

වී ඇති සංස්කෘතික සම්මිශ්‍රණය අන්තර්ගත වෙයි. එය පොදුවේ සිදු කෙරෙන්නකි. එනම්, උක්ත නාට්‍යය සමස්ත ජන සමාජය ම නියෝජනය කරයි. වර්තමාන ජන සමාජයෙහි උග්‍ර අර්බුදයක් වී ඇති ජාතිවාදී අරගලයෙහි නිරූපක ස්වරූපය ද මෙහි දී මතු කෙරෙන අතර සියලු හේද දුරලා රටක් වශයෙන් එකමුතු වීමේ වැදගත්කම අනාවරණය වේ. ඒ සඳහා ඔහු යොදාගෙන ඇත්තේ අතීත ජන සමාජයයි. එදා මෙදා තුර ජන සමාජයේ වෙනස්වීම් සමකාලීන සමාජයට උචිත පූර්වාදර්ශ සැපයීමට සුදුසු වන පරිදි විකාශනය කිරීමට නාට්‍යකරුවා සමත් වී ඇති බව මෙයින් පැහැදිලි වේ.

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A Critical Analysis of the Reliability of the Existing Literary Sources on Sixth-century Athenian Politician: Solon

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ක්‍රි. පූ. 7 වන සියවස මුළු මහත් ග්‍රීසියට ම සමාජීය හා දේශපාලනික ව්‍යාකූලත්වයක් හා නොසන්සුන් බවක් ගෙනදුන් යුගයකි. මේ යුගයේදී ග්‍රීසියේ ඇතන්ස් නුවර ද අන්තනෝමතික පාලකයන්ගේ නැගීටීම, ආර්ථික ව්‍යසන, වංශවතුන් අතර සටන් හා නුදුරේ දී ම පිබිදීමට අර අදින විප්ලව යනාදියෙන් පීඩාවට පත් විය. ප්‍රභූවරු හා සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාව එක හා සමාන ව එකල බලයේ පැවති පාලන ව්‍යුහයට අකමැත්ත ප්‍රකාශ කළෝ ය. මෙහිසා ඇතන්ස්හි වැසියෝ පැවති දේශපාලනික අස්ථිර බවට විසඳුම් සොයන අරමුණෙන් සෝලෝන් නමැති වංශධිපතියා ක්‍රි.පූ. 594 දී ව්‍යවධායකයෙකු - an archon ලෙස පත් කළෝ ය. ඇතන්ස්හි දේශපාලනික, ආර්ථික දුෂ්කරතාවන්ට විසඳුම් වශයෙන් සෝලෝන් නව නීති සහ නව අධිකරණයක් ස්ථාපනය කළ අතර සියලු ම ඇතීනියානුවන්ට එක හා සමාන ලෙස බලපවත්නා නව ව්‍යවස්ථාවක් ද පිහිටුවීය. මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ අරමුණ වන්නේ සෝලෝන් හා ඔහුගේ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ පිළිබඳ ලියවුණු දැනට ඉතිරි වී තිබෙන මූලාශ්‍රයවල විශ්වසනීයත්වය විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීමයි. සෝලෝන් විසින් ම රචිත ඔහු ගැන ලියවුණු පද්‍ය කාව්‍යයක් හැරෙන්නට ඔහුගේ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ පිළිබඳ සමකාලීන වූ ඓතිහාසික මූලාශ්‍රය කිසිවක් නැති අතර ඉතිරි ව පවතින්නේ ලිඛිත මූලාශ්‍රයන් ය. මේවා අතුරින් ඇරිස්ටෝටල්ගේ 'ඇතීනියන් කොන්ස්ටිටියුෂන්' සහ ප්ලූටාර්ක්ගේ 'ලයිඩියස් ඔෆ් නෝබල් ග්‍රේෂියන්ස් ඇන්ඩ් රෝමන්ස්' නමැති කෘති සෝලෝන්ගේ ව්‍යවස්ථාව පිළිබඳ විචාරාත්මක සටහන් තබයි. ලයිසියැස්, අයිසොක්‍රටීස්, ඩිමොස්තනිස් සහ ජුලියස් පොලොක්ස් වැනි වාගාලංකාරකයන්ගේ දැනට සංරක්ෂණය කර ඇති

