed ruled there, one has to explain satisfactorily how Candrabhānu came to inherit that kingdom. These two rulers had very little in common except that both were invaders. Māgha is described as having come from Kaliṅga (Orissa in eastern India). One of the most striking features of Māgha's reign is his ruthless religious intolerance, which led to persecution of Buddhists on an unprecedented scale. Candrabhānu, on the other hand, hailed from the Malay Peninsula and further more he was a devout Buddhist, a fact which emerges from all sources dealing with his invasions. It is also fairly certain that at least in the initial stages, Candrabhānu had undertaken these overseas expeditions in quest of Buddhist Relics or sacred objects Taking this background into consideration, one finds it difficult to understand how these two rulers could have formed an alliance or understanding enabling Candrabhānu to inherit Māgha's kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula the existence of which, too, remains to be proved.

Previous writers on Candrabhānu including the present reviewer (A. Liyanagamage, *op. cit*; pp. 139–40, 153), indicated with some justifiability that Candrabhānu may have ruled over a part of northern Sri Lanka, possibly in the Jaffna Peninsula, sometime after his defeat in the first invasion. First Codrington *(A Short History of Ceylon*, reprinted 1947, p. 78) and later Paranavitana (*JRASCB. NS.*; VII, 94–77) drew attention to the existence of a few place names in the Jaffna Peninsula, suggestive of Javaka occupation. Though how and when they originated is not known, at least some of them, seem to date back to the fifteenth century or even a little earlier. Apart from this, one has to take note of the reference to *Sāvakan* ('Jāvaka') and *Sāvakan Maindan* ('son of ahe Jāvaka') in Vīra Pandya's inscriptions. Of these records, the Kudumiyāmalai *Praśasti* contains a statement, which refers to the reinstatement of the son of the Sāvakan in the kingdom of Īlam formerly ruled by his farther. It has been established beyond doubt, that the Sāvakan referred to in these records is Candrabhānu, who lost his life in the second invasion. The kingdom wherein his son was reinstated is referred to as Īlam (Sri Lanka).

There is of course no reference to his being installed in a kingdom of Jaffna in the *Prasasti*, unless we presume that a local ruler came to be designated 'ruler of Sri Lanka', which may not be ruled out. But the real difficulty is that this is the sole reference to the son of the Jāvaka, and whatever value we may attach to the inscriptional reference, he gets reduced to a nebulous figure. Although a devout Buddhist, neither Chandrabhānu nor his successors, if he had any, have left behind any religious monuments either. Souch is the predicament which one set of sources leaves us in.

It might be worthwhile re-examining the picture presented by the Sinhalese and Pali sources, to see if we could get any further on the problem of Candrabhānu's kingdom in the north of Sri Lanka. The *Cūlavaṃsa* narrates the second invasion of Candrabhānu thus: 'At that time the lord of men Candrabhānu, formerly beaten after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of the Pāṇḍus and Colas and elsewhere many Damila soldiers, representing a great force, landed with his Jāvaka ārmy in Mahātittha. After the King had brought over to his side the Sīhalas dwelling in Padi, Kurundī and other districts, he marched to Subhagiri. He set up there an armed camp and sent forth messengers with the message: "I shall take Tisihala; I shall not leave it to thee. Yield up to me therefore together with the Tooth Relic of the Sage, the Bówl Relic and the royal dominion. If thou wilt not then fight (*Clv* LXXXVIII, 62-66) The *Pūjāvaliya* (*pp. cit* p. 135) gives much the same account but for minor differences which, however, are of some significance.: 'At that time King Candrabhānu and the Jāvaka army which fled after being defeated in the war with the father-King (Parākramabāhu II), enlisted (for the army) Colas and Pāṇḍyas and landed ar Māvatu, and having recruited a Sinhalese army from places such as Kurundī, Padi, Mānāmatu and Debarapaṭan, returned, and having fully surrounded the Rock of Yāpavu with armed camps and sent (the king) a demanding message: "This time we shall not go back as we did last time; we shall not leave these three kingdoms to thee; yield up to me the Tooth Relic and the Alms Bowl; yield up to me the royal crown; yield up to me thy kingdom; or else come out to battle.".

