

SOCIAL
HISTORY
OF
EARLY
CEYLON

H. ELLAWALA





SOCIAL HISTORY OF EARLY CEYLON

By

H. ELLAWALA

B. A. Hons. (Ceylon), M. A. (Benares), Ph.D. (London).

*Professor and Head of the Department of History, Dean of the Faculty of Arts,
Vidyodaya University of Ceylon, Nugegoda*

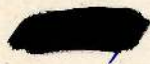
1969

PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTUREL AFFAIRS

PRINTED AT THE DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, CEYLON

954.93
ELL

THESIS PRESENTED TO, AND ACCEPTED BY, THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON,
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY 1962



1—H 12914—2,008 (9/69)

FOREWORD

BY DR. A. L. BASHAM

Professor of South Asian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

The social history of early Ceylon is something about which a good deal has been written, but which is in fact a most obscure topic for research and about which lamentably little is known with certainty. Too many authors, some of them qualified and reputable historians, have believed implicitly that social and other conditions in the days of Devānampiya Tissa were much the same as they later became in the days of Polonnaruwa. In fact, even when viewed from the angle of the *Mahāvamsa* it is clear that the social and economic life of Ceylon passed through many phases and it is quite wrong to impose upon the earliest period the picture of the later centuries for which there are many more sources.

If the historian confines himself to the limited amount of material which throws definite and certain light on the earliest period of Ceylonese history he may well find that his picture is very vague, and lacking in detail. By careful treatment, certain later sources, in Pāli and Sinhalese, may be made to yield a certain amount of information. But nevertheless the gaps in the picture are still very wide. It is doubtful whether literature or inscriptions will ever greatly improve our knowledge. There are still a number of unpublished inscriptions in Ceylon, but it is hardly likely that they will produce information of a spectacular kind. Similarly it is very doubtful if anywhere an unpublished text emanating from Ceylon of this period is to be found.

With inadequate material, very difficult to assess and utilize in a critical and scholarly spirit, Dr. H. Ellawala has presented to the world a more thorough and trustworthy account of the early culture of Ceylon than has been done hitherto. He has left no stone unturned in his search for material, and has utilized every scrap of evidence which might throw light on this period. Always he has exercised a keen critical faculty on his texts, and I whole-heartedly commend his study to his readers. If it be found that Dr. Ellawala's account of early Ceylon has many gaps in its structure this is due to the hand of time and not that of the author. Only an archaeologist can help the historian in producing new material on the subject and it is much to be hoped that archaeologists in Ceylon will soon give attention to uncovering a habitation site of the ancient period. Thus it may be possible to settle finally many of the problems which the literary sources cannot solve—for instance, whether the wave of Aryan immigration came from eastern or western India, and whether there was Buddhism in Ceylon before the days of Devānampiya Tissa. Dr. Ellawala has done all he could with the inadequate material at his disposal. It is to be hoped that, before many years, it will be amplified and given perspective through the efforts of the archaeologists.

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London, W. C. 1,
November 25, 1964.

FOREWORD

BY Dr. I. G. DE CASPARIS

Reader in South Asian History, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

THE political history of Ceylon has enjoyed great interest of scholars both in and outside Ceylon. As a consequence the main lines of development are now well established and for many periods we possess solid knowledge with a richness of detail and precision unrivalled in other parts of South and South-East Asia.

This enormous progress in the political field has not, however, been matched by similar advance in our knowledge of ancient Ceylonese society. Yet, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the history of this Island is not merely an account of the reigns of kings, or of battles, invasions and other events. It should always be realized that behind all these events were the people of Ceylon, clearing the jungles, digging the tanks, cultivating the land, excavating caves, building temples and monasteries, acting both individually and collectively in social and regional groups. It was they who made this Island into a prosperous community whose influence spread to the farthest corners of South-East Asia.

For this reason it is a very great pleasure for me to introduce this important new work by Dr. Ellawala, who is one of the senior scholars of the history of Ceylon. He deserves our full gratitude for this courageous and successful attempt at reconstructing Sinhalese society from the earliest times to the reign of Mahasena. For this purpose, he has analysed the data of the basic text, the *Mahāvamsa*, with its commentary, the *Vamsatthappakāsini*. These basic sources are supplemented by other texts and inscriptions. As to the former, Dr. Ellawala has established beyond reasonable doubt that the *Sihalavattu* must be dated back to the third century A. D. and may therefore throw important new light upon conditions in the period under discussion. As to the epigraphic sources, it should be noted that Dr. Ellawala has made a thorough re-examination of the numerous small Brāhmi inscriptions found in many parts of the Island below the drip-ledge of the caves donated to the Buddhist *Saṅgha* from the third century B. C. These brief inscriptions contain numerous terms in the ancient Sinhalese language indicating the position occupied by the donors. For some of the terms Dr. Ellawala has proposed new interpretations which seem very attractive. Thus, he has established that the word *patake*, found in many of these brief texts, denotes Brāhmins. This, combined with the analysis of other terms, proves that some form of caste system, though by no means rigid, existed in Ceylon from earliest times on which any reliable knowledge is available. As is shown in another part of this book, castes developed mainly on an occupational basis and never led to the fierce forms of discrimination apparent elsewhere.

It is unnecessary here to summarize all the important new conclusions arrived at in this work. One, however, should be briefly mentioned. On a frieze of one of the *vahalkadas* of the Kanthaka Cetiya at Mihintale there appear a number of dwarfish figures. Closer examination shows that these figures are paying homage

to a similar figure in the middle which is, however, distinguished by an elephant trunk. I believe that Dr. Ellawala is right in interpreting this scene as a group of Ganas with the god Ganeśa in the middle. If this interpretation is correct we have here the earliest known representation of this well-known god. As to the date of the frieze, Dr. Ellawala rightly notes that it may be compared with a similar frieze from Amaravati which can be dated to the second century A. D.

These few examples may show how much fresh light Dr. Ellawala is able to throw on the social institutions of ancient Ceylon. It is, of course, inevitable that not all problems could be solved with the materials at the author's disposal, and as always, the solution of some problems tends to create others whose existence was not even suspected. It is therefore to be hoped that Dr. Ellawala's study may rouse new interest in the social history of Ceylon and become the basis for new research. May it further stimulate new and detailed excavations without which any further progress will be very limited.

School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London, W. C. 1,
November 25, 1964.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THE history of Ceylon recorded in the Chronicles is mainly confined to the genealogies of kings and accounts of their activities both religious and secular. To understand both the political and cultural developments in Ceylon, it is necessary to learn first the social structure in which they developed. Ours is an attempt to discuss this aspect of history from the 5th century B. C. to the 4th century A. D.

As our sources are limited and owing to the lack of material embodied in them, we have often had to discuss the parallel social systems in India to form a better picture of that of Ceylon. Thus, in a way, ours is a comparative study of the social institutions in Ceylon and those of India of the same period. This, no doubt, is the most fitting approach to our present study, for there is no other country which influenced Ceylon so much as India during our period.

My sense of gratitude and thanks to Professor A. L. Basham and to Dr. J. G. de Casparis for all the help they have given in guiding me in this field of study is beyond verbal expression.

I should also like to take this opportunity of thanking the staff of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for their kind assistance.

I extend my sincere thanks to the Asia Foundation, both in Ceylon and California, for offering me a Scholarship Grant for my present research in the University of London.

I should also extend my sincere thanks to Mr. S. L. Kekulawela, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Vidyalandara University of Ceylon, and to Dr. Y. Karunadasa, Lecturer in Pali and Buddhist Culture, University of Ceylon, Colombo, for their kind help and advice in many ways.