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 සංස්. මහාචාර්ය පැට්‍රික් රත්නායක, ආචාර්ය කේ. ඩී. ජයවර්ධන, ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ කථිකාචාර්ය
 දිනලි ප්‍රනාන්දු
 මානවශාස්ත්‍ර පීඨ ශාස්ත්‍රීය සංග්‍රහය, 23 කලාපය, 2014/2015
 මානවශාස්ත්‍ර පීඨය, කැලණිය විශ්වවිද්‍යාලය

භාෂණවලින් සෝලෝන්ගේ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ අර්ධ වශයෙන් ප්‍රතිනිර්මාණය කර ඇත. කෙසේ නමුත් සෝලෝන් අතින් නිමැවුණු කාව්‍ය හැරෙන්නට මේ කිසිදු ඓතිහාසික මූලාශ්‍රයක් සෝලෝන්ගේ යුගයට සමකාලීන නොවූ අතර ඔහුගේ ව්‍යවස්ථා සම්පාදනයෙන් ශතවර්ෂයක්, දෙකක් පමණ පසු ව බිහිවුණු ඒවා විය. එම නිසාවෙන් මෙම ලිඛිත මූලාශ්‍රවල කාල දෝෂ, විවාදාත්මක සිද්ධාන්ත සහ ව්‍යාකූල කරුණු තිබිය හැකි ය. ක්‍රි.පූ. හත්වන සියවසේ බිහිවුණු ඇතන්ස්හි දේශපාලනඥයකු වන සෝලෝන් සහ ඔහුගේ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ පිළිබඳ පවත්නා ලිඛිත මූලාශ්‍රයන්හි විශ්වසනීයත්වය විවේචනාත්මක විමසුමකට ලක් කිරීම මේ අධ්‍යයනයේ අරමුණයි.

The seventh-century was a period of social and political disturbances for the whole of Greece. In this time Athens also saw an attempt of establishing a tyranny, huge economic distress, factions between the nobility themselves, and an immediate signs of a revolution. Both eupatrids and commoners alike had grounds of complaint and were discontent over the existing government. In order to find solutions for this severe political instability Athenian people deemed it necessary to appoint a constitutional leader who also would act in his capacity as a mediator. Thus in 594 B.C.E. Solon was appointed as the archon and the chief mediator, between noble and commoner in Athens. Chosen lawgiver, mediator, and archon by both noble and commoner together, Solon worked to resolve Athens' political problems, economic problems, wrote new laws and enacted a new jury court to prevent judicial abuse and established a new constitution that assumed to be equitable for all Athenians.

This article will focus on analyzing the reliability of the available primary sources on Solon and his reforms. Solon's laws were inscribed on wooden stands- *axones*. No *axones* have been preserved. Therefore it is rather difficult to find contemporary historical material to refer on Solon's reforms except fragments of poems of Solon himself. Main historical records available on

Solon's reforms are literary. Among these, Aristotle's the *Athenian Constitution* and Plutarch's *Life of Solon* had recorded on the constitution of Solon more elaborately. Solon's laws have been partially reconstructed from various sources, especially the preserved speeches of the rhetoricians such as Lysias, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Julius Pollux. Apart from the fragments of Solon's poems none of these historical sources are contemporary to Solon's period but came at least one or two centuries after the Solonian legislation. Thus there could be lapses of time, controversial theories and misleading information in literary sources. The aim of this study is to critically analyze the reliability of the primary source material which is available on the life and reforms of sixth-century politician Solon.

The main sources available for a study of Solon and his reforms are literary. Of these the main literary sources which refer to Solon's life and his reforms are the works of Herodotus, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius. Apart from these sources there are fragments of Solon's own poems. Furthermore there are references to Solon in Isocrates, Plato, Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Androtion. However modern scholars like Monedero (2001), Martina (1968), Noussia (2010) doubt the reliability of these ancient authorities as they tend to present details on Solon from his own poems itself.

Yet the most reliable or available documentary material about Solon and the Athens of his time, which the ancient authors were able to consult for information must have been the poems of Solon himself.

The exact date of Solon's birth and his enactment of laws are matters of chronological construction which met with criticisms for many years. However it is generally accepted that Solon lived

between the second half of the seventh-century B.C.E. and the first half of the sixth, but lacks precise dates of his birth and death. According to Aristotle Solon was alive when Pisistratus became tyrant during the archonship of Comeas which fell in the year 561/60 B.C.E. (*Ath.Pol.*14.2). Diogenes Laertius states that Solon's death occurred on Cyprus when he was eighty years old (1.62). According to these accounts Solon's year of birth is accepted in scholarship to have been in 640/39 B.C.E.