Now, in this second invasion where was Candrabhānu's base of operations? Sirisena proceeds on the basis that it was in the Jaffna Peninsula, where Candrabhānu is said to have carved out a kingdom for himself. Prior to landing at Mahatittha (Māntai), according to the chronicles cited above, Candrabhānu's Jāvaka army was strengthened further with recruits from countries such as those of the Pāṇḍyas and the Colas. Though the author suggests that they were recruited in Sri Lanka, the *Cūlavaṃsa* is specific that recruitment took place in the countries of the Pāṇḍyas, the Colas and elsewhere (in South India.) If they were recruited in Sri Lanka, the author would have used the general terms Damila

without distinguishing between Pāndyans and Colas and the rest. Following the position taken by the author that Pāndya and Cola soldiers were recruited in Sri Lanka, and that Candrabhānu began his invasion from a base in the Jaffna Peninsula, one is at a loss to understand why Candra bhānu and his troops were made to embark on a short sea journey of a few nautical miles to land at Mahātittha. Far more conveniently, these troops could have sailed further south to the ancient port of Salāvattota, located not too far from both Dambadeniya and Yāpahuva.

The reference to the enlisting of Sinhalese soldiers from a number of districts in Rajarata is significant. It is quite clear, as has been shown in earlier publications, that these were exactly the places where Māgha had built his fortifications. From this one could be certain that, by the time of Candrabhānu's second invasion, Māgha had quit the scene in Rajarata. It has been further postulated with some justifiability that Candrabhānu had filled the political void in Rajarata, created by the departure of Māgha. Māgha's death or departure would have created a welcome atmosphere to Candrabhānu. In contrast to persecutionist Māgha, Candrabhānu as a devout Buddhist who would have been acceptable to the Buddhists of Rajarata. While this may be conceded as a possible or even probable course of events, the question of Candrabhānu's political presence either in Rajarata or in the Jaffna Peninsula, still lacks the quantum of positive evidence which could make it a certainty.

It is very likely that Candrabhānu started his second expedition from his own kingdom in the Malay Peninsula; on his way he recruited mercenary soldiers from the Cola-Pāndya countries in South India, thereby strengthening his army further, and landed at the port of Mahātittha. Enlisting the support of the Sinhalese in certain districts of Rajarata, need not necessarily be construed as having spread over a period of time, though that interpretation may not be ruled out. On this point the *Pūjāvaliya* phraseology simply means that he recruited a Sinhalese army in those districts *(Simhala balasen gena)*, in place of *Culavamsa's Vasikatvāna* ('having attracted' the Sinhalese). Whichever it may be, what seems to have taken place is the recruitment of Sinhalese soldiers to strengthen his army further. In his threatening demand, Candrabhānu wanted Pārakramabāhu II to surrender ('the three kingdoms' *(tun rajaya)* The three kingdoms referred to are the three principal territorial divisions of the Island during this period, namely, Ruhunu, Māyā and Pihiti. If Candrabhānu had been in control of Rajarata or even the Jaffna Peninsula already one would have expected of him to have demanded the other two kingdoms – Ruhunu and Māyā. This, of course, is a minor point which need not be pressed too far

Moreover, the accounts of these invasions in the chronicles taken as a whole, seem to create the impression that the chroniclers were dealing

with a stranger who had invaded the Island and fled after defeat, and reappeared after a lapse of time, rather than of one who had been occupying the northern part of the country. The Sinhalese and Pali chronicles, including Mayurapāda Thera's *Pūjavaliya* written almost contemporaneously with these events, have not left the faintest positive indications of a kingdom in Sri Lanka ruled by Candrabhānu. Attention may be drawn to the accounts in the *Culavamsa*, and the *Pūjavaliya*, which describe the military strategy worked out by Prince Vijayabāhu shortly before Parākramabāhu II faced Candrabhānu's second encounter. (*Clv*; LXXXVIII, 18–26; *Pjv. op. cit.* 135)