My deepest gratitude and sincerest thanks go to my wife, Leelavati Menike, for the encouragement she gave me in this research.

Finally, I must take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the authorities of the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs for sponsoring this publication, and to the authorities of the Government Press, Mr. Bernard de Silva, the Government Printer, in particular, for launching it through the Press.

H. ELLAWALA.

Department of History,
Vidyodaya University of Ceylon,
Nugegoda, March 25, 1968.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
FOREWORD—by Dr. A. L. Basham	vii
FOREWORD—by Dr. J. G. de Casparis	ix-x
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
ABSTRACT	xiii
ABBREVIATIONS	xv-xv ₁
CHAPTER I—INTRODUCTION—SOURCES	1-10
Literary Sources	1-9
Dīpavaṃsa	1-2
Mahāvāṃsa	2-3
Vāṃsatthappakāsinī	3
Pali Canonical works	3
Pali Commentaries and sub-Commentaries	4
Sihalavatthuppakaraṇa	4-7
Sahasavatthu	7-8
Rasavāhinī	8
Foreign notices and accounts	8-9
Archaeological Sources	9-10
Inscriptions	9-10
Numismatics	10
Monuments	10
CHAPTER II—CASTE SYSTEM—THE BRAHMAṆAS AND THE KṢATRIYAS	11-27
Brāhmaṇas	11-17
The position of the Brāhmaṇas and the Purohitas in Indian society	11-13
Brāhmaṇas as a separate caste in pre-Buddhist Ceylon	13-14
Brāhmaṇas as the most respected and powerful caste	14-16
Interpretation of the word paṭake as referring to Brāhmaṇas	16-17
Kṣatriyas	17-27
The position of the Kṣatriyas in India during the 6th century B.C.	17-19
Anurādhapura Kṣatriyas	19
Kājaragāma Kṣatriyas	19
Kalyāṇi Kṣatriyas	20
Candanagāma Kṣatriyas	20
The system of Abhiṣeka in Ceylon prior to Devānampiyatissa	20-23
Significance of the word punābhiṣeka	23-27

	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER III—CASTE SYSTEM—THE VAIŚYAS	28-55
Brāhmanic definition of the term Vaiśya	28
Sreṇis or guilds	28-29
Vaiśyas in Ceylon	29
Beginnings of the later divisions in the Saṅgha	29-31
Eighteen Devakulas	31-32
Causes that led Asoka to get Mahinda and Saṅghamittā ordained	32
Did members of the Devakula belong to the Kṣatriya clan ?	32-33
Origin of the Lambakarna Dynasty	33-36
Interpretation of the term Lāmāni and the relationship between the Lāmāni, Gaṇavāsi and the Māheṇavara families?	36-37
Interpretation of the word Parumaka	37-40
Interpretation of the word Bata	40-42
Interpretation of the words Gapati and Setṭhi	42-46
Use of the honorific title Devanapiya	46-47
Kuṭumbikas	47-49
Why were the Kuṭumbikas mainly confined to Rohaṇa ?	49-51
Gamika and Gāmaṇi—their place in society and functions	51-55
CHAPTER IV—CASTE SYSTEM—THE ŚŪDRAS	56-65
Śūdras in Indian society	56
Śūdras in Ceylon society	57-59
Dāsa and their place in society	59-62
Temple slaves	62-63
How slaves were treated in Ceylon	63-64
Was there a slave trade in Ceylon ?	64-65
The Untouchables	66-72
Caṇḍālas in Indian society	66-67
Caṇḍālas in Ceylon society and how they differed from their counterparts in India	67-68
Vyādhas	68
Pulindas	68-69
Mlecchas	69-70
Nesādas	70
Pukkusa or Puppachaḍḍaka—Is it correct to identify them as “removers of faded flowers from temples” ?	70-71
Veṇas and Rathakāras	71
Why Caṇḍālas are not mentioned in the Ceylon inscriptions	71-72

	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER V—FAMILY ORGANIZATION	72-100
Traditions pertaining to the age of marriage in Indian society ..	73
Relationship of the ideal marriage partners	73-74
Types of marriage in Indian society	74
Equality of birth as the most important factor for a marriage settlement	74
Polygamy and polyandry	75-76
Divorce and re-marriage	76
Kula, Kulageha and Mahākula	76-78
Family organization in Ceylon—Was there a joint family system ? ..	78-79
Marriage outside the normal practice	80
Polygamy in Ceylon society	81-82
Widow marriage	82
The position of women	82-83
Children and their place in the family	83-84
The system of education in Ceylon	84-87
Female education	87
Relationship between parents and children	88
The powers enjoyed by the father over the other members of the family	88-90
Right of inheritance	90-94
The Anuradhapura tradition	90-93
The Rohaṇa tradition	93-94
Right of inheritance among the common people	95
Methods of disposing of the dead	96-100
 CHAPTER VI—EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS	 101-126
The original home of the Aryans in Ceylon	101
Two schools of thought pertaining to the subject	102-104
First settlement to the north of Mahavāliṅgaṅga	104
Second settlement to the south of Mahavāliṅgaṅga	104-105
Third settlement at the basin of the Kālanigaṅga	10
Formation of Grāma in Ancient India	105-106
Three types of villages (grāmas)	106-107
Nagara and Nigama	107
Formation of Nagara in Ancient India	107-108
Formation of village in early Ceylon	108
Village settlements	109
Origin of villages around vāpi (tank) and vila (lake)	109-111
Community or caste villages	111-114
Brāhmaṇa villages	111-112
Kṣatriya villages	112
Caṇḍāla villages	112

	<i>Page</i>
Occupational villages	112-114
Gamika : the head of the village administration	114-115
Growth of urban settlements	115-116
How Mahāitthapaṭṭana served as a commercial town and a port	116
How Mahāitthapaṭṭana strengthened the cultural and commercial relations between Ceylon and India	116-117
Mahāitthapaṭṭana as one of the most important administrative centres	117-118
Occupation of Mahāitthapaṭṭana by Tamils and its importance as a sacred place of the Hindus	118
The importance of Jambukola Paṭṭana	119-120
Growth of urban settlements along the sea coast as commercial centres	120
The first two urban settlements during the legendary period of Ceylon History	121
City of Anurādhapura	121-124
Who were Nagaraguttikas ?	122-123
Formation of fortress towns	123-125
Māgama as an important urban settlement	125-126
CHAPTER VII—OCCUPATIONS	127-154
Agriculture—the most popular occupation of the Vaiśyas	127
Foremost tank-builders	127-128
Extent of paddy cultivation both in Rajaraṭa and in Rohaṇa	128-130
Hena cultivation	130-133
Famines	133
Animal husbandry	133-135
Trade	135-144
Ceylon's commercial contacts with India	135-137
Ceylon's commercial contacts with other countries in the East and with the countries in the West	137-138
Export trade—precious stones	138-139
Export trade—pearls	139-140
Export trade—elephants	140
Export trade—textiles	141
Import trade	141-142
Internal trade	142-144
Intellectual professions	144-147
Teachers	144-145
Astrologers	145-146
Physicians	146-147
Military occupations	147-149

