

VOLUME 03 NUMBER 02 NOVEMBER 2017

THE S R I L A N K A J O U R N A L O F
SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES



The Faculty of Arts

UNIVERSITY OF JAFFNA, SRI LANKA



EDITOR'S NOTE

The Sri Lanka Journal of South Asian Studies Volume 03 Number 02 November 2017

Volume 03 Number 02 2017 of the Sri Lanka Journal of South Asian Studies continues to deal with research problems related to the South Asian context. As per the vision of the pioneers of the Journal the present issue accommodates six articles.

Since its inception in 1978 the Journal has been published with a break in the eighties due to the unrest that prevailed in the Northern and Eastern part of Sri Lanka and it has resumed its publication since 2015. We are unable to publish it on a regular basis due to various problems like lack of facilities, funds and printing due to dearth of professionals with English knowledge.

The present volume consists of articles related to maritime intercourse and naval warfare, material culture in archaeology, logical methodology for “Refuting” in Vedanta philosophical tradition, mapping and evaluation of the changes in the land uses of selected river basins in the Northern Province, gender inequality, land rights and socio-economic transformation of women and landscape painting in BritishCeylon.

We welcome more articles related to the South Asian context. We hope to continue with regular release of the Journal in future.

Dr.K.Shriganeshan

Editor.

30.11.2020.



THE SRI LANKA JOURNAL OF SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

Vol. 03 No. 02, November 2017

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MARITIME INTERCOURSE AND NAVAL WARFARE AS GLEANED FROM SRI LANKAN CHRONICLES

Shankar Balachandran

Abstract

Maritime trade warfare, also called commerce warfare, is a naval/military strategy that has been followed since ancient times. The idea of maritime trade warfare is to attack or neutralize the commercial shipping of one's enemy in an effort to disrupt the enemy's economy, make it more difficult for the enemy to continue waging war by disrupting the enemy's military supply chain that uses the sea. Maritime trade warfare can take different forms. Until the twentieth century, close blockades of an enemy's ports were most common, conducted to prevent the movement of an enemy's commercial shipping. In the twentieth century, with the introduction of new technologies such as torpedo, submarine, and airplane, distant blockades (farther from the enemy coast) became a standard practice. Mining of ports also was practiced. In addition, Maritime Exclusion Zones (MEZs) sometimes were established to prevent ships from entering a designated area. Maritime trade warfare also has included attacking or seizing enemy shipping in general, or outright destroying an enemy's commercial shipping in particular. In the twentieth century, destruction of an enemy's port infrastructure to prevent the loading or off-loading of commercial vessels also became a type of maritime trade warfare. Maritime history is the study of human interaction with and activity at sea. Though it covers a broad thematic element of history often using a global approach but here it is aimed to flush out the salient features of the naval warfare as Sri Lankan historic chronicles revealed. As an academic subject, it often crosses the boundaries of standard disciplines focusing on understanding humankind's various relationships to the oceans, seas and major waterways of the Indian Ocean. Thus, in this nautical history, it is attempted to interpret the past events involving mercantile activities, shipping system under navigations and seafarers between the Far-eastern countries and the Western countries.

Key words:

Mahavamsa, prasastis, Culavamsa, Boat building, Jataka stories, Kadaram expeditions, commercial vessels, Chola, Srivijaya.

Introduction

Sri Lankan chronicles Dipavamsa, Mahavamsa and Rajavalia record the events of Sri Lanka since the arrival from India of Vijaya in the 5th century BCE. Mahavamsa (MV) is a more detailed chronicle and remarkably without any significant break. Besides giving information on many other things, it scores over other records in South Asia with regard to the details of the use of ships and ports for the purpose of voyages and the number of troops embarked for the attack on Sri Lanka. For some events, the Mahavamsic account is matched by inscriptions from the non-Lankan side. It serves as a one-point source for the naval wars, albeit very few, waged by South Asian rulers, the logistics and the preparations that they had made before undertaking such adventures. Many scholars including its editor W.Geiger have commented on the credibility of the MV as a source and its objectivity. The consensus among them is that it is of value at least from Devanampiyatissa period (3rd century BCE).

For the purpose of this paper, we will study the MV as to the likely motive of Rajendra Chola I (1014-1044 CE) for the attack on Southeast Asia (SEA), the preparations the Cholas could have made for the long voyage by a comparison with the attack on Ramanna (modern Myanmar) by Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 CE).

While the use of navy by the rulers of South India and Sri Lanka is well known from the MV and inscriptions and confirmation from both sides, the same is not the case with the Rajendra Chola I's invasion of the Southeast Asia (SEA) (1025 CE) and Parakramabahu I's invasion of Myanmar (1165 CE). The claim made by these two rulers has not been acknowledged by the invaded Kings or countries. Nor did these rulers leave any inscription or a victory pillar on the invaded country. While we have numerous inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I in Sri Lanka with his usual prasasti "Thirumanni valara" including of his conquest of Kadaram1, he did not leave any such inscription on Srivijaya after the conquest. There is an absolute silence on the part of the invaded countries also. We have to rely on circumstantial evidence only for a confirmation of these attacks.

Subbarayulu2 writing on the Chola attack on SEA, laments the lack of a direct evidence and goes to a farther period to infer the capability of the Cholas to undertake such a venture. He refers to an inscription dated in 1187 CE (SII, v, 990) to infer a title of a commander of the Chola Navy, identifies 'Marakkalam' as the biggest of all vessels in use by a comparison between Barus inscription of 1088 CE and a Tamil inscription of 1256 CE (Nellore inscriptions, Gudur 39: ARE .1963-64: No.79) and finally depends on the Tiruvalangadu inscription of Rajadhirajadeva II dated in 1178 CE (EI, xxii,p.87) for a description of the building of ships and naval bases used by Parakramabahu I.

The MV gives a graphic account of Parakramabahu I's anger at Ramanna's insolence and how he had decided to teach them a lesson. His sending an army to help Parakrama Pandya in the war of succession in Madurai also contains an interesting account of the landing of his navy on the other coast in the face of a fierce attack.

A backward projection of Parakramabahu I's attack on Myanmar just as Subbarayalu had attempted, would throw an interesting hypothesis of how Rajendra Chola I's navy would have prepared for the Srivijaya attack and what could have been the reasons for the attack and the result thereof.

Starting with Prince Vijaya's landing on Sri Lanka in the 5th century BCE, being an Island nation, Sri Lanka has received and sent many voyages which are recorded in the MV/CV. A tabular representation of such voyages grouped under three different categories is as follows:

Table No.1- Non-military Voyages

Year/ reign	Ruler	Mode & traveller details	From	To	Sailing time	Purpose	Reference in MV/CV	Reference by other sources
483-445 BCE	Vijaya	Ship with 700 men	Supparaka	Tambapanni	-	Exiled by King for father misconduct	VI: 39-47	-
		Ship	-	Madhura	-	To seek a princess for marriage	VII: 48-51	-
	Vijaya	Ship with 100 maidens, 1000 families, elephants, horses, wagons etc	Madhura	Mahatitha	-	Marriage with Vijaya, his ministers and retainers	VII: 52-58	-
444-414 BCE	Panduvasu deva	Ship with 32 followers	Sihapura	Mahakandara river	-	To ascend the throne	VIII: 12	-
	Bhadda kaccana	Ship with 32 women friends	Ganges	Gonagamaka	-	To become Panduvasureva's consort	VIII:20-25	-
247-207 BCE	Devanam piyatissa	Ship - Four men	Jambukola	-	7 days	Envoys to Ashoka	XI, 23, 37	-
			Tamralipti	Jambukola	12 days	Returned home		
		Ship - Sanghamitt a	Tamralipti	Jambukola	-	Brought Bodhi tree	XIX, 20-23	-
923 CE	Dappula III	Ship-Pandu king	Pandu country	Mahatitha	-	To seek help to fight the Cholas	CV 58: 5-6	Melapadi inscription (SII, iii, 18)
923-934 CE	Dapuula IV	Ship-Pandu King	(Sri Lanka)	(Keralas)	-	Left behind his crown jewels after no help forthcoming	CV 58:9-10	
1059-1114	Vijaya bahu	Ship with people and costly treasure	(Lanka)	Ramanna	-	(seeking support)	CV 58: 8-9	-
		Ship with camphor, sandalwood & other goods	(Ramanna)	Harbour	-	Return gift	CV 58: 9-10	-

Table No.2-Invasions on Sri Lanka by use of Navy

Year/Reign	Ruler	Mode & traveller details	From	To	Sailing time	Purpose	Reference in MV/CV	Reference by other sources
177-155 BCE	Sena and Guttaka	Ship with a great army	-	-	-	Horse traders. Usurp the throne and rule	XXI:10-11	-
145-101 BCE	Elara	-	Chola country	-	-	Seize the kingdom and rule	XXI: 13-14	-
		Ship – Bhalluka, nephew of Elara with 60,000 men	(Chola country)	Mahatittha	-	Killed in battle with Dutthagamani	XXV, 78	-
43, 29-17 BCE	Vattagamini	Ship with seven Damilas and troops	-	Mahatittha	-	Seize the kingdom and rule	XXXIII: 39	-
93-102 CE	Ilanaga	Ship	Mahatittha	-	-	To raise help	XXXV: 26	-
		Ship	-	Rohana	-	Brought an army to fight Lambakannas	XXXV:28	-
171-174 CE	Vankasika Tissa	Ship with troops	Soli country	Sri Lanka	-	Conquest by Karikala Chola	Rajavalia ³ p.47	-
433-460 CE	Pandu	Ship	-	-	-	To seize the kingdom and rule	CV 38: 11	-
496-513 CE	Moggallana	Ship	-	Jambudipa	-	To raise help	CV 38:87	-
		Ship with 12 friends	Jambudipa	Sri Lanka	-	To fight Kassapa I	CV 39:21	-
617-626 CE	Silameghavanna	Ship –His estranged General Srinaga	(Sri Lanka)	Opposite shore (India)	-	To seek help	CV 44:71	-
		Ship-General Srinaga with many Damilas	(India)	Sri Lanka	-	To fight the king	CV 44: 72	-
626-641 CE	Jetthatissa	Ship-Aggabodhi-III	(Sri Lanka)	Jambudipa	-	To raise help	CV 44:94	-
		Ship-Aggabodhi	Other coast (India)	Kalavapi (Sri Lanka)	-	To fight Jetthatissa	CV 44:106	-
		-III with damila troops						
		Ship-King's Minister Dathasiva	(Sri Lanka)	Jambudipa	-	To escape Aggabodhi-III	CV 44:106	-
	Aggabodhi-III	Ship-King's Minister Dathasiva with Damila troops	(Jambudipa)	Tintini (Sri Lanka)	-	To fight Aggabodhi-III	CV 44:125-126	-
		Ship – Aggabodhi-III	(Sri Lanka)	Jambudipa	-	Flees from Dathasiva	CV 44: 127	-
			-	-	-	To fight Dathasiva	CV44: 129	-
641-650 CE	Kassapa II	Ship – King Dathopattissa	(Sri Lanka)	Jambudipa	-	Flees from Kassapa II	CV44:145	-
		Ship-King Dathopattissa with a great force	Jambudipa	(Sri Lanka)	-	To fight Kassapa II	CV44:152	-

650 CE	Dappula-I	Ship-Hattha datha with Damila force	(Jambudipa)	Sri Lanka	-	To fight Dappula	CV45: 19	-
676-711 CE	Manavamma	Ship-Manavamma	(Sri Lanka)	Jambudipa	-	To seek help from Narasimha pallava	CV47: 4-5	-
		Ship-Manavamma with well-equipped Pallava army	(Mamalla puram seaport)	Lankadipa	-	To unseat Dathopatissa	CV47: 32-38	-
		Ship-Manavamma	(Sri Lanka)	Jambudipa	-	To seek help from Narasimha pallava	CV47: 41	-
		Ship-Manavamma with a Pallava armada	(Mamalla puram)	Uttaradesa (Sri Lanka)	-	To unseat Hatthadatha	CV47:46-55	-
831-851 CE	Sena-I	Ship-Pandu King with a great force	Jambudipa	(Sri Lanka)	-	To fight Sena	CV50: 11-12	Larger Sinnama nur Plates
			(Sri Lanka)	(Madhura)	-	Plundered and returned	CV50:42	
945-955 CE	Udaya-IV	Ship-Senapati of Chola king	(Chola country)	(Sri Lanka)	-	To get back Pandyan crown jewels. (The Chola forces return empty handed)	CV53:41-45	Thirumanallur inscription (SII,xvii, 501)
956-972 CE	Mahinda IV	Ship-Vallabha army	(Southern India)	Nagadipa	-	To subdue the country (the invading forces return after a treaty)	CV54:1216	Karhad grant, (E.I.v. p.280)
981-1029 CE	Mahinda V	Ship-chola army	(Chola country)	Lanka	-	To seize the country (annexed the northern part)	CV55:13-16	Tanjore Temple inscription (SII, ii, No.4)
		Ship-Chola army				Entire country annexed and taken away Pandyan crown jewels, etc	CV55: 16-28	Neliiyappar Temple inscription (SII, v, No.449)
1029-1041 CE	Vikkamabahu	Ship-95000 strong army	(Chola country)	(Lanka)	-	Unsuccessful in capturing the King	CV55:24-32	-
1059-1114 CE	Vijayabahu	Ship with Chola army	(Chola country)	Mahatittha	-	Unsuccessful in capturing Rohana but two of his generals cross over to Cholas	CV58:13-17	Mani mangalam Inscriptions (SII, iii, 29)
		Ship with Chola army	Sea coast	Lanka	-	Vijayabahu driven to Vatagiri and finally Chola forces withdrawn in the face of defeat	CV58: 24-59	-
1114-1116 CE	Jayabahu	Ship with troops led by Viradeva	Palandipa	Mahatittha	-	Initially successful but Vikkamabahu slew him.	CV61: 36-47	-
1236-1271 CE	Parakrama Bahu II	Ship with troops	(Java)	Lanka		Candabbanu invades but defeated	CV83:36-52	-

Table No.3-Invasions by Sri Lankan rulers on other countries by use of navy

Year/ reign CE	Ruler	Mode & traveller details	From	To	Sailing time	Purpose	Reference in MV/CV	Reference by other sources
174-196 CE	Gajabahu	-	Yapapatuna (Sri Lanka)	Soli country	-	To bring back Sinhalese prisoners and the lost treasure	Rajavalia ⁴	-
851-885 CE	Sena-II	Ship – Senapati, estranged son of Pandu king and well equipped army	Mahatittha	Opposite coast	-	To recover the lost treasure taken away by Srimara Srivallabha and to install the estranged son of Pandu King	CV 51: 25- 34	-
		Ship- Senapati and army	Sea coast	Mahatittha	-	Returned home with treasure, elephants, horses and men	CV 51: 43- 46	-
913-923 CE	Kassapa V	Ship- Sakka senapati and army	Mahatittha	Pandu country	-	To help Pandu king fight the Cholas	CV 52: 70- 75	Udayen diram Plate (SII, ii, No.76)
		Ship – Army	(Pandu country)	(Sri Lanka)	-	Troops brought back on Sakka dying of plague.	CV 52: 78- 79	
945-955 CE	Udaya-IV	Ship-Army	(Sri Lanka)	(Chola country)	-	To bring back the treasure. (the army returns successful)	CV 53: 46- 48	-
1153- 1186 CE	Parakrama Bahu	Ships – Army	Pallava vanka	Pappahalama (Ramanna)	-	Avenged the insult to his envoys etc.	CV 76: 10- 75	-
		Ships- Army	Mahatittha	Taladilla (Pandyan country)	A day and a night (24 hrs)	To help Parakrama Pandya and his son.	CV 76: 76- 334), 77: 1-105.	Ara pakkam inscription (SII, vi, 46)

Note: CV – Culavamsa – being the most recent part of the Mahavamsa

An analysis of the above tables will go to show how the Mahavamsa/Culavamsa upto the end of the 13th century CE (the period of study of this paper) have recorded the normal and military-related voyages reaching and leaving its shores.

Sailing time

In Table No.1, we see a sailing time of 12 days given for a voyage between Tamralipti and Jambukola.

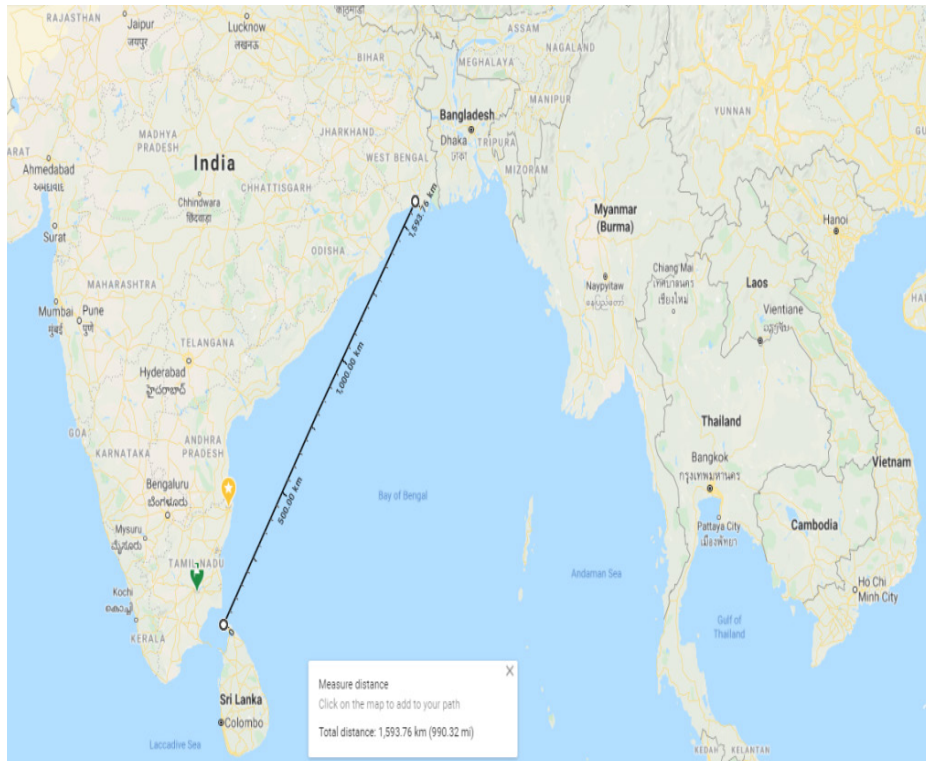


Fig.1

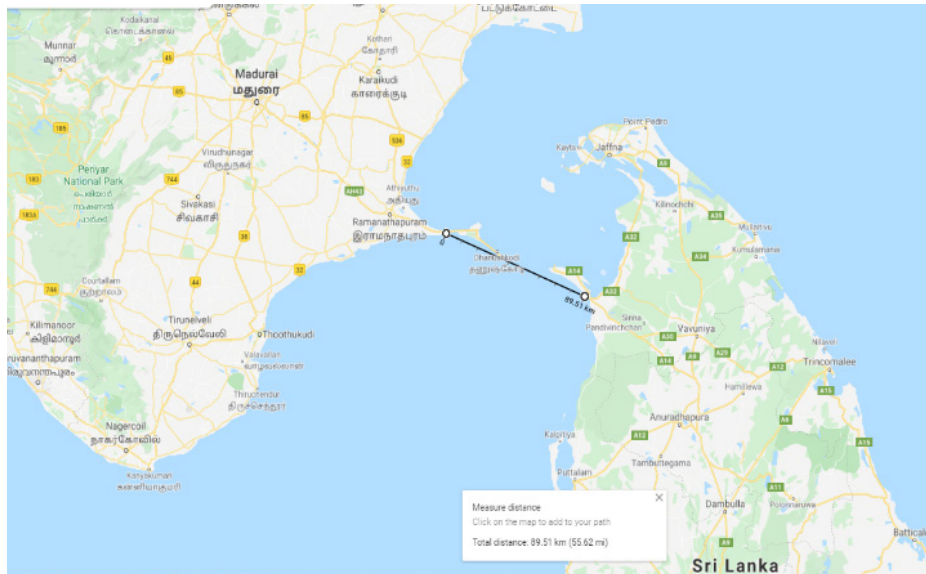


Fig.2

Here, the approximate distance of 1600 KMs between Tamralipti and Jambukola (Fig.1) was covered in 12 days at 3 knots per hour. This is well within the range of sailing ships which achieve a speed between 3 and 6 knots per hour under favourable wind conditions⁵. The distance between Mahatittha sea port to Taladilla (near Rameshwaram) is roughly 90 KMs (Fig.2). The time of about 24 hours taken by the armada to reach the opposite coast, indicated by the Culavamsa, exactly fits in with the speed of the ships those days in non-monsoonal wind conditions of around 2 knots per hour (3.70 kph)⁵.

Passengers per ship

A figure of 700 men shown in Table.1 said to have travelled in a single ship is again not impossible, if Jataka stories are to be believed. The Janaka Jataka mentions a ship carrying 700 passengers including crew. Buddha in one of his previous incarnations travelled in a ship carrying seven hundred merchants. A wrecked ship of Valahassa-Jataka carried 500 merchants. The ship which is mentioned in the Samudda-Vaniya-Jataka was so large as to accommodate also a whole village of absconding carpenters numbering a thousand. Sankha Jataka, Mahajanaka Jataka, Datha dhatu wamsa attest to ships capable of carrying men in hundreds leaving enough space for cargo. Fahien voyaged from Ceylon to Java in a ship carrying 200 passengers⁶. The Tang period evidence is to be believed, Sri Lanka had the largest ships of 200 feet long capable of holding upto 600 to 700 men⁷. In the 9th century CE, Li Chao the Mandarin who wrote Tang Kao Shih Pu reports “the ships from the Lion Kingdom (Lanka) were the largest, with stairways for loading and unloading which are several tens of feet in height”

Table 2 refers to 60,000 and 95,000 men landing in Sri Lanka. If a ship could carry about 700 men, this would have required about 86 and 136 vessels. This again was not impossible to assemble.

Boat building and logistics

The Culavamsa's first reference to boat building comes with regard to the help (Table.2) given by Narasimha Pallava (630-668 CE) to Manavamma (676-711 CE). It refers to Narasimha Pallava as reaching the sea coast and building strong ships of different sizes at the port and seeing off his friend Manavamman thus:

Having so pondered, he (Narasimha Pallava) collected his army, equipped it with what was needful, gave it (the pay) it demanded, marched himself at its head to the sea-coast, had numerous strong ships of different shape built hereMana(vamma) began the voyage with the army. The whole ocean was as a (floating) town. Having reached the port he landed with his army. (CV 47: 47-54)

The Culavamsa records Parakramabahu I's preparations (Table.3) for the Ramanna attack thus:

He then ordered to make ready ships of various kinds, many hundreds in number. Now all the country round about coast was one great workshop fully occupied with the building of the ships taken in hand. When within five months he had had all the ships well built, he assembled them in haste at the port of Pallavavanka. Then endowed with vast royal power, he had provisions supplied for a whole year such as rice and the like and abundant weapons of war, such as armour and the like; further gokannaka arrows of iron with sharp points, many hundred thousand in number for defence against elephants, also different kinds of medicines, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of country; also iron pincers for extracting arrow heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken, lastly also skilful physicians and serving women – everything in complete fashion. After he versed as none other in the right measures, had made a strong force numbering many hundreds of thousands – embark. The Ruler sent all the ships off on one day loaded with all kinds of arms and filled with capable soldiers. Now when this assemblage of ships all at the same time sailed forth in the midst of the ocean it looked like a swimming island. (CV 76: 44-56).

Though most of the vessels used in Sri Lanka's external trade were generally of foreign construction, sea-worthy craft were built in Sri Lanka as well, and are known to have sailed as far as China. Perhaps some of the latter may even have been used to transport Parakramabahu I's troops to Myanmar⁸.

Thiruvallangadu copper plates vide v.80 says the Chola army crossed the ocean by ships and burnt the Lord of Lanka (Ceylon)⁹. Rajendra Chola I's prasasti at Tanjore Temple refer to Rajendra Chola I's "having dispatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea¹⁰". An inscription¹¹ at Tiruvallangadu dated in the 12th year (1178 CE) of Rajadhirajadeva II says Parakramabahu I was gathering forces and building ships at Uratturai, Pulaichcheri, Matottam, Vallikamam and Mattival for a naval attack on the Chola Kingdom. The Chola king frustrated this attempt with the assistance of Srivallabha, the nephew of Parakramabahu I and a rebel by sending an expedition with him and destroying all these five places.

A trireme of the 5th century BCE built by Greeks may have had a length of about 125 feet (38 metres), a beam of 20 feet (6 metres), and a draft of 3 feet (1 metre). Manned by about 200 officers, seamen, and oarsmen (perhaps 85 on a side), with a small band of heavily armed epibatai (marines), under oars it could

reach seven knots (seven nautical miles per hour; one knot equals 1.15 statute miles per hour or 1.85 km per hour or about 13 Kilometres per hour)¹².