Solon's father was Execestides (Dio.Sic.IV; Plut.*Sol.*1.1). His family was traditionally seen as having descended from the Athenian King Codrus (Plut.*Sol.*1.1). Probably based on this information, Aristotle (*Ath.Pol.*5.3) and Plutarch (Plut.*Sol.*2.1) mention that Solon belonged to the nobility by birth, but in terms of wealth he belong to the middle class. Both sources also suggest this on the evidence of the fragments of Solon's poems, which they quote.

"But calm your mighty hearts in your breasts,
You who have pushed on to surfeit yourselves with many
good things,
Set your ambitious mind within limits; for
We will not allow you,
nor will all this turn out according to your wishes."
(Solon:fr.4 W)

"I desire to possess money, but to have acquired it unjustly
I do not choose; for justice always comes afterwards.
Wealth which the gods give stays with a man
Lastingly from the lowest foundation to the peak."
(Solon.fr.13.5-10 W)

It is significant that this fragment from the poems which Aristotle (*Ath.Pol.*5.3.) and Plutarch (*Sol.*2.1) quote to support the assertion that Solon was of the middle class indicates more than his own social class. It shows that Solon criticised both the advantaged and the

disadvantaged and claimed to be advancing himself as a mediator between the factions of the rich and the poor.

Tradition of the sixth and fifth centuries also made Solon one of the "Seven Sages" on his intellectual ability (Diod.Sic.IV.3.3; Suidas.*Lexicon*; Luc. *Long.* 18; Plut.*Sol.*28.2). Diodorus Siculus mentions that,

"The Milesians, wishing to follow the injunction of the oracle, desired to award the prize to Thales of Miletus. But Thales said that he was not the wisest of all and advised them to send it to another and wiser man. And in this manner the other six of the Seven Wise Men likewise rejected the tripod, and it was given to Solon, who was thought to have surpassed all men in both wisdom and understanding."

Herodotus reveals the same idea in different words as,

"When all these nations had been added to the Lydian empire, and Sardis was at the height of her wealth and prosperity, all the great Greek teachers of that epoch, one after another, paid visits to the capital. Much the most distinguished of them was Solon the Athenian, the man who at the request of his countrymen had made a code of laws for Athens" (Hdt.I.29).

Many sources (Diod. Sic.9.11; Diog. Laert.1.62; Plut.*Sol.*8.1) mention Solon's involvement in the war for Salamis' liberation except Aristotle. Solon's intervention at Salamis shows that Solon may have had an idea of conquering this island since the island is so close to Athens. Thus Athens could establish maritime contact with the wider world and this island was suitable to inhabit with Athenians who are landless by establishing a colony.

"Let us go to Salamis, to fight for an island
That is lovely, and repel grievous shame". (Solon:fr.1-3 W)

The ancient sources do not express a clear date or period of his archonship and his legislation. The traditional date of Solon's

archonship with powers of "arbiter" between the opposite political factions is 594/3 B.C.E. Suidas in *Lexicon* states that Solon flourished in the 47th Olympiad (592-89 B.C.E.) or "according to some authorities in the 56th" (556-3 B.C.E.). Therefore according to Suidas Solon's floruit is either 592-89 B.C.E. or 556-3 B.C.E. Diogenes Laertius records that it was in the 46th Olympiad, in the 3rd year of which (594 B.C.E.) he was archon at Athens. However Aristotle in the *Athenian Constitution* (14.1.) dates the enactment of laws by Solon to 592-591 B.C.E. Therefore it will be reasonable enough to arrange his archonship year and the legislation between the years of 592-594 B.C.E.