	<i>Page</i>
Cottage industries and crafts	149-153
Weaving	149-150
Pottery	150
Sugar milling	150-151
Blacksmiths	151-152
Copper-smiths and goldsmiths	152
Carpenters	152-153
Artistes and entertainers	153-154
Other crafts and vocations	154
 CHAPTER VIII—THE EFFECT OF BUDDHISM ON SOCIETY	 155-170
The cultural contact between India and Ceylon	155
Brāhmanism as the earliest organized religion in pre-Buddhist Ceylon	155-156
Worship of Śiva	156-158
Worship of Gaṇeśa	159
Worship of Vāsudeva	159-160
Worship of local deities	160-161
Vyādhadeva	160
Kammāradeva	160
Puradeva	160
Heterodox Indian religions—Jains and Ajīvakas	161
Indian caste system and the Buddha's attitude towards it	161-164
Mahinda's mission and the effect it had on the Ceylon society	164-165
Buddhism in pre-Mahindian Ceylon	165-166
Upāsaka and Upāsikā	166-167
Brāhmaṇas who embraced Buddhism	167
Anti-Buddhist Brāhmaṇas	167-168
Influence of Buddhism on local politics	168
Where the caste system of Ceylon differed from that of India	168-170
 CHAPTER IX—CONCLUSION	 171-173

ABBREVIATIONS

A.	<i>Aṅguttaranikāya</i>
AA.	<i>Aṅguttaranikāyaṭṭhakathā</i>
A. Br.	<i>Aitareya Brāhmaṇa</i>
AC.	Parker, <i>Ancient Ceylon</i>
AIC.	Müller, <i>Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon</i>
AS.	<i>Arthaśāstra</i>
ASCAR.	<i>Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report</i>
ASWI.	<i>Archaeological Survey of Western India</i>
ASCM.	<i>Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Memoirs</i>
AV.	<i>Attanagaluvamsaya</i>
AVV.	<i>Atharvaveda</i>
Āp.Dh.S.	<i>Āpastambha Dharma Śāstra</i>
BAU.	<i>Bauddhāyana Dharma Śāstra</i>
Br.Upd.	<i>Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad</i>
CHJ.	<i>Ceylon Historical Journal</i>
CJSG.	<i>Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G.</i>
CLR.	<i>Ceylon Literary Register</i>
CV.	<i>Cūlavamsa</i>
Digha. } D. }	<i>Dighanikāya</i>
Dāthā.	<i>Dāthāvamsa</i>
Dhātu	<i>Dhātuvamsa</i>
DhA. } Dhp. Com. }	<i>Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā</i>
DhSA.	<i>Dhammasaṅgani Aṭṭhakathā</i>
DPPN.	<i>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names</i>
Dv.	<i>Dīpavamsa</i>
EHBC.	Adikaram, <i>Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon</i>
EI.	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
EZ.	<i>Epigraphia Zeylanica</i>
EC.	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica</i>
Fa Hien.	Trns. Legge, <i>A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms</i>
GAU.	<i>Gautama Dharma Śāstra</i>
HBC.	Rahula, <i>History of Buddhism in Ceylon</i>
Huien Tsiang	Beal, <i>Buddhist Records of the Western World</i>
IA	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
JA.	<i>Jātakatṭhakathā</i>
JRAS(CB).	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch</i>
JRAS(GB&I).	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland</i>
JRAS(B).	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal</i>

M.	<i>Majjhimanikāya</i>
MA.	<i>Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā</i>
Manu.	<i>Manusmṛti</i>
MBV.	<i>Mahābodhivaṃsa</i>
Mv.	<i>Mahāvamsa</i>
MvṬ.	<i>Mahāvamsa Ṭikā</i>
NN.	<i>Nīti Nighaṇḍuva</i>
PTS.	<i>Pāli Text Society</i>
Pjv.	<i>Pūjāvaliya</i>
PLC.	<i>Malalasekera, Pāli Literature of Ceylon</i>
Rjk.	<i>Rājaratnākaraya</i>
Rjv.	<i>Rājāvaliya</i>
Rsv.	<i>Rasavāhīni</i>
RV.	<i>Rg. Veda</i>
S.	<i>Samyuttanikāya</i>
SA.	<i>Samyuttanikāyaṭṭhakathā</i>
SD.	<i>Sāratthadīpani</i>
SBB.	<i>Sacred Books of the Buddhists</i>
Shv.	<i>Sahassavatthu</i>
Sihv.	<i>Sihalavatthupparāṇa</i>
SMV.	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsini</i>
SV.	<i>Sammohavinodani</i>
SMP.	<i>Samantapāsādikā</i>
St. Bṛ.	<i>Satapata Brāhmaṇa</i>
Trns.	<i>Translation</i>
Th. Com.	<i>Theragāthā Commentary</i>
UCR.	<i>Universtiy of Ceylon Review</i>
Vsm.	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>
Viṣṇu. S.	<i>Viṣṇu Smṛti</i>
Yāj.	<i>Yājñavalkya Smṛti</i>

ABSTRACT

The work here presented is an attempt to analyse the Social Institutions of Early Ceylon from the 5th century B.C. to the 4th century A. D. In the first Chapter, new light is thrown on the dating of the Sihalavatthupparāṇa, not attempted by earlier scholars (pp. 4-7). The theory of the existence of the Brāhmaṇa caste (pp. 13-16), the interpretation of the word Paṭake (pp. 16-17) occurring in the inscriptions, the theory that prior to Devānampiya Tissa there was in Ceylon a Kṣatriya caste and an Abhiṣeka ceremony the existence of which was doubted by the earlier scholars in this field (pp. 47-68), are the most original features of the 2nd Chapter. Chapter III contains the discussion on the Vaiśya caste (pp. 29-30). In this will be found evidence of an embryonic form of the later division of the Saṅgha into caste groups (pp. 30-31), new interpretations of the words Devakula (pp. 31-33) and Bata (pp. 40-42), new light on the origin of the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty (pp. 33-37) and a study of the use of the honorific title Devānampiya by ordinary people (pp. 47-48). This also attempts to answer the question why Asoka had two of his children by his Vaiśya queen ordained into the Saṅgha (pp. 32-33). Chapter IV deals with the Sūdra caste and the despised classes (pp. 56-72), in the discussion of which I have given a new interpretation (pp. 70-71) to the words Pukkusa and Pupphachaddaka, the meanings of which have been disputed often. Chapter V contains a discussion on family organisation. It shows that there was the joint family system in Ceylon (pp. 78-79) and that succession from brother to brother was preferred to that from father to son (pp. 91-98). Chapter VI attempts to analyse how far early settlements of Ceylon came into existence on a communal basis. (pp. 101-127). This also attempts to throw new light on the interpretation of the word Nagaraguttika (pp. 122-123). Chapter VII deals with various occupations and the development of new castes on an occupational basis (pp. 127-155). In the last Chapter, the effect of Buddhism on society is discussed. I have argued here the possibilities of the existence of the worship of Gaṇapati in Ceylon even before it was known in India (pp. 159-160), and in conclusion it considers how far the Ceylon caste system differed from that of India towards the end of the period under review.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

As the *Kula* or family forms the basic unit of a settlement or a village, so does society form the fundamental basis for the development of the political, economic and religious institutions of a country. The social institutions therefore form the background against which the student of history may trace the evolution of other institutions.

Until recently, students of Ceylon history did not focus their attention sufficiently on this aspect, due to the fact that there were no historical records directly dealing with society, owing to the lack of emphasis on it by ancient historians. Unlike other countries in South Asia, in Ceylon we have a recorded history from the ancient times to the present day. But these records mainly deal with the political and religious history of the country. References to other aspects of history such as social and economic institutions are very meagre. The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to make an attempt to analyse the Social Institutions of Early Ceylon from the 5th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. on the basis of the historical date available. But, until the numerous lithic records which are still not deciphered are studied carefully and a careful and systematic archaeological survey is made on the sites of early settlements of this country, this analysis will remain incomplete.

Sources

The sources basic to our present study are divided into two categories, literary and archaeological.