Description of sailing, landing and attack on Myanmar

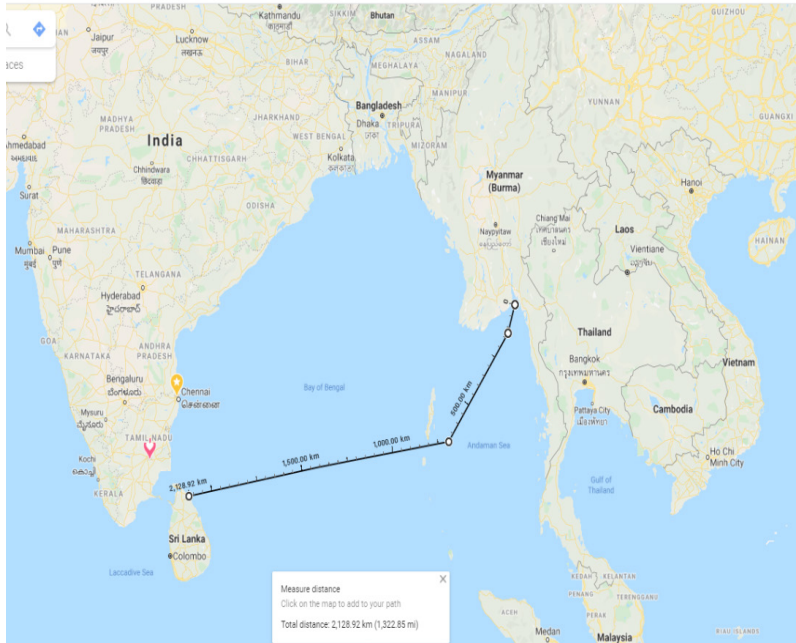


Fig.3

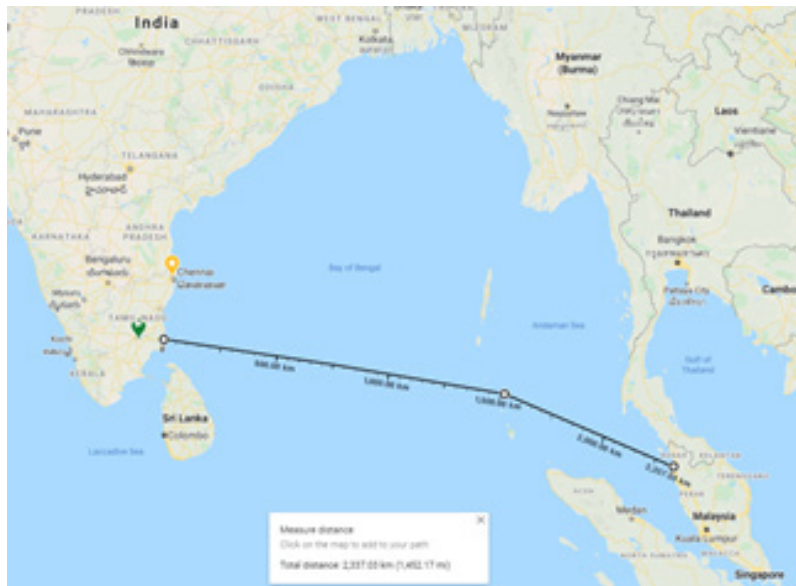


Fig.4

When Parakramabahu I heard of many insults committed by the King of Ramanna, he ordered either his capture or his killing. He placed troop leaders under Damiladhikarin Adicca and commanded him to depart speedily. The Culavamsa (76: 56-68) records thus:

Subdued by adverse winds some of these ships went down, some drifted on to foreign shores. Numbers of trusty warriors who had embarked in one of the vessels landed on the crows island (Kakadipa). They fought a battle there, captured several of the inhabitants of the island alive, brought them, then to the King of Lanka and presented them to him. Warriors of great fighting strength who sailed on five vessels landed on the territory of Ramanna in the port called Kusumi. These doughty soldiers with the Nagaragiri Kitti at the head, equipped with armour and weapons, slew from their landing-place the troops belonging to the Ramanna country, many thousands of them in terrible combat and while they, like to rutting elephants, hewed down around many coco palms and other trees and set fire to the villages, they laid waste a great part of the kingdom. But the ship on which the Damiladhikarin Adicca commanded, landed in the territory (of Ramanna) at the port of Papphalama, and while at once the people with the Damiladhikarin at the head, fought a gruesome, fearful, foe-destroying battle and captured alive many people living in the country, they plunged the Ramanna kingdom into sore confusion. Thereupon, the Sinhalaes with terrible courage, fearful with their swords, burst into the town of Ukkama and slew the monarch of the Ramanas. When they had subdued the Ramanas and brought their country into their power, the great heroes (probably Adicca and Kitti) mounted a splendid white elephant. They rode round the town free from all fear turning the right side towards it and thereupon made known by beat of drum the supremacy of the Sovereign of Lanka.

At 2 knots per hour, the ships from Lanka would have taken about 24 days if they voyaged non-stop to reach Ramanna (about 2150 KMs) (Fig.3).

Description of landing and attack on Pandya country

In the expedition to Pandya territory, the hundreds of ships which returned from Myanmar expedition could have been put to use as there was no reference to a fresh construction of ships.

The Culavamsa gives a graphic account how the Lankan Armada landed on the opposite coast (Taladilla near Rameshwaram) and fought its way.

When he (Lankapura) caught sight of the coast, since a hostile army was standing there, he made all his troops put on their armour on board. As the ships had to lie in deep water and because with a landing just at this spot, the

armour of the whole army would have been wet through, he made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size. Then when the rain of arrows from the Damilas standing on the coast came flying he made shields fashioned of leather set up in front of the people (as protection) against the arrows and so landed in the Pandu kingdom at the port called Taladilla. After putting to flight the Damilas at the port and capturing the harbour, he took up a position there and fought with vast forces four battles. (CV 76: 89-94).

In all accounts of victories gained by the Lankan forces, horses are always mentioned as the principal booty (foot note, p.73 of the Culavamsa, Part 2; CV 76.96, 176, 189, 232, 258 & 332, CV 77: 85, 95). The horses, men and elephants captured from the Chola country and from the Pandyan were sent to Ceylon (CV 77: 103). This is a pointer to not many horses and elephants carried on ship and the invading forces relied on capturing from the enemy. In Rajendra Chola I's invasion of Kadaram also, in his prasasti we find the Chola forces capturing elephants as booty. The Culavamsa gives the force strength of 50 to 60,000 on the Pandyan side fighting the war (CV 76: 248) also many accounts of how the Sinhalese took Tamil warriors on their side with inducements and favours (CV 76: 280-285, CV 77: 96-101) to reinforce their forces. This attests to the fact that local support is a factor in any naval attack. Reinforcements from Lanka also joined the Sinhalese forces on the mainland (CV: 76:292-295).

Local assistance in overseas conquest

The Culavamsa makes several references to Tamil forces from the mainland invading on Sri Lanka being assisted by local residents and probably troops attached to the trade guilds.

Kassapa II (641-650 CE) made his sister's son Mana the King. Mana expelled the Damilas, the mercenaries whom Dathopatissa had brought with him and had become an undisciplined rabble. The Damilas banded themselves together, seized the town and messaged Hatthadatha who was in Jambudipa to return to the Island. He came with a Damila force and all Damilas living in Lanka joined him. He occupied the city and ruled under the name Dathopatissa (CV 45: 8, 11-22).

During Sena I's rule (846-866 CE), Pandyan King Srimara Srivallabha (815 – 862 CE) came in person with a great force and laid waste the whole of Uttaradesa, the Northern Province. It appears that the Tamil forces landed in the North which can be presumed to be Port Jambukola and then proceeded to occupy an armed camp in Mahatalitagama, a village in Uttaradesa. The many Tamils who lived there went over to his side. The Tamil army was full of vigour and determination and ready to lay down its life for the King. (CV 50.12-18). The Pandyan king plundered what was valuable in the treasury of

the King, the town and the Viharas, leaving the splendid Island deprived of her valuables. (CV 50: 33-36). The Pandyan king returned to his country from the seaport after a treaty had been agreed upon and handing over the capital to the Sinhala king. (CV 50: 38-42).

During the reign of King Mahinda IV (956-972 CE), the Vallabha king (CV 47:15 also refers to a Vallabha king to make war with Narasimha Pallava. It appears Culavamsa refers to Kings of Kannada region as Vallabha in general; Vallabha is a title kept by successive Rashtrakuta kings just as the Cholas kept Parakesarivarman or Rajakesarivarman – see Reu 1933) identified with Rashtrakuta King Krishna III sent a force to Nagadipa (the northern province of Lanka). Mahinda-IV sent his General Sena to fight the invading forces. Unable to defeat the Lankan troops, the invaders made a friendly treaty with the ruler of Lanka and left. This way, the fame of the Lankan king spread far and wide. (CV 54:12-16). It appears that the Tamils in Nagadipa did not support the Rashtrakuta forces invading Lanka resulting in their defeat.

King Mahinda V (1001-1029), having lost all his fortune due to misrule, was unable to pay his troops. The Kerala troops sieged the palace but the King escaped to Rohana and ruled from there. In the remaining parts of the country, Keralas, Sihalas and Kannatas carried on the Government as they pleased. A horse-dealer from the opposite coast informed the Chola king of the prevailing conditions. The Chola king landed a strong body of troops who advanced to Rohana and seized all royal ornaments, wealth of the monasteries and other valuables. The troops captured the King and sent him and all the treasures to the Chola king. With Pulatthinagara as base, the Cholas held sway over Rajarattha as far as the locality known as Rakkhapasananantha. The Chola king sent an army of 95000 to seize the King's son Kassapa and they ransacked the whole province of Rohana in every direction. The Chola army went back to Pulatthinagara on being harassed by two brave officials. King Mahinda V dwelt 12 years in the Chola land and died there. (CV 55:3-33).

Vijayabahu I (1059-1114 CE) challenged the Chola king to fight him as his envoys were insulted. His generals were preparing for a war with procurement of ships and provisions to send troops to Chola country but in the 30th year (1089 CE), his velakkara troops revolted refusing to go to Chola country (CV 60: 27-37).

Parakramabahu I in his 16th year had put down a revolt in Mahatittha (Manthota) (CV 76: 7-9).

Parakramabahu I's interventions in Pandyan war of succession is dated between 1169-1177 CE. Coinciding with Parakramabahu I's expedition to Madurai was the revolt in the Tamil dominated Mahatittha region. The local Tamils saw the mobilization of troops and the preparations going on for the attack on what they considered "Tamilagam" and sensed that Parakramabahu I's intentions were not just for answering the appeal for help from Parakrama Pandya but it was beyond. They showed their resentment by rebelling against the King. But as has happened before, the protest was brutally put down with all four arms of the military pressed into quelling it.

Parallels between Rajendra's Kadaram and Parakrama Bahu's Ramanna expedition

- Srivijaya had a friendly and cordial relationship with the Cholas as can be seen from the Chudamani Vihara built by its rulers in Nagapattinam and Rajaraja Chola I through larger Leiden copper plate extending a grant of a village with tax exemptions in 1006 CE and Rajendra Chola I confirming it in 1019 CE to facilitate the construction and its operation¹³.
- Srivijaya's agents/envoys kept donating to Kayoroganswamy temple at Nagapattinam between the period 1014 and 1019 CE¹⁴.
- Vijayabahu I sent to the King of Ramanna country number of people and much costly treasure. Then arrived in the harbour many ships laden with various stuffs, camphor, sandalwood, and other goods (CV58: 8-10).
- Between the countries of Lanka and Ramanna there had never been a dissension since they were inhabited by people who held the same faith. The rulers of the island of Lanka and the monarchs of Ramanna were both in like manner, true disciples of the Sugata. Hence all former monarchs in both countries in deeply-rooted trust, filled with friendly feeling were wont to send each other many costly gifts and in this way for a long time maintain intercourse without dissension. Also with King Parakramabahu, the Monarch of Ramanna kept up friendly relations even as former rulers who had for a long time held firmly to him (CV 76: 10-15).

Rift with Myanmar

The Culavamsa describes the immediate provocation for Parakramabahu I's attack on Myanmar as follows:

But once upon a time the deluded one hearkened to the words of slanderers, of certain messengers who came back from our land, and deprived the envoys of the sovereign of Lanka who came into his own country, of the maintenance formerly granted. Furthermore he issued the order that elephants which had

(hitherto) been sold by many (traders) to foreign countries were no longer to be sold. Further with evil intent he made the restriction that elephants which had formerly been sold there for a hundred or a thousand silver nikkhalas must (henceforth) be sold for two or three thousand. He also did away with the age-old custom of presenting an elephant to every vessel in which gifts were conveyed. When he caught sight of a letter written on gold, addressed to himself, he under the pretext that they were envoys sent to Kamboja, or saying something of that kind, had the envoys of the sovereign of Lanka after taking from them all their goods and chattels, thrown into a fortress in the Malaya country. And although, he learned exactly how his own envoy Tapassin by name, had had every distinction conferred on him by the ruler of Lanka, he nevertheless bereft of all political wisdom, took everything away from the envoys of the monarch of Lanka: their money, their elephants and their vessels, had blocks of wood fastened to their feet to their greatest torture, and employed them in the work of sprinkling water in the prisons. When once upon a time, a prince of Jambudipa Kassapa by name sent costly gifts along with a letter of gold, he forbade his people to land and in an insulting manner made them take the letter back to their town. One day he had the Sihala envoys summoned to him and declared to them: "henceforth no vessel from the Sihala country shall be sent to my kingdom. Give us now in writing the declaration that if (messengers) from there are again sent to us, in case we should slay the envoys who have come here, no blame of any kind will attach to us. If ye give not the declaration ye shall not have permission to return home. After he had made them sign this, so that in the event of a transgression they should not return again to their country, he took the paper from their hand. The teacher Vagissara and the scholar Dhammakitti he sent off in a leady vessel into the open sea. Once upon a time he took from the hands of the messengers the gifts and goods which the ruler of Lanka had sent in order to buy elephants, with the promise that he would give them fourteen elephants and silver money but he told merely lies and gave them nothing. Further they seized by force a princess whom the ruler of Lanka had sent to Kamboja land.

When King Parakkamabahu heard of these many insults committed by that (prince), he thought with the greatest indignation" "Where in the world of Jambudipa is there a King who would be capable of treating my envoys in such a manner?". He summoned the Ministers and spake: "either the capture or the slaying of the King Arimaddana must be effects" (CV 76:15-38).

Rift with Srivijaya

Thus, the Chola and Lanka relations with Srivijaya and Ramanna respectively run parallel on many counts. The character of Rajendra Chola I and Parakramabahu I is similar in a sense both were aggressive rulers with an intent and readiness for war. Both wanted to expand their territory and had their own digvijayas. The Cholas never

cared for relations or sentiments as we see from the way they attacked the Cheras even though they had a matrimonial alliance (Queens of Parantaka I and Sundara Chola were Chera princesses from whom the successive Cholas claim descent) and a significant Malayali population by then had settled in the Chola country. The Culavamsa's account also confirms that sentiments and matrimonial alliances had not always worked as we see Parakramabahu I resuming Lanka's intervention in Pandyan affairs needling the Cholas, ignoring the fact that Kulottunga I's daughter Suttamalliyar was married (ibid, below) to Parakramabahu I's father, even though Parakramabahu was born to Ratnavali, his father's another wife and daughter of Vijayabahu I. Either under Brahmanical influence of Kshatriyas' duty of expanding territory or their own instinct for territorial expansion, the Cholas especially under Rajendra I had gone to places none had gone before. Both Ganges and Kadaram expeditions took place one after the other consecutively and all Chola inscriptions and eulogies and poems take these two territorial conquests together to indicate them as a part of the same digvijaya. While it would not be out of character for Rajendra Chola I to attack Kadaram as part of his digvijaya, there could have been casus belli as in Parakramabahu I's case, in the form of insults to the Chola envoys and traders, excessive tolls charged for passing through the Malacca strait, raising unreasonable trade barriers, uncontrolled piracy on Chola ships that could have catalyzed Rajendra Chola I to mount an attack. The plunder that accompanied any invasion is a by-product of the battle rather than the main aim of the attack.

Aftermath

Parakramabahu I did not make any claim of annexing Myanmar or exacting tribute from that country and there is only one inscription at Devanagala (ASC 1893, p.73) confirming the Aramana campaign in the 12th year of reign (1165 CE). The reigning King of Aramana at that time was Bhuvanaditta. The inscription also mentions the town of Kusumi. Burmese chronicles have nothing to say about such a catastrophe having overtaken the country¹⁵ (C.V : 69).

During Parakramabahu I (1153-86 CE)'s reign, Alaungsithu (1112-67 CE) was the ruler in Myanmar. The Sinhala accounts were one sided. Burmese sources did not record any such attack. But they say they were misled by an Indian envoy (Aung 1967, p.47). Alaungsithu continued to live even though the MV says he was killed (Aung 1967, p.49). Perhaps, they killed a local chieftain and the attack could have taken place in some places of Myanmar. Vijaya Bahu II (1186 CE) wrote a letter lending a friendly hand to Myanmar. Good relations continued thereafter during Nissanka Malla's time too¹⁶.

Whereas, Rajendra Chola I's Kadaram expedition figures in almost every inscription after the digvijaya including Sri Lanka's Velgama Vihara inscriptions (1024-1027 CE) and Ataragala Ainnurruvar Slab inscription (1036 CE). It is also

mentioned in Kalingattupparani of Jayankondar and Ulas written by Ottakoothar. And an inscription at Thirumazhuvadi of 1044 CE¹⁷ of Rajadhiraja in the year of Rajendra Chola I's death, Kadaram has been shown as the easternmost part of the Chola's boundary indicating thereby that they had perceived that country to be under their dominion or a tribute paying vassal.

While the immediate successors of Parakramabahu I had extended a hand of friendship to Myanmar rulers, there had been no such evidence seen in Chola-Srivijayan relationship. Only in 1090 CE that two envoys of Kadaram paid a call on Kulottunga requesting for certain favours for the Chudamani Vihara – almost 65 years after the 1025 CE invasion.

Srivijaya's destruction and Java's revival started with this attack. Java was then ruled by Airlangga (1019-43 CE). Srivijaya and Java were in constant war as per the Chinese sources. After the Chola attack, Srivijaya became weaker. Airlangga tried to shift the focus from Srivijayan ports to his own country to become a centre of commerce. We should not forget that Srivijaya's decline led to the success of Airlangga. From his inscriptions we come to know that he had succeeded in most of his objectives¹⁸.

As a result of the Chola attack, there had been no Srivijayan missions from 1018 to 1028 CE to China¹⁹.

Virarajendra claims²⁰ that he conquered Kadaram on behalf of an unnamed king who sought his help and restored Kadaram to him. Probably Virarajendra intervened in a dispute over succession to ensure that the tribute received from Kadaram remained unhindered.

Kulottunga I's persona

We know from the activities of Kulottunga I (1070 to 1125 CE), his disengagement from overseas conquests and focus on domestic politics. He probably wanted to follow his predecessor's footsteps of matrimonial alliances to end enmity. As we know, Virarajendra married off his daughter to Chalukya Vikaramaditya²¹ and another daughter named Rajasundari²² to Rajaraja Devendravarman of Eastern Ganga dynasty.

Kulottunga I appeared to have asked for the hand of Vijayabahu I's (1059-1114 CE) younger sister Mitta. Vijayabahu I refused and married her off to a Pandyan prince. The Culavamsa says:

'Though repeatedly entreated by the Cola monarch (Kulottunga I), the King (Vijayabahu I) proud of his family would not give him his younger sister. On the contrary, he fetched the Pandu King who came of an unblemished line and

wedded to him his royal sister Mitta by name who had been born after him' (CV 59: 40-41).

Undeterred, Kulottunga I tried to mend fences by sending an envoy to Vijayabahu I with rich presents. However, Kulottunga probably resented Vijayabahu's friendship with Chalukyas who also sent envoys. Vijayabahu's envoys sent to Kannata (Chalukyas) with return gifts were maimed by the Cholas. Vijayabahu sent a stern message to Kulottunga with the latter's envoys dressed in women's apparel for a trial of strength. Vijayabahu twice made preparations for the war, the last one being in his 45th regnal year (c.1104 CE) but both the times the Chola King had given him a miss (CV 60: 24-47).

Finally, Kulottunga appeared to have reconciled and given his daughter Suttamalliyar²³ to Virapperumal alias Manabharana, a son by a Pandyan prince and Mitta, the Vijayabahu I's younger sister (ibid). Budumuttava (Sri Lanka) pillar inscription (1118-9 CE) records this as:

In the eighth year of his Majesty Jayabāhu tēvar, Cuntamalli, the consort of (prince) (Pāṇṭiyanār) Virapperumāl and a daughter of Kulottunkacola tēvar granted to the temple of Vikkiramā calāmēka - isvaram at Vikkiramacalamēkapuram a standing lamp of alloyed metal (tarānilai viḷakku) of two spans in length and ten kācu (gold coins) for burning it as a perpetual lamp²⁴.

Conclusion

There were famous naval battles in the ancient world. Greco-Persian wars in 5th century BCE, Punic wars in 3rd century BCE, Viking naval raids in the 11th century CE but all of these occurred in their immediate neighborhood. Rajendra Chola I's Kadaram expedition covered a distance of over 2300 KMs (Fig.4) - a unique event in the world history. No scholar has ever doubted or contested the claim of the Cholas of the invasion. This goes to his credit. Rajendra Chola I's expedition inspired rulers in the neighbourhood as we see in 1165 CE, almost after 140 years, Parakramabahu I undertaking an expedition to Ramanna which is of almost equal distance (about 2150 KMs) and challenge. With tables turned, Chandrabhanu (1230-1263 CE) from Tambralinga (Malay Peninsula) invaded Lanka in 1247 CE. This was no less audacious. However, Chandrabhanu was killed in a battle with Pandyas after his brief rule in Jaffna (CV 83: 36-52). Unlike the armies of Parakramabahu I and Chandrabhanu, Rajendra Chola I's army appear to have received local support which could have played an anchoring role in the Chola's conquest as well as in the continued occupation of Sri Lanka and hold over Kadaram.

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MATERIAL CULTURE IN ARCHAEOLOGY - SOME ISSUES FROM THE SOUTH ASIAN CONTEXT

Selliah Krishnarajah

Abstract

The investigation on material culture in archaeology consists a research area of wider span of objectivity - in the sense of cultural successions of the regions but for the sake of research convenience , the objectivity of the theme has been brought within an archaeological frame work and the research area has been limited within the objectivity in the social science stream. Studies of material culture have a multidisciplinary history, and their origins can be traced to a range of theoretical literatures and research traditions, some of which have faded in their popularity and others which are burgeoning. Early studies of material culture had a relatively narrow focus and existed within anthropology to document and categorise the material expressions of diverse human cultures. The first studies of material culture catalogued and described objects, generally of non-western or, more specifically, non-European origin. These were often objects and technologies such as spears, knives or shields. The manifest goal of these studies was to use such artifacts as a means for retrospectively understanding human behavior and culture. However, the latent effect was to objectify hierarchical and marginalize the cultural expressions of non-western cultures. During the zenith period for museum collecting – the ‘museum age’, such displays of material culture performed a perverse educative role by demonstrating evolutionary stages and models of cultural development, and implicitly communicating the superiority of western culture. The phrase material culture has various meaning and deep functions and the particular term is often used by the Marxists, ethnographers, linguists and archaeologists to denote the concrete or intact physical objects left by human beings since the past years . The meaning of material culture from the archaeological point of view has been defined as the study of the concept of life in the past in which people who created livelihood environment, designed their identity, interchanged the ideas with experiences and dethroned the used objects which were out dated livelihood means and customs as they had been changed the sustainability from one generation to another. The term material is being used here to visualize the evolutionary cultural stages with the physical objects found in various countries. But each of the country which existing in the world had having utilized the privileges for its cultural identity from material objects based

on of Nationality and Nationhood. Thus, the real function of material culture has been turned from the expected task. In this way there are many issues that have been identified in the global level and some of them are very identical with the South Asian context and they are the main basic facts here for our discussion.

Key words: Nationality and Nationhood, Material culture, power politics, amateur Archaeologists, Marxists philosophers, Sinhala Buddhist Nationalism, Islamic ancestry heritage, ethnic chauvinism.

What is material culture?

The term material culture consists of a vast meaning and function connecting human activities in both past and present. However, the term 'material culture' is being used in a wide-angle disciplines, relative space and spectrum today. Because there are several disciplines owed their contributions to be embodied the meaning of material culture. Such disciplines are Sociology, Anthropology, Paleontology, Biology, Geology, Neurology, and Archaeology. Theologizers and political philosophers have often been using the term, *Material* in different ways to exercise their intuitive visions. Marxists philosophers are using this term to express their non-spiritual aspects with economic factors in material culture. Those who specialize in the origin of the language they also deal with material culture. In totally, the present day walk of life has been merged by using the evolutionary way via material culture. Thus, the study of material culture falls in a wide spectrum of investigations.

Material culture arises from the life of the human race which is the highest product of the gradual developments of the utmost stage of evolution. Material culture is an accumulated phenomenon of a long life of the human race which traveled through the glacial eras in this planet. Thus, the moving objects in life at current on the earth having been received the relative foundation from the material of the past. Therefore, the morphology of languages, tools, designs, and the superstructure of art and architecture of any region where people lived can be identified as regional or succeeding cultural wise. Thus, the material culture played very important role in the shaping of social and religious practices in view of an evolutionary theory.

Material culture is an active constitutive dimension of social practice in that it both structures human agency and is a product of that agency (Hodder 1986:74). The social practices and social structures involved in the Ethnicity and material culture production, use and consumption of material culture become embodied by it, because such processes occur within meaningful cultural contexts (see MacKenzie 1991:191–201; Miller 1985:11–12). Yet material culture may operate simultaneously in a number of social fields and its meaning is not fixed, but subject to reproduction and transformation in terms of both material curation and

interpretation throughout its social life (see Kopytoff 1986; MacKenzie 1991:26–7; Thomas 1991:28–9). Thus, material culture is polysemous, and its meanings may vary through time depending upon its particular social history, the position of particular social agents, and the immediate context of its use. Moreover, material culture is not merely a repository of accumulated meaning inscribed in it by its production and use in different social contexts and by differentially situated social agents. It plays an active role in the structuring of cultural practices, because the culturally specific meanings with which material culture is endowed as a result of former practices influence successive practices and interpretations. For instance, MacKenzie's (1991) detailed analysis of the cultural construction of Telefol string bags illustrates the dialectical relationship between the meaning of a particular item of material culture and the reproduction and transformation of social relations in the spheres of gender, age differentiation, ethnic identities, exchange, kinship relations, ritual and myth. Mackenzie has convincingly demonstrated that, through their use in everyday practice and in ritual symbolism, the meanings attributed to string bags play an active role in the construction of an individual's social and cultural identity. Moreover, through their role in the mediation and justification of social relations, such as between men and women, they are involved in the structuring of social practices and social interaction.

Proponents of the new archaeology reacted against traditional cultural history and the idea that material culture merely reflected social norms, but in doing so they imposed a functionalist conceptualization of culture, including material culture, as an epiphenomenal adaptive mechanism (Hodder 1982b:4–5; Shanks and Tilley 1987:94). Moreover, although the normative dimension of culture was not altogether dismissed, it was considered irrelevant in terms of the function of culture in most contexts of analysis, except in the case of style. The result is a pervasive dichotomy between functional utility and normative culture. However, there are problems with both a functionalist conceptualization of culture as an adaptive mechanism, and a normative or structuralist conceptualization of culture as a set of ideational rules determining behavior.

On the other hand, normative and structuralist approaches fail to provide an adequate account of the generation of social structure in the course of social action, and as a result people are represented as culturally determined dupes mechanistically obeying normative rules or structures. As in functionalist approaches, where human agency is often subordinated to environmental determinism, the role of human agency is also curtailed in structuralist approaches, where it is determined by abstract structures that lie outside the domain of individual and group history (Bourdieu 1977:72; Hodder 1982b:8–9). Moreover, as normative and structuralist approaches tend to disregard adaptive processes, and fail to develop an account of the generation of norms or social structures with relation to human agency, they do not provide an adequate framework for the analysis of processes of social change (Hodder 1982b:8). All social practices and social relations are structured

by cultural schemes of meaning which mediate social relations and social action. Such dispositions become part of an individual's sense of self at an early age, and operate largely in the domain of practical consciousness—that is, these cultural dispositions structure people's decisions and actions, but often lie beyond their ability to scribe, and thus formalize, their behavior in the realm of discursive consciousness. The structural orientations making up the *habitus* are essentially dialectical in that they both structure, and are structured by, social practice—they are both the medium and the outcome of practice. Moreover, such structural orientations do not have an existence of their own outside of human action, but rather are only manifested in the context of social practice where they are reproduced and transformed. Such an approach provides a theoretical framework which resolves the dichotomy between functionalism and structuralism. Human behavior can still be considered to achieve certain functional ends, to provide for basic needs, desires and goals; however, such needs and interests are defined and negotiated by people within a culturally structured situation, as are the functions that particular practices perform (Bourdieu 1977:76).