Provision was made for the protection of the southern sea-board stretching from Dambadeniya southwards, by stationing troops there and placing Prince Tilokamalla as their commander, with his residence at Māhavattalagāma (Wattala, located in the vicinity of Colombo). This is perhaps the first time that the Pali chronicle makes reference to any defence strategy on the southern sea coast. Prior to this, evidently, the need for it was not there, as all Indian invaders landed at the northern sea ports such as Mahātittha. It may be that Parākramabāhu did not rule out the possibility of a sea-borne attack on the western border of his kingdom, originating from a different quarter, with Candrabhānu's first invasion still fresh in his mind. What is more important is the statement that 'In the north, foes coming from the *opposite coast* are wont to land at Khuddāvāligāma' where 'fighting is wont to begin'. Prince Bhuvanekabāhu known for his military skill and bravery, was entrusted with the defence of the northern front, with the help of 'the great army that stood in the north with instructions to take up his residence at Yāpahuva. This passage makes it fairly clear that Parākramabāhu II expected a threat to his kingdom not so much from enemies within the Island, but from invaders 'coming from the opposite coast' in Southern India. If Parākramabāhu had faced a threat to his kingdom from a Jāvaka ruler, namely Candrabhānu, who had carved out a kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula, this is a context wherein the chronicler would have mentioned it. Going by the postulated antecedents of the Jāvaka kingdom, this was precisely the time when it should have been at the height of its power, shortly before Candrabhānu's second invasion. Thus, the two chroniclers who could name the place in the Jaffna Peninsula where invaders 'from the opposite coast' landed, would certainly not have missed Candrabhānu and his kingdom at the height of its power. The landing place referred to as Khuddavāligāma is almost certainly the same as Vālikagāma where Māgha sited one of his fortifications, (*Clv*; LXXXIII, 15–20) identified with Vallikamam in the Jaffna Peninsula. If Candrabhānu had a kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula, the landing place referred to in the *Cūlavasma* must be located within it. Invaders landing there should have been an immediate threat to Candrabhānu, if he was the ruler of a kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula, rather than to Parākramabāhu whose kingdom was in the far south. The fact

that these chroniclers mention the less known Khuddavāligāma in the Jaffna Peninsula as the landing place and not the better known port of Mahātittha on the north western coast, also indicates that they still had a fair knowledge of what was going on in the extreme north of the Island. They were also conscious of the fact, that the defence of the northern front was a more onerous assignment. This evidence apart from other considerations discussed at some length, should compel us to take a more cautious stand on the issue of a Jāvaka kingdom in the Jaffna Peninsula. Our author's categorical references to the Jāvaka ruler. In the Jāffna kingdom' (p. 54) and the downfall of the Jāvaka rulers' in Jaffna, necessitated this digression. In passing it must be mentioned that some facets of Candrabhānu's career are bound to remain obscure, without fresh evidence. Though his invasions seem to have been a passing episode in the history of mediaeval Sri Lanka, yet they are of substantial historical interest, for, Candrabhānu is one positive link in the relations between Sri Lanka and South East Asia.

To return to our comment on the rest of the book, the author with good reasons, devotes two thirds of the work, to an examination of Sri Lanka's religious and cultural relations with South East Asia. During this period, Sri Lanka as a centre of Theravāda Buddhism, became a source of inspiration to the Buddhists in Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and perhaps even the Malay Peninsula. The author traces these relations in a pains-taking manner, making use of the available sources, both literary and archaeological, and taking, on the whole, a more cautious path. Consequently, this section of the book marks a substantial improvement, in its manner of treatment as well as its content. Here again the author is faced with difficulties, which are beyond his control. The chronicles of Buddhism in these countries, on which the author has had to depend in tracing these relations, have their own weaknesses. For example, the Burmese chronicle, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, composed by Paññāsāmi Thera in as late as 1861, is beset with limitations. He is far removed from the events he is called upon to chronicle. Paññāsāmi's ignorance of early Buddhist history is such that he wrongly locates Yonaka, Vanavāsi, Aparānta and Mahā-ratttha, clearly Indian territories to which missions were sent, following the Third Buddhist Council held in the third century B. C., in South East Asia. Of these countries, only Suvaṇṇabhūmi calls for a location in that region, whether it referred to Burma or not. Sirisena makes a bad mistake in equating Aparānta with Burma, whereas the meaning of the toponym – 'West End' – implies a western location, and is accordingly located in Gujarat. (p. 12). We have already commented on the weakness of The Glass Palace Chronicle of Burma. The sixteenth century Siamese chronicle *Jinakālmālī*, may take a higher reckoning in comparison to the Burmese chronicles, though it is no match for Sri Lanka's *Nikāyasaṃgrahaya*, in terms of reliability and content. Its story of the *Sihalapaṭimā* (Buddha image from Sri Lanka) seems to have some bearing on Siamese

and perhaps Malayan relations with Sri Lanka in the thirteenth century, but the highly legendary context in which it occurs, makes it almost impossible to extract any historical sense out of it. Further, the royal personages who tried to secure this image from Sri Lanka, Rocarāja of Sukhodaya and Siridhamma of Siridhammanagara cannot be identified beyond doubt, though Sirisena equates them with Indrāditya of Sukhodaya and Candrabhānu of Tāmbraliṅga respectively, following suggestions of previous scholars (pp. 87–89). Fortunately, inscriptional evidence, whereever it has been resorted to, is on the whole a more reliable guide, There again, the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions of Burma, valuble though they are, also deal with events prior to the date of their composition. These are of course common constraints on all historians of pre – modern South East Asia.