(1) Literary Sources

(a) *The Dipavaṃsa*.—The *Dipavaṃsa* is the earliest extant attempt at recording Ceylon's Historical Traditions in Pāli. This is ascribed to an unknown author or authors in the 4th century A.D.¹ It is rather a compilation of various traditions than an independent and unified piece of historical writing. Moreover, the *Dipavaṃsa*, being intended for oral recitation, is in Pāli verse. As a literary piece it is considered of no merit.²

The repetitions and contradictions occurring in this text suggest its heterogeneous nature. From the internal evidence contained in this work, as well as the *Mahāvāṃsa*, it is known that these Chronicles are based on early Sinhalese Commentaries and

¹ Oldenberg, *Dv. Itro.*, pp. 8-9 ; Geiger, *Dv. and Mv.*, p. 1 ; Malalasekara, *PLC.*, p. 131. It should be noted here that Buddhaghosa's commentary, the *Samantapāsādikā* which was written in the 5th century A.D. refers to *Dv.* and quotes verses from it. In Vol. I, p. 36, reference is made to this as "*vuttampi cetam Dipavaṃse*," and quotes the fifteenth verse in the chapter 11 of the *Dv.* There is another reference in the same page to the first four verses of the chapter 12 of the *Dv.* Also see *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā*. I, p. 81.

² Malalasekara, *PLC.*, p. 135.

other sources,¹ for both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* have some verses in common, and much similarity is shown by them as regards the material and its arrangement.² This Chronicle in its present form records the historical traditions from the earliest time up to the reign of Mahāsena. There is no doubt that it is a conglomeration of myths, legends, tales and history and the further we go back in time the more mythical it becomes.³

This Chronicle, however, contains a kernel of historical truth buried in traditions and legends. It is, therefore, of immense value for the reconstruction of the social history of the Island during the period under review.

(b) *The Mahāvaṃsa*.—The first part of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, which covers the entire period of our present study, was written by Mahānāma, the reputed teacher of the Dighasanda-Senāpati Pariveṇa, Anurādhapura,⁴ in the 5th century A.D.

A great deal of similarity can be seen between the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the historical introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā*, and the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Geiger thinks that Buddhaghosa's historical introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā* was based on the *Dīpavaṃsa*.⁵ At the very outset of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Mahānāma states that his work was based on a previous work written on the same subject by the ancients. He further says that this ancient work in question was full of repetitions and was unsystematic because it contained unbalanced details.⁶ He does not say in which language the work had been written, but according to the *Vamsatthappakāsini*,⁷ it was in Sinhalese. Mahānāma included in his Pāli work the contents of this ancient *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa*.⁸ It is thus clear that the *Mahāvaṃsa* was not based on the *Dīpavaṃsa* but on the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa* and traditions on which, most likely, both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the historical introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā* were also based. However, as the *Dīpavaṃsa* is the earlier work, it is probable that Mahānāma made use of its material.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* is considered to be a work of art written in the epic or *Kāvya* style,⁹ and was a Chronicle of the Mahāvihāra, where the most authentic school of Buddhism is supposed to have flourished from the 3rd century B.C. onwards.¹⁰ The trustworthiness of this Chronicle as a history was at one time much doubted. But the earlier criticisms have been well answered by Geiger.¹¹

¹ Geiger, *Dv. and Mv. Trns.*, ed. by Cumaraswamy (Colombo 1908), p. 11.

² Law, *Dv.* (Colombo 1957), p. 6.

³ Malalasekara, *PLC.*, pp. 134-5.

⁴ *MvT.*, p. 687.

⁵ Geiger, *Mv. Trns. Intro.*, p. 11.

⁶ *Mv.* 1. 2. " *ativitthārato kvaci, atīva kvaci saṅkhitto* ".

⁷ *MvT.*, p. 687.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁹ Geiger, *Mv. Trns.* pp. 11-16.

¹⁰ Other monastic establishments had their own Chronicles which are now lost. See *PLC.*, p. 133.

¹¹ *Mv. Trns.*, assisted by M. H. Bode (1922), *Intro.*, pp. XII-XXXVIII.

On the whole the *Mahāvamsa* is a trustworthy chronicle. Its author had no intention of hiding the truth, but owing to the fact that he was a Buddhist monk there is no doubt that his interests were one-sided. The main shortcoming is that the Chronicler made no record of many aspects of history which are of great interest to us, because he had no interest in them. Thus as a historical document the *Mahāvamsa's* failings are many and it contains much that is myth and legend ; moreover, from its accounts of the period before 250 B.C. even a satisfactory chronology cannot be established.¹ But "it would be too rash simply to set aside those ancient legends, for they often contain a kernel of history wrapped up in the tales and the inventions of a pious tradition."²

On the other hand, the author of the *Mahāvamsa* was not biased in recording events of political importance. For example, the Tamil invaders during this period were not welcomed by the inhabitants of this country ; they were generally considered hostile to both the political and religious advancement of the Island. But when Mahānāma speaks of Sēna and Guttika, the two Tamil usurpers³, and Eḷāra,⁴ he says that they ruled righteously.

But the *Mahāvamsa's* contribution to social history of this period is very small. The names of towns and villages, which are the basic factors of social organisation, occur only incidentally, mainly in connexion with religious affairs. Yet, such references as there are, are of immense value for the reconstruction of the social history of this period, at least on a hypothetical basis.

(c) *The Vamsatthappakāsini*.—The *Vamsatthappakāsini*, which is popularly known as the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, is the Pāli commentary on the first-37 chapters of the *Mahāvamsa*. The author of this work is traditionally believed to be a monk, also named Mahānāma. But both Geiger⁵ and Malalasekera⁶ are of the opinion that this Mahānāma is not identical with the author of the *Mahāvamsa*. The date of this book is assigned to about the 8th or 9th century A.D., some three or four centuries later than the date of the compilation of the *Mahāvamsa*.⁷ Some of the sources, such as the old Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathās, on which the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* is based, are as old as those from which the *Mahāvamsa* derived its information.⁸ Hence this also is an important source book for the study of the social history of this period.

(d) *Pāli Canonical Works*.—In order to determine the position of the Indian caste system from the Buddhist point of view at the time when the Aryan colonists migrated to this country, and the changes that took place in social outlook in Ceylon after the

¹ Mendis, *The Chronology of the Early Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon*, UCR, Vol. V, No. I (1927), pp. 39-54.

² Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, Preface, p. XXII.

³ *Mv.* XX., v. 11.

⁴ *Mv.* XXI., vv 14, 34.

⁵ Geiger, *Dv.* and *Mv.*, p. 32.

⁶ *PLC.*, p. 143.

⁷ *MvT.*, p. CIX.

⁸ *PLC.*, p. 144.

introduction of Buddhism, evidence from the Pāli Scriptures is incorporated in this discussion wherever necessary.

(e) *Pāli Commentaries*.—Buddhaghosa, the renowned commentator of the Pāli Scriptures rendered the then existing Sinhalese commentaries into Pāli in the 5th century A.D. at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura. He states in his introductions to some of his *Aṭṭhakathās* that these commentaries were brought to Ceylon by Mahinda and that they were written down originally in Sinhalese for the benefit of the people of the Island.¹

He describes his method of writing down these commentaries in Pāli, in the introductory verses to the *Samantapāsādikā* as follows : “ In commencing this commentary, having embodied therein the *Mahā Aṭṭhakathā*, without excluding any proper meaning from the discussions contained in the *Mahā Paccari*, as also in the famous *Kurundi* and other commentaries, and including the opinion of the Elders, and casting off the language of the commentaries, condensing detailed accounts, including authoritative decisions, in keeping with the Pāli idiom, I shall start this work ”.² Thus it is evident that the Sinhalese commentaries, which had been written down in the 3rd century B.C. were handed down in the same language till the 5th century A.D. During this period of eight centuries, these commentaries no doubt accumulated new material of a local nature to illustrate certain doctrinal points, for we have many stories to that effect here and there in the commentaries. Hence these references undoubtedly provide an interesting field of research into the social conditions that prevailed from the 3rd century B.C. to the 5th century A.D.