Various function of material culture

Generally viewing in archaeology, the term material culture denotes to the life of an ancient society for which their efforts of making tools and artifacts enhanced to fulfill of that society's needs. Thus, the day today needs of the food of ancient society were collected with the aids of implements made by human beings. This types of human life on the Earth were traced by archaeologists from 2.5 million years onwards. To date, the earliest archaeological traces are stone tools from sediments that are approximately 2.5 million years old and are found at Gona, Ethiopia (Semaw 2000; Stout et al. 2005). All human groups as well as many other primate populations, such as chimpanzees, use tools composed of organic materials such as wood that rarely preserve more than a few years (McGrew 1992), unlike stone, which is a very durable material. But some chimpanzee groups use stone to make and use crude tools for nut-cracking (Mercader et al. 2007), and bone tools presumably made by *Paranthropus robustus* show signs of being used for digging into termite mounds (Backwell and d'Errico 2001). As these examples show, the earliest stone artifacts likely underestimate the true age of tool use and perhaps reliance upon tools by hominins, as there may have been a time lag between when stone tools were being made and when we can detect them in the record. The Gona artifacts show that by 2.5 million years ago, some hominins had learned to consistently select high quality rocks from local streambeds, fracture these stones using cobbles as hammer stones in order to produce sharp-edged splinters called "flakes," and to use these flakes as knives for removing skin or meat from animal carcasses. Much like the marks on a kitchen cutting board, the direct evidence for this occurs on the bones themselves in the form of distinct cut marks, as well as unique patterning of bone breakage distinctive of hominins determined through

experimentation (Lyman 1994). The first studies of material culture catalogued and described objects, generally of non-western or, more specifically, non-European origin. These were often objects and technologies such as spears, knives or shields. The manifest goal of these studies was to use such artifacts as a means for retrospectively understanding human behavior and culture. These artifacts are being called as material remains which are very helpful to read the evolution and antiquity of human past.

The term material culture consists of a vast meaning and function connecting human's activities in both past and present. The term, material culture is used in a wide angle disciplines, relative space and spectrum. Because, there are several disciplines owed their contributions to be embodied the meaning of material culture. Such disciplines are Sociology, Anthropology, Paleontology, Biology, Geology, Neurology, and Archaeology. Theologizers and political philosophers have often been using the term, Material in different ways to exercise their intuitive visions. Marxists philosophers are using this term to express their non-spiritual aspects with economic factors in material culture. Those who are specializing in the origin of language they also deal with material culture. In total, the present day walk of life has been merged by using the evolutionary way via material culture. Thus, the study of material culture falls in a wide spectrum of investigations.

Material culture is the study through artifacts of the beliefs or values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions of a particular community or society at a given time. The term *material culture* is also frequently used to refer to artifacts themselves, to the body of material available for such study. Material culture is singular as a mode of cultural investigation in its use of objects as primary data, but in its scholarly purposes, it can be considered a branch of cultural history or cultural anthropology. It is a means rather than an end, a discipline rather than a field. From this, material culture differs like subject from art history, for example, which both a discipline in its study of history through art and a field in its study of the history of art itself. Material culture is comparable to art history as a discipline in its study of culture through artifacts. As such it provides a scholarly approach to artifacts that can be utilized by investigators in a variety of fields. But the material of material culture is too diverse to constitute a single field. In practice it consists of subfields investigated by specialists, cultural geographers, or history of art, architecture, decorative arts, science, and technology (David 1982:01).

Material culture implies indirectly or directly with prehistoric framework to grasp the activities of human's past. On the one side, the studies of material culture plays very important role in the writings of enlightening the prehistoric past, and on the another side, the field yields very fruitful information regarding the evolution of whole present society of the modern world. The social and religious practices of the primitive societies could be interpreted and reviewed with the help of material culture in which the people lived.

Material culture arises from the life of the human race which is the highest product of the gradual developments of the utmost stage of evolution. Material culture is an accumulated phenomenon of long life of human race which travelled through the glacial eras in this planet. Thus, the moving objects in the life at current on the earth have received the relative foundation from the material of the past. Therefore, the morphology of languages, tools, designs, and the superstructure of art and architecture of any region where people lived can be identified as regional or succeeding cultural wise. Thus, the material culture played very important role in shaping of social and religious practices in view of an evolutionary theory.

Social and religious practices of the primitive societies can be viewed and interpreted with the help of material culture which the people adopted. The materials are the guide in interpreting fragmentary archaeological evidences. The fragmentary archaeological evidences were left behind the life of human passed through the ages. Because, man has travelled a long way of evolution as not only a social being but also as biological species; his appearance and evolution are linked not only with the development of culture but also with the protracted alteration and perfecting of biological organization that created the preconditions for every functional development, and for the duration of every level (Alexeev 1986: 52-53).

Every level of walks of life of the man's past will be framed on the basis of technology he used, economy of subsistence he adopted, social and religious practices he furnished and art & design he created by means of their technology, men wrest from their habitat the foodstuffs, the shelter, the clothing and the implements which they have if they are to survive. The objects they make and use for those purposes are generally classified under the material culture.

Material culture is the primary source for the cultural classification and deviation for the modern scientists. The studies of origin of material culture need the help from various scientific knowledges. Generally, human knowledge is changing due to the acquiring of experiences which indicates through the materials. Lewis H. Morgan in his book, *Ancient Society*, states that 'this knowledge changes materially the views which have prevailed respecting the relations of savages to barbarians and of barbarians to civilized men.....The history of the human race is one in source, one in experience, one in progress (Morgan 1877, n.d. : v-vi). Thus, the progress of life i.e. evolution of life can be seen by the material objects which appeared through the eras on the earth planet.

The term material culture is a result of the studies of theoretical orientation in post-processual archaeology and their relationship to archaeological science. Post-processualism was formulated as a critique of processual models of the past, which tended to view material culture as a passive outcome of the economic and adaptive concerns of passed social groups. As an alternative, early post-processual

accounts of the past acknowledged that material culture was both meaningful and active in the constitution and creation of social relations (Hodder 1986:26-38). But, how we could study the material culture? The early post-processual writers borrowed a linguistic metaphor for material culture from structuralist and post-structuralist thinking in anthropology and sociology. This metaphor led archaeologists to treat artifacts as if they communicated meaning like language. Thus, the sequences of designs on pots or, the layout of households, villages, burials and cemeteries were all in their turn treated as a form of material culture (Tilly 2002 : 23-24).

The material world, and the social practices that take place in that world, bring each other being and are therefore analytically indivisible (Miller 1987:85-108). This does not mean that the material environment as determine human behavior—materials both constrain and enable human activity. The notion of the material world has an influence upon human has elsewhere been described as a form of material agency. Acknowledgement of the materiality of material culture has a dual function. It promotes the view that the material qualities of the environment actively affect how they are perceived, used and symbolized, and, importantly, it emphasizes how those material properties are enrolled in the life projects of humans. Furthermore, it promotes a historical perspective to the processes of interaction between person and environment (Jones 2004: 330).

Material culture And Indian experiences

Material Cultural Objects may have multiple functions—some more obvious than others. The primary function of an object is that for which it was originally made and used. Additional uses, however, may have been invented. A chair made for sitting could be used to reach a high object. A chair could also have a symbolic value, such as a throne. In the chair's use as furniture, its design could have social significance in the interior decoration of a house. When meeting a new object, we often try to establish its function based on our own experiences and often such analogies are accurate. These experiences may be misleading, though, especially when the object comes from a culture far removed in place and time from our own or was found in an environment far removed from its place of origin. The function of a coin may seem obvious--it is used in financial transactions. Coins, however, also have symbolic value connected with national identity. Coins have images of presidents or rulers, national monuments, and inscriptions have the patronage of such dynasties or courts during the Historical periods and, some coins were more important as symbols than for their monetary value, especially if the latter was so high that few circulated or were used for commerce. Cultures that do not use coins in trade may value them as symbols of social status--for example, as jewelry. Sometimes clues about such usage are found in the coins themselves, for example a hole at the top of a coin worn as a necklace. Close observation of an object and its context can help to establish function. Studying wear patterns, for example,

may show if a knife was used or decorative, how it was held, and whether the user was left-handed or right-handed. Observing the context in which the object found is also important. A complex around a hearth with *bones* of domesticated animals and implements related to the activities of preparing and consuming food may help to identify the reasons behind otherwise “anonymous” objects as being connected with the same activity. It is always possible that an object is not in its “natural” environment, so looking for patterns or multiple examples of the same object can help to determine normal use. Such examples may reveal subtle differences over time and space for drawing conclusions about societal change and interaction.

Time and space are the core factors of elucidation of material culture and thus the relative theory is an applicable criterion for the testimony of material culture in Archaeology. The terms like culture, civilization, Barbarianism, Pastoralist, Sedentism etc. have their meaning when material objects are interpreted on the basis of their relativism. The identification of an ethnicity and linguistic groups could be determined as the particular objects was born or originated from whereabouts. Therefore, the relative theory is playing very important role to elucidate of the periodization of society and politicization of theoretical matters of material culture.

Through preservation, reconstruction and presentation of prehistoric material culture like artifacts, monuments and cultural landscapes, selected aspects of the past are commemorated, revitalized and repossessed or otherwise they might be hidden, forgotten and temporarily lost. The political use of archaeological monuments in South Asia is another example of the intimate relationship between archaeology and the contemporary ideological context. It is the best example in India that of the Ayodhya and the Babar Masjid problems. “Identity is the tendency for human beings, individually and in groups, to establish, maintain and protect a sense of self-meaning, predictability and purpose. It encompasses a sense of self-definition at multiple levels” (Coningham & Lewer, 2000: 664). A historical Mosque was built by the Moghul Emperor, Babar at the *Rama Janmabhumi* (Ajodhya) in 1548 and it was destroyed by a group of *Vishwa Hindu Parshath* in 1990. The most obvious aspects of the Babari Mosque / *Rama Janmabhumi* which has been obscured by the recent controversy are Ayodhya’s profound importance as an Early Historic city site. When an additional excavation is clearly required, the earliest archaeological level was identified in the mounds surrounding the *Janmabhumi* and was dated as 7th century B.C. The brick wall which runs to the west of the *Janmabhumi* is believed by archaeologists to belong to the city wall of the 3rd century B.C. (Annual Report of the Archaeology Survey of India, 1973, 1980, & 1983). However, it also frames the western side of the structure now known as ‘Rama’s fort’ or Ramkot. This forms the pivotal point of the sacred traces from Rama’s numinous city. Since the credibility of Ayodhya’s *Ramaite*

geography has drawn heavily from its alleged antiquity, the city's archaeological prominence has been important for providing such claims with material –based legitimacy (Julia, 2000: 696). Many of these wider dimensions of Ayodhya's archaeological arena had been overlooked in the recent literature, largely because the *Janmabhumi* dispute had been presented as an isolated field of enquiry. It was partly this lack of contextual meaning which had made the archaeological data so susceptible to political manipulation. A second major factor has been that the stream of deep-seated polarities underlying the entire dispute had largely been informed, and to a certain extent reinstated, by an unreflexive archaeological rhetoric whose own limitations have played directly into the hands of the *Vishva Hindu Parshath* (Julia 2000: 697).

The archaeological materials pertaining to the *Rama Janmabhumi* unearthed from the bottom most layer of the foundation of the Baber Masjid are few pillars and few sculptures only. An archaeologist who had done excavation under the Masjid (Mosque) was pointing out that he had found a small chamber with pillars at the excavated trench. But those of polarities of Rama-*Janmabhumi* were fundamentally opposing the views which were forwarded by the supporters of Babar Masjid, by the knowledge systems based on conflicting notion of the time, and the associated set of oppositions between objectivity-subjectivity and fact – myth. The credibility of Ayodhya's *Ramaite* biography in the mind of 'believers' stems largely from the prevalence of 'ritual' or 'cyclical' time which blurs the boundaries, between past and present, or myth and reality, upon which historical or linear time depends (Julia, 2000: 697).

Politicizing or manipulation of the past to gain political control of the construction of present realities is carried out by activating collective processes of "remembering" and "forgetting". In the Freudian model of the mind, all memories are potentially intact, and forgetting is never really about loss but merely distortion. Forgetfulness becomes essentially a *failure* of remembering. The predominant view of the relationship between material culture and processes of remembering and forgetting sees objects as supplements or substitutes for memory. Memory is a reproduction or copy of an original event or experience, and mementoes such as material monuments are mere copies of copies. But perceiving material culture as a supplement to our memory, materiality fulfills a basic lack in our experiences. The relationship between remembering and forgetting is not a linear process; it is a struggle or a tension between what is present and what is absent. Material culture shoulders a large responsibility for our personal and collective memory, and materialization or dematerialization of events can act to forge memory or to facilitate forgetting. Material culture not only recalls memories, it also *produces* them (Buchli and Lucas 2001: 79 – 80).

Political commemoration of material culture

Historians and archaeologists also point out that the cities of the Indus Valley civilisation were not governed by an overarching state but run as city-states with localised governments. The age of empires, at least in ancient India, had still not taken root. There is, therefore, much to appreciate in these ancient cities. In India, it sometimes feels as if this appreciation has been amplified to an absurd level. In recent years, with the rise of the mythological and historical fiction genres, popular writers have crafted narratives about an ancient India that was “pure” from the “corrupting” influences of Muslims. This is imagined to be a time when India was technologically advanced with its indigenously developed helicopters, surgeries and even bombs. In these myths, the ingenuity of the simple innovations, such as a sewage system that truly transformed the world, is lost. On this side of the border, the situation is reversed. India is projected to be an “impure,” “uncivilised” land that first saw “light” with the arrival of the Muslims. This narrative is created particularly through school textbooks, which rarely focus on the pre-Islamic history of the land.

Even when there is mention of this pre-Islamic history, it is in a certain context, to highlight the ultimate ascendancy of the Muslim civilisation. Thus, on both sides of the border, it seems children are educated with mirror opposite images of each other. The situation worsened in Pakistan in the 1970s under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. In 1971, Pakistan had lost East Pakistan, which before Partition had served as the vanguard of the Pakistan Movement. It was being asserted that the two-nation theory, Pakistan’s *raison d’être*, was dead and dusted. The new populist state emerging under Bhutto, instead of being reflective of changing circumstances, adhered to a reactionary approach.

History as a subject — which included stories of Ram, Buddha, Ashoka and Kanishka along with Mahmoud Ghaznavi and the Mughals — was abolished and Pakistan Studies was introduced, with the sole purpose of instilling a Pakistani identity. The course seemed to shout out loud that the two-nation theory was not dead but rather, it had lived on for thousands of years and would live on forever. All traces of pre-Islamic history were removed as Arab commander Muhammad Bin Qasim became the “first Pakistani”. As a new breed of leaders emerged after Bhutto, even those who defined themselves in complete opposition to him continued promoting the historical framework bequeathed to them.

Political tool

In this new order that emerged, the Indus Valley civilisation acquired a unique significance, for this was not as “Hindu” as some of the other historical sites and buildings in the country. At the time of the Indus Valley civilisation, Brahminism, popularly associated with Hinduism, had still not emerged. There is, in fact, a

popular theory, rejected by several experts of the Indus Valley civilisation, that its cities were destroyed by the Aryans of Central Asia, who eventually laid the foundation of Brahminism. Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro were, therefore, not “Hindu” cities. Divorced from their Hindu influence, these cities became acceptable. Their archaeological digging continued while the museum at these sites remained open.

In 1996, Aitzaz Ahsan, a Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) senator, wrote a book, *The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan*, in which the implication is that the Indus Valley Civilization was always separate from the Gangetic Valley Civilization that was to emerge in north India later — thus, in a way, Pakistan was always destined to be separate from India. The most recent appropriation of this history was in 2014 when PPP Chairman Bilawal Bhutto-Zardari decided to use Mohenjo-Daro as the site of the Sindh Festival, an Islamic cultural event. This message is clearly indicating that Pakistan’s pre-Islamic history is acceptable as long as it is separated from its Hindu influence and forefathers of the land emerged from the Indus Valley Cities of which material culture were turned now to re-write the history of Pakistan with the antecedents’ forefathers of the land with not less than 5000 years back.

Responsibility of material culture

Archaeological work unfolds in successive stages of both prehistoric and historic human lives. Firstly, it is the excitement of discovery, followed by excavation and later by academic work of synthesis and interpretation. Secondly, it is the creation of a site for presentation and for the public to come and visit, in the form of a museum or a reconstruction or arrangement of a monument. In both stages, archaeology has explicated the pressures which emanate from its political and ideological surroundings of the society. “Those who do not read historical texts and inscriptions in the originals and unfamiliar with ancient material culture retrieved through scientific studies, tend to be enmeshed in notions of misunderstood and romanticized histories. As against this, specialists must present the public with scientifically retrieved facts, enabling people themselves to form a critical evaluation reading the past. Synergy between ideology and production as a critical change agent is studied less in contemporary South Asian archaeological and historical research except for those who read the past from the perspective of historical materialism (Jairus Banaji 2011). The Past often is read along the lines of cultural studies with various intellectual disciplines. Archaeological view point, the ancient past is visible with of material evidences, environmental factors, its influences on social base and cognitive values. Ideological basis is also embedded in contemporary sub conscious mind-set inherited from pre-Colonial, Colonial, Orientalist and Post-Colonial perceptions” (Senevirane, 2019).

Material culture – Sri Lankan context

As far as Sri Lanka is concerned, the defining and handling of archaeological materials persist with and accessible only through the Department of Archaeology of Sri Lanka. The naming, changing location and interpreting of material remains are only the sole rights with the Department of Archaeology; if others happened to interpret or naming and listing them, then soon after being ready for an inquiry or arrest under the police custody. Having considered the concept of viewing local materials as means of production of the Buddhism and its influences in Sri Lanka it is very difficult to reach the original function of material culture. The following fact of archaeological environment in Sri Lanka highlights the conditions of handling of material culture.

The study of antiquity of material culture in Sri Lanka goes back to the Dutch period but the same study with management skill and persistence for preservation and conservation for archaeology and the material of cultural sites in Sri Lanka have an antiquity dating to the British Colonial period. The Archaeological Survey Department of Ceylon and the National Museums Department were constituted in the mid-19th century for this purpose. It necessarily had a bias towards land-based monuments with special reference to better-known centers of culture associated with the Classical texts. Prioritization of the archaeological agenda based on classical studies was set in motion by those who read the past through the eyes of Orientals and Colonialism and it ran well into the early phase of the post-Colonial period as well. During the post - independence period, especially after the decade of 1970, there has been a slow but a definitive change in the priority and agenda of archaeological studies in Sri Lanka (Seneviratne 2009: 14-15).

Viewing as an introductory part of material culture in Sri Lanka, it is appropriate to assessing that of literatures written on the Island's culture and archaeology. Up to 1960s in Sri Lanka the written and published the cultural and archaeological materials fold into two main categories as follows: 1). The British model literatures relating to archaeological reports and synthesis, and 2).The cultural literatures emerged under the Sinhala Buddhist Nationalism. After 1960s the intellectual thinking pertain to neo-colonialism, post-modernism and relativism had flourished and an intellectual change took place in each country on the basis of neo- social well-wisher's views so that views on ethnicity and social identity played very important role into the literature writings too. 'This indicated a positive shift at the conscious level with special reference to new adaptations, state-of-the-art technologies and techniques, the need to train resource persons and above all institutional planning. While the first stratified archaeological excavation was undertaken at the Anuradhapura Citadel in 1969, a new structural change was introduced to the sphere of heritage management with the inauguration of the *UNESCO-SRI LANKA CENTRAL CULTURAL FUND*. The *CCF* founded

in 1981, was in many ways a timely catalyst that brought about a convergence of the two main archaeology-related bodies in Sri Lanka – the government Department of Archaeology and the University departments of archaeology into a working relationship. University departments responded quickly by altering and structurally adjusting the syllabi and the level of professionalism sustaining this new concerted effort. It was within this situation that the first Marine Archaeology program came to be launched in Sri Lanka during the late 1980's primarily due to the dedicated efforts of Commodore Somasiri Devendra who pioneered this effort along with a few others. As a consequence of their efforts, the purview of Marine Archaeology was legitimized for the first time in the history of archaeology of this island' (Seneviratne 2009: 15). Sudharshan Seneviratne has presented recently a valuable research paper on 'Dialectics of Social and Material Formation in early South – Central Asia' at the Global Studies Seminar in America (see the Link https://www.socialaffairsjournal.com/images/Journal_Downloads/Archives/2018_Fall/2_Sudharshan_Seneviratne_SAJ1_9_.pdf?type=file). and the full paper was reproduced by The Island , a daily media in Sri Lanka(The Island 23rd,24th, 25th&26th of May,2018). This research article is very useful to define the material culture of Labour, Production and Ideology in Pre- State Societies and their Evolution.

This island produced one of the most spectacular hydraulic civilizations with some of the best water management systems in antiquity with a high degree of control maintained over large reservoirs and grand canals. Settlement archaeology studies indicate that most of the settlements in the pre modern period, from the Pre Historic to Colonial, were situated near rivers and natural or human made water bodies. In addition, recent environmental and geological studies on landscape evolution patterns in antiquity strongly established the change of river courses and the expansion of reservoir system that had inundated preexisting settlements and industrial sites in Sri Lanka.'(Seneviratne 2009: 18). There are also other water-borne situations that merit our attention for marine archaeology. Internal marshlands created both by tectonic activities and river changes have inundated several major habitation and religious sites of the historical period. The Somawathi complex, some areas in the Lower Mahaweli system and the lower plains of some Southern rivers are excellent study areas. Somawathi complex may have had an inland port that connected it to the eastern seaboard through the Mahaweli River (Chandraratne, R.M.M. and Dilan Ranaweera, 2017).

Material culture and under water archaeology in Sri Lanka

An immediate implementation of plotting the under water surface sites and their locations for archaeological material remains in the Northern Sri Lanka have to be launched. The water surface which stretched between the small islands such as Kaarai Tivu, Eluvai Tivu, Mandai Tivu, NedunTivu, Analai Tivu and Punkudu

Tivu have very fruitful means for expert divers. Thus the material cultural studies along with harbor views in the Jaffna Peninsula have to interact with more feasibility with under water archaeological survey immediately. The city of Jaffna was the center of marine culture which was largely influenced by the South Indian maritime activities. Jaffna was the regional administrative center of the North from the 17th century onwards. The Kayts harbour in the Jaffna Peninsula was believed to be the center of the trade activities and the Tamil inscription of King Parakramabahu the Great of the 12th century, found at Nainathivu provides evidence of harbor facilities of the country during that period. During the European hegemony in the Jaffna Peninsula remarkable numbers of sea forts were built and the ancient and medieval harbors were redesigned. The navigation networks of Indian Ocean were developed and Oceanic trades were carried out with goods like Pearls, Elephants, Fish, Cattle and Textiles. Thus, the Jaffna Peninsula has appropriate locations for marine archaeological survey for maritime materials. The maritime material remains of Jaffna will help to have filled the gap of material cultural continuity of this region in future.

Conclusion

The scientific study of material culture in South Asian context is an industrious task. On one hand the core material of archaeological interpretation has faced very severe threatening when their real functional documentation has wincingly got plotted as we see at present day interpretation of archaeological material of the Indus Valley Civilization in Pakistan where archaeological material is being disclosed as the fundamental element of the Islamic ancestry heritage as aroused from Indus valley Civilization. The protestant movement of Islamic people against the existing religious institutions in South Asia has now taken a new dimension as they wanted their heritage in this region as old as the native religious institutions evolved and comprised the hoary past. Thus, the interpretation of material culture now have been used merely for power politics of each ethnic chauvinism in this region. The *Rama-Janma Bhumi* and the Babar –Masjidh issues in India are still prevailing as unsolved problems because of the handling of spade of archaeology of material culture has not yet paved the way to its real function. Sri Lanka's situation also has the same root as we have seen nowadays on the Carbon dating of excavated numerous skeletal material from Mantai in Mannar District very recently in 2019.

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LOGICAL METHODOLOGY FOR “REFUTING” IN VEDANTA PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITION

- A study based on the “*Avirodha* chapter” of Brahma Sutra

Sayanolibavan Muhunthan

Abstract

Brahma Sutra is the first ever treatise to have determined the trend of the history of Vedantic philosophy. This treatise, supposed to have been created by Padanarayana during the second century B.C., contains four chapters viz: Samanvayam, Avirodham, Sadhana and Phala. An unwritten rule followed in the world of Vedantic philosophy was that, for a person to be acknowledged as a philosopher, one has to possess the qualification of having written a commentary on Brahmasutra. This testifies the importance of Brahmasutra. Philosophy evolves on the basis of intelligent researches, and the ideologies are reached through them. It is infact an ardent search for truth. The ideologies which one philosopher tries to establish as true, may appear unacceptable to another. Thus, (1) The intelligent refutation of ideas that may appear wrong and (2) Logically establishing what has been realized as truth- are two approaches notable among all Indian philosophies. Several names such as *Nigrasthana*, *Paroksha*, and *Avirodhasthana* are in vogue to indicate the intelligent denial of other philosophical concepts that are contrary to one's own. The key to such methodology in Vedantic philosophical tradition is the Brahma Sutra chapter on 'Avirodha'. The fame of any philosophical concept is largely established not only by achieving one's own ideologies, but also by logically refuting those of their opponents. In this regard it could be seen that the Avirodha chapter of Brahmasutra denies the Samkhya and Vaisheika philosophical thoughts which try to establish the reality and existence of the universe through Parinamavada and atomism. The *Jeeva-Deha* theory of Jainism is also similarly denied. Thereby the advaita philosophical concepts such as *Kanavulaka--vada and Ekanmavada*.... are upheld. Even '*Ganabhangavada*' which forms the basic arguments of Buddhist philosophical sects is denied through the Avirodha chapter. Besides, the ideologies of the Yogacara and Sunyavada schools of thought are refuted by the Avirodha chapter in a subtle way. Apart from these, there are also some other philosophical sectors that are rejected by the Avirodha chapter. However this article doesn't take such schools into account.

Key words: Avirodha, Brahma Sutra, Vedanta

Introduction:

Brahma Sutra is one of the three most important treatises regarded as 'Prastanatraya' in Indian philosophical tradition. It is also known as 'Saririka sutra' because it encompasses concepts on 'Brahmam' while dealing with the nature of the soul that resides within the body. As it discusses the various researches into the Upanishads about a Supreme God, it is also referred to as 'UttaramimamsakaSutra'. While at the same time it is also called, "Bhiksa sutra" because it concludes that one's final aim should be towards asceticism. This text was composed by Padarayana. (Radhakrishnan, S., 1991:430)

Brahma Sutra contains five hundred and fifty five sutras which are included into four chapters, viz: Samavayam Avirodham, Sadhanam and Phalan. Each of these forms four parts and the sutras in each part are made up of 192 adhikaranas. Samanvaya means harmony. The vision of this chapter is to harmonize some discrepancies in upanishadic thoughts and establish some basic philosophical commonalities in the traditional meanings of upanishads.