Even the final events of Solon's life were complex and ancient sources present different reasons for his departure from Athens immediately after completing his legislative work. According to Herodotus "it is not to be compelled to repeal any of the laws he had made" (Hdt.I.29.) that Solon left Athens. Aristotle and Plutarch also present the same reason agreeing with Herodotus (*Ath.Pol.* 11.1; *Plut.Sol.* 25.5). However the sources mention that Solon assumed that his laws will be unchanged for a certain period of time (Hdt.I.29; *Ath.Pol.* 7.2; *Plut.Sol.* 25.1). During this absence a visit to Egypt is also recorded (*Ath.Pol.* 11.1; *Plut.Sol.* 26.1; *Solon.fr.* 28). However Diogenes Laertius (1.50) connects Solon's departure abroad with Pisistratus' rise to power. In Scholarship it is confirmed that Aristotle had used the "*Atthides*"; the chronicles devoted to Athenian history, for information in his writing of the *Athenian Constitution* (Lewis: 1992 chap. 1, 10. CAH V²). It is assumed that the *Atthis* composed by Androtion probably was a main source for Aristotle which had been composed in the 340s. The main importance of these *Atthis* is their chronological recordings since they arranged events by Athenian archons. Yet the main issue with these ancient sources Aristotle dealt with is that these sources came at least two centuries

after the period of Solon's archonship. Thus there could be misunderstandings, incorrect information and later additions of information by the writers.

In the *Athenian Constitution* (7.4) Aristotle mentions of a statue of a man with a horse beside him, dedicated to Acropolis, as a thank offering to his elevated position as a *hippeis*¹ from *thetes*², in order to show that people of Attica experienced an elevation of their status as a result of the Solonian census classes. According to Aristotle, the following legend accompanied to the figure:

"Anthemion son of Diphilus made this dedication this to the gods,
Having exchanged the labourers' for the cavalry class".

Unlike Plutarch, Aristotle does not go into detail descriptions of Solon's personal life. On the other hand in *Life of Solon*, Plutarch (A.D.50.120) gives another outlook to the same facts but in a slight different perspective. However both writers agree that the division of population was done by Solon in order to give the people their 'right place' in government. They probably arrived at this conclusion on the evidence of Solon's own poems. For, Solon's poem identifies as fragment 5 refers to such an event:

"To the people I gave as much privilege as was appropriate,
Neither taking from their honour nor reaching out to do so;
And those that had power and were admired for their possessions,
I also made sure that they should suffer nothing unseemly."
(*Solon.fr.* 5 W)

While Aristotle placed more weight on the economic and political reforms of Solon, Plutarch had given more space also for his social reforms, such as the law against political apathy, the law on idleness, canine control measures, encouraging trade, restrictions

on immigrants, legislation against exports, laws regarding marriage etc. Yet Plutarch has not separated these laws from the political reforms which he dealt with in the previous part from chapter 17 up to 20, but launches into recording of social reforms.

Aristotle mentions that the four property classes had existed before Solon brought his reforms. However Plutarch does not mention this fact. In the *Athenian Constitution* (7.3.) Aristotle states that *thetes* were not given anything in the Solonian constitution "but a place in the assembly and in the juries". When it comes to section.9.1. of the *Athenian Constitution* Aristotle writes that,

"The following seem to be the three most democratic features of Solon's constitution: first and most important, the ban on loans on the security of the person; next, permission for anyone who wished to seek retribution for those who were wronged; and third, the one which is said particularly to have contributed to the power of the masses, the right of appeal to the jury-court-for when the people are masters of the vote they are masters of the state."

Here it is not clear whether Aristotle is referring to a vote in the jury court or merely presenting his general idea on democracy. However in the previous section (*Ath.Pol.7.3.*) he did not mention the *thetes* been given a vote in the Solonian constitution. Likewise this statement has led to controversies among modern scholars.³ According to Aristotle's assessment the institution of the appeal to the jury courts becomes one of the most democratic features of the Solonian legislation and this point is very acceptable in the sense that giving ordinary people of Athens judicial competence means the upbringing of their personal recognition in the society, which had been deprived before Solon.

Plutarch's *Lives of Noble Grecians and Romans* deals with the life of Solon. He gives the sources which he referred, to

write his chapter on Solon such as Androtion, Cratinus the comic poet, Heracleides Ponticus, Plato, the laws of Solon written on wooden tablets or "*axones*" in the Prytaneion, and records at Delphi. This shows that an enormous body of readings lies behind Plutarch's *Life of Solon*. It was only Plutarch who mentions that the *hippeis* had to pay a knight's tax (Plut.*Sol.* 18.1). It is assumable that Plutarch became aware of this fact by Julius Pollux' "*Onomasticon*", which noted that "the *pentakosiomedimnoi*⁴ paid a talent⁵ into the *demosion* (public treasury) and those assessed as *hippeis* half a talent, and those assessed as *zeugites*⁶ ten minae, and those assessed as *thetes* nothing". Plutarch further mentions that Solon was respected for his law about wills because previously it had not been possible to make wills, but the property of the deceased remained in the family. The implication of this remark is that then it is after Solon that property became alienable.