Not only the commentaries but some of the sub-commentaries also come to our aid in our present study. One such sub-commentary is the *Sāratthadīpanī*, the commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*. This work was written by a Thera named Sāriputta, of the fraternity of Dimbulāgala Mahākāśyapa, during the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great (1153 A.D.—1186 A.D.). Although the date of this work is slightly later than that of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, its contents may seem to be quite old. In the introductory verses the author himself says that the material had been written in Sinhalese by the Ancients (*Porāṇehi*), and he has only re-arranged it and translated into Pāli.³ This work provides us with information about Asoka's marriage and his connections with Vidisā, and gives a clue as to why he had two of his children ordained into the Buddhist Order. This work is particularly interesting for us as it establishes that there was an *Abhiṣeka* ceremony in Ceylon prior to Devānampiya Tissa.

(f) *The Sihalavatthuppakarāṇa*⁴.—The date of this book is not known. It was written by a monk named Ācariya Dhammanandi of the *Paṭṭakoṭṭi Vihāra* in *Kaṇṭakasola Paṭṭana*.⁵ It is not known whether these places are situated in India or Ceylon. Nor does the book state anything about the nationality of the author.

¹ See introductory verses in *DA, MA, AA*.

² *SP*, I, p. 1, verses 8–12.

³ *Sāratthadīpanī*, ed. Devarakkhita Thera (Colombo, 1914), p. 1.

⁴ Buddhadatta Edition (Colombo, 1959).

⁵ *Sihv.*, pp. 35, 62, 134.

The word *Paṭṭana* in Pāli and *Paṭṭanam* in Tamil means a sea-port. In our sources of this period, this word was used to denote sea-ports in South India and Ceylon.¹ Further, the word *Kaṇṭakasola* can be taken as a varying reading for *Kaṇṭakacola*, for the word 'Sola' in Sinhalese also can mean 'Cola'.² If we accept this etymological possibility, *Kaṇṭakasola Paṭṭana* may be taken as a sea-port situated in the Cola country in South India, for according to our sources, there was no sea-port in Ceylon that can be identified with *Kaṇṭakasola Paṭṭana*.

One of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of Virapurisadatta, ascribed to about the 2nd half of the 3rd century A.D., contains a clear reference to this word *Kaṇṭakasola*.³ According to this inscription there were various pious foundations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, dedicated by a female devotee named Bodhi Siri to the Sinhalese monks of the Theriya Sect, who were engaged in the propagation of Buddhism in places such as Kashmir, Gandhāra, China, Kirāta, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsī, Damila, Yavana and Pallūra and the Island of Tambapaṇṇi. Among the other religious foundations enumerated in this inscription, reference to the *Sihalavihāra* is particularly interesting. This *Sihalavihāra* must have been founded for the accomodation of Sinhalese monks. It contained a shrine with a Bodhi-tree in addition to the residential quarters.

Another important point to be noted in the inscription is the reference to "a stone *Maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the Mahācetiya at Kaṇṭakasola". Evidently this locality, *Kaṇṭakasola* must be identical with "the emporium *Kaṇṭakossyla*" which Ptolemy mentions⁴ immediately after "the mouth of the Maisolos. It follows that the river known to the Greeks under the name Maisolos was the Kistṇa".⁵ Hence it is clear that Kaṇṭakasola Paṭṭana was a sea-port on the Kriṣṇa river near Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Thus the existence of close relations between Ceylon and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of Ceylon and Kaṇṭakasola Paṭṭana, the great emporium on the right bank of the Kistṇa river.⁶

Further, this inscription clearly states that the construction, development and repairs of these numerous buildings were made by Bodhisiri at the instigation of three Theras, Candamukha, Dhammanandi, and Nāga.⁷ Now according to the *Sihalavatthu*, Ācariya Dhammanandi lived in Paṭṭakoṭṭi Vihāra in Kaṇṭakasola Paṭṭana. Hence the Sihalavihāra referred to in the inscription is no doubt the same as the Paṭṭakoṭṭi Vihāra referred to in the *Sihalavatthu*.

¹ See *infra*, p. 118.

² cf. *Soliraṭa* in Sinhalese.

³ *EL.*, Vol. XX, p. 22.

⁴ Ptolemy, VII, I. 15.

⁵ E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 116.

⁶ *EL.*, Vol. XX, p. 10.

⁷ *EL.*, Vol. XX, p. 22 : *Imaṃ navakammaṃ navakaṃhikehi kārītaṃ Candamukhatherena ca Dhammanandi:therena ca Nāgathereṇa ca.*

In the *Sihalavatthu* there are seven stories dealing with events in Saurāṣṭra in Western India, one about Gandhāra, and another connected with the Emperor Asoka. All the other seventy-three stories are about Ceylon. This shows that the author of this book had some connection with Western India also. We have seen earlier that the Sinhalese monks resident at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa were engaged in the propagation of Buddhism in various parts of India. One of the places where they carried out their Buddhist activities was *Yavana* which may, most probably, be Western India—Saurāṣṭra.¹ It is therefore possible to suppose that Ācariya Dhammanandi was engaged in the propagation of Buddhism in Saurāṣṭra. The name *Sihalavatthu* of this book also suggests that this was written not for the Sinhalese but for the foreigners, otherwise there is no point in naming it thus. Thus it is reasonable to infer that Ācariya Dhammanandi wrote the *Sihalavatthu* in India.

Another point worth considering is that this Vihāra was especially meant for the monks of the *Theriya* Sect in Ceylon. This shows that at the time when this inscription was engraved, the distinction between the *Theriya* Sect and *Dharmaruci* or *Abhayagiri* Sect was well known even in India. According to the *Mahāvamsa* the *Dharmaruci* Sect broke away from the Mahāvihāra during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (103–77 B.C.). Now we know that Ācariya Dhammanandi belonged to the *Theriya* Sect or the Mahāvihāra School. It is therefore obvious that the date of the *Sihalavatthu* was later than that of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's reign.

Reference is also made invariably in this book to the great famine which occurred during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya as the *Brāhmaṇatiya corabhaya*.² The only other work where this word *Tiya* occurs is the *Mahāvamsa*. The commentarial literature and both the *Sahassavatthu* and the *Rasavāhini* refer to this clearly as the *Brāhmaṇa Tissa corabhaya*. This suggests that the date of the *Sihalavatthu* was earlier than that of Buddhaghosa's Commentaries. Further, references are made in this book to several kings of Ceylon up to Mahāsena. But no mention is made to a single king that came after that ruler.

Dr. Burgess expressed the opinion that "the inscriptions at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa belong to about the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. but are probably earlier".³ Dr. Bühler, while editing them, "places the reign of king Purisadatta in the 3rd century A.D. and before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Vengi".⁴ According to the Ceylon chronology, Mahāsena's reign also falls from the 2nd half of the 3rd century A.D. In consequence of these facts it is reasonable to assign the date of the *Sihalavatthu* also to the same period. If this is accepted, the *Sihalavatthu* goes back to a date even earlier than that of the *Dipavamsa*. If so, the *Sihalavatthu* can also be considered as the earliest extant Pāli work in Ceylon written by a Sinhalese monk.

¹ For *Yavanas* in Saurāṣṭra, cf. 'Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I'. *EI*. Vol. VIII, pp. 42. ff.