Identifying the beneficial thoughts, which are contradictory to the concepts structured under samavaya, refuting them logically and establishing their own ideas are the efforts made in the second chapter i.e 'Avirodha'

The third chapter "Sadhanam" is devoted to the discussion of the nature of life, temporal shortcomings and the ways to be freed from such shortcomings and attain supreme knowledge. The last chapter "Phalan" deals with such matters like the state attained after one's death and Eschatology. This chapter contains notes also regarding the benefits accruing to one who is blessed with supreme knowledge.

"Brahma Sutra is composed of sutras, which are brief and substantial. For anyone aspiring to establish himself as a Hindu philosopher, it becomes indispensable to comment on Brahmasutra. The list of such philosophers including AdiSankara, Yadhavaprakasa, Ramanuja, Kesava, Neelakanda, Madhvacharya, Baladeva, Vallabha and Vijnnanabhiksha keeps on lengthening.

The period of Brahma Sutra:

There is no clear evidence with regard to the period during which Brahma Sutra was composed. The names of epical heroes like Rama and Krishna do not appear in Brahma Sutra. This has led to the opinion among scholars, that Brahma Sutra is anterior to the composition of the epics. It is worth noticing that, even Maxmuller claims Brahma Sutra to be definitely anterior to the period of the Bhagavadgita. (Radhakrishnan, S., 1991:433)

Pointing out to the references to Brahma Sutra in such treatises like Manusmṛti and Padmapurana, Hopkins says that Brahma Sutra precedes 200 A.D.

However, Frazer opines that the period of Brahma Sutra was prior to 400 B.C. Professor S, Dasgupta also feels that Brahma Sutra could have appeared during the second century B.C. Hence it would be apt to take the period of Brahma Sutra as falling somewhere between the second century B.C and the second century A..D.(Dasgupta,S.,1992:418)

The purpose of this research:

The essential dimensions of a research study include the logical establishment of the ideas upheld by the researcher, while refuting controversial facts on justifiable grounds.

How these trends flourished, can very well be observed in the history of Hindu philosophy, beginning with the Bhasyas produced by Adisankara and extending up to the *Parpakam* and *Sankatpanirakaranam* of Sivagnana Siddhiyar. The Avirodha chapter of Brahma Sutra may be regarded as the first ever step in this trend. Thus, the purpose of this article is to minutely study how the *Avirodha chapter* logically refutes those beneficial thoughts, which are however contrary to the philosophical policies that Brahma Sutra wanted to establish?

In any case, since Brahma Sutra has to be studied with the help of commentaries, the positions taken by the commentators may lead to some advancement in the evaluation of the true situation of the Brahma Sutra.

Avirodha chapter:

Avirodha is the second chapter of Brahma Sutra. The basic aim of this chapter is to logically refute those philosophical views in the first chapter of Brahma Sutra, conclusively declaring that Brahma is the fundamental cause for the existence of the Universe.

Likewise, the chapter on *Avirodha* refutes even those other concepts such as Samkya, Yoga, Vaisesika, Jain, the Buddhist philosophical branches of Sunyavada and Vijnnavada as well as the Pasupada Saiva and Pancharatra concept, all of which conceptually differ from the basic philosophical trend of Avirodha. In Hindu philosophical traditions, right from the discussions of Adi Samkara up to *Parapakka* of *Meikanda Santana* tradition, it is the Avirodha chapter of Brahma Sutra that forms the basic element of philosophical disputes on the bases of refuting refusals and establishing what is refuted.(Sivananda:2008),

Refutation on Samkhya:

According to the policy of Samkhyas, Prakrti is basic to the evolution and the dimensions of universal phenomena. The Universe appears from out of Prakrti and later its dissolution also takes place within Prakrti. The stand taken by the Samkya School is that prakrti formed out of the three gunas viz: tamas, rajas, and sattva, evolves as a result of the disturbances in their equal distribution. Here the supreme power is not the cause for prakrti to evolve as the universal phenomenon. Such a theory of Prakrti evolution as proposed by Samkhya is rejected by Brahma Sutra.

“Rachananupapattescha na numanam”(Brahma Sutra:II.2.1)

In the above sutra, the Brahma Sutra indicates that just as a piece of wooden plank cannot by itself make a chair without a carpenter, even so without the act of a supreme power a universe cannot evolve.

Further, the Brahma Sutra also refutes the argument that the evolution of the universe is analogous to the natural event of grass becoming milk in a cow. Brahma Sutra rejects this on the ground that the same grass is not converted to milk in a bull!

In addition, Brahma Sutra also quotes the following Brhadaranya Upanishadic saying, in support of its rejection. “Milk becoming curd and rain water becoming young coconut are not changes that occur by themselves. Such changes are caused by a great internal knowledge. It further stresses that, remaining unseen in such matters like water; it is the supreme power that acts towards their dimensional variations (Brahma Sutra:II.2.2).

Here it is worth noticing that Padarayana who rejected *Prakrtiparinamavada* with the help of hypothetical evolution in sutra 2.2.1, has made use of *aptavakyapramana* and refuted it.

Besides, Brahma Sutra has criticized the stand taken by Samkhyas on the role of of the universe, through the analogy of the relationship between purusa and prakrti, with that of the lame and the blind persons.

This sutra needs a little deeper attention

“Purushasmavaditi chet tathapi”(Brahma Sutra: II.2.7)

The Purusa referred to by Samkhyas is a permanent entity like prakrti. It is in its very presence that prakrti evolves (purusaSannidhi). In this connection samkhyas place forward two illustrations. The first of these is where the blind man (prakrti) walks with the assistance of the lame man (purusa) who has the ability to see

things around. The second illustration is that of iron molecules (prakrti) moving before a magnet (purusa). In both instances the communication of knowledge (i.e orally between the lame and the blind persons) and the gravitational pull via inducement, functions as the cause for the activity to take place. But according to the view of Samkyas, purusa is an inactive, senseless and non-changing entity. Hence, Padarayana argues that it is not befitting to explain the role of purusa in Prakrti evolution through such illustrations..

Besides, from where did the inanimate Prakrti gain the knowledge and ability to disturb the equilibrium of the three gunas, change their percentages and create the evolution of the universe?

“Anyatrabhavaccha na trinadivat” (Brahmasutra:II.2.5)

Padarayana, who raises the above question, further asks in the next sutra “ Even if such an evolution were to take place, of what use is it?”

“Abhyupagame’pyarthabhavat (Brahma Sutra:II.2.6)

Pointing out that Purusa has no change in it, and that it has no need for any direct or interim relation with Prakrti, Padarayana raises further queries such as what is the need for the evolution of this universe and for whom is this creation?

Thus, Brahma Sutra refutes the *Parinamavada* of Samkhyas on the grounds of causal relations and by pointing out the inner contradictions as well as by raising questions over the purposes behind the creation of the universe.

Refutation on Vaisesika:

Vaisesika is of the opinion that atoms are the cause for the evolution of the universe. They call the indivisible, minute, single unit as paramanu. The conjunction of two paramanus leads to the formation of dyad (Double atom – dvayanu) . Atoms become visible only when three of them join to form a triad. According to the theory of Vaisesika, the conjunction of atoms occurs by chance and by luck.

In his sutra beginning with “Ubhayathapi na karmatastadabhavah”

(Brahmasutra :II.2.12)

Padarayana disagrees with the notion that Paramanus join in dyads. Vaisesikas handle, the word with the meaning ‘unseen’ or ‘invisible’. Padarayana refutes this with the question “where did this by chance entity remain?”

Further, the Vaisesika maintains that the relation between atom and matter is eternal and it is some kind of “Samavaya’ relationship.

The Sutra reading "Samavaya bhyupagamacchasamyadana vasthiteh" (Brahma Sutra: II.2.13), logically illustrates the shortcoming (defect) found in Samavaya relationship. Vaisetikas hold that the relation between thread and cloth; and the relation between clay and pot are inseparable. If it is so, there is no cloth without thread and no pot without clay! Then, the contrary to this also must be true! No thread without cloth, no loom without thread and there cannot be any weaving without weavers! Thus it will only lead to an infinite regression. Besides, if the relation between atom and substance is eternal, paramanus should be indestructible. So, anything formed by the conglomeration of atoms should be eternal! In that case, is the universe an eternal entity? Does it remain forever? Such are the arguments put forward by Padarayana.

"Nityameva cha bhavat (Brahma Sutra:II.2.14)

Furthermore, the Sutra reading,

"Mahaddirghavadvahasvaparamandalabhyam" (Brahma Sutra:II.2.11)" refutes also the Vaisesika notion that universe evolves by the conglomeration of atoms in dyads and triads.

Another argument through which Brahma Sutra refutes Vaisesika is that whereas the Vaisesikas hold that Paramanus are dimensionless; whether they conjoin in dyads or triads, they all have to be dimensionless! Thus while rejecting the claim that the conglomeration of paramanus led to universal phenomena, Brahma Sutra also refutes the atomic theory of Vaisesika logically pointing out to the controversies related to Samavaya.

Refutation on Jain:

According to the Jain philosophical concept the soul is of the same (size) extent as the body.(Hiriyanna,M.,2005:61)

This concept has been heavily criticized by Brahma Sutra.

"Evam chatmakartsnyam"(Brahma Sutra :II.2.34)

To say that soul is of the same extent as the body leads it to the blame of being incomplete. A soul born as an ant in one birth if it were to be reborn as an elephant in the next, it is liable to face the blame of being unwholesome. If the soul were to have the qualities of being small or big, it gets blemished with the characteristics of changeability and destructibility.

"Na cha paryadapyavirodho vikaradibhyah"

(Brahma Sutra: II.2.35)

After its final liberation the soul doesn't enter another body. As such only the dimension the soul gets at that final stage of liberation can be its natural dimension. Therefore, to consider that a soul has the same dimension as of the body is not agreeable.

“Antyavasthiteschobhayanityatvadavisesah”(Brahma Sutra :II.2.36)

Refutation on Buddhist Concepts:

The four Buddhist philosophical divisions viz : Soundrantika, Vaipadika, Yogachara and Madhyamika are all accepted by them on the basis of *Ksanabhangavada*, which holds that the substances in this universe keep on changing every other moment. Here change denotes the appearance of one from the destruction of another. These two activities proceed in an infinite regression. ‘Change is the only unchangeable entity in this world. Hence there is nothing that could be called ‘Permanent’

The simple explanation to this is that the world and events happening in it, keep on changing every moment like a new current of water even before one could place the other leg forward. A fruit keeps on ripening every moment. A fruit seen at one moment is not the same as seen at the next moment

This type of *Ksanabhangavada* upheld by Buddhists is totally rejected by Brahma Sutra.

“Asati pratijnoparodho yaugapadyamanyatha”

(Brahma Sutra: II.2.21)

If matters appear without cause, they will be contrary to their (Buddhist) policies or both may emerge simultaneously.

The deep logic buried in the Brahma Sutra has to be necessarily understood. Assuming that a certain thing perishes at a particular moment through which mechanism it reappears at the same moment isn't the appearance of two (activities) things warranted at the same moment. For example the case of a pot may be taken up. The pot perishes according to *Ganabhangavada*. For that very reason another pot appears. The destruction and appearance must take place at the same time! In that case, shouldn't there be two pots at site including the one perishing and the one appearing? This is the subtlety embodied in Padarayana's question.

“Uttarotpade cha purvanirodhat” (Brahma Sutra: II.2.20)

If according to the *Ksanabhangavada* things are so transitory, then there exists the possibility even for total idlers to gain some benefit! “Udasinanamapi chaivam siddhih” (Brahma Sutra: II.2.27)

This can be understood through several illustrations such as the case of the contestor in an election, perishing away at the spur of the moment, while his victory is enjoyed by some other person. A person working hard for an examination dying whilst answering his papers while some other person enjoys its benefits.

The Yogacaras and Sunyavadins (known as madhyamikas) indicated as idealist in Buddhist philosophical schools, argue that the outer world and matters therein are unreal. Only thoughts realize substances. To put it the other way, thoughts are not different from substances. Thus, the general stand taken by both groups is that, there is no substantial universe as such.

a)Yogacaras:

From among them, Yogacaras are those who after minute analysis, maintain that only knowledge is truth. Knowledge is, but a continuation of thoughts, and that is all. There is nothing such as the knower or the known, when knowledge takes place, it is a result of past inner (mental) stimulations. Such stimulation is not related to any external entities. It is mind – born. Thus it leads to a beginningless series of impressions stirred by successful experiences. Thus, since Yogacaras do not believe in anything beyond truth they are also known as Vijnanavadins. Yogacaras use the illustration of a ‘dream state’ to prove this concept. In other words, experience takes place in the dream even without the gross objects. The reason for this being the invariable association between thoughts and substances.

(Sharma,C.,A:2016:114)

Such concepts related to Yogacaras are totally rejected by Brahma sutra.

“Na bhavo’nupalabdheh”(Brahma Sutra:II.2.30)is a sutra that refutes Vijnanavada pointing out that it is wrong to hold that there is nothing beyond knowledge, because substances manifest through knowledge.

There has to be some communication between our sense organs and a substance, for us to know what that substance is. The substance must be there, before the occurrence of such communication. Thus, it is confirmed that a substance and the knowledge about it are not the same. Following the very trend of Yogacaras if one were to say that a substance and the knowledge about it, are entwined in such a way that they cannot be separately identified, the substance becomes true when the knowledge about it is true, because what is untrue cannot exist, and truth cannot exist in what is untrue. Thus, just in half a sloka, Brahma Sutra in a very subtle way refutes an argument that has been logically deep rooted in Yogacara Buddhism

b) The refutation on Sunyavada:

Like Yogacara, the Madhyamika (Sunyavada) sector is basically conceptional. However it slightly varies from it. What is matter? What is the nature of a pot which appears to be known to the knowledge? Is it a collection of parts or is it a whole? Such questions are difficult to answer because if a pot is a collection of parts, it has to be finally a collection of atoms!

A collection of invisible atoms should also be invisible to the eyes. If to the contrary, a pot is taken to be a whole without parts. it becomes a permanent object. Then the question about it becomes inevitable. Even if an object were to first exist and then dissolve, it gives rise to the controversy that being and not being, are found in the same object. As such the Madhyamikas forward their sunyavada to the effect that substances do not have natural (nisubhava) characteristics.

“Sarvathanupapatteschha (Brahma Sutra :II.2.32.)

Brahmasutra refutes that Sunyavada is not acceptable in any form. If it is to be construed that not all things are void, it gives the idea that those things did exist in some other form. If there is no pot, it would mean that it is present in the form of clay! Besides if the void is to be felt through knowledge, will not that knowledge be true? Hence it is the stand of Brahma Sutra that Sunyavada cannot be accepted.

Conclusion:

Thus the Avirodha chapter of Brahma Sutra by refuting the Prakrtiparinamavada of the Samkhyas and the Paramanukaranavada of Vaisheikas, denies the stand taken in such concepts about the existence of the universe, and tries to strengthen the view that the universe is just an appearance. Likewise, the “Jivadeha” concept of the Jains is also rejected, whereby the “Ekanmavada” of the Advaita School is established. upheld

Kshanabhangavada is the concept that is fundamental to all Buddhist philosophical sects. The Avirodha chapter which easily refutes this concept has also very minutely refuted the theories put forward by Buddhist philosophical sectors on the origin of the universe, such as Yogacara and Sunyavada. Both these Buddhist philosophical thoughts are ideological concepts like Vedanta.

Though Advaita Vedanta is by all means an ideological concept it has never approved Buddhist ideological thoughts. The stand taken by Avirodha chapter also provides suitable explanation to the criticism leveled against advaita and Adisamkara during later times. One must never forget that the victories (success) of Adisamkara during his visits to all directions, and the Vedantic roaring of Swami Vivekananda, were all achievements gained through the foundation laid in the Avirodha chapter.

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“MAPPING AND EVALUATION OF THE CHANGES IN THE LAND USES OF SELECTED RIVER BASINS IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCE”

- A research based on Geographical Information System.

Subajini Uthayarasa

Abstract

Researches on the land use patterns of an area are indispensable to the evaluation of the land development activities therein. Though such studies of land use patterns are made in various ways, the standards of such evaluation vary depending on the levels of such studies. The changes in land use refer to the identification of various differences found on the surface of the earth in the area concerned, at least within two distinct periods. Following the rehabilitation activities in the areas affected by the internal war in the Northern Province, rapid development activities have led to changes in the land use patterns too. As a result, mapping and evaluation of the changes that occurred in a large scale within a short period have become necessary. In this regard the purpose of this research is to map and evaluate the land use changes that have taken place within the three selected river basins in the north of Sri Lanka viz: The river basins of KanagarayanAru, Peraru and PaliAru. The changes in land use have been studied and evaluated with the help of GIS technology, using data obtained from such sources including participatory field work, satellite images (Geo-Eye-2016, 0.5meter spatial resolution) and digital land use maps of the survey department. Through these the changes that occurred within two years (2010, 2016) have been evaluated. Though the changes in the land use patterns within the research area appear tangible, during future planning activities, it is important that due consideration is given to the availability of suitable lands, their uses, the needs of the people in such areas, their likes as well as their opinions. As such, this research, while having mapped the land uses and the changes therein, one is able to note these changes quantitatively and qualitatively. It is also expected that this study should be of guidance to future researches undertaken on the river basins of North Sri Lanka as well as on other river basins elsewhere in Sri Lanka.

Key words : River basin, land use, land use change, mapping, evaluation.

Introduction

Studies on the land use patterns of an area are indispensable for the evaluation of any subsequent land development activities carried out in that area. Though such land use studies are conducted in many ways, the standard of the evaluation tends to vary depending on the levels of such researches. Here, time, expenditure and human labour, form the main deciding factors. As the evaluation of land use patterns could be obtained without much delay, through statistical techniques, these are being broadly used. The term land use, denotes all human activities on land as well as any natural or artificial land coverage (Gautam, 1999). Changes in land use, refers to the identification of variations that occur, on the surface of the earth at least during two distinct periods (Serneels et.al., 2001). The information related to the locational distribution of land use patterns and their changes are inevitably required for the planning of such matters like land resources, their usage and management (Anderson et. al, 2001). Besides, information regarding land use, is also essential to handle the available land resources efficiently. Land use information is measured through land use researches. This methodology enables gathering of suitable and correct information pertaining to how the land resources of this country are utilized and also about contemporary land use changes and land use suitability assessments which are useful in such activities like land use planning. (Ines Sant - Riveira et.al. 2008). Land use change is in fact an outcome of the inter-relationship between man and environment. Increased population and rapid urbanization etc. lead to changes in land use also, from time to time and place to place. On the bases of social, economic and political factors, these changes may take place rapidly or slowly depending on the circumstances concerned. (Serneels et. al., 2001).

Conventional methods were used at the beginning for mapping land use. However, today the researches on land use are conducted with the aid of modern geographical techniques. At present, remote sensing has become a well-developed technique for mapping land use patterns. That is to say, that remote sensing is a very powerful device that is greatly useful in the study of land use. Through remote sensing, the various satellites in the orbit of the earth, keep on photographing the surface of the earth continuously. Through the images projected by these satellites, even the worst inaccessible places like dense forests, cold regions, high mountain areas, marshy lands and deserts are photographed. As a result, continuous data at very short intervals are being collected and land use pictures are able to be renewed continuously. In addition, as communicative data are received in digital image forms, it has become possible to get very exact land use information (Anderson et.al. 2001).

Geographical information system and remote sensing are efficient and time saving techniques in mapping the modes of land uses (Ashok Kumar Sharma et.al., 2004). A variety of techniques are used to know the changes in land use

during different periods (Lambin Ehrlich, 1997). As far as Sri Lanka is concerned, changes in land use are occurring at a rapid pace. Consequently, there is also an increase in the need for land use maps. In recent times, more and more land use maps are being prepared on the basis of remote sensing images. These are used in researches concerned with land use changes and also for various development schemes. In Sri Lanka, right from the beginning, researches on land use have been going on, along with attempts to map them. From time to time the survey department of Sri Lanka has been publishing land use maps.

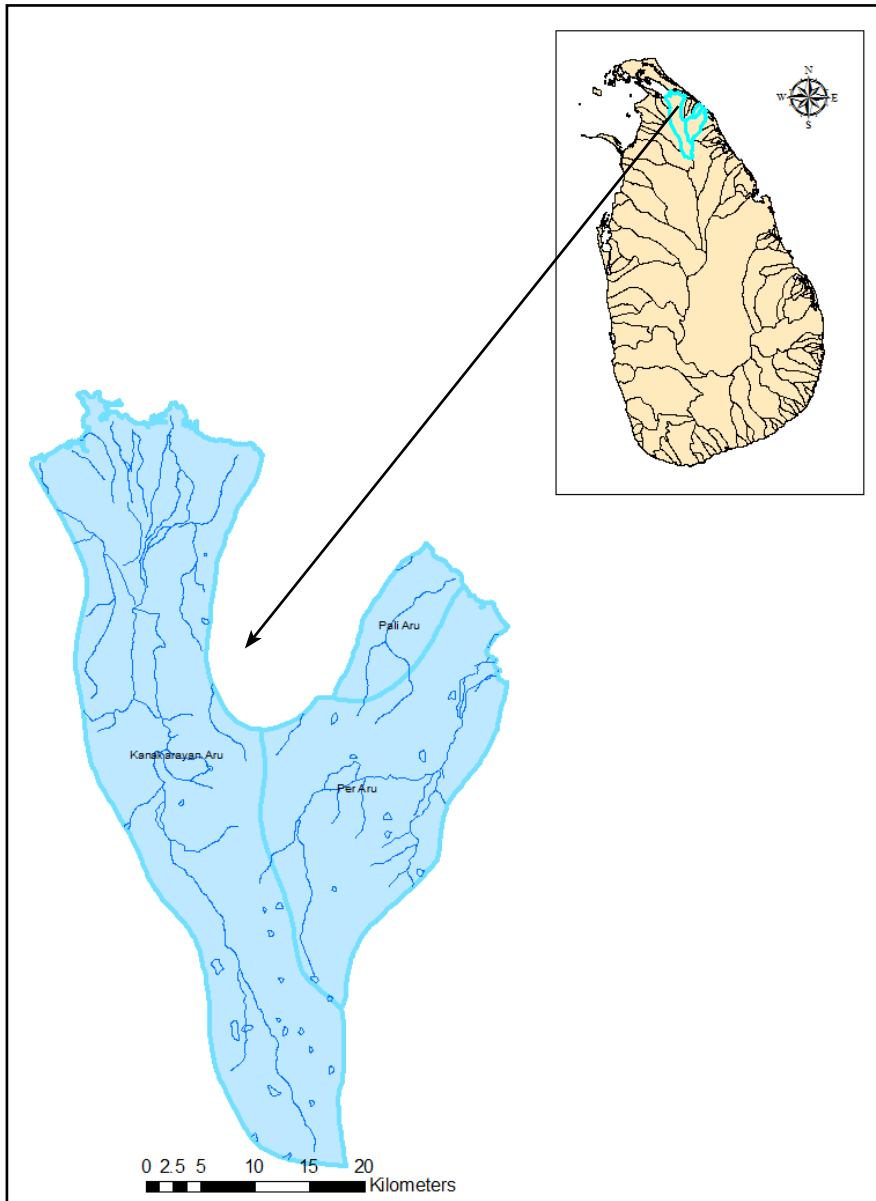
Following resettlement of people, particularly in the war affected areas of Northern Province including the districts of Kilinochchi, Mullaitheevu and Vavuniya North, development activities are going on at a rapid pace. As more and more changes are occurring within comparatively shorter periods, there arises the need for mapping and evaluating them. Thus, the purpose of this research is to map and evaluate the changes occurring within selected river basins in North Sri Lanka.

Research methodology

The Research area

Within the five administrative district of the Northern Province of Sri Lanka. The research area spreads across the three districts of Mullaitheevu, Kilinochchi and Vavuniya. Generally research areas are formed on the basis of administrative boundaries. Conversely, this is a research area formed on the basis of natural river basins. Thus, this research area includes the three river basins viz: KanagarayanAru, Peraru and PaliAru. The research area is bounded on the north by Jaffna lagoon, on the east and north east by sea, on the south by the Vavuniya North Secretarial Division, while Poonakari and Manthai West Secretariat Divisions form the western boundary. Latitudinally the research area lies between latitudes from 80° 52' 54" N. to 90° 31' 18" N, while longitudinally it lies between the longitudes 80° 20' 41" E to 80° 44' 55" E. Nine secretarial divisions including Vavuniya, Vanuniya North, Puthukkudiyiruppu, Ottusuttan, Karaithuraippattu, Thunnukkai, Karaichechi, Kandavalai and Pacchilaippalli are found lying fully or partially within the research area. Likewise, 104 grama sevaka divisions are also lying fully or partially within the research area. The total extent of this is 136,511.62 hectares (1365.11 sq.km). This is two percent of the total extent of Sri Lanka. The location of the research area may be seen in figure 3.1

Fig. 1 The location of the research area



All three rivers in the dry zone have a fan- shaped structure of the study area. These are, but seasonal streams, with water flowing mainly during the rainy season. A tropical monsoon climate prevails here. The average temperature ranges from 28.C to 30 .C. Rainfall varies from 1250mm to 2000mm.

According to Sri Lankan soil classification, the soil resource of the research area falls into the dry low country soil types. It has 6 - 7 acid contents (pH value). (Sri Lanka Map - 2014). Alluvial soil is found mostly in the river basins of KanagarayanAru, Peraru and Paliyaru. Larger deposits of alluvium can be seen particularly in areas like Kilinochchi, Urutthirapuram, and the northern part of Ramanathapuram, Kandavalai, Umayalpuram, Korakkankattu, Mayavanoor, Mavadiyamman, Mutthaiyankattu, Thanduvan, Peraru, Katsilaimadu, Tacchadamban, Kanagarayankulam South, Mara Iluppai, Tharmapuram and Putthuvettuvan.

Among the natural vegetation types of Sri Lanka the research area comes within the low land dry zone forest area. These forests have trees like Satin, Naga, Palai, Ebony, Samandalai, Teak, Veerai, Rana, Punnai, Ilanthai, Itthi, Vahai, Jungle Mango, Jungle Tamarind, Mahil and Manchavenna. Some of these trees particularly Satin, Ebony, Samandalai, Teak and Rana provide very valuable timber (field study - 2016).

The research area has two sources of water, viz: surface water and underground water. Rain is the only source of water to the river basins in this area. Within the limits of these river basins, the water collected during the rainy season in many small and big tanks constructed by man for his own use as well as for other purposes, is filled into the main rivers. Later these main rivers fill the reservoirs with water. For example, the Iranamadu reservoir is filled in by Kanagarayanriver while Mutthaiyankattu reservoir is fed by Peraru. The research area has several large tanks like Iranamadu, Kanagarayan tank, Semamadu tank and Kangambikai tank. There are also more than 100 smaller tanks while the number of abandoned tanks exceeds 100 (field study - 2015, 2016).