Despite these limitations, the author gives a vivid account of Sri Lanka's relations, religious as well as cultural, with South East Asia, taking Burma into consideration first. The widely held view that Burmese monks, at the invitation of Vijayabāhu I (1055–1110), restored the Higher Ordination, after its lapse during the period of Cola rule in ñorthern Sri Lanka in the eleventh century, has been rightly modified by taking into account the suggestions of Paranavitana and Gunawardhana. (pp. 61–63). Thus, it has now been established that the monks who had assisted Vijayabāhu I in the restoration of the Buddhist Order, were in fact Sri Lankan *Theras*, who had fled the Island, and were resident in Burma. Among other landmarks in the religious relations between Sri Lanka and Burma examined in detail, are the circumstances that led to the foundation of the *Sīhala Saṅgha* in Burma, in the second half of the twelfth century. *Thera* Uttarajīva's mission to Sri Lanka during the reign of Parākramabāhu I (1153–86), though not confirmed by Sri Lankan evidence, seems to be well established on the strength of Burmese testimony. The continuation of these relations right up the reign of Parākramabāhu VI has been traced.

As far as Thailand and Cambodia are concerned much of the traceable religious contact, falls into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the case of Thailand, the author is happily facilitated by quite a few Thai inscriptions, which refer to religious relations between Sri Lanka and Thailand. Events similar to those which led to the foundation of the Sīhala Saṅgha in Burma, are also known from Thailand. The *Jinakālamāli* recounts the arrival in Sri Lanka, of a large mission consisting of twentyfive monks from Chiangmai (in Thailand) and eight monks from Kambhoja(Ca mbodia) in the year 1967 of the Buddist era 1423 A. D. These monks received the Higher ordination from a chapter of elders headed by Vanaratana Mahāthera. During their stay in the Island they studied the scriptures and worshipped at such sacred places as the Shrines of the tooth Relic and the Foot Print. On their return, these Thai monks introduced

Sri Lanka traditions to the Higher Ordination in Thailand These relations, as narrated in the *Jinakālamāli* being events close to the date of its composition, are quite reliable, unlike the legendary accounts of earlier times. Vanaratana Mahāthera referred to above, is certainly identifiable with KāragalaVanaratana Mahāthera, who was a leading figure during the reign of Parakramabāhu VI (1415-67). With reference to Cambodia the author concludes that the available evidence on religious relations between Sri Lanka and Cambodia is scanty, the only important links being the introduction of the Higher Ordination to Cambodia in the fifteenth century and the visit to Sri Lanka by Tāmalinda Mahāthera. (p. 109)

In the sphere of architecture, not much influence seems traceable either way between Sri Lanka and South East Asia. The author's inference is that 'Sinhalese influence on the art and architecture of those countries was so small as to be almost negligible', However, he points out considerable Sinhalese influence on the development of the *stupa* in Thailand as testified by the Wat Maha Tat in Sukhodaya. The ornamental motif, *makara torana*, seen on the same monument, has been traced to Sinhalese monuments at Lankātilaka and Gaḍalādeniya in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka seems to have received little, if any, by way of reciprocation in this sphere. The Potgul Vihāra and the Satmahal Prāsāda at Polonnaruva are said to reflect Cambodian influence in their ground plans and execution. (p. 135 ff.). In the field of sculpture, it had been largely one-way traffic. The evolution of the Buddha image in Thailand, especially during the Sukhodaya period, seems to have been influenced by Sinhalese sculptural traditions to a remarakable extent, while such influence on Burmese sculpture cannot be traced. In Sri Lanka only one piece of sculpture has so far been found with any evidence of influence from South East Asian origins. In composing these chapters on art and architecture, quite understandably, the author has had to draw substantially from the work of specialists in this field, such as Dupont and Griswold.