Plutarch, unlike Aristotle did not write on the manner in which Solon assigned offices to these four census classes except to mention that the *thetes* were ineligible for any of the magistracies but had access only to the assembly and the law courts and no mention of a right to a vote at the assembly either.

Thus it is apparent that both Aristotle's and Plutarch's record of the Solonian reforms similarly overlap to a considerable extent, though not entirely. Their account of Solon and their quotations from his poems indicate that they both made use of the same source. However the *Athenian Constitution* by Aristotle and Plutarch's life of *Solon* are the only sources which provide a full and reliable record specifically on the census classes of Solon.

Endnotes:

- 1 One of the Solonian census classes; Solon divided the population in the sixth-century B.C.E. Athens, according to the criterion of wealth, measured in terms of annual agricultural produce. Classification of people by wealth, measured in terms of annual agricultural produce

and not by birth, became the basis of political privilege after the Solonian reforms. *pentakosiomedimnoi*, *hippeis*, *zeugitai*, and *thetes* were those four census classes.

- 2 *Thetes* were the last class and the poorest of the citizens.
- 3 Scholarship have expressed opinions on the question whether Solon gave *thetes* the right to vote in the assembly which neither Aristotle nor Plutarch ascribe to Solon. Scholars who maintain that the *thetes* would have been vested with the right to vote in the assembly by Solon are Forrest (1966: 170), Hammond (1959: 160-62), Noussia (2010: 24), Ostwald (1996: 56-57) and Wallace (2007: 63) for example. Scholars like Andrewes (1982: chap.43, 385 CAH V2), de Ste. Croix (2004: 85) and Hignett (1952: 98) oppose this fact. They argue out that Solon could not have wished to give such power directly to the assembly as the great majority of citizens yet lacked political maturity.
- 4 *Pentakosiomedimnoi* were the first and highest class of the four property classes.
- 5 The Talent and mina were standard of measurement for large sums of money rather than coins. (1Talent = 60 minae = 6,000 drachmae)
- 6 *zeugites* were the third Solonian census class

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කතෝලික හා ක්‍රිස්තියානි ආගමික ග්‍රන්ථකරුවන් ආගම ප්‍රචාරණයෙහිලා සිංහල කටවහර භාවිතයට ගත් ආකාරය

නීල් පුෂ්පකුමාර

Literature in Sinhala has been influenced by Buddhist principles since its inception. However, due to the political and sociocultural changes that took place in the 16th century, Sinhala was employed to express views of other religions as well. The arrival of the Portuguese and Dutch colonists who introduced Catholicism and other denominations of Christianity marked a significant moment in Sinhala literature when Sinhala began to be used to express different sociocultural experiences and points of view arising from these religious influences. This research study focuses on the use of vernacular Sinhala among different authors and translators of religious texts. It attempts to identify their influences and to evaluate the influence on Sinhala literature in the writing of Fr Joseph Vaz, Father Jacome Gonsalves and in the translations of the Bible published in 1813, 1827, and 1846.

ප්‍රවේශය

ලෝකයේ කිසියම් වූ සාහිත්‍ය කෘතියක් ස්වාධීන ව පහළ විය නොහැකි ය. සාහිත්‍ය කෘතියක් තත් යුගයේ සමාජ, ආර්ථික, සංස්කෘතික, ඓතිහාසික ආදී බලවේගයක් පදනම් කරගෙන බිහිවෙයි. එහෙයින් කිසියම් සාහිත්‍යාංගයක ප්‍රභවය, ප්‍රචර්ධනය මෙන්ම පරිහානිය කෙරෙහිද මූලික වශයෙන් බලපානුයේ තත් යුගයේ සමාජාර්ථිකාදී සංස්ථාවන්හි සිදුවන විචල්‍යයන්ය.¹ ක්‍රි. පූ. 03 වන සියවසේ පටන් මෙරට සමාජාර්ථික, සංස්කෘතිකාදී සියලු

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