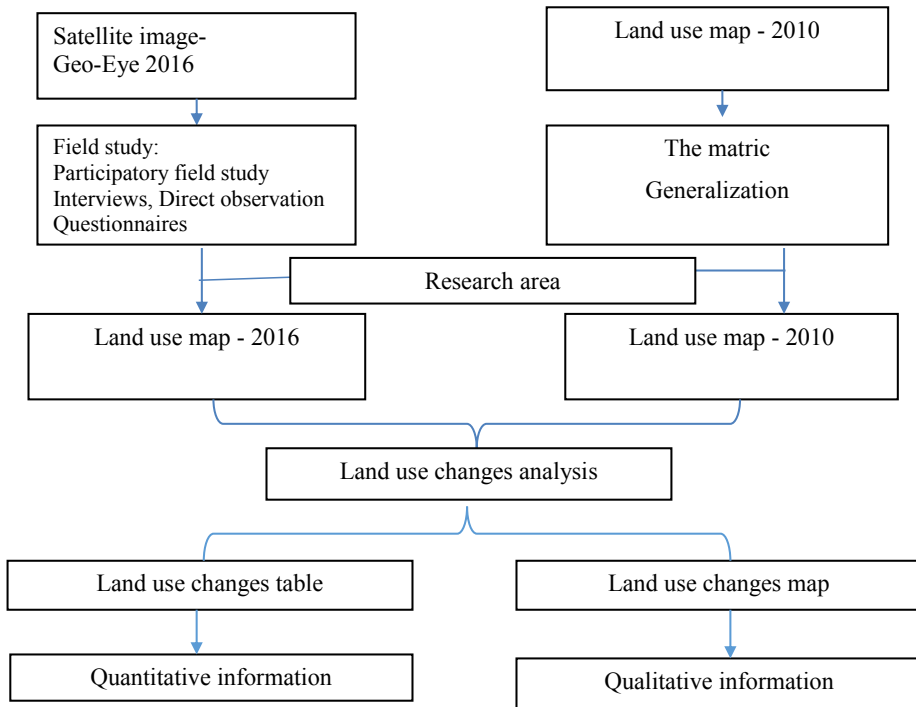
The land use patterns of the research area are categorized into nineteen types as follows: dense forests, open forests, barren lands, water tanks, paddy cultivation extents, home gardens, shrubby lands, lands use for smaller extents of cultivation, unclassifiable lands, marshy lands, other crops, portions with buildings, areas where trees are grown for log or timber, playgrounds, grass lands, chena cultivation areas, rocks and mangroves. (Sri Lanka map collection - 2014).

There are 35,803 families living in the research area with a total population of 117,806. Out of this 56,852 are males while 60,954 are females. Among them 95 percent of the families have agriculture as their chief occupation (Field study 2016). This is supported by the favourable soil and water resources found in this area.

Data, methods of data collection and analysis

Primary and secondary data have been used in this research. Primary data were collected on the bases of questionnaires, participatory field study, and interviews. As for secondary data, satellite images and digital land use maps have been used. Satellite image is a very important data source in determining the periodical variations of land use. For this research, 0.5 meter spatial resolution images obtained from the satellite “Geo-Eye” have been used. The research area is a region from where people affected by the war got displaced and resettled after some years. In order to find out the land use patterns that prevailed at the time of such resettlement, digital data were metrically generalized, and the map for 2010 was prepared. As development activities are taking place rapidly, land use patterns also keep on changing. For this reason, the land use changes within the short interval from 2010 to 2016 have been identified and mapped. Analysis has been undertaken on the basis of the flow chart shown in figure 2.

Fig. 2 Methodological framework



The land use maps obtained from satellite images were visually interpreted and thereafter any unclear features in the land use were renovated and identified. On the basis of the confusion matrix based on GIS the extents transformed from one particular land use to another type of land use, and the extent of land use

into one particular type of land from another, each land use for the years 2010 and 2016 have been calculated. This is indicative of the changes that took place between the two years. The diagonal indicates the land use extents that had not been subject to any land use changes. Through the confusion matrix, maps and tables have been obtained showing how the land use changes had taken place quantitatively and qualitatively. Each land use change has been calculated in hectares and percentages.

Results and discussion

Land use patterns to 2010 and 2016

The land use patterns for the years 2010 and 2016 have been mapped in this research. Table 1 explains how the land use existed during each of the years 2010 and 2016. This can also be observed in figures 3 (2010) and 4 (2016).

Forests have been more dominant in the land use patterns of the research area during the year 2010. There had been various types of forests including dense forest, open forests and forests cut down for timber. 48.27% of the research area was under forests. Paddy cultivation had spread for over 15.66% of the research area, following which shrub lands occupy 9.08% of the area. These three categories occupy much of the land use patterns in the research area, while the other types of land use are as indicated below: home gardens 7.78%, tanks 5.45%, less cultivated areas 4.92% and barren lands 3.21%. From these the aspects of land use in 2010 could be known.

An observation of the land use patterns in 2016, show that much extents had been devoted for forests, paddy cultivation, shrub lands and home gardens, which respectively represent 46.88%, 15.23%, 11.07% and 7.39% of the total land use. The other land use patterns may be observed in table 1 and figure 4.

Land use changes 2010 - 2016

The term 'land use change' refers to how the land use aspects of a particular period, are changed during a later period. This can be studied by comparing the land use aspects of two different periods. Thus, the changes that occurred between the years 2010 and 2016 can be observed in figure 5. In other words, figure 5 shows what types of land use changes had taken place within a period of six years, i.e. in 2016 due to the rapid development. Activities that followed the resettlement processes that had taken place since 2010.

At the same time the changes in land use patterns between the said two years are more clearly illustrated in confusion matrix table 2.

Table 1: Land use patterns – 2010, 2016

	Land use	2010		2016		Difference	
		Area (Ha)	%	Area (Ha)	%	Area (Ha)	%
01	Built up area	168.19	0.12	336.43	0.24	+171.24	+0.12
02	Barren land	4,388.11	3.21	4,042.57	2.96	-345.54	-0.25
03	Chena	51.98	0.04	88.68	0.07	+36.70	+0.03
04	Dense forest	47,024.68	34.45	43,722.12	32.03	-3,302.56	-2.42
05	Open forest	17,729.81	12.99	19,271.00	14.12	+1,541.19	+1.13
06	Forest plantation	1,131.43	0.83	1,015.23	0.73	-116.20	-0.10
07	Grassland	119.26	0.09	119.26	0.09	0.00	0.00
08	Homesteads/Garden	10,614.04	7.78	10,091.13	7.39	-522.91	-0.39
09	Hydro	7,439.92	5.45	7,452.15	5.46	+12.23	+0.01
10	Mangrove	6.12	0.01	6.12	0.01	0.00	0.00
11	Marsh	2,177.24	1.60	1,993.76	1.46	-183.48	-0.14
12	Other cultivation	2,100.79	1.54	2,265.92	1.66	+165.13	+0.12
13	Paddy	21,380.97	15.66	20,784.67	15.23	-632.30	-0.43
14	Playground	27.52	0.02	27.52	0.02	0.00	0.00
15	Rock	45.87	0.03	45.87	0.03	0.00	0.00
16	Sand	314.97	0.23	314.97	0.23	0.00	0.00
17	Scrub land	12,405.98	9.08	15,106.12	11.07	+2,700.14	+1.99
18	Sparsely used cropland	6,718.25	4.92	6,978.17	5.11	+259.00	+0.19
19	Unclassified	2,666.51	1.95	2,846.92	2.09	+180.41	+0.14
	Total	136,511.62	100.00	136,511.62	100.00		

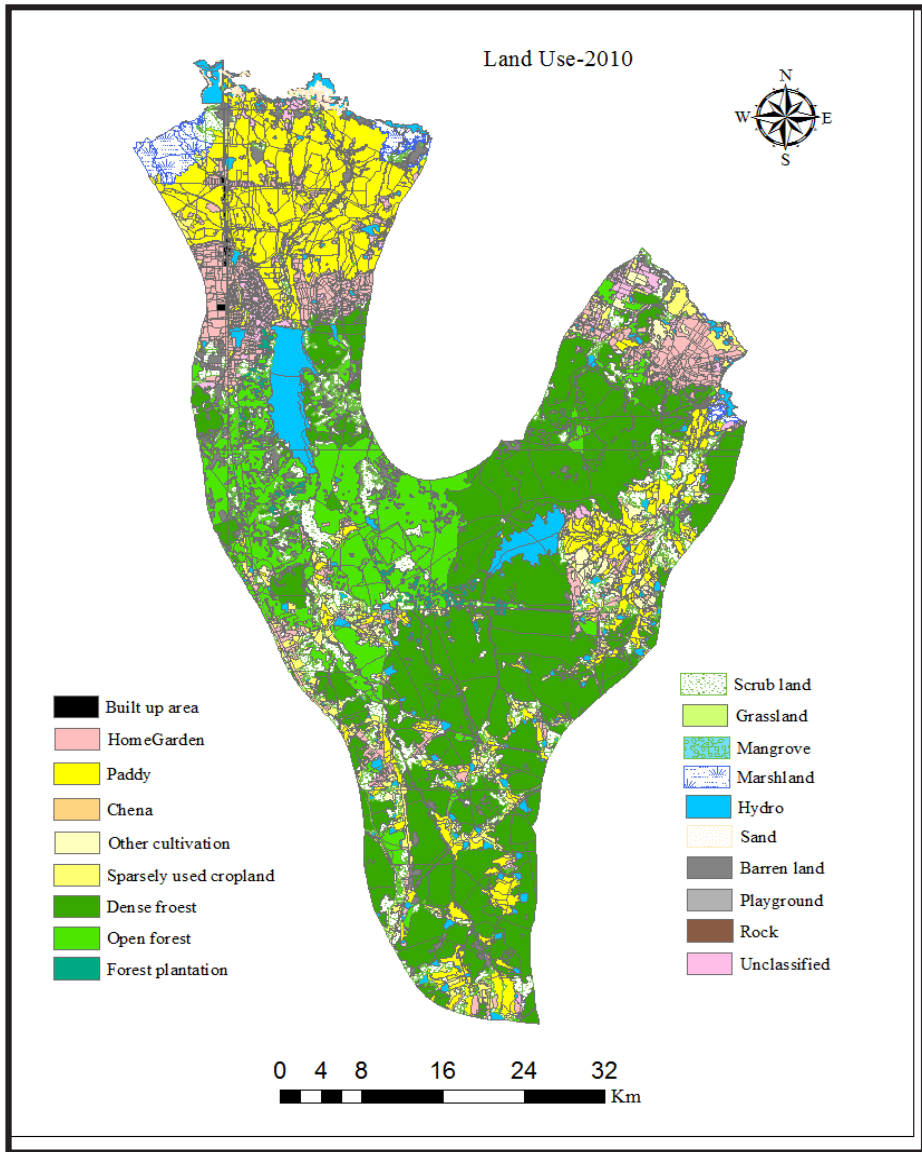


Fig. 3: Land use patterns- 2010

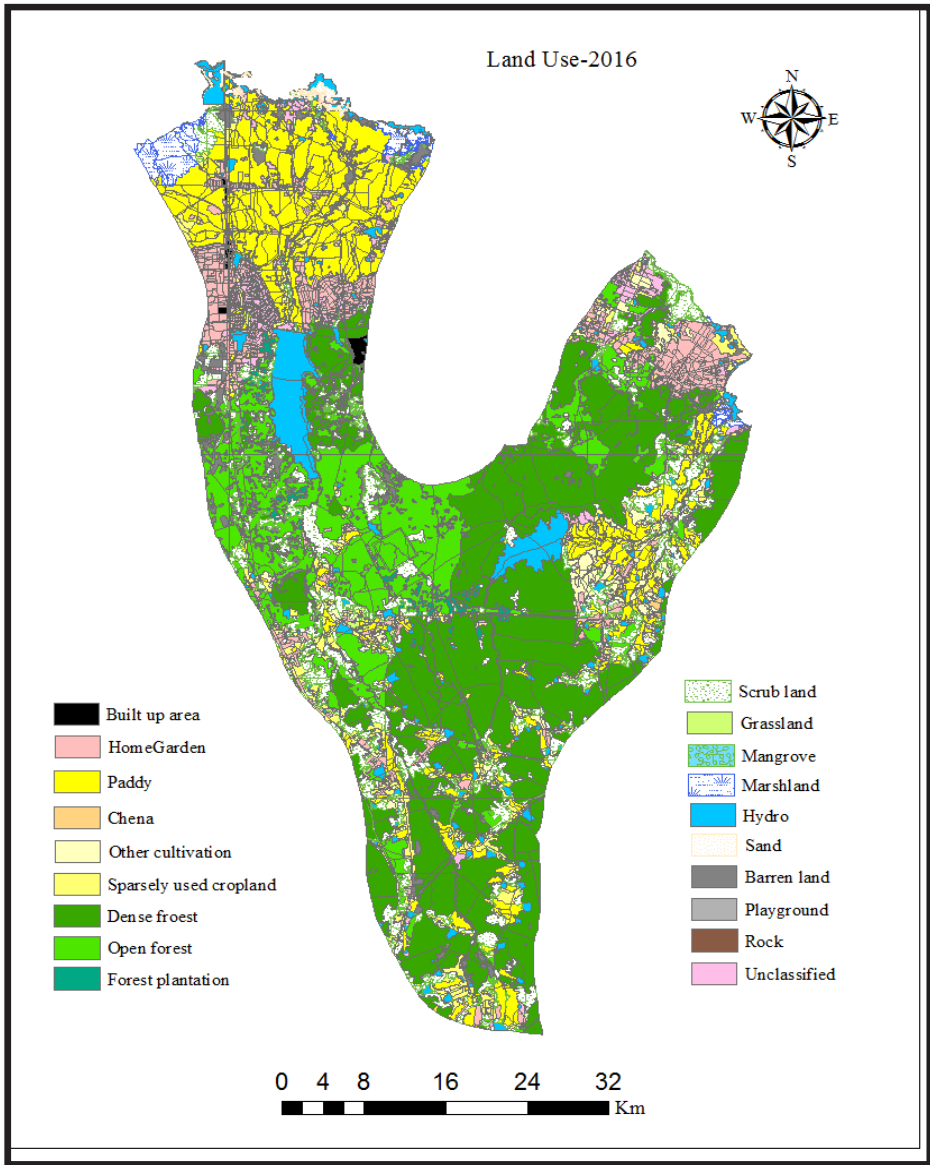


Fig. 4: Land use patterns- 2016

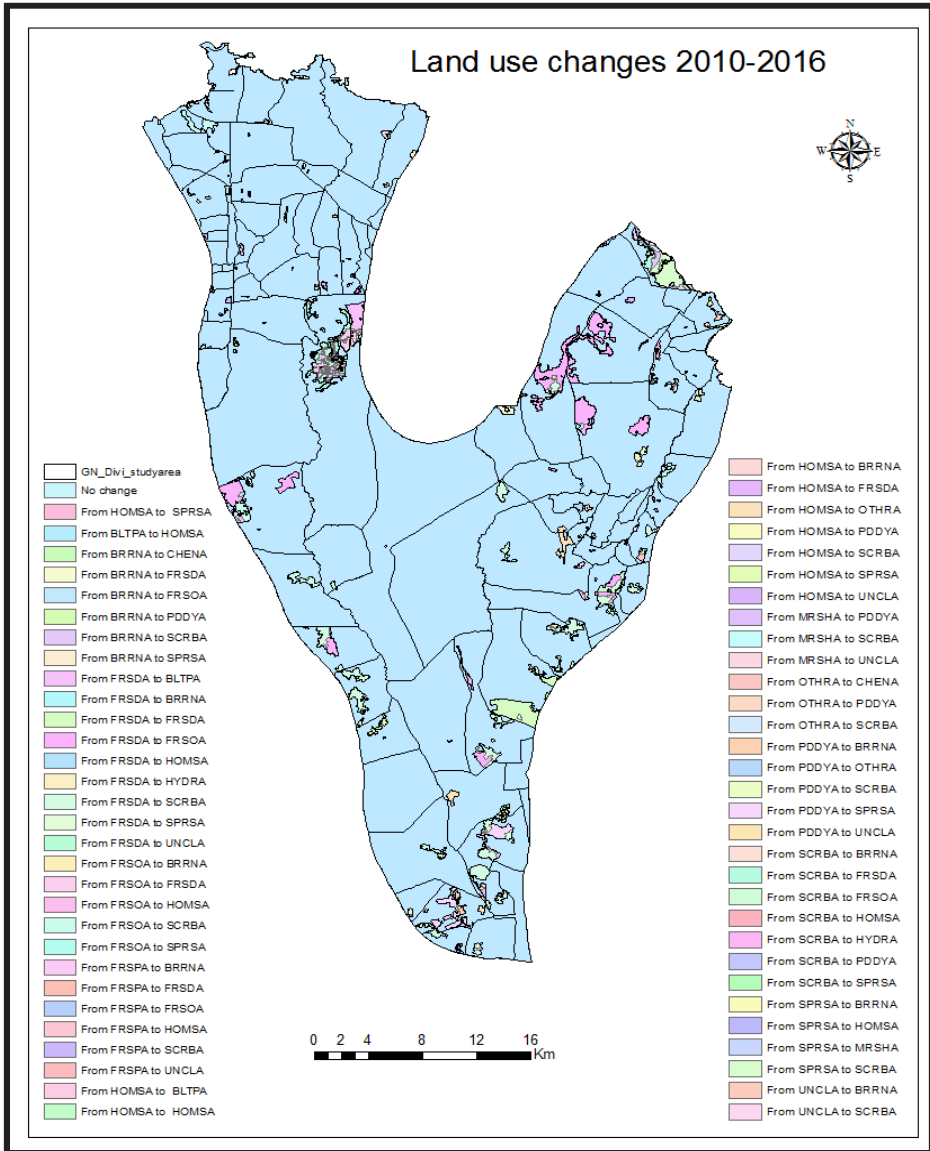


Fig. 5 Land use changes 2010 – 2016

Table 2 Confusion Matrix 2010 -2016

LU_TP_CL_1	BLTPA	BRRNA	CHENA	FRSDA	FRSOA	FRSPA	GRLSA	HOMSA	HYDRA	MINGRA	MIRSHA	OTHRA	PDDYA	PLGDA	ROCKA	SANDA	SCRBA	SPRSA	UNCLA	tora2010 (ha)
BLTPA	146.78	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	168.19
BRRNA	0.00	3908.02	15.29	149.84	9.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	287.44	3.06	0.00	4388.11
CHENA	0.00	0.00	51.98	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	51.98
FRSDA	192.65	12.23	0.00	42758.88	2152.77	0.00	0.00	6.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1865.33	33.64	3.06	47024.68
FRSOA	0.00	0.00	0.00	256.87	17084.59	0.00	0.00	30.58	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	357.78	0.00	0.00	17729.81
FRSPA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1015.23	0.00	6.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	91.74	0.00	18.35	1131.43
GRLSA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	119.26	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	119.26
HOMSA	0.00	39.75	0.00	27.52	0.00	0.00	0.00	1008.57	0.00	0.00	0.00	162.07	88.68	0.00	0.00	0.00	36.70	155.95	94.80	10614.04
HYDRA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7439.92	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7439.92
MINGRA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.12
MIRSHA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1990.71	0.00	3.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	162.07	0.00	21.41	2177.24
OTHRA	0.00	0.00	21.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2061.04	3.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.29	0.00	0.00	2100.79
PDDYA	0.00	58.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	42.81	20653.18	0.00	0.00	0.00	88.68	486.21	51.98	21380.97
PLGDA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	27.52	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	27.52
ROCKA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	45.87
SANDA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	314.97	0.00	0.00	0.00	314.97
SCRBA	0.00	6.12	0.00	529.02	24.46	0.00	0.00	3.06	12.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.35	0.00	0.00	0.00	11800.51	12.23	0.00	12405.98
SPRSA	0.00	18.35	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	15.29	0.00	0.00	3.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	394.47	6287.08	0.00	6718.25
UNCLA	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.12	0.00	2657.33	2666.51
tora2016 (ha)	339.43	4042.57	88.68	43722.12	19271.00	1015.23	119.26	10091.13	7452.15	6.12	1993.76	2265.92	20784.67	27.52	45.87	314.97	15106.12	6978.17	2846.92	136511.62

The observation of the changes between two years on the basis of table 2 indicates that while certain land uses have been added into other types of land uses, the extent of certain other land use patterns has been reduced. However, the land use patterns in the main diagonal of the table have not changed. However, when the figures away from the diagonal are read horizontally, it indicates how many hectares of a particular land use has changed into another pattern of land use or rather how many hectares of land each land use has been altogether lost. At the same time when read vertically from the diagonal, it indicates what other land uses have been amalgamated into a particular type of land use.

Whereas the built up areas which occupied 168.191 hectares in 2010, increased to 339.43 hectares, during both periods no change occurred within an extent of 146.78 hectares. An extent of 21.41 hectares out of the 169.19 hectares of built up areas in 2010 has been converted to home gardens. This change has taken place mostly in the Grama sevaka divisions of Thirunagar South and Puthukkudiyiruppu. At the same time in 2016, 192.65 hectares of dense forests, have come under builtup areas. This change has taken place in Ambagamamgrama officer division. Since the research area is a resettled region, the increase in building activities particularly along road sides, can also be seen through the land use changes map. As this area is developing fast, building activities are going on at a rapid pace. The aforesaid reasons were the cause for the increase in building activities during the period from 2010 to 2016.

The barren lands which occupied 4388.11 hectares in 2010, decreased to 4042.57 hectares in 2016, while no changes occurred in an extent of 3908.02 hectares. The 4388.11 hectares of barren lands in 2010, has transformed respectively into 15.29 hectares of chena cultivation, 149.84 hectares of dense forests, 9.17 hectares of open forests, 15.29 of paddy cultivation, 287.44 hectares of shrub land, and 3.06 hectares of cultivation in small scale. Most of these changes have taken place around the grama officer divisions Vannerikkulam, Ambagamam, Thirumuruhandy, Ambalavanpokkanai and ArumuhatthanPuthukkulam. At the same time, in 2016, 12.23 hectares of dense forests, 39.75 hectares of home gardens, 58.10 hectares of paddy cultivation lands, 6.12 hectares of shrub lands and 18.33 hectares of small scale cultivation have crept into barren lands. Most of these changes have taken place in the grama officer divisions Ponnagar, Rathnapuram, Barathipuram, Vattakkacchi, Mannakandal and Aanandapuram. Shortage of water is the main cause for the lands of paddy cultivation, home gardens and the lands of small scale cultivation to be converted into barren lands.

While in 2010 51.98 hectares of the lands of chena cultivation land was remaining unchanged, in 2016 21.41 hectares of other cultivated crops had crept into it. As a result the extent of chena cultivation in 2016, increased to 88.08. For this too, lack of water was the main cause. Chena cultivation is an activity that depends fully on the availability of rainfall.

While observing the land use changes of dense forests, the extent of 47,024.68 in 2010 was found to be 43,722.12 hectare in 2016, and there was no change in the extent of 42,758.88 hectares during both periods. The 47,024.68 hectares of dense forests, have changed respectively into 192.65 hectares of built up area, 12.23 hectares of barren land, 2152.77 hectares of open forests, 6.12 hectares of home gardens, 1865.33 hectares of shrub land, 33.64 hectares of small scale cultivation land, and 3.06 hectares of unclassifiable land. The main reason for these changes is the rapid development programmes that followed the resettlement in this area. Most of these changes have taken place in the grama sevaka divisions of Ambagamam, Mankalam, Kanagarayankulam north and Puliyanakulam south. At the same time, in 2016, 149.84 hectares of barren lands, 256.87 hectares of open forests, 27.52 home gardens and 529.02 hectares of shrub lands have got converted into dense forests. Such changes have occurred in the grama sevaka divisions of keppapilavu, AmbalavanPokkanai, Panrikkeythakulam, Ambagamam, Udayarkattu south, Kombavil and Sinnadamban.

Out of the total land use in 2010, 17729.81 hectares were open forests. Out of this, while 17,084.59 hectares remained unchanged, an extent of 256.87 hectares changed into home gardens while 357.78 hectares changed into shrub lands. A greater part of these changes have taken place in the grama sevaka divisions of Puthukkudiyiruppu east, Umayalpuram, Thirunagar south, Arumuhatthan and Puthukkulam. The extent of open forests has increased in 2016. That is to say that changes have taken place in the use of open forests during the period between 2010 and 2016. During this period 2152.77 from dense forests, 9.17 hectares from barren lands, and 24.46 hectares from shrub lands had mingled into the open forest category. The cutting down of the huge trees in the dense forests may have led to the reduction in the density of these forests which eventually became open forests. At the same time a few large trees around shrub lands may have grown bigger to form open forests. Most of such changes have taken place in the Grama sevaka divisions of Sinnadamban, Mannakandal, Panikkankulam, Vallipunam and Mayavanoor.

The area where trees were grown for logs or timber, had an extent of 1131.43 hectares in 2010. While 1015.23 hectares remained unchanged, 6.12 hectares changed into home gardens, 91.74 hectares into shrub lands while 18.35 hectares fell into the category of unclassifiable land use. The activities of the people after their resettlement and the changes that occurred in areas where trees were grown for logs and timber may be understood as shown below.

Activities	Changes
Showing interest in home gardening	Development of home gardens.
Cutting down trees for miscellaneous purposes	Formation of shrub lands.
Unplanned urgent establishment of settlements	Development of Unclassifiable lands

Such changes have occurred in the grama sevaka divisions of Kathaliyar Sammankulam, Karuvelankandal, Ottusuttan and Putthuvettuvan. In 2016 the extent of area where trees are grown for logs, has decreased to a mere 1015.23 hectares. The reason is that while this area has mostly been utilized for the various land uses mentioned above other land uses had not been brought into this.

In the land use patterns of the research area, the extent of grass lands found in 2010 remained same in 2016 too. That is to say that the 119.26 hectares of grass land that existed in 2010, was again found to be 119.26 hectares in 2016. This shows that while grass lands have not been converted to other land uses, there has not been any intrusion of other land uses into grass lands. These are not permanent grass lands. Grass is found during rainy seasons and they dry up to be grassless areas during dry seasons.