Mention may be made of occasional instances of inexact or inaccurate puotation of original sources. For example, it is stated that 'In the Kuḍumiyamalai *Praśasti* dated in Vira Pāṇḍya's eleventh regnal year, the Pāṇḍya ruler says that he killed one of the two kings of Sri Lanka' (p. 44). The text of this inscription makes no reference to 'two kings'. The relevant phrase *Īḻamannar ilaguvaril oruvanai vilupporodu vinmiśai-yerri* would convey the sense: 'Of the kings of Īḻam having defeated one and raised him to the other world'. Based on the interpretation of the rest of the contents of the record, Nilakanta Sastri inferred that the context meant 'two king' which is quite in order. But it is incorrect to attribute to the text a phrase which it does not contain, though it may be valid on inference. Based on the same record a further statement is made: 'The Pāṇḍya monarch placed Candrabhānu's son on the throne of Jaffna' (p. 53). There

is no reference whatsoever to a throne of Jaffna in the inscription. The author takes the king of Sri Lanka who paid a tribute of elephants and precious jewels to Sundara Pāṇḍya, as stated in his inscriptions, to have been Candrabhānu. (p. 45) Though this need not be ruled out completely, the identification is open to doubt. In the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions where the reference clearly applies to Candrabhānu, the distinguishing term used is *Sāvakan*. And these inscriptions are those of Sundara Pāṇḍya's own brother, Vira Pāṇḍya (1253–75) who ruled jointly with the former. Sundara Pāṇḍya calls 'the king of Lanka' who paid him tribute with elephants and precious jewels, *Ilangai kavalan* but not *S'āvakan*. Whether it applied to Pārakramabahu II (1236–70) is not certain, but that it referred to Candrabhānu is even more uncertain.

Occasionally one finds in the book misleading phrases such as 'luxury commodities for the world market' (p. 39) and 'Adam's Peak, where the Buddha's footprint *is to be seen*', (p. 155). A few misprints and minor factual inaccuracies can be noticed. The composition of the *Pūjāvaliya* is placed in the *thirteenth* year of Parākramabāhu's reign whereas it should be the *thirtieth* year. (p. 9) Even such correction would be incomplete, because it has emerged from and examination of the manuscripts of his text, that the final portion of chapter 34 was added at a later date. Further, while at one point the author of the *Pūjavaliya* says that it was composed in the thirtieth year of the king, the concluding portion of the final chapter refers to the thirty fifth regnal year of the king (Parākramabāhu II). The vital point is that the *Pūjavāliya*, as it stood in the thirtieth regnal year, did not include the account of Candrabhānu's second invasion. It comes in the portion of the text which, according to manuscripts, is a later addition. Desirably the author should have taken note of these points and their implications, as the author of the *Pujavāliya* becomes a key witness to events of the times of Parākramabāhu II (For a detailed examination of these issues, Liyanagamage, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–14). Mahāsena's regnal years appear as 247–801 A. D. (p, 7) which should be corrected to read 274–301 A. D., and Kit Nuvaragala (p. 33) should read as Kit Nuvaragal.

Finally, it must be stated that the fact that we have focussed attention on certain issues which could be exposed to further argument, does not detract from the value of the author's commendable endeavour. Rather it emphasises the magnitude of his task in finding his way through some of the most difficult and baffling sources of historical information. The author has compressed into one volume practically all the available information on the subject. More than anything else, the author has convincingly impressed upon us that Sri Lanka's relations with South East Asia over the centuries, had been much closer and indeed friendly all the way but for occasional interruptions, than had been held hitherto, and that they deserve greater attention. Further, he has clearly demons-

trated that Sri Lanka as a centre of Theravada Buddhism, had been a great source of inspiration to a major part of South East Asia, especially, Burma, Thailand and Cambodia, and the Malay Peninsula, leading to fruitful religious and cultural exchange. In order to unravel the story of these relations, the author has had to wade through a wide range of sources spread over an extensive region in a painstaking manner. Together with Professor A. L. Basham who has written a complimentary foreword, we would recommend the book for the serious consideration of all those interested in the history of Sri Lanka and South East Asia.

A. Liyanagamage

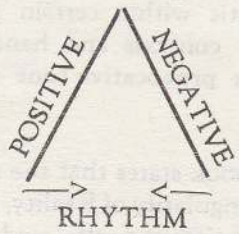
THE TRIANGULAR PATTERN OF LIFE

By Donna Hitz. The Philosophical Library Inc., 14th Fast 40th Street, New York, 1979. Library of Congaess Catalogue Card No. 79 – 844851.

Donna Hitz's *The Triangular Pattern of Life*, may be mulled ever, if one insists on becoming preoccupied with a work which manifests an academic pretension with religio-philosophieal overtones. The book is mainly concerned with a triangular pattern, which the author is convinced as being that" unified structure of Absolute Truth, Life and Reality. " The author claims that this is her 'momentous discovery,' 'occasioned by her father's death, which had prompted her to take into consideration the contradictory phenomena of life and death.