² *Sihv.*, pp. 152, 162, 166.

³ J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayyapāta* (London, 1887), pp. 110 ff, *EI*. Vol. XX, p. 21.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 256 ff.

From the point of view of language and style there does not appear to be any objection to dating this text back to the 3rd century A.D.¹

So far as the contents of this book are concerned a great deal of similarity can be seen between this and the *Sahassavatthu*. But the style of writing and the poetic expressions in this book are far superior even to those in the *Dīpavaṃsa*. This book contains 82 stories. The first 27 stories are written in *campū* style. The next 23 stories are purely in verse and the remaining 32 stories are in prose. A perusal of the style of writing and arrangement of these stories suggests that the author was a great lover of poetry. Although he shows a little weakness in the use of correct idiom and grammar in the prose stories, he exhibits his elegance and cleverness in the correct use of Pāli idiom, poetic expressions and metre in the composition of verses.

The *Sihalavatthu* thus forms a very valuable source book for our present study, as it embodies a great deal of material which throws some light on the social, economic and religious conditions in Ceylon during the period under survey.

(g) *The Sahassavatthu*²

Both the author and the date of this work are uncertain. The author himself informs us that he composed his book with material borrowed from the *Sihalatṭhā-kathā* and the traditions of the teachers.³ References to the *Mahāvāṃsa*⁴ and to an opinion of the resident monks of the Uttaravihāra (Abhayagiri)⁵ are made in this book. The reference to the *Mahāvāṃsa* shows that the *Sahassavatthu* was later than the 5th century A.D. The *Mahāvāṃsa Ṭikā*, which belongs approximately to the 9th century A.D., refers to the *Sahassavatthu* three times.⁶ This shows that the date of the latter was earlier than that of the *Mahāvāṃsa Ṭikā*.

The author of the *Rasavāhīnī* says that he based his work on a Pāli work written by a Thera named Raṭṭhapāla of Guttavaṃka Pariveṇa at Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura.⁷ It is now agreed that the *Sahassavatthu* was a work belonging not to the Abhayagiri but to the Mahāvihāra.⁸

Originally it was written in Sinhalese (*Dīpabhāsāya*) embodying the stories related by Arahants. Raṭṭhapāla translated it into Pāli. Vedeha, the author of the *Rasavāhīnī*, says that Raṭṭhapāla's work was full of mistakes such as repetitions, etc. Hence he corrected these mistakes and re-arranged the text in a more refined

¹ I intend to deal with other aspects of the date of the *Sihalavatthu* with great detail in a separate article.

² Buddhadatta's Edition (Colombo, 1959).

³ *SV.*, p. I.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 108.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶ *MvT.*, pp. 451, 452, 607.

⁷ *RsV.*, Pt. I, p. 1.

⁸ *PLC.*, pp. 128-129.

language, adding further details wherever necessary and omitting unnecessary repetition.¹ Thus it is clear that the *Rasavāhini* is only a revision of Raṭṭhapāla's Pāli translation, which was most probably the *Sahassavatthu*.²

The work contains 95 stories dealing with incidents both in India and Ceylon. The stories connected with Ceylon provide us with a good deal of historical information not found in other sources, for example, the story of Phussadeva Thera is entirely new, and is not found even in the *Rasavāhini*. In the *Rasavāhini* too there is a story about one Phussadeva, but he is the well known paladin of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Phussadeva Thera of the *Sahassavatthu* is the son of Saddhātissa's sister.³ This shows that Kākavaṇṇa Tissa had not only two sons but also a daughter, who is not referred to anywhere in our sources. The great famine which occurred during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya is referred to both in the *Mahāvamsa*⁴ and the *Sihalavatthu*⁵ as *Brāhmaṇaṭṭiya*. But the *Sahassavatthu* invariably refers to it as *Brāhmaṇaṭṭissacorabhaya*.⁶ The commentarial literature also confirms this.⁷ The *Sahassavatthu* therefore forms an important source book for our present study.

(h) *The Rasavāhini*

The *Rasavāhini* was written in the 14th century A.D. by a Thera named Vedeha who was the author of both the *Samantakūṣa Vaṇṇanā* and the *Sihalasaddalakkhana*. But as this was a revision of Raṭṭhapāla's work mentioned above, there is no doubt that the majority of the stories belong to a very early date.

The *Rasavāhini* is a collection of 103 stories divided into two parts. The first contains 40 stories connected with India while the second consists of 63 stories dealing with incidents in Ceylon. Of them 19 stories are not found in the *Sahassavatthu*. This shows that Vedeha obtained them from other sources. But the latest king referred to in this is Sirināga, who ruled in Anurādhapura from 249 A.D. to 268 A.D. All the other kings such as Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Saddhātissa and Lajjitissa, who are often mentioned here, belonged to pre-Christian centuries. There is therefore no doubt that the material embodied in these stories belonged to a very early date. Hence all these works, the *Sihalavatthu*, the *Sahassavatthu* and the *Rasavāhini*, contain material of historical importance which throws new and interesting light on the manners, customs and social conditions of Ceylon during the period under survey.⁸

(i) *Foreign notices and accounts*

In the first place, Ceylon was famous for its precious stones and other commodities from early times. Then, after the introduction of Buddhism, it gained a reputation

¹ *Rsv.*, I, Intro., Verses 7-8.

² For more details see Rahula's *HB*. Intro., pp. xxix-xxx.

³ *Sv.*, p. 115.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXXIII, vv. 38-39.

⁵ *Sihv.*, pp. 151, 162, 166.

⁶ *SV.*, pp. 33, 41, 171, 177, 175, 180.

⁷ *Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā*, I, p. 92; *SMV*. pp. 445-446.

⁸ For more details about *Rasavāhini*, see Rāhula: *HB*. Intro., pp. xxix-xxx.

in the Buddhist world as the home of *Theravāda* Buddhism. These are the two main factors which attracted foreign visitors to this country. Of these visitors, the traders passed information about Ceylon on to the historians of their own countries, while the pilgrims left accounts written by themselves. The earlier accounts of the Greeks and the Romans were based on information supplied by sailors.

The two most important records of this category, which are useful for our present study are the anonymous work called *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, and the *Geography of Ptolemy*. It is very much doubted whether the writers of these two works obtained their information from first-hand knowledge. Yet, the particular references to sea-ports and commercial goods both of import and export made in these works indicate the state of the commercial and cultural intercourse between Ceylon and foreign countries in this period.

Another important and perhaps the most trustworthy foreign account is the *Travels of Fa-Hsien*¹ which was written by Fa-Hsien himself, a Chinese monk who visited Ceylon in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Unlike other accounts, this record contains first-hand information gathered by the author himself during the two years of his stay in Ceylon. Although the date of Fa-Hsien falls outside our period of study, his account can be considered as reflecting the condition of Ceylon at least in the preceding century. Hence the usefulness of these foreign accounts for our present study is unquestionable.

(2) Archaeological Sources

Archaeological sources are broadly divided into three groups: inscriptions, coinage and monuments. Of these inscriptions are the most important for our present study.

(a) *Inscriptions*.—The inscriptions of this period contain information useful for our study and more trustworthy than other sources because they are contemporaneous and closest to the events. Moreover, they confirm what is given in the chronicles and other sources and sometimes they give us entirely new information which is not found in other sources.

These inscriptions are engraved on natural rocks, pillars, stone slabs and parts of ancient buildings. A few, belonging to the early period, are also carved on lime stone slabs.²

Over 3,000 of these inscriptions, assigned to the period beginning from the 3rd century B.C. to about the 2nd century A.D., are very short and contain records of the donation of caves to the *Saṅgha*.³ They are engraved in Brāhmī script as in India. These are scattered in all parts of the country.⁴ Many of these inscriptions are referred to in Müller's *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, *Journal of the Ceylon*

¹ *Travels of Fa-Hsien* (1923).