According to the land use patterns of 2010, home gardening occupied 10614.04 hectares. Whilst 10008.57 remained unchanged, elsewhere the following changes have taken place: 39.75 hectares barren lands; 27.52 hectares dense forest; 162.07 hectares other crop cultivation; 88.68 hectares small scale cultivation; and 94.80 hectares unclassifiable land use. Most of these changes have taken place in the grama sevaka divisions of Ambagamam, Mankulam, Katsilaimadu, Karuvelankandal and Puliyanukulam south. At the same time, the following extents of land use have got included into the home garden extent in 2016 : 21.41 hectares of built up land, 6.12 hectares of dense forests, 30.58 hectares of open forests, 6.12 hectares of timber areas, 3.06 hectares of shrub land and 15.29 hectares of small scale cultivation areas. These changes have taken place in the gramasevaka divisions of Vivekanandanagar, Ananthapuram, Thondamannagar, Uthayanagar east and Kanagambikaikulam. Since the research area is a resettled region, people are more and more engaged in home gardens with the view to increase their income. In Mutthaiyankattu and Karuvelankandal areas, home gardens are often closely attached to settlements. At the same time, as land was fragmented in order to obtain housing schemes, it has led to the decrease of home garden extent in 2016, rather than in 2010.

In 2010, the land use patterns indicate that 7439.92 hectares were occupied by water bodies including small and big tanks. In 2016, this area is seen increased to 7452.15. During this period 12.23 hectares of shrub lands have mingled with water bodies. During the occurrence of heavy rainfall, when the cubic measure of water increases, the nearby land extent tend to become water spots. In the grama sevaka divisions of ArumuhatthanPuthukkulam and Koolamurippu such tendency has led nearby shrub lands to become small water bodies. That is how the extent of water bodies is seen to have increased by 12.23 hectares, in 2016, rather than it was in 2010. No changes have taken place in the extent of mangroves which occupied 6.12 hectares in 2010 as well as in 2016. At the same time the land

use map for 2010 shows the extent of marshy land as 2177.24 hectares. Though 1990.71 hectares of marshes had not undergone any changes, 3.06 hectares of marshes went under paddy cultivation while 162.07 hectares and another 21.41 hectares respectively became shrub lands and unclassifiable lands. Such changes have occurred mostly in the grama sevaka divisions of KathaliyarSmmalankulam, Manthuvil, Ratnapuram, Vivekanandanagar, Vattakkacchi, Mayavanoor and Kandavalai. In the land use pattern of 2016, there were 1993.76 hectares of marshes. During this period 3.06 hectares of land for small scale cultivation has come under marshy land. This change took place in the grama sevaka division of KunchuParanthan. When the water decreases in water bodies, they eventually become marshy. This situation can be noticed in Umayalpuram area.

While the extent of 2016.04 hectares of other crops in 2010, remained unchanged, the following changes have subsequently taken place, i.e. 3.06 hectares into paddy cultivation, 15.29 hectares into shrub land, and 21.41 hectares into chena cultivation lands. In other words, 2100.79 hectares of land were under other crops cultivation in 2010. During this period most changes had occurred in the grama sevaka divisions of Karuvelankandal, Ananthapuram, Thirumurukandy, Murasumottai and Puliyaipokkanai. In 2016, the extent of other crops cultivation increased upto 2265.92 hectares. During this period 162.07 hectares of home gardens and 42.81 hectares of paddy cultivation got added into other crops cultivation extents. Consequently in 2016, it could be observed that the extent of other crops' cultivation had increased in 2016 by 165.13 hectares, than in 2010. This increase had taken place in the grama sevaka divisions of Ottusuttan, Mutthuvinaayakapuram and Kulavisuttan.

An observation of the extent of land use under paddy cultivation shows that 21,380.97 hectares had been under paddy cultivation. While 20,653.18 hectares remained unchanged, the following hectares of land have changed as indicated below: 58.10 hectares -Barren lands, 42.81 hectares -Other crops, 88.68 hectares -Shrub lands, 486.21 hectares - Small scale crops, 51.98 hectares -Unclassifiable

Insufficiency of water is the main cause for these changes. Most of these changes have occurred in the grama sevaka divisions of Ambagamam, Umayalpuram and Periyalththimadu. The area under paddy cultivation came down to 20,784.67. The main cause for this reduction was the renovation activities that took place during this period at the Iranamadu reservoir. In fact, most of the land of paddy cultivation in the research area depended on irrigation from Iranamadu reservoir. Yet, during this period 15.29 hectares of barren land, 88.68 hectares of home gardens, 3.06 hectares of marshy land, 3.06 hectares of other crop cultivation lands, 18.35 hectares of shrub lands and 3.06 hectares of unclassifiable land had been brought under paddy cultivation. Much of this paddy cultivation is rain fed. Most of these changes have taken place in the grama sevaka divisions of Pandaravanni, Mannakulam, Panikkankulam and Mayavanoor.

One of the land use patterns of the research is the playground. This is found without any changes in its extent of 27.52 hectares, throughout the period from 2010 to 2016. Similarly, the rocky areas also have remained unchanged during both years. They have remained in the same extent of 45.87 hectares during the years 2010 and 2016. Sandy areas too have been found stretching within an extent of 314.97 hectares, without any change.

An observation of the shrub lands reveals that though it had an extent of 12,405.98 hectares in 2010, while 11,800.51 hectares had remained unchanged the changes indicated as per table below have taken place :

6.12 hectares	-	Barren lands
529.02 hectares	-	Dense forests
24.46 hectares	-	Open forests
3.06 hectares	-	Home gardens
12.23 hectares	-	Paddy lands
12.23 hectares	-	Small scale cultivation

A greater part of these changes have taken place in the grama sevaka divisions of Semamadu, Sinnadamban, Ambagamam, AmbalavaaPokkanai, Vallipunam, KathaliyarSammalankulam, MannakulamPeriyaIttimadu and Ratnapuram. In these areas, the people after their resettlements have brought in changes in their land use as a matter of improving their economic activities. That is how, a large extent of shrub lands have been converted to other land uses. At the same time, in 2016 the extent of shrub lands was found increased to 15,106.12 hectares. During this period 287.44 hectares of barren lands, 1,865.33 hectares of dense forests, 357.78 hectares of open forests, 91.74 hectares of forest area for logs and timber, 36.70 hectares of home gardents, 162.07 hectares of marshy land, 15.29 hectares of other crop cultivation, 88.68 hectares of paddy cultivation area, 397.47 hectares of small scale crop cultivation land and 6.12 hectares of unclassified land have all been brought under the land use pattern of shrub lands. Particularly, large extents of lands have been converted into shrub lands. The main reason for this situation is that the above land uses had not been properly adhered to when the war was going on. In other words, this was a result of improper land use patterns. For example the lands normally utilized for paddy cultivation, home gardening or small scale cultivation, were left unused for want of irrigation and financial support, which eventually made the lands to be abandoned into shrub lands. At the same time, the destruction of dense, open and timber forests by security forces for their safety and other requirements also made those areas turn into shrub lands. Such changes have mostly taken place in the grama sevaka divisions of Ambagamam, Mankulam, Urutthirapuram north, Puthukkudiyiruppu west, Mara Iluppai, Sinnadamban, Vedivaitthakallu, Kanagarayankulam north, Keppapilavu

and Mannakandal. The results of the research point out that in 2016 the extents of shrub land have increased more by 2700.14 hectares than in 2010.

In 2010, small scale crop cultivation had been prevalent over an extent of 6,718.25 hectares. While 6,287.08 hectares remained unchanged, the following extent of land had undergone changes as indicated below:

Extents	Land use changes into
18.35 hectares	Barren lands
15.29 hectares	Home gardens
3.06 hectares	Marshy lands
394.47 hectares	shrub lands

Most of these changes have taken place in the grama sevaka divisions of Kunchuparanthan, Ananthapuliyankulam, Ananthapuram, Thirunagar south and Thattuvankotty. During the year 2010 the extent of small scale crop cultivation was found to be 6,978.17 hectares. Into this the following extents had been added :

Extents	Added land uses
3.06 hectares	barren lands
33.64 hectares	Dense forests
155.95 hectares	Home gardens
486.21 hectares	Paddy cultivation
12.23 hectares	Shrub lands

A greater part of these changes had taken place in the grama sevaka divisions of Kanagarayankulam south. Ottusuttan, Vallipunam, Mayavanoor, Ambalnagar, Parathipuram and Ganesapuram. Though the areas under small scale crop cultivation in 2010 had been converted to other land uses, as various other land uses had crept into small scale crop cultivation, the extent of this type of land use has increased by 259.92 hectares in 2016 than what it was in 2010.

In 2010 the extent of unclassified or unclassifiable land was 2,666.51 hectares. Out of this, while 2,567.33 hectares remained unchanged, 3.06 hectares have been converted to paddy cultivation and 6.12 hectares to shrub lands. Such changes have occurred mainly in the grama sevaka divisions of Ponnagar, ManavalanPattamurippu, Anandapuliyakulam, Mahilankulam and Arumuhathan Puthukkulam. At the same time, when the land use patterns of 2016 were looked into, it is found that the extent of unclassifiable land was 2,846.92 hectares. Into this land use, 3.06 hectares of dense forests, 18.35 hectares of land for logs and timber, 94.80 hectares of home garden lands, 21.41 hectares of marshy land and 51.98

hectares of paddy cultivation lands have mingled. Changes of this type have taken place mostly in the grama sevaka divisions of Ambagamam, Anandapuliyankulam, Mannakandal, Vallipuram, Kombavil, Ambalavanpokkonia, Thiruvayaru west Ratnapuram and Vattakkacchi. The results of the research show that the extent of this land use in 2010 had increased by 180.41 hectares in 2016. The main reason for this situation is that people, soon after their resettlement have used their lands in unsuitable ways in their attempts to revive their lost economy. Particularly the use of paddy lands as home garden areas, and the conversion of home garden areas into settlements make it difficult to accommodate them into any particular land use. As such they have been taken into a land use known as unclassifiable lands. The increase in the extent of unclassifiable lands may also be attributed to the toils of the people in order to increase their income, as well to bring available lands under maximum use.

Conclusion

This research under the title “Mapping and evaluation of land use changes based on selected river basins of north Sri Lanka”, ventures to explain the various changes that took place in the research area during the period from 2010 to 2016. In this regard the maps that show the results of the land use patterns and land use changes are of great importance. The grama sevaka divisions in the selected river basins are developing at a very rapid pace. Particularly, building activities are taking place very fast after resettlement. The highest number of buildings have been erected in the grama sevaka divisions including Kilinochchi, a part of Ambagamam, Thirumurukandy, Vivekanandanagar and PeriyaParanthan. Particularly along the areas adjoining to the main roads one can see the rise of business institutions and service centres amidst crowded settlements. Since the roads have been repaired, traffic movements go on very smoothly. Areas which were formerly under home gardens and forests, now appear transformed into areas crowded with buildings and also occupied with the cultivation of other crops. Though land use changes are thus going on in the research area, yet further attention has to be paid to some other aspects. Especially when lands are utilized for settlement purposes, it must be ascertained that such lands are of lesser importance for other land uses. For example, the areas in proximity to the A9 highway are fast changing into settlements. This is the need of the hour. Such changes are acceptable as these are in keeping with the rapid increase in population. However, the changes taking place in forest areas do not appear to be tangible. They can possibly disturb the equilibrium in the natural environment. Hence, it is important to pay attention towards land use changes in the areas of settlement, agriculture and forests. This means that if at all land use changes in the research area must appear tangible, land use patterns must essentially be born in mind when future plans are undertaken. Hence, this research while having mapped and illustrated the land use patterns and their changes, it has become possible to learn the changes both quantitatively and

qualitatively. In addition, this research is expected to be of guidance in any future studies related to river basins in the north of Sri Lanka and elsewhere.

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GENDER INEQUALITY, LAND RIGHTS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION:

HISTORICAL STUDIES AND THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S RIGHT TO LAND UNDER THE LAW OF THESAWALAMAI.

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Abstract

Land is considered as a means not only to generate an income, but also to empower women and minimize their dependency. However, there is a disparity in ownership of property due to the pluralistic nature of a legal system that prioritizes discriminatory customary and religious laws. In this context, this paper focuses on the *Thesawalamai* law, one of the customary laws of Sri Lanka that deprives and discriminates the married women of their right to land. The disinclination to repeal the discriminatory provisions was sustained on the ground that the repeal or revision of such provisions would be very sensitive as they were derived from the inherent customary practice of the Tamils in North and are constitutionally guaranteed. Based on a mixed method analysis, this paper revisits the history and claim that the marital power of husbands which is being instrumental in discriminating the married women, was not an inherent customary practice of the early settlers, rather brought by the subsequent patriarchal peasants and legitimized by colonial legislations and judicial pronouncements. It further analyses the impact of the discriminatory provisions on the transformation of women's roles, particularly in the post-armed conflict context through a survey, before suggesting the possible means to engendering the *Thesawalamai*.

Key words: gender inequality; right to land; *Thesawalamai*; socio-economic transformation; post-armed conflict

Introduction

Since land is considered not only a source for generating an income, but also a tool to establish power, security, status and recognition (Wijeyesekera, 2017), the right to land must equally be guaranteed to everyone. However, women are often being prevented from accessing, controlling and enjoying land rights due to inadequate legal standards and ineffective implementation of land rights; socially recognized stereotyped roles and patriarchal ideologies; and the omnipotence given for the discriminatory customary and religious laws. The gender disparity in relation to land is linked on the assumption that men as heads of households control and manage land, since women are incapable of managing land effectively; or otherwise proving that land given to women would be lost to another family upon marriage, divorce or death; or that they are always dependent on their male members who will provide financial security or *vice versa* (UN Women, 2013). It is more crucial for South Asian women who have either individually or collectively contributed to the economic production for the nation at large, through agriculture. Although there is a shift in approach for the advancement of women's rights from economic development and population policies to empowerment and autonomy (Goonesekera, 1999), many countries around the world retain gender discriminatory land legislations and customary practices. Wijeyesekera (2017) differentiates the denial of women's land rights in two aspects: the laws that deny women the right to own land; and those that deny women the right to command over their own land.

In this context, this paper focuses on the *Thesawalamai* law, one of the customary laws of Sri Lanka, which deprives married women the right to command over their land. This is primarily due to the incorporation of the patriarchal ideology of marital power that the husband gained by virtue of a marriage. As Wijeyesekera (2017) relates, the gender discrimination in relation to land rights of *Thesawalamai* governed married women can be seen both vertically and horizontally: the former refers to the discrimination between men and women, and the latter refers to discrimination against women based on their marital status or social origin.¹ The discriminatory customary laws are legalized by the Constitution which declares that in spite of the constitutional guarantee on the right to equality and equal protection before the law² and non-discrimination,³ any written or unwritten law that contradicts the fundamental rights provisions would have been considered as

1 Since discrimination is based on marital status, the provisions of the *Thesawalamai* law do not affect the women who are unmarried, divorced, or widowed. On the other hand, marital power is retained only by the *Thesawalamai* law, and the married women governed by General law, Kandyan law, or Muslim law are not subject to any such restrictions as *Thesawalamai* governed married women are.

2 The Constitution, Sri Lanka, 1978, Art.12

3 Ibid, Art.12(2)

being a valid law.⁴ It is further fortified by the constitutional arrangements that provide that the Chapter on fundamental rights that has no retrospective effect and there is no provision for judicial review of past legislations, any discriminatory law that existed at the time of adoption of Constitution cannot be challenged on the ground that it is contradicted with the fundamental rights as embodied in the Constitution of 1978.

Hence, following a brief introduction to the law of *Thesawalamai* and to the concept of marital power, this paper historically studies the incorporation of marital power into *Thesawalamai* and theoretically analyzes its implications through a transformative lens before suggesting possible reforms for engendering land rights under the *Thesawalamai* law.

The law of *Thesawalamai*: is it a codification of local customs?

The term “*Thesawalamai*” in Tamil means the custom of the region i.e. the Northern Province of Sri Lanka. It governs the inhabitants⁵ of the Northern Province. The origin of the *Thesawalamai* can be traced back to the customs and practices of two waves of immigrants from India who colonized Jaffna (L.J.M.Coaray, 2009). The first wave came from Malabar district in which the family structure was based on matriarchy. The second immigration was with the advent of *Arya Chakravarthy* from the Coromandel Coast and the family structure of the people was based on patriarchy. Thus, Jaffna which witnessed two major waves of immigration accommodated a fusion of both matriarchal and patriarchal systems of society (Nagendra, 2008).

When Ceylon was colonized by early foreign rulers, the customary practices of *Thesawalamai* were applied without any attempt at codification. The codification of such customary practices took place during Dutch colonization by Lieutenant Class Isaacs who collected and codified the *Thesawalamai* in a document known as the *Thesawalamai Code* of 1707 (L.J.M.Coaray, 2009). Hence, the *Thesawalamai* codified by the Dutch, was not the original *Thesawalamai*,⁶ rather, a codification

4 Ibid, Art. 16(1) declares that all existing laws whether written or unwritten are valid and operative notwithstanding any inconsistency with the provisions in the fundamental rights chapter.

5 The *Thesawalamai* was originally intended by the Dutch to govern the ‘Malabar Inhabitants’ in the districts of Jaffna, Mannar, Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi and Trincomalee. Later Trincomalee was excluded from the purview of *Thesawalamai* due to the application of Mukkuwa Law. Presently, *Thesawalamai* governs the inhabitants of the Northern Province. See (H.W.Thambiah, 2004).

6 When the *Thesawalamai Code* was translated into Tamil by John Pirus, Class Isaacs forwarded the translated copies to twelve Mudaliars who had confirmed the contents of the codification without any revision as they were pressed to look upon the matter on payment of the fee by the masters for up keeping the misbehaved slaves. See H.W THAMBIAH, (ed.2004).

of the traditional customs as were observed during a specific period and recorded with an ‘outsider’s’ perspective (H.W.Thambiah, 2004; L.J.M.Cooray, 2009; Nagendra, 2008; Guruparan, 2016).

The *Thesawalamai* Code was officially recognized only in 1806 by the British, the subsequent colonizers to the Dutch. Since the Regulation No.18 of 1806 was a mere reproduction of the *Thesawalamai* Code, then Chief Justice of Ceylon Sir Alexander Johnston was dissatisfied and he commissioned for a fresh translation. As a result, in 1911, Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance (JMARIO) was legislated to repeal many provisions of the Regulation of 1806 as they were inconsistent to the colonial rules and policies. The JMARIO 1911 was subsequently amended by Ordinance No 58 of 1947. At present, the application of the law of *Thesawalamai* is limited to matrimonial and inheritance rights and preemption. Hence, this paper is limited to matrimonial and inheritance rights in relation to land in which though both husband and wife are equally entitled to a share in property acquired during the marriage, by virtue of marital power, the married woman is deprived of her right to deal with and dispose of, her immovable properties including her share in the acquired property and has no *locus standi in judicio*⁷ unless accompanied by her husband.

The marital power: a means to recognize socio-economic status

Marital Power is an authority that is given to a spouse through marriage to control the family’s affairs. “Traditionally, the husbands have exercised greater control in marriage, and this power has been linked to the income and status that a man has provided as the breadwinner” (Tichenor, 1999). Since money is considered as the key source of power, the person who has more earnings than the other is given the power to control within the family. Until the advent of agrarian societies, the status of women was known to be relatively high since both males and females engaged equally in the process of economic production (Samarasinghe, 1990).

However, the patriarchal ideologies in the subsequent peasant society valued more the role of males who had natural muscle power to plough the fields. The gaining of power by the males to control the land and other economic resources was not only attributed to the biological factor, but also strengthened by cultural ideologies, religious beliefs and most importantly, the shift from communal to private property (Samarasinghe, 1990). Moreover, since women were excluded from the agricultural activities and their status was transformed to depend on male members, men gained power over their family members, land and property.

The agrarian society placed the land as a core factor of the marriage. On marriages, although, the land is given as dowry by the wife’s family or the wife herself to assist the husband in bearing the expenses of the conjugal household

7 It means status of standing before a court of law

(Nagendra, 2008), the effective control of the land remained in the hands of a husband. Thus, the patriarchal control of the husband within the family has not only affected the women's participation in the economic production but also their right in the decision-making process in both private and public spheres.

Historical underpinnings and theoretical analysis of the gendered land rights in *Thesawalamai* law.

It is agreed among the scholars that the origin of the *Thesawalamai* can be traced back to Malabar laws and customs as the Malabar were the first immigrants who settled earlier in Jaffna (L.J.M.Cooray, 2009; Tambiah, 2004; Nagendra, 2008). The matriarchal family pattern that existed among the Malabar community was rooted among the Jaffna people and constitutes the main basis of the *Thesawalamai*. Hence, the following section analyses when and how the customary practices of early settlers became gendered and incorporated into *Thesawalamai* law and why they were sustained over a period of time.

The maternal power to control the joint family property of early settlers.

The family unit among Malabar was called *tarawad* or 'joint family' in which the lineage is traced either through mother to daughter⁸ or through maternal uncle to his nephew and nieces⁹ or a mixture of both. The collective economic, social identity and solidarity of the family was revolved on an eldest matriarchal uncle called *Karanavan* (Susan Thomas, 2001). He had absolute and unquestionable power to possess and manage the *tarwad* property and receive an income¹⁰ as long as he acted on *bona fide* (Vasantha Kumari C., 2003). His power was derived not by marriage rather by birth and matrilocal residence. Yet, compared to Romans '*paterfamilias*'¹¹ his power in alienating the *tarwad* land was limited as he was required to obtain the consent of the *Anandaravan* or other members in the *tarwad*.¹²

Although the power of administration of family members and management

8 The matriarchal communities in South and South-East Asia such as certain states in India, the inheritance lineage is traced through mother and the land is passed from mother to daughter. See (Agarwal B., 1994).

9 This type of inheritance practice is known as "*marumakkathayam*" that is peculiar to Malabar. See (Vasantha Kumari C., 2003).

10 Report of The Malabar Marriage Commission (1891) p.27

11 The Roman law recognized only the paternal power (*patria potestas*)-the power of the oldest male ascendant, commonly the father or grandfather who is known as *paterfamilias* and had the power to control all the members of his family. In a marriage contracted under *manus*, one of the two forms of marriage recognized under Roman law, a wife who became subject to her husband's control and became a member of his family with the legal status of a daughter, was known as *materfamilias*. See (Joseph F. English 1961); (R.W. Lee 1956, 4th Ed.).

12 The term *Anandaravan* meant sister's son or nephew who is the heir of *Karanavan* and succeed to head the *tarwad* upon the demise of his uncle. See supra note

of *tarwad* land was vested in the hands of the *Karanavan*, it does not preclude a woman from holding his post in the name of *Karnawathi* in the absence of any male member.¹³ Although the system of Malabar *tarward* closely corresponded to Roman *gens*, the inheritance system of the former traced its descent from common ancestress while the latter traced from common ancestor (William Logan, 1887). The Malabar women had, to a certain extent, independence and security which were rarely available to the women at that time. Even after marriage, a married woman could visit her ancestral home and was equally entitled to receive a share of the harvest as their brothers and unmarried sisters received. The women were given more security during their widowhood or upon divorce as they could permanently reside in their maternal *tarwad* in which they had a strong claim; they could take over the management of the household if they were older; and were free to remarry if they were younger (Agarwal. B., 1994). From 19th century onwards, (a) the increase in number of members of *tarwad*, (b) willingness to form nuclear family due to the change of life patterns, (c) change of residence by men, and (d) difficulties of holding joint possessions lead to the creation of a number of *tavazhis*- branches of *tarwad* (H.W. Thambiah, 2004; Nagendra, 2008; Agarwal, 1994).

Since the agricultural and economic conditions of Jaffna are very less favourable, the early settlers of Malabar found it difficult to form a community or group of families. Instead, they split into individual families not exceeding two or three generations (V. Coomarasamy 1933, H.W. Thambiah, 2004). Coomarasamy (1933) is not certain on the point whether the *taward* and *Karanavan* systems of tenure were ever introduced or used in Jaffna though he is strong in saying that the customary practices of holding the property in community¹⁴ and tying down of the property to the females¹⁵ and not to the males were prevailed among the early settlers of Jaffna. Yet, Tambiah (2004), and Nagendra (2008) agreed with Coomarasamy (1933) on the point that the origin of a dowry system in Thesawalamai was derived from the customary tenure of *tavazhi illam* as recognized by *Marumakkathayam* law which the early settlers of Malabar had brought with them to Jaffna. Accordingly, upon marriage, a daughter of the early settlers, who was provided with a separate house or a distinct share in the parental house or any landed property or movables, started to branch off of her parents' *tarwad* into a *tavazhi illam* with her husband as *its karanavan* (*emphasis added*) (V. Coomarasamy, 1933). Nagendra (2004) claims that the most senior female being matriarch as in Malabar *tarwad* system never existed in Jaffna as she noted that the geographical and physical conditions of Jaffna suitable for agriculture, paved a way for a husband or father to assume an exalted position over the *tavazhi illam*. Yet, this research underscores that since most of the settlers from Malabar

13 Section 3 (c) of the Marumakkathayam Act of 1932

14 *Thesawalamai Code*, 1806, Part I;3

15 *Ibid*, Part I, para 5

were employed either as warriors or traders, the senior women would have been given opportunities to manage the *tavazhi illam* when their husbands were engaging with their professions as they did in Malabar.

The exalted position of husband as recognized among subsequent settlers.

With the arrival of the second group of colonizers from the East Coast, called by the Dutch as Coromandel Coast, who were Hindus by religion and agrarians by profession, the patriarchal system of society was firmly rooted among the Tamils in Jaffna. In a patriarchal family, the father or eldest male as the head of the family, holds significant powers and rights compared to women. In a patrilineal form of inheritance, land is inherited from father to son and in the absence of a son, his brother, nephew, or any other male relative traceable by blood often inherits his property. Daughters do not inherit from their father even if they are in the same lineage, to avoid the ancestral properties to be inherited by outsiders.¹⁶ By the subsequent settlers, a happy compromise was gradually effected for the existence of both matriarchal and patriarchal family systems and the combination of Hindu law and the *Marumakkathayam* law. It was further evident from the letters written by Sir Alexander Johnston C.J. to Gov. Brownrigg in 1814 that the principles of Hindu law as provided by Dharma-Shastra resorted to resolve matters to which the *Thesawalamai* did not provide answers (T.Nadarajah, 1972).

However, the joint family system that existed prior to their colonization was not totally affected¹⁷ (V.Coomarasamy, 1933; H.W. Thambiah 2004; K.Nagendra 2008), rather the rigors of the custom and usage of early settlers of Malabar in matters of inheritance that were tying down of property to females, were modified to include males as a medium in inheriting the property of a male. Thus, a fusion of both matrilineal rule of female succeeded female, daughter succeeded mother,¹⁸ and dowried sister succeeded another dowried sister who died issueless to the exclusion of her brother¹⁹ and patrilineal rule of males succeeded males, sons succeeded fathers,²⁰ and brother succeeded issueless brother to the exclusion of his sisters,²¹ was developed²² in respect of two kinds of property: *cheedanam* and *modusom* respectively, of which the former derived from *Marumakkathayam* law

16 The patriarchal cultural norm rationale out that upon the marriage, the women are taken to their husbands' family and if they are entitled to inherit the paternal properties, that would be controlled and owned by husband's family

17 Supra Note 14, Part I;3

18 Ibid, Part I, para 5

19 Ibid, Para.6

20 Ibid, Part I:1

21 Ibid, para 7

22 Ibid, Part I, para 1

and the later from Hindu law. As Nagendra (2008) emphasized, two of the main reasons for the failure of patriarchy to prevail over the matriarchal system in Jaffna were the inability of the Brahmanism to succeed over *Vellalas* who remained key caste and the subjection of Saivasim and not Brahminical Hinduism.