In an exposition which reaches evangelical fervoue, she claims that the attainment of such knowledge would enable one to get the proper perspective to "comprehend the mysteries of the universe and of life" and that one would "experience liberation that comes with such knowledge". The fly leaf reveals her categorical challenge, which runs thus: " One thing is certain: it will change forever man's concept of his God–and of himself. " She thinks that her book is arranged in a logical sequence and advises the reader to start at the beginning and to stay with it until the end. But her logical sequence being so gappy, and the flow of her argument being so laden with irrelevant, and dogmatic defense propts, and her polemical techniques being so self-defeating, the reader stands unconvinced, if at all he manages to stay with the book until its end.

The central argument attempts to establish that the totality of cosmic phenomina, from the Atom to God, is governed by two fundamental Laws of Polarity and Rhythm, structured in a triangular configuration such as follows:



The lines labelled positive and negative represent the Law of polarity and 'polarity' is vaguely defined as " two opposing tendencies" (p. 5). The bottom broken line represents the Law of Rhythm and 'rhythm' is taken in more than one sense to mean change, vibration, inter – relationship and even oneness (p. 5). In order to establish that this triangular configuration pervades the whole of cosmic phenomena the author attempts to exhibit the pattern within frames of reference, such as the material, the immaterial including the mental and the emotional. the structure and attitudes of life, the Haman Self and ultimately God. But, are her hopes realised?

The author acknowledges that Eastern philosophy provides the theoretical basis for her argument but she also admits that she could not fully understand this 'obscure' Eastern Philosophy and decides to put it aside (pp2 3). Nevertheless, she constructs her argument on such conceptual obscurity and intends to convey to the westerners (p.3) what she could not herself fully digest. Naturally'the symptoms of her indigestion become manifest in her presentation and the reader is very liable to be affected by such indigestive aftermaths. For instance, the Laws of Polarity and Rhythm have a heritage in certain oriental philosophies, and within such conceptual frameworks the terms, polarity, and 'rhythm'receive meanings, which however controversial they may be, are communicable among those who belong to such paradigms. But to uproot these laws from their bearings and to use the trems' polarity' and' rhythm' in senses which seem to suggest that polarities may rhythmically interact and meet, even when they are interpreted as coutradictories rather than as opposites, leaves the reader confounded (ch . 4. pp. 22–24). Moreover, to use the laws involving such concepts for construet: the 'tringular coufiguratron and to argue that this 'form' pervades everithning conceivable renders the argument unconvincing, for its conceptual components lack ciarity.

The argument itself is glaringly gappy. To reach the conclusion that the triangular configuration of Reality and Life is an absolute truth, the author commences with the premise that "The Absoluteness of Truth lies in the very fact that it is limited to a single Pattern" (p 2) and then attempts to limit that pattern to triangularity. But the basic premise stands unsupported. There are several similar pronouncements like" God and the Universe are one in the same thing" (p 10), and ', All Life is joined together in an evolutionary movement toward Perfection (p. 45) scattered through her argumentation. Such statements may be non–controversial and even aviomatic within certain philosophical systems, but isola-ting them from their contexts and handling them as premises or presuppositions, suggests a provocative tone of dogmatism in her argumentative presentation.

The rationale of the book states that the author holds the truths in her book, including the triangularity of Reality, to be self – evident. Yet, she finds it necessary to substantiate the self – evident, which is super – fluous, unless the substantiation is meant for those who are not aware of these truths. Even if the reader takes it that this is what the author is about, when she laboriously illustrates and analogises, these truths stubbornly refuse to exhibit their self evidence, unless of course the reader shares the author 's brain–wash.

The author presupposes that knowledge entails liberation, that one who comes to the knowledge of the truth of triangularity would "experience liberaton" (p·4). But her presupposition is questionable· Moreover, her

method to attain such liberating knowledge includes techniques like "Mantra" and "Meditation" (pp. 16–18) and her hasty comments on these suggest once again her indigestion of Eastern thought.

Her polemical arguments against the Christian doctrines of Heaven and Hell, the Divine Inspiration of the Bible, God and the Devil, may be introduced as good examples of the Fallacy of of Ignoratio-Ellenchi in any elementarp logic book.

The only merit in reviewing this book is to spare others from the trouble of getting entangled with the triviality of "triangularity."

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