² A. M. Hocart, *Inscribed Stones*, *CJSG*, II, p. 2.

³ *ASCAR.*, for 1905, pp. 45-54.

⁴ *CJSG*, I., p. 86.

Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Journal of Science and the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report. The best edited inscriptions by the most eminent scholars in this field, are published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. New records are still being discovered and are usually given in the annual reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon.

Most of these inscriptions were left by the kings themselves and their officials, while the rest were left by ordinary people. As they are very short, they usually contain nothing more than the names of the donors and the particular monks to whom the donations were made. In the case of the royal grants, the names of kings, their titles and perhaps their genealogies are also normally given. In some cases the date of the grant is given in regnal years.

These inscriptions are particularly significant for the reconstruction of the political history of this period. But the uses of these records for the study of the social history are still greater, for some of the titles occurring in them are honorific while others are occupational. Hence most of these titles serve as an index to determine the rank and the caste to which the donors belonged. The hereditary character of these titles further helps us to understand the types of family organisation which led to the establishment of separate settlements of different communities on an occupational basis. The names of some villages and towns recorded in these inscriptions also testify to this fact. Thus the inscriptions of this period are the most reliable records useful for our purpose.

The aid of Indian inscriptions is also sought wherever necessary to trace the historical development of various institutions in Ceylon and to understand the meaning of certain obscure words occurring in our sources both literary and epigraphic.

(b) *Numismatics*.—Coins are another important source for the reconstruction of the history of Ceylon. But they are of little value so far as our period of study is concerned, for very few contemporary coins, whether local or foreign, have come to light so far. They are found in abundance from about the 4th century A.D. onwards. These coins no doubt supplement the literary evidence about Ceylon's commercial contact with foreign countries.

(c) *Monuments*.—Buildings both religious and secular, towns, tanks and different types of early settlements, are often mentioned in our literary and epigraphic records. But most of them are now in a state of ruin. The recent archaeological survey on the site of the ancient city of Anurādhapura has revealed a complete picture of that city exactly in the same way in which it has been described in literary sources.¹

Hence, for a thorough study of many aspects of Ceylon history, a systematic archaeological survey, particularly on the sites of early settlements of Ceylon, is still a long felt need, for until it is done, a complete picture of the early phase of the history of Ceylon will never be revealed. However, the remains of the religious and secular works unearthed and preserved so far by our archaeologists form a valuable index to the social, economic, political and religious conditions as well as the cultural attainments of the Sinhalese during our period of study.

¹ See, *infra*, p. 123.

CHAPTER TWO

CASTE SYSTEM

In the 5th century B.C., when the Aryans may have started to migrate to Ceylon from India, there is no doubt that they brought with them their customs and institutions, their ideology concerning social organisation and the superior or inferior position of the various classes. In order to understand Sinhalese Culture, it is, therefore, necessary to examine the evolution of the caste system in Ceylon, noticing where it was different from the Indian caste system, and suggesting the causes of its difference.

Society in pre-Buddhist Ceylon, before the advent of Mahinda, was divided, as in India, into four major divisions : the *Brāhmaṇa* or the learned priestly class, the *Kṣatriya* or the ruling class, the *Gahapati* (*Vaiśya*) or the community composed of traders and farmers, and the *Śūdra* or the class of people who were employed in menial work.

The Brāhmaṇas

The *Brāhmaṇas* formed the most influential and respected section of Ceylon society in those days. According to the *Mahāvamsa*¹ one of the immigrants who came along with Vijaya was a *Brāhmaṇa* named Upatissa who founded Upatissa Gāma which was for some time the capital of the Sinhalese Kingdom, and who held the office of domestic chaplain to Vijaya. In the absence of a suitable heir to the throne, he even administered the country from the death of Vijaya² until the arrival of Paṇḍuvāsudeva from India. This might indicate that the position he held both in society and administration of the country was an important one.

In Indian society the *Purohita* or the royal chaplain figured prominently among the *Ratnin* in the *Vedic* period,³ and he continued to be a member of the Council of Ministers for several centuries. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁴ every king who wants to perform a sacrifice must have a *Purohita*, as otherwise the Gods will not accept his offerings. Thus he stood in relation of a spiritual Preceptor (*Guru*) to the King.

According to the *Jātakas*, the *Purohita* must discharge his duties by performing sacrifices in order to drive away the misfortune which accrues to the King through bad dreams,⁵ or through sinister omens ; apparently the *Brāhmaṇas* visited the King

¹ *Mv.*, VII, v. 44.

² *Mv.*, VIII, v. 4.

³ N. N. Law, *Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 87, 170.

⁴ *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 24, " *Na vai apurohitasya devā balimaśnuvanti.*"

⁵ *Jātaka*, I, p. 335, *Mahāsupina Jātaka* : " *Atha . . . Brāhmaṇa-purohitā upasaikamitvā*" .

in the morning¹ for this purpose ; arms and animals which the King used had to be consecrated by magic formulae,² so that their use might bring luck. This shows clearly that the King used to seek the advice of *Purohita* before he undertook any kind of new venture.

He was not only a spiritual *Guru* to the King but also his principal adviser in terms of the King's everyday life. A reference in the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka*³ clearly indicates that the King held the *Purohita* in very high esteem as his teacher. Thus it is understood that the *Purohita* is the guiding factor of the King's life both worldly and spiritually. It is said in one of the *Jātakas* that a King appointed his former teacher to the office of *Purohita*, and looked upon him as if he were his father and followed his advice.⁴

The office of *Purohita* was, usually, hereditary, and held by the same family for generations.⁵ The hereditary character of this office, therefore, firmly bound the Priest's family with the ruling house. This is referred to in the *Susīma Jātaka*: "for seven generations, the performance of elephant consecration has been hereditary in our family".⁶

This position of the *Purohita* with respect to the King, led necessarily to an intimate personal relation between the two. It is, therefore, quite understandable that the *Purohita*, occasionally, played an important role in both the fields of politics and judicial administration. He was expected to be well-versed both in *Śāstra* (military affairs) and *Śāstra* (religious affairs), as also in political science.⁷

When the King, consecrated for a long sacrificial session, could not direct the administration, it was the *Purohita* who deputised for him.⁸ The *Rāmāyaṇa* shows that when the monarchy was in abeyance owing to the absence of a suitable heir to ascend the throne, it was the *Purohita* Vasīṣṭha who carried on the administration.⁹ This practice may have been just the same in Ceylon, as we have seen in the case of the *Purohita Upatissa*.¹⁰

It is also evident from the *Jātaka* that the *Purohita* took part in the judicial administration. The *Kiñchanda Jātaka* tells of a slandering, corrupt *Purohita* who, when sitting in court, makes unjust judgements.¹¹ The *Purohita* even enjoyed the power to set aside a wrong judgement given by a *Senāpati*, on his own accord, without even consulting the king.¹² Thus at times he also enjoyed the status of Chief Justice.

¹ J., III, p. 43, "*Kosalārājā nerayikasattānaṃ saddaṃ suṇi . . . aruṇuggamanavelāya Brāhmaṇā āgantvā*".

² J., II, 46. "*So pana hatthimaṅgalakārako ahoṣi*".

³ J., IV, p. 270 : "*Rājā ko esoti pucchī. Ahaṃ deva purohitoti, atha so dvāraṃ vivarivā ito ācartiya ehīti āha*".

⁴ J., II, p. 282.

⁵ J., IV, p. 200 : "*Tassa purohitakulaṃ ahivātakarogena vinassi*".