Yet, the socio-economic condition of Jaffna, that was auspicious to patriarchal peasants, fostered male supremacy in the family which was common even in the Marumakkathayam of Malabar. However, what the significant change brought by the Brahmanic Hindus was conferring of the supremacy in the hands of husbands who thereby had unrestricted powers by virtue of a marriage. Nagendra (2008) compares his position with *Karanavan* in respect of his *tarwad* members and property. It would be correct to say that his power to dower his daughter, upon her marriage, the dowry property of his wife who if predeceases him²³ is traceable from the power of the *Karanavan* over the *tarwad* property. However, unlike matriarchal *Karanavan*, the patriarchal husband was free to dispose of his family property without the consent of his family members to the extent of one tenth of its share and he as a manager of the entire family property,²⁴ had the power to consent for the transaction of any immovable property by his wife.²⁵ Thus, his power was more identical to Roman *paterfamilias* as both Hindu settlers and Dutch codifiers were greatly influenced by patriarchy and male chauvinism and there were hardly any remarkable differences of opinion as to whether the Dutch codified the customs that prevailed at that time or whether it was their own experiences in their homeland (K. Nagendra, 2008).

It was a matriarchal custom of providing *tavazhi illam*, or considerable share in it or other landed property as *cheedanam* to daughters with the objective of providing for the new household. Although it was favourable to women and discriminatory to males as the sons were restricted to claim anything from their parents until all daughters were dowered,²⁶ and they were required to bring into the common estate of their parents all that they had gained or earned during the bachelorship, and they were unable to claim anything until their parents died, even if they had married and left the paternal roof.²⁷ However, the patriarchal peasants from Coromandel Coast adjusted the concept of *cheedanam* in their favour by depriving (K. Nagendra, 2008)²⁸ the right of dowered daughters to their paternal inheritance in contravention to the principles of matriarchy. There was no discrimination against the dowered daughters of early settlers as their system of inheritance traced the lineage from common ancestress that was originated due to

23 Ibid, Part I:5

24 Ibid, Part IV;1

25 Ibid, it provides that the wife being subject to the will of her husband, may not give anything away without the consent of her husband

26 Ibid, Part I: 9, 11

27 Ibid, Part I: 7

28 Ibid, Part I: 3

the military occupation of the Nairs that led to recognize a polyandrous union and not marital union as their customary practice (K. Nagendra, 2008).

The incorporation of “marital power” by Dutch colonizers.

As the second settlers were patriarchal peasants, the power to control and manage the land was shifted to husbands because of the natural muscle power that they had to exploit the land and to generate the income for their households. Thus, the concept of the head of the household was emerged with the advent of agriculture by which women participation in economic production was restricted and their status was converted into a dependent one. Since the Dutch colonizers were also patriarchal peasants, the discriminatory practices of early settlers were further fortified by Dutch whose influence became greater after the codification of the *Thesawalamai* by them.

The fatal gender discriminatory approach that was perpetuated by the Dutch colonial legislature in respect of personal status and property of *Thesawalamai* governing married women, was the introduction of the doctrine of marital power (*potestas maritalis*) of the husband over the wife which derives not from Roman Law²⁹ (Domingo, 2017; Joseph F. English, 1961) rather from Roman-Dutch Law as an effect of marriage on the personal status and capacity of the wife on the one side and to the other, the matrimonial property of the spouses (R.W.Lee, 1953). This is because of (a) the RDL considered the wife as a minor under the guardianship of her husband though she attained full age before marriage since her *persona* is merged with the husband to whom alone the law looks,³⁰ and (b) the institution of universal community of goods by the law of Holland. She has no independent *persona standi in judicio* and she is deemed to be a minor under the guardianship of her husband in the matters of contract (R.W.Lee, 1953). “During the marriage, the husband administers the joint property and property of wife which has been kept out of community. The wife on the other hand, may not alienate or encumber her property without her husband’s consent unless in due course of trade or for household expenses and be the administrator of the properties including dowry” (R.W.Lee, 1953).

Since the exalted position of husband as founded by Brahmanic patriarchy and

29 The Roman law recognized only the paternal power (*patria potestas*)-the power of the oldest male ascendant, commonly the father or grandfather who is known as *paterfamilias* and had the power to control all the members of his family. In a marriage contracted under *manus*, one of the two forms of marriage recognized under Roman Law, a wife who became subject to her husband’s control and became a member of his family with the legal status of a daughter, was known as *materfamilias*. See (R.W.Lee, 1956; Joseph F. English, 1961; Rafael Domingo 2017)

30 Macdonell C.J. In *Sangarappillai v. Devaraja Mudaliyar* (1936) 38 NLR, 1 at p.7

the property of Hindu joint family were generally in community, the codifiers, based the resemblance of the practices of Jaffna to the RDL marital power and community of property, simply incorporated the fatal gender discriminatory provision into Thesawalamai. Thus, it became easy for them to reproduce the words of Van Leuwan who laid down that “the wife being subject to the will of her husband, may not give anything away without consent of her husband”³¹ in the Thesawalamai Code Part IV:1. Scharenguivel (2015), views that the application of the Roman Dutch Law concept of marital power by the courts were not in contravention to the practices of Jaffna since it was similar to the practice among early migrant settlers from Malabar coast where *Karnavan* of *tawazhi illam* managed family property as head of the family. Yet, this study emphasizes that the power exercised by the *Karnavan* was limited as he was required to get the consent of other members for the property disposal and he exercised his power common to all the members of the *taward*. Thus, it was the patriarchal influence of the subsequent settlers which was fortified by the Dutch colonizers who directed the power to be exercised by husbands.

The substitution of marital power by English law “Coverture”.

The subsequent colonization by the British perpetuated the women’s subordination and discrimination in relation to their personal status and property rights as their English legal system too developed an institution that is identical to RDL marital power. Married women under the common laws of England which were developed with the legal system of the Romans, and the Normans with the Canon law of the Catholic Church and the Anglo-Saxon traditions, were generally considered to be under the protection and cover of their husbands (Basch, 1979; Zaher, 2002). The coverture constructs the wife as civilly dead (Zaher, 2002) since her legal existence is suspended during the marriage by which the husband and wife are considered as one person in law as she is under the protection and cover of her husband. Thus, her status during the subsistence of the marriage is called *coverture* or *femme covert*. Hence, it was not difficult for the British colonizers to introduce their principle of *coverture* or *femme covert* in Ceylon as the married women had already been deprived of their status by the principle of marital power as introduced by the Dutch colonizers.

The vital reasons for the perpetuation of discriminatory land laws against women by the British were in high demand for land that became a marketable entity, as the colonial economic policy that boosted the plantation and paddy sector, and multiple avenues that were created for economic mobility, only for males. The discrimination was further fortified with the introduction of monogamous marriages, registration of marriages, independent and individualized land ownership due to the complexity in the inheritance rules under the customary

³¹ The Supreme Court in Case No. 3852 decided on 14th May 1858, referred appendix to Van Leuven. See (H.F. Mutukishna, 1862; Nagendra, 2008)

laws (Risseeuw 1991). Thus, the changes that effected to customary inheritance rules to enhance the colonial capitalism, have severely altered the status of women concerning land.

Although the British translated the Thesawalamai Code of Dutch into English and officially recognized³² the same as a part of the Ceylonese law in 1806,³³ the customary practices were not legitimized until 1911 in which the British adjusted the customary practices in conformity to their laws and institutions.³⁴ In 1910, Jaffna Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Bill (JMARIO) was brought before the Legislative Council to amend the *Thesawalamai* since it was felt that the Dutch version of the *Thesawalamai* Code was said to differ materially from the original Tamil one which had never been authoritatively translated, and certainly the rules in the English translation of the Dutch version was found to be harsh, defective and obsolete.³⁵ An absolute departure from the customary practices of Tamils in the North and legitimization of discriminatory provisions can be seen in respect of: (a) management and control of property and (b) *locus standi in judicio*.

Although, the JMARIO enhanced the status of the dowered daughters to inherit their parental property³⁶ and of the surviving spouse to continue the possession of the property of the deceased regardless of subsequent marriage,³⁷ the discrimination against *Thesawalamai* governed married women was further fortified by section 6 that deprive their right to dispose of or deal with their separate immovable property that they acquired prior to, at the time or during the marriage, unless, accompanied by the written consent of their husbands. It is interesting to note that the Code³⁸ restricted the property disposal by way of *donation* (emphasis

32 See Proclamation of 23rd September 1799 (Adoption of Roman Dutch Law) by which British proclaimed to respect the local laws in areas that came under their jurisdiction

33 Regulation No. 18 of 1806

34 It was proclaimed in 1799 that the British institutions could make 'useful alterations as may render a departure therefrom, either absolutely necessary and unavoidable, or evidently beneficial and desirable' to the local laws in conformity to the colonial policies for the purpose of its applicability

35 Debates in the Legislative Council of Ceylon, 14th December 1910, Hansards, Ceylon Session 1909-1911, p.376

36 Under the Code, dowered daughter was forfeited to inherit future claim unless there be no children. The Bill allowed her to inherit future claims subject to the obligation of collating all the properties that she had already been given, into the hotchpot. See JMARIO s.33

37 The surviving spouse, under the Code, was only entitled to receive the interest from the property of the deceased with the duty to look after the children.

38 Supra Note.14, Part IV:1

added) (a) by the wife, who being subject to the will of her husband, may not give anything away without the consent of her husband, and (b) by the husband who can dispose only one tenth of his hereditary property without the consent of his wife and children. The restriction was accepted as justifiable in accordance with the principle of community of goods-“the proceeds of sales or mortgages are presumed to be expended in the interests of the community, whereas a donation means a permanent reduction in its assets without any corresponding compensation.”³⁹ Yet, the JMARIO necessitates⁴⁰ the wife to obtain the *written consent* (emphasis added) of her husband in disposing of and dealing with the separate property by any lawful act *inter vivos* and the provision was interpreted by the courts⁴¹ to extend the restriction to all kinds of dealings whether sale, mortgage or donation while it removed the previous restriction⁴² imposed on the husband regarding the disposal of his hereditary property so as to give him full power of disposing and dealing with his separate property.⁴³ However, compared to other customary laws, *Thesawalamai* law recognized⁴⁴ the wife’s equal entitlement to the common property *i.e. thediathettam* irrespective of its acquisition by her husband, it places the wife in a far worse position, as she does not have the right to give her consent that she has in respect of her separate property, to sell her share in *thediathettam* (Nagendra, 2008). This is due to the interpretation of the courts that recognized that the husband can, freely sell, donate and mortgage the entirety of the *thediathettam* as a manager of the common property, which is an essential feature of the RDL community of goods as restricted by JMARIO to *thediathettam* only.⁴⁵ Yet, the wife cannot dispose of her half share without her husband’s consent even if acquisition is made by herself. Although it is acknowledged⁴⁶ that the disability of *Thesawalamai* governed married woman⁴⁷ was the same as under the general law⁴⁸ prevailing in the Island, neither the colonial legislature nor the

39 Betram C.J. In *Seelachy v. Visuvanathan Chetty*, (1922) 23 NLR, 109

40 JMARIO, section 6

41 *Chellappa v. Kumarasamy* (1915) 18 NLR, 435; *Vijeyaratnam v. Rajadurai* (1966) 69 NLR, 145; *Sangarappillai v. Devaraja Mudaliyar* (1936) 38 NLR, 1

42 *Thesawalamai* governed husband could not dispose of his hereditary property without the consent of his family members. See *Supra* Note. 14, Part IV:1.

43 See JMARIO (1911), s.7

44 *Ibid*, s. 19

45 Betram C.J. In *Seelachy v. Visuvanathan Chetty* (1922) 23 NLR, 97, at p. 108; by Macdonell C.J., in *Sangarappillai v. Devaraja Mudaliyar* (1936) 38 NLR, 1, at p. 7 interpreted the husband’s position as a “sole or irremovable attorney of the wife”

46 De Sampayo J., In *Chellappa v. Kumarasamay* (1915) 18 NLR, 435 at p.487

47 *Supra* Note. 14, Part. IV:1

48 Matrimonial Rights and Inheritance Ordinance No.15 of 1876, section 9 required a married woman to get her husband’s written consent in dealing with and disposing of her

judges paid attention to bring the subsequent development that was effected to remove the disability of the general law which governed married women in 1921⁴⁹ into *Thesawalamai*.

By virtue of marital power, *Thesawalamai* governed married women are deprived of their right to *locus standi in judicio*, and that renders them not to sue or be sued.⁵⁰ It is the judiciary that “mistakenly introduced RDL disabilities with regard to a married woman’s contractual capacity and legal status in court proceedings into *Thesawalamai*.” (Goonesekere, 1990, p.163). Thus, sustaining the disability in favour of a *Thesawalamai* governed married woman, on the one hand, attributed the use of land as a strategy to maintain a power gap between spouses, (Wijeyesekera, 2017, p.71) and on the other, discriminated them vertically and horizontally *i.e.* between the husband and wife as the removal of previous restriction imposed on husband discriminates against her and leaves the wife with no right to her husband’s property,⁵¹ and between the married women governed by general law and *Thesawalamai*.

Meanwhile, the JMARIO provides an alternative⁵² to the husband’s written consent, it has not benefitted the married women in reality in spite of the justification that it was intended to protect the wife by the court when she cannot have that of the husband (Scharenguivel, 2015). Moreover, the consent required under section 6 has to be ad hoc, and neither husband nor the District Court can grant the wife general permission to deal with her property.⁵³ Thus, the provision that provides the alternative, does not rectify the unequal power relation between the spouses, rather, retains her status as a minor during the subsistence of the marriage (Wijeyesekera, 2017). Yet, the legislative retention of marital power become irrational since “a woman governed by *Thesawalamai*, who attains a majority prior to marriage, once married is treated as a minor” (Scharenguivel, 2015, p.385).

property by any lawful act.

49 Married Women’s Property Ordinance No. 18 of 1921, section 5 recognized the married women to be capable of holding property and of contracting as a feme sole

50 See the judicial approach to differentiate the locus standi of the wife in institution and maintainability of an action. In *Piragasam v. Mariamma* (1952) 55 NLR, p.114 at p.115; *Candappa v. Sivanathan* CALA 206/92 – CA712/92 CAM 28.5.93 cited in (Scharenguivel 2015, 390); *Easwary v. Sivanathan and Others* 2003 3 SLR, p.211

51 *Sangarapillai v. Devaraja Mudaliar* 38 NLR 1, 4

52 JMARIO, s. 8 provides that in lieu of husband’s written consent, the District Court’s Order would be obtained by a married woman if the husband has deserted her or she is separated from him by mutual consent or is imprisoned under an order of a court for a period exceeding two years, or where he is a person of unsound mind or his place of abode is unknown, or his consent is unreasonably withheld, or interest of the wife or children of the marriage require that such consent should be dispensed with.

53 *Ponnupillai v. Kumaravetpillai* (1963) 65 NLR, p.241

Socio-economic transformation of gender roles in contemporary Sri Lanka.

Cecilia Rivera Vera and Patricia Tovar (2003) view that the term gender refers to the role of a female and a male within a given culture and that these roles and the expected behaviors of men and women are based on cultural practices practiced over time. As they construed, the gender roles are based on myths, assumptions, expectations and duties that vary from society to society because of the influence of class, ethnicity, cultural practices, caste and religious belief (Cecilia Rivera et.al., 2003) since the “work” assigned to men and women are generally constructed by society based on biological differences. As already pointed out, the work assigned to her traditional gender role is undervalued with the advent of agriculture, and her entry into economic production is limited or excluded by the nature of such work that is designed to accommodate males in an uninterrupted work schedule” (Samarasinghe, 1990). Consequently, “the dominance and control of the males are operationalized through many devices such as patrilineal descent, patrilocality, control of women’s sexuality, ownership and inheritance of property, denial of educational, political and religious participation” (Thiruchandran, 1997).

In this context, with reference to *Thesawalamai* governed married women, this paper analyses the transformation in two aspects: (a) transformation in economic structure that allowed women’s entry into economic production and (b) transformation in holding the headship of the household after the end of a 30 year armed conflict.

The industrial development and modernization process of the world transformed “the economic activity of a home based family-unit into an efficient, organized, surplus generating process” (Samarasinghe, 1990). The demand for a labour force led a large number of women to join formal work. However, the economic expansion and subsequent social, welfare schemes brought after the industrial revolution were, though expected by the West to replace the traditional values and forms of social hierarchy, did not transform the role of women in third world countries in which the priority is given to agriculture to generate an income (Samarasinghe, 1990). This is primarily due to the patriarchal based agrarian societies in the third world developing countries that retain and legitimize discriminatory customary laws to bestow ownership, control and management of all the economic resources *inter alia*, land in the hands of men. Samarasinghe (1990) claims, the transformation of women’s role in the economic production has only reduced but neither removed the traditional values and norms of patriarchy nor enhanced women’s equal access to economic resources inspite of the constitutional guarantee on the equal enjoyment of legal rights in third world countries. Yet, this research emphasises that the transformation does not improve the women’s unequal status as far as the provisions of *Thesawalamai* are concerned. *Thesawalamai* governed married women who are employed in superior positions and earn more compared to their husbands, are not able to dispose of their share

in the immovable property, that they acquired independently from their earnings, as they are subject to the marital power of their husbands whose written consent is required by section 6.

The other aspect of transformation of gender roles is related to the post-armed conflict context of the Northern Province of Sri Lanka where women are compelled to take the role that was traditionally assigned to the head of the family by men since the armed conflict often left more women alive than men. Thus, the increasing number in growth of women-headed families in the post-armed conflict context of the Northern Province requires a special emphasis on women's land rights, that were deprived to them in the pre-armed conflict phase, since land is considered as not only one of the main income generating resources for consumption, but as a means for obtaining, processing and preparing food for the family members who depend on the head i.e. the women.

Due to the disappearance of husbands, the *Thesawalamai* governed married women who head their families, cannot transfer, dower, or even for the survival of their family, mortgage their separate property or their share in the *thediathettam* since the law requires their husbands' written consent for the disposal of their property. During a survey conducted among ten women headed families who were purposively selected for this study, two of them agreed that they cannot dispose of their share in the acquired property as they are separated from their husbands and one is unable to dower her daughter with the *cheedanam* that was given on her marriage, since her husband is disappeared at the end of the armed conflict. Yet, neither of them were aware of the alternative provided under section 8 of the JMARIO. Upon the awareness given during the survey, the woman whose husband is disappeared, applied to the District Court of Mallakam⁵⁴ and obtained an order under section 8 to dower her *cheedanam* to her daughter who married almost ten years ago.

Due to the social transformation, the government legislated the Registration of Deaths (Temporary provisions) Act No.17 in 2005 and Act No.16 in 2016, of which the former provides a Certificate of Death and the latter with a Certificate of Absence. Yet, they do not benefit the families of the missing persons as women are unwilling to accept any certificates as they face significant cultural and religious consequences if their husbands are declared dead or absent according to law. However, since October 2019 there has been an increase in the number of women applying for the Certificate of Absence in order to get compensation of Rs. 6,000/- per month.⁵⁵ However, it is unfortunate to have the legislations that neither provide any temporary special measure nor special focus on the socio-economic condition of women-headed families, particularly their status in relation to disposal of their

54 Case No. MISC/289/2019

55 It was revealed by Assistant Registrar General of Northern Zone in an interview conducted by this researcher on 05th March 2020.

immovable property.

Conclusion

According to UN Women as cited by Goonesekera (2012), “women perform 66% of the world’s work, produce 50% of the food, earn 10% of the income and own 1% of the property.” The disparity in the ownership of property and deprivation of their right to access to land and other economic resources is resulted due to inadequate legal standards and ineffective implementation of land rights; socially recognized stereotyped roles and patriarchal ideologies; and the supremacy given for the discriminatory customary and religious laws.

As far as Sri Lanka is concerned, the customary laws that were enacted during the colonial era have failed to accommodate the socio, economic transformation in the society. Neither the post-colonial legislature nor the judiciary have played an active role in eliminating gender discrimination in customary laws in particular, they failed to recognize the status and capacity of married women as *feme solo* in contractual matters and judicial proceedings as recognized under the general law. Even the post-republic government disinclined to repeal the discriminatory provisions in *Thesawalamai* on the grounds that the repeal or revision of such provisions would be very sensitive as they were derived from the inherent customary practice of the Tamils in the North and are constitutionally guaranteed by the Republican Constitution of 1978.

Hence, this study emphasizes that the discriminatory provisions in *Thesawalamai* are not derived from inherent customary practices of early settlers in Jaffna rather they derived from patriarchal ideologies that were perpetuated by the subsequent colonizers and were codified and legitimized by the outsiders as the customary practices of Tamils in the North. Meanwhile, Sri Lanka is invited by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women⁵⁶ to abolish the discriminatory laws including *Thesawalamai* which deprive or restrict women’s right to inherit property.⁵⁷ Accordingly, this study proposes for the adoption of temporary special measures as legitimized by the Constitution⁵⁸ to sustain the *de facto* equality until a substantive change is effected to (a) alter the status of married women as *feme solo* under the JMRO and (b) repeal the Article 16 (1) and

56 It is established in accordance with the Optional Protocol to the Convention as adopted by the General Assembly in its 54th session on 15 October 1999, available https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/CEDAW/OP_CEDAW_en.pdf

57 General Recommendation No. 21 (1994), para.35. see further paras. 27, 31, and 35 on factors restrict women’s right to land; Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (2011), Concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women: Sri Lanka, CEDAW/C/LKA/CO/7, para.22, available: <https://undocs.org/CEDAW/C/LKA/CO/7>

58 Supra Note.2, Art. 12 (4)

empower the judiciary to declare the customary laws to be void to the extent of its inconsistency with the fundamental rights as guaranteed under the Constitution.

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VISUAL POSSESSION: LANDSCAPE PAINTING IN BRITISH CEYLON

Thamotharampillai Sanathanan

Abstract

Cultural theorists consider landscape as a signifying system of great political and social importance. Hence, landscape offers enormous promise as an object of study, in relation to both structural political practices and individual intentions. The genre of landscape painting was introduced to Ceylon through European Colonialism, not only as a mode of artistic endeavor but also as a tool of governance, as in the case of surveying and mapping. Hence, landscapes were closely associated with colonial power discourse. Through a visual analysis of 19th century landscape paintings of Ceylon produced by visiting painters, engineers and military officers associated with the British imperialist regime, this paper attempts to investigate the 'look' that framed the painter's power relationship to the land at a particular moment of history. It also reveals how compositional devices were invested in making colonialist claims, and how social hierarchies between locals and rulers were built.

Key words: Landscape, power, colonialism, picturesque, panorama

Introduction

Critical opinion has often attributed the emergence of landscape painting as a genre to the history of imperialism. Kenneth Clark, in his pioneering work on landscape painting, identified it 'as a chief artistic creation of nineteenth-century England' (Clark, 1949). Later historians, while acknowledging Britain's contribution, also referred back to its precedence in other cultures. They pointed out that landscape painting could be traced back to European landscape art of the fifteenth century that spread with trade and empire to more distant outposts of British and European cultural influence (Helsing, 2008). Another intervention was made by W. J. T. Mitchell, who contested the idea of locating the origins of landscape painting in Europe by shedding light on the Chinese contribution to landscape painting and landscaping environment. He further argued that the emergence of landscape painting in China, Japan, Rome, seventeenth-century Holland and France, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain establishes the connection of the genre with imperialism (Mitchell, 2002:9). In like manner, Edward Said, in a discussion of the great voyages of geographical discovery stretching from Vasco da Gama to Captain Cook, argued that 'they were motivated not only by curiosity and

scientific fervour, but also by the aspiration to dominate’ (Said quoted in Mitchell, 2002:247). Thus, as has been suggested by Mitchell (2002: 5-34), ‘representation of landscape is not only a matter of internal politics and national or classical ideology but also an international, global phenomenon, intimately bound to the discourse of imperialism.’

As a cultural phenomenon, other historical factors and cultural actors, besides imperialism, mediated the emergence and spread of landscape painting as well. Patt explains how seventeenth-century scientific revolutions in thinking and a new worldview, coupled with the mechanistic view of nature, significantly shaped the landscape as an object of study that furthered colonial trade, medicine and military interests (Pratt, 1992). Thus, picturing, mapping, mirroring and representing the world emerged as the only reliable way of knowing that produced a modern consciousness of the self that was based on territoriality. Nicholas Green emphasized that ‘it was the material conditions and cultural developments germane to capital that generated those vocabularies of looking which were capable of bringing nature into visibility as a significant form of social experience.’ (Green quoted in Hirsh 1995:7) It can therefore be inferred that landscape painting is a bourgeois form of authority and a ‘way of seeing fashioned by capitalism’ that displaced older aristocratic historical painting (Berger, 1972, Birmingham quoted in Mitchell, 2002:8). Denis E. Cosgrove argues that landscape constitutes a discourse through which identifiable social groups historically formed themselves and their relation both with the land and with other human groups, and that this discourse is closely related epistemologically and technically to a way of seeing (Cosgrove, 2008). Consequently, one could argue that the mechanics and the socio-economic process which determined the emergence of a bourgeois class, concomitantly contributed to the development of the landscape genre in painting as a signifying system.

Debates in the mid eighteenth century located perception as the subject of philosophical inquiry that inaugurated the most inventive period of landscape aesthetics in the West. The culture of travel, increasing leisure and a growing interest in gardening further contributed to this objectification. In Europe, the possibility of adventure in distant colonies and the prospect of painting scenes never painted before, held more attractions than, say, a visit to Italy. In this regard, voyages to the Pacific often formed the prelude to world travel. Thus, India became a key destination for many (Smith quoted in Hirsh, 1995:12). ‘While in England, the aesthetic enabled a re-enchantment of the domestic rural landscape, abroad it gave free rein to alternative fantasies of ruggedness, turbulence and the primeval power of nature,’ according to Archer. In this context, ‘all of India was seen as virgin terrain awaiting a “picturesque” invocation’ (Archer, 1969:18-19).

Art historians have long noted the proliferation of landscape painting in early modern capitalist cities. In such market-dominated contexts, artworks were no

longer produced primarily by individual commission but through anonymous demand. Further, they also point out how landscape painting came to be popular among amateur painters. This situation, in a certain sense, bridged the art-craft binary. This shift in patronage and artistic engagement changed the very material presence and size of the paintings. Watercolours, prints, and the easily portable support of paper became popular media for these paintings. Their convenient transportability allowed a wide range of cross-cultural exchanges. Hence, it is evident that the expanding worldview - made possible through imperialist projects, the capitalist economy, growing scientific interest in natural history, and possibilities for long distance travel—with the available aesthetic code, bourgeois class interest, newly emerging non-aristocratic art patronage and the ready availability of art materials contributed to the emergence of landscape painting in the nineteenth century.

Production of a scenic colony

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, apart from being a part of leisure activity in the private sphere of families of European elites stationed in Colombo and in plantation areas in the central hill country, landscape painting in the public domain in Ceylon existed, but not as an artistic mode. Topographical documentation operated as an objective record of an actual place, serving as a major tool of documentation, similar to the activities of surveying, mapping and collection of natural history. Common mapmaking tools like pen and ink, and watercolour tints were portable and convenient to use outdoors and in remote locations. Early topographical drawings were often the work of surveyors and mapmakers of the colonial public works department or colonial military apparatus, since the techniques of perspective and topographical drawing were regularly taught in military academies. Sumathy Ramaswamy, in her seminal work on cartography and bodyscapes in India, argues that the lack of emotional grip in scientific mapping encouraged artists to incorporate anthropomorphic forms of colonial or national states within their emblematic or cartographic forms (Ramaswamy, 2007). One could extend her argument to understand the landscape painting activities of surveyors and military officers. Perhaps, the lack of emotional expression in cartographic representations encouraged these colonial officers to paint landscapes.

In addition, a few travelling watercolour painters, both amateurs and professionals, captured the 'exotic, wild land' and its people as part of their exploration and expeditions. These painted landscapes represent the painters' longings, curiosities, expectations and prejudices about the newly possible world enabled by colonization and modernization. The primary consumers of these landscape paintings were people in the metropolis. Metropolitan others' wild and distant lands and their history—both natural and cultural—became consumable, exchangeable and portable through these paintings. Purchase of these prints,

Helsingerg argued in a different context, might have helped these consumers gain at least visual access to foreign lands. ‘They also represent circulation; they provide an analogue for experiences of touristic travel’ (Helsingerg, 2002). Landscape representation of Ceylon in the colonial period was preoccupied with three themes: scenic landscapes, archaeological sites and modern dwellings. Later, local elites learned this mode to signify their cultural capital. However, this article focuses on the scenic landscapes of European amateur and colonial painters who worked in Ceylon.

John Webber, William Alexander and Gordon Cumming documented Ceylonese landscapes in 1776, 1792 and 1802, respectively. Topographical artists like William T. Lyttleton, John Deschamps, and Charles Donatus Corbet O’Brien were stationed in Ceylon in 1814, 1828 and 1845—1866, respectively. Charles Auber, who served under the 67th Regiment, came from India to assist the British forces in Ceylon to suppress the Uva Rebellion of 1817—1818. Auber, who held the post of Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General, was retained in Ceylon because his services proved useful in topographical researches and surveys and was much required in addition to those of officers now in the Quartermaster General Staff (de Silva, 1985, Raheem, 1986). Samuel Daniell and Andrew Nicholl were two other important professional landscape painters then active in Ceylon.

The picturesque and the ‘regional’

The *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* defines ‘landscape’ as a large area of the countryside, especially in relation to its appearance, or a view or picture of the countryside or the art of making such pictures. Interestingly, this reveals the reciprocity between landscape painting and the countryside. The word picture here is associated with a particular way of seeing that is picturesque. The ‘picturesque’ is the term used for beautiful landscape views that lend themselves particularly well to painting. There is a reflectivity between the representation and perception of landscape. With the ideal of the picturesque, natural views began to be looked at from a painterly perspective, and the general ideal of nature also became ‘wilder’ (Johansson, 2008). The picturesque in painting is well marked by a foreground, background, middle ground and side wings. In his series of guides to the painting of picturesque scenes produced between 1782 and 1809, Dr. William Gilpin pointed out that:

Nature is imperfect from the point of view of a picture and needed to be ordered and improved. The composition must be organized to contain a background, and off-skip, and a foreground with side screens; for each of these parts of composition he listed the most suitable ingredients. Mountains and lakes were best for the background; rivers, woods, and valleys for middle distance; and rocks, leafy plants, ruins, waterfalls and

broken ground for foreground. The picture also needed to be enlivened with groups of human figures and animals (Gilpin quoted in Archer, 1969:19).

The idea of the picturesque proved to be a powerful framing device for the way in which non-western culture came to be perceived and represented. To the European artist and explorer, 'the picturesque...provided...a congenial, respectable, eminently civilized standpoint from which to study and enjoy the wildness' (cited in Thakurta, 2002:8).

A notion of each country included a particular type of landscape, or in Humboldt's words: 'a certain natural physiognomy,' a formulaic solution, which becomes evident in nineteenth-century landscape painting (Hirsh, 1995:11). Smith calls this a 'typical landscape' and relates this with attempts at early ethnographic descriptions. He further reveals that these typical landscapes emerged from a tension between the convention of romantic description and more scientific ethnological information (Smith, 1992). James Turner characterizes seventeenth-century landscape descriptions as 'composite', not a portrait of an individual place but an ideal construction of particular motifs. Their purpose was to express the character of a region or a general idea of good land (Turner quoted in Pratt, 1992:48). Hence, in the early landscapes of Ceylon, there was a conscious effort to identify the colony by certain typical scenes. However, these typical scenes did differ with the shifting political and economic intentions of the patrons.

Early picturesque representation of the Ceylonese countryside can be seen in engravings of the Dutch, which capture a panoramic view of the coastal landscape from a comfortable vantage point, the dock of the steamships. Here, the land became capable of possession from the outsider's distant view. These colonial panoramic or picturesque views not only erased traces of the locals, but also their own conceptions of their surroundings (Plate1). This was in contrast to many seventeenth-century paintings in Holland which portray a view of the ocean or sailing vessels from the land that depicted voyages and adventurous journeys to colonial shores.



Plate 1. J.W. Heydt, Sea around Mannar, Late Eighteenth Century, Dutch VOC Engraving

Even though a similar approach is evident in the British representations of Ceylon, their intervention in landscape painting is marked by a shift in focus: from the coastal areas to the hinterland of Ceylon, i.e., to the hill country. British colonial painters' and photographers' overwhelming interest in the interior mountainous landscape for their picturesque exploration has valid historical reasons. The Kandyan kingdom that covered the entire hill country persisted as a challenge to the colonial regime until 1815 when the British finally subdued it. Chains of mountains, deep valleys and rain forests became a site of curiosity as well as a threat to security. Further, the capitalist economic encroachment in the form of coffee, tea and rubber plantations added a new economic validation to the region. In addition, the pleasant climate suitable for European life styles converted the hill country into a region suitable for holiday homes for most English colonial administrators and visiting painters. In this context, the painted landscapes of Samuel Daniell, William Lyttleton, Gordon Cumming, Charles Auber and Andrew Nicholl and the picturesque photographs of Charles Scowen & Co. and W. L. H. Skeen & Co. that focused on the hill country became major visual texts through which the colonialist search for the 'regional' in the Ceylonese landscape could be understood. These images produced Ceylon as an exotic, scenic as well as oriental location.

Samuel Daniell died in Ceylon in 1811 at the age of 36. Five months after his death, the *Ceylon Government Gazette* advertised sales of his belongings

and equipment that included a telescope, copper plate, paints, brushes, cakes of watercolour and crayons (de Silva, 1985:12). This reveals the technical and material means that made the picturesque landscape paintings possible and accessible. The *Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1812 referred to his death thus:

Mr. Daniell was ever ready with *his own eye to explore every object worthy of research* and his own hand to *convey to the world a faithful representation of what he saw* (de Silva, 1985:2).¹

This comment further clarifies the mechanics and politics of the optics operating behind these kinds of representations. In these representations, seeing became a powerful tool of 'exploration' which was combined and associated with 'faithful representation'. Further, this exploration and its conveyance depended on the 'worthiness of object'. The judgement of worthiness was made solely from the onlooker's point of view.



Plate 2: Samuel Daniell, Distant View of Trincomalee, 1808, Engraving

¹ *Italics are mine.*



Plate 4: Gordon Cumming, Fort Frederick, Trincomalee, 1873, Water Colour

In one of Samuel Daniell's depictions, interlocking land with the waterfront provided a panoramic view of Trincomalee² (Plate 2). Fort Frederick on the right side of the picture plane further frames the view. This juxtaposition of fort and land depicts how land is connected to colonial expansion, inevitably coupled with military surveillance of the imperial state. This fort, built by the Dutch in 1622 on the site of a shrine dedicated to Shiva and conquered by the British in 1795, served as a haven for the Duke of Wellington. The artistic intention here was far from naively representing the beauty of natural surroundings. The scenery reminds one of Mitchell's observations that the standard picturesque landscape is especially pleasing to the eye because it typically places the observer in a protected place (a 'refuge') with screens on either side to dart behind or to entice curiosity, and an opening to provide deep access at the centre (Mitchell: 2002:16). The emptiness of the landscape without the traces of or interference by local inhabitants produced a certain stillness and remoteness. As Mary Louise Pratt points out in a South American and African context, colonial landscapes are often imagined to provide dramatic or romantic contexts for the individual explorer, but they are also frequently emptied of rival human presence (Pratt quoted in Bunn, 2002). She further states that the passiveness created by 'virgin', uncultivated, uninhabited land is not threatening, but inviting or justifying further invasion, insertion, exploration and exploitation by the European male (Pratt, 1992: 61). Samuel Daniell's representation is similar to another watercolour capturing the panoramic view of the same location by Gordon Cumming (Plate 3). Here, Cumming's panoramic survey from the fort suggests total visual control

² Trincomalee's natural harbour became crucial to maintaining a military balance in the region with the British establishing storage facilities for adequate fuel.

over the sweeping land. The success of these paintings lies in the visual capturing and accurate representation of tropical light and climatic conditions.

The politics of colonial looking could be further understood through critical observations on the panoramic view. Jay Appleton elaborates panorama as a fundamental concept of ‘seeing without being seen’ and ‘prospect/refuge’ derived from military ways of experiencing landscape and the enemies within it (Appleton quoted in Bunn, 2002). To describe the new bourgeois vision called panorama, Foucault employed terminologies such as ‘eye power’ and ‘sovereign gaze’. Alan Wallach calls it the ‘panoptic sublime’ to indicate the ‘thrill of visual mastery’. Wallach further points out that inhabiting the panorama is possible if the visitor’s relation to reality is mediated by his or her identification with the power of the state. The panoramic mode, in effect, supports the state’s claim to stand over and above society, as well as its claim to centrality in a world in which the distant and foreign falls under its purview (Wallach, 2008). Hence, the comfortable, thrilling viewpoint in these colonial landscape paintings was always from the position and the point of view of the western world. Pratt observes that in the eighteenth century, systematizing nature as a European knowledge-building project created a new kind of Euro-centred planetary consciousness (Pratt, 1992). In addition, employment of telescopes and viewing tubes allowed viewers to experience a heightened sense of the colonial via a visual dialectic between panoramic breadth and telescopic detail. The pairing of panorama and panopticon by these authors, on the other hand, suggests a close relationship between the aesthetics of the panoramic landscape and the act of surveillance (Mitchell, 2002).



Plate 4: Gordon Cumming, Lankatilaka, Kandy, 1874, Water Colour

In his letter to Major Charles Doyle in 1818, military artist Auber described the nature of the landscape of Ceylon, some of which he sketched. His concerns reveal how military interests and the aesthetics of optics went hand in hand in these paintings, especially in the aftermath of the fall of the Kandyan kingdom.

I have traveled through the whole of the interior and have visited all the passes and defiles and I can in some measure give you a description of this extraordinary country and the course of the extraordinary system of warfare that has been carried on in it. The greater part of the interior is composed of chains of mountains, the hills covered with thickest jungle and wood I ever beheld, the valleys between so narrow that musketry forces from either side can take effect. Had the present force been in the country, it is probable that no rebellion would have broken out and even if it had, it might have been nipped in the bud (quoted in Raheem 1986:1A).

Gordon Cumming described the panoramic view of the surroundings of Lankatilaka, Kandy (Plate 4) in his diaristic information:

It is most beautifully situated on the crown of a great mass of red rock, which rises...from the deep circular valley, all devoted to rice fields, which at the time of my visit were flooded, like innumerable blue curving lakes...the exterior is so picturesque that I gladly devoted all my time to secure a large sketch of the whole scene from across the valley (Cumming quoted in de Silva 1985).

Cumming's manner of writing reveals the interrelation between the textual and the visual as well as the literal and the poetic in these colonial landscape representations. His association with the land is on visual terms. Here again, his writing and painting represents the artist's comfortable location across the valley that brings the entire landscape under his visual control. Similarly, Gordon Cumming's painting 'Breadfruit Tree in Uduvakanda' (Plate 5) brings out the immeasurable depth of a valley behind a breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*) tree that is studied in detail. The contrast between the detailed documentation of natural history and a scenic landscape adds depth as well as tension to the scene. This reveals the colonial painter's anxiety to measure the local landscape at both micro and macro levels. It is also relevant here to remember Smith's acute observation with regard to the Pacific region. He points out that European conventions of representation (both visual and textual) were transformed through encounters with 'other' people and places. His work exemplifies the tension in representational techniques; between a picturesque mode premised on neo-classical ideas of Italian origin and a 'descriptive' mode associated with observation, empirical record making and experimentation (Smith, 1992:112). Moreover, in 'Breadfruit Tree in Uduvakanda', the visual depth and atmosphere of the hill country suggests the artist's mastery over the depiction of distance and weather that had become

accurately measurable with the scientific developments of the period. Moreover, it is important to note here that the bread fruit tree, painted in the foreground of the painting, was not a local species of Ceylon but was spread in the tropical region through European colonial expansion.



Plate 5: Gordon Cumming, Breadfruit Tree in Uduvakanda, 1874, Water Colour

In contrast, the reference to the local architecture of the Buddhist temple of Lankatilaka in the background helps the artist feed the ‘expected’ notions of an exotic oriental landscape to a European audience. Therefore, the entire landscape is situated within multiple tensions between the present and the past, occident and orient, local and global, and nature and culture. Further, what is important to note here is that the land captured in these paintings is depicted from the point of view of the outsider rather than the insider. Interestingly, the outsider, the artist is distanced and screened by the alien breadfruit tree. This brings the element of surveillance into the picture frame. As a means of surveillance, this accurate, detailed documentation of the colony gave a sense of control and stability to the painter as well as to the colonialist viewer.



Plate 6: Lt. William Lyttleton, View from Amanpoora on the road from Colombo to Kandy, 1814, Engraving

W. H. Lyttleton's 'View from Amanpoora, on the Road from Colombo to Kandy' has a sombre appearance (Plate 6). The vastness of the picture plane and the diminutive scale of the locals, while expanding the visual field through the play of proportion, place the locals as part of nature, engaged in day-to-day activities. The local people in the foreground and the vast, hilly land in the background are interspersed with commodious barracks capable of containing a strong detachment of the British administration/army. Sombre hilly landscapes and locals with their cattle are shadowed by the moving clouds, while the middle ground is occupied by the English detachment which is bathed in bright sunlight. Abdul R. and Jan Mohamed argue in a different context that the interplay between darkness, race and visibility creates continuing tension in colonial paintings; it is perhaps also intimately related to the compositional strategy in English landscape painting that relegated rural labourers to the shadowy areas of the picture plane (Mohamed quoted in Bunn, 2002). Moreover, R. K. de Silva observes that the land in the area surrounding the detachment shown in the painting is the land newly cultivated with English vegetables (de Silva, 1985:44). In which case, the locals in the foreground could be labourers working in that newly emerging cultivation, working to fulfil the needs and desires of colonialists. By depicting the cultivated land flooded with light and placing the labourers in the shade, the painting glosses over the presence of the locals. Closeness between the colonial settlement and the cultivated land, on the other hand, suggests that the English, as cultivators, were cultured when contrasted with the locals who are more intimately bound to nature. Further, as Bunn argues in a different context, the impoverished urban

proletariat is offered the utopian vision of being able to move into a new economic system where commodities present themselves without the intervention of labour (Burn, 2002). In the process of the visual transition of local scenes into colonialist landscape paintings, images of locals become insignificant and are transformed into a part of nature that could and should be controlled. The locals appear as servants engaged in their daily work or as nomadic wanderers leading their cattle in an 'alien' land. In contrast, the colonial masters, the settlers, were painted in postures of leisure or in that of supervising servants or viewing the landscape.



Plate 7: Lt. William Lyttleton, Town of Kandy from the Castle Hill, 1814, Engraving

In sharp contrast, a painting titled 'Town of Kandy from the Castle Hill' (Plate 7) brings the colonial masters within the picture frame. Three military officers, one of whom is authoritatively pointing his finger towards the 'temple of the tooth', which is visible on the right side of the Kandy Lake, occupy the centre of the foreground. The panoramic view is achieved from the castle and the colonialists are placed at the centre of that view, between the sky and the mirror of water, in a commanding position. The whole landscape is frozen by its extreme stillness. The only disturbance to that calmness is the active bodily positions of the colonialists. Since the city of Kandy was seen as the last seat of local political power forced later to surrender to the British Raj and a holy site of pilgrimage of Ceylonese Buddhists, the painting codifies the message of the British conquering local territory, history and society.

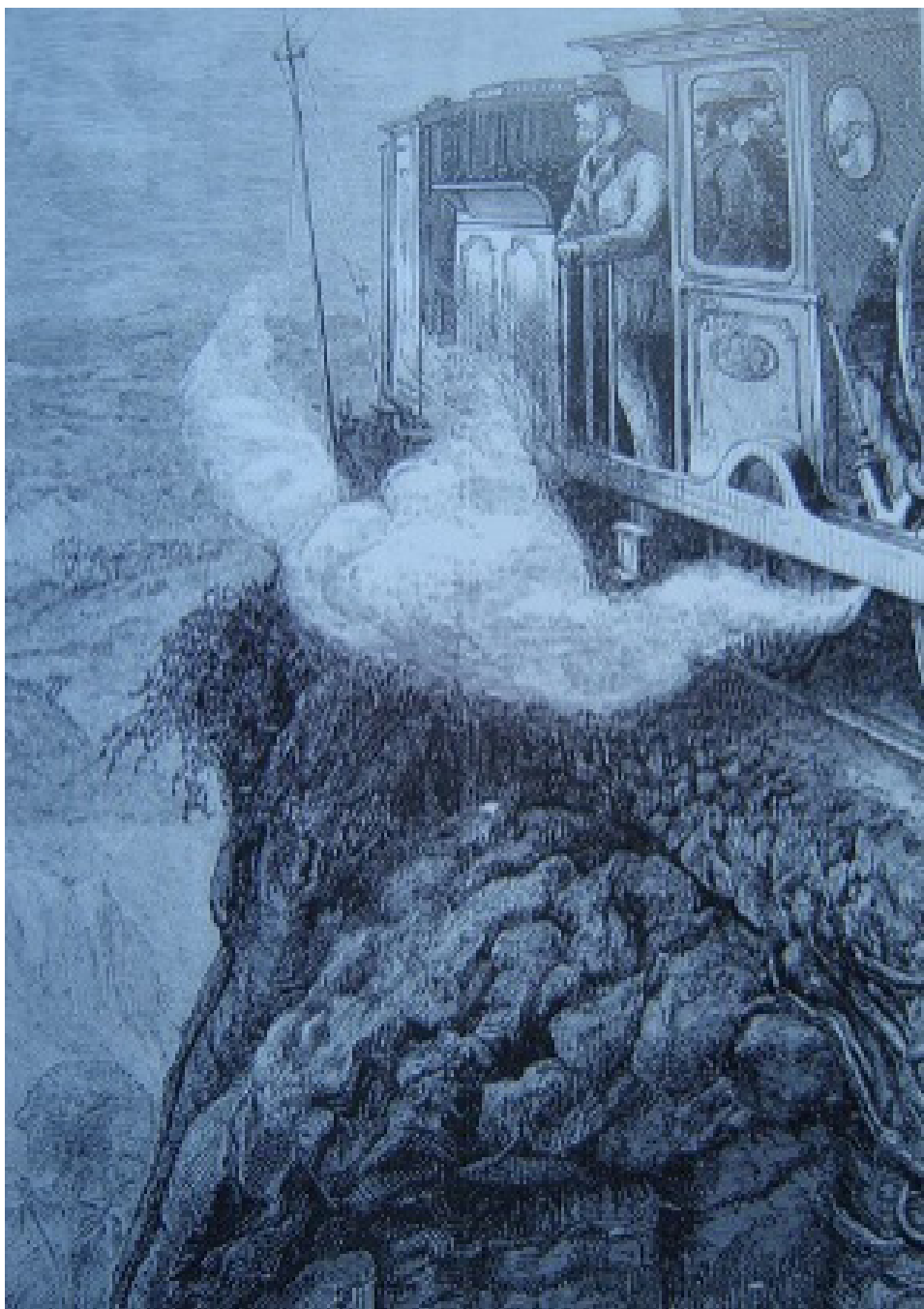


Plate 8: The Prince driving on a locomotive engine over the Ghaut, "Sensational Rock", The Graphic, January 8, 1876, Newspaper illustration

A couple of apt examples to illustrate the thesis of this paper would be an 1890s photograph titled 'View on the Colombo-Kandy Railway' from the stable of W. L. H. Skeen and Co., and a newspaper illustration that appeared in the *Graphic* on 8 January, 1876 (Plate 8), depicting a railway engine on top of the 'sensational rock' employing a panoramic picture frame. The newspaper print went a step further in the panoramic display by depicting the Prince of Wales (who left for Colombo from Kandy on 2 December, 1875 by the mountain railway), assertively surveying the landscape passing by from the locomotive engine. Immense visual depth in the print characterizes this bird's eye view of the vast and sweeping landscape. The newspaper reported:

You are not looking down upon a flinty surface of barren rock. On the contrary, nowhere else is vegetation more abundant and you see myriads of trees, flowers which cover the ground (Graphic quoted in de Silva, 1998:182).

The country is thus opened up to full view before the visitor. In general, the print suggests the technological revolution and human rational superiority over nature or the rationalizing civilizing mission of the British upon the irrational, uncivilized, under-developed colonies. In colonial Ceylon, the the association between the train and the hill country, in particular, implied the expansion of the capitalist plantation economy. The railway was initially introduced between Colombo and Kandy to link the harbour with the plantation estates. The royal presence in the steam engine proclaimed the English legacy over the colonial world in the age of speed, capitalism and technological revolution. Interestingly, this particular print suggests how the technique of surveillance was associated with British economic and technological encroachment on the colony. Capturing the viewer and the viewed within the same frame, the print contains a third person's view. In the light of the afore-mentioned advent of the railway line to Ceylon, the view expressed by William Boyd, a planter, is worth recounting.

[A] new era is dawning on Ceylon. ... The steam engine will be heard in every hollow, the steam horse will course every valley; English homes will crown every hillock, and English civilization will bless and enrich the whole country, causing the wilderness to blossom as a rose, and making Ceylon as it was in former times, a garden of the world and the granary of India. (Boyd quoted in Duncan, 2005)

The above statement justifies colonialism as 'a blessing of English civilization' referring to the introduction of the train. Moreover, without mentioning the developments that led to the present stagnation, the statement valorises the colonial future by linking it with a 'golden age' of the past.

The years spent by the celebrated Irish painter Andrew Nicholl in Ceylon were not so peaceful ones in the island's history. Around the middle of 1848, there was general unrest in the Kandyan region as a reaction against the imposition of heavy taxes by the colonial administration. Nicholl wrote a detailed account of his tour, published in two parts in the *Dublin University Magazine* (quoted in Lakdusinghe and de Silva, 1998:3). He described all that he saw around him in minute detail, suggesting the eye of a trained observer. Nicholl's descriptions include detailed observations of natural history set against a picturesque description of the landscape. As a colonial painter, he fetishized the periphery in terms of its sheer use value.

"In the month of July 1848, three of us left Colombo in a hired palanquin carriage to proceed to Kandy...the roads run parallel with the Kelani Ganga, from the bridge of boards. The scenery is of a beautiful sylvan character, its banks being lined with alternate rows of jack and teak trees. ... Passing native gardens of citron, pomegranate, clove, orange, and lime trees, with the brightest many-coloured convolvulus-formed flowers hanging in garlands from their branches. Suria cotton trees and coffee bushes appear as you approach the secluded vale of Ambepusse, where there is an excellent rest house." (*Dublin University Magazine* quoted in Lakdusinghe and de Silva, 1998:5)

"On leaving Sigiri, we obtained a magnificent extensive view...over 150 miles of forest; which appeared like a vast sea, studded with islands... with glimpses of the Mahavelli Ganga, winding among the most wonderful trees, the rarest and most costly wood in the world with which this great forest abounds—calamander, japan, jack, teak, satin, ebony, tamarind, sago, halmille, and iron trees interspersed with beautiful flowering shrubs, which filled the air with fragrance" (*Dublin University Magazine* quoted in Lakdusinghe and de Silva, 1998:7).

In these descriptions, representation of local inhabitants is negligible. In her discussion on European travel writing on Africa, Pratt observes that the landscape is written as being uninhabited, unpossessed, unhistorized, unoccupied even by the travellers themselves. The activity of describing geography and identifying flora and fauna structures a social narrative in which the human presence is marginal, though it was, of course, a constant and essential aspect of travelling itself. European authority and legitimacy are uncontested, a vision undoubtedly appealing to the European reader (Pratt, 1992:51-52). Nicholl's writings and his paintings show how both media shared rhetorical similarities and played identical political roles in the hype of colonialism.

Nicholl conveys to the reader the sense of awe occasioned whilst travelling at times in rugged, forbidding terrain, and at others, through uncharted tropical

jungle. The curiosity to know coupled with social and economic recognition in the metropolis has an element of heroism; an adventurism that thrives in these paintings and writings. Inventionist fantasy completely displaces the reality of the landscape before the onlooker and becomes the content of the vision. The same element constructs the colony both as beautiful and dangerous. Here is an example from Nicholl's writings.

“Thus terminated my sketching tour through the forest of Ceylon, the most interesting I ever had in my life: and although attended with both danger and fatigue, yet enjoyment which I derived from it far more than compensated for the hardship of the journey, and will ever be considered by me the most delightful of all my sketching excursions, either at home or in distant lands” (Dublin University Magazine quoted in Lakdusinghe and de Silva, 1998: 11).

Conclusion

It is important to remember here that many of the landscape paintings discussed above, also explicitly marked by the colonial presence through the images of fort, soldiers, breadfruit tree or military detachment. In some cases paintings also shown colonialists as they were engaged in various activities. As Helsinger points out, in the context of British landscape paintings, colonial painters' affirmation of conventional travel views expressed in British travelogues of the period, can be read as an assertion of different modes of possessing the colony, not simply by owning or appreciating it as landscape but also by inhabiting and naturalizing it through activities that will be viewed as morally, aesthetically and legally transgressive from the perspective of the dominant culture (Helsinger, 2008). Hence, colonial landscape paintings visually represent the imperialist multiple claims on conquered territories. Through framing the colony's geography by imperial optics and power, colonialists produced a picturesque landscape which is neither local nor foreign.

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