⁶ J., II, p. 47 : "*Hatthimaṅgalakāraṇaṃ nāma yāva sattamā kulaparivattā amhākaṃ*".

⁷ Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 121.

⁸ Altekar, " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "

⁹ *Ibid.* loc. cit.

¹⁰ See, *Supra*, p. 11.

¹¹ J., V, p. 1 : "*Purohito panesa parapiṭṭhimaṃsiko iñcakkhādadako kūṭavinicchayiko ahoṣi*".

¹² J., II, p. 187 : "*Bodhisatto taṃ aṭṭaṃ paṭiviniicchitvā sāmikaṃ neva sāmikaṃ ākasi*".

But it should be borne in mind that the political power of *Purohita* was purely individual and had its source solely in the personal influence which he obtained over the king through his function as sacrificer and magician. He performed these duties partly owing to his close intimacy with the king and partly to fulfil his ambition of acquiring as much wealth as he could. A *Purohita*, discussing the ethics of animal sacrifice with his pupil, says in the *Mahāsupina Jātaka*¹: "my son, much money will come to us in this way". According to the *Susima Jātaka*, the consecration of State elephants always brought the *Purohita* ten million,² as all implements for consecration and the entire jewellery of the elephants fell to the lot of the performer of the consecration. Thus it is clear that the main object of their discharge of duties in performing sacrifice and magic, was to achieve their self-elevation through wealth.

For this purpose they secured many privileges which were not common to the other members of society. They enjoyed tax-free lands which produced food-crops by means of the ox and the plough and gangs of servants and serfs, living with the power and splendour of kings.³ Sometimes the revenues of many villages were assigned to the *Brāhmaṇas* by royal charter. For this investment of public money what returns did society receive from the average *Brāhmaṇa*? At most a few couplets of royal eulogy,⁴ the solution of a dream and interpretation of omens,⁵ or performance of costly sacrifice to propitiate the Gods. Meanwhile he would invest his wealth in various kinds of business pursuits such as agriculture,⁶ trade,⁷ and cattle rearing, and became a multi-millionaire (*Asitikoṭivibhavo*).⁸ His daily remuneration from the king amounted to 100 or 500 *kahāpaṇas*.⁹ The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya gives the salary of the *Purohita* as 48,000 *paṇas*, probably per month.¹⁰ Thus wealth and social prestige gave him further powers in state and society.

It can be seen from the references in the Pāli Chronicles that this practice was much the same in Ceylon society, too. The *Mahāvamsa* refers, after Upatissa, to a group of *Brāhmaṇas* who were well-versed in *mantras* and were in an advisory capacity in the royal court.¹¹ The queen Ummādacittā entrusted prince Paṇḍukābhaya, her son, to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Paṇḍula who was wealthy and well-versed in the *Vedas* (*Bhogavā Vedapāraḡo*), to be instructed in royal accomplishments. Having trained him properly in arts and sciences necessary for a king, Paṇḍula gave him

¹ J., I, p. 343.

² J., II, p. 46.

³ *Digha*, I, p. 87; *Majjhima*, II, p. 164.

⁴ J., V, p. 23: ". . . . *catasso satārahā gāthā . . . tassa nivāsagehaṃ dāpetvā*"; J., V, p. 485.

⁵ J., I, p. 272; J., IV, p. 276.

⁶ J., IV, p. 276.

⁷ J., V, p. 471; IV, p. 15.

⁸ J., IV, p. 7; II, p. 272; II, p. 39.

⁹ *Majjhima*, II, p. 163; *Samyutta*, I, p. 82.

¹⁰ *Arthaśāstra*, V, III.

¹¹ *Mv.*, IX, v. 2.

one hundred thousand coins in order to enable him to raise an army to fight his enemies (his uncles). Paṇḍukābhaya carried out the instructions of Paṇḍula and appointed Paṇḍula's son, Canda to the office of *Purohita* in his royal court.¹

Among the buildings which were built by Paṇḍukābhaya in Anurādhapura there was a separate dwelling house for the *Brāhmaṇas* (*Brāhmaṇāvāṭṭam*).² Devānampiyatissa also had a *Brāhmaṇa* (*dvija*) who was sent in company with the king's nephew Ariṭṭha on an embassy bearing presents to Asoka.³

When the branch of the sacred Bodhi tree was brought to Anurādhapura, one of the halts between that city and the seaport Jambukolapaṭṭana, was in the village of a *Brāhmaṇa* named Tivakka.⁴ This *Brāhmaṇa* is again specially mentioned among the other distinguished personages present on the occasion of the planting of this tree,⁵ and one of the eight places selected for planting the eight *Bo*-saplings was the village of the *Brāhmaṇa* Tivakka.⁶ In the enumeration of the different places passed by the king Devānampiyatissa, in the process of his marking the boundaries of the consecrated area in Anurādhapura, the shrine belonging to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Diyavāsa is mentioned both in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*⁷ and the *Mahāvāṃsa*.⁸ Kākavaṇṇa Tissa also had *Brāhmaṇas* as house-priests.⁹ There was another *Brāhmaṇa* named Kuṇḍala in Dvāramaṇḍala village near Mihintale, who was a good friend of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.¹⁰

Thus it is clear from these references that the *Brāhmaṇa* was a highly respected member of society during this period. In India when the popular faith in them declined with the rise of the Upaniṣadic, Jain, and Buddhist movements, the influence of the *Purohita* as a house-priest must have declined. After the advent of Mahinda, the position of *Brāhmaṇas* in Ceylon may have been similar as in India. Under these circumstances, some of the *Brāhmaṇas* in Ceylon may have aspired for political power in order to bring about a revival of Brāhmaṇism. In the first half of the 1st century B.C. when *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya* had ruled scarcely five months, a young *Brāhmaṇa* named Tissa raised a revolt in Rohana.¹¹ Tissa was such a powerful *Brāhmaṇa* that *Vaṭṭagāmaṇi*, at least for the time being, dared not meet him in open battle.¹²

¹ *Mv.*, X, vv. 19-26.

² *Mv.*, X, v. 102.

³ *Mv.*, XI, v. 20.

⁴ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 37.

⁵ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 33.

⁶ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 60.

⁷ *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, p. 136 : "Nigrodham ānganam gantvā Htyagalla sampake : diyavāsabrāhmaṇassa, devokaṃ pubbadakkhiṇam".

⁸ *Mv.*, XV, v. 204.

⁹ *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 46-47.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, XXIII, vv. 24-30.

¹¹ *Mv.*, XXXIII, vv. 37-41.

¹² *Mv.*, XXXIII, v. 33 ff.

According to the *Sammohavinodani*, the rebel *Brāhmaṇa*, Tissa plundered the districts. The monks discussed this question in Council and sent eight *theras* to *Sakka* requesting him to ward off the rebel. *Sakka*, the king of the *Devas*, replied : "Sirs, it is not possible to ward off the rebel that has risen. May you go abroad. I shall protect you on the sea".¹ This story, though curious, shows the tremendous power wielded by Tissa during this period. The hatred with which Tissa was looked upon by the monks, is well-illustrated by the epithet "*Caṇḍāla*", sometimes added to his name in literary works of this period, where he appears as "*Caṇḍāla Tissa*."²

There was another *Brāhmaṇa* named *Sirināga* who at first became a plunderer and later raised an army and usurped the throne of *Anurādhapura*³. He was also such a powerful enemy of Buddhism that when he persisted in digging the treasures of *cetiya*s, nobody dared point out to him the gravity of his misdeeds.

Once, when a *Caṇḍāla* was asked to show how to break into a particular *cetiya*, he refused to do so, as he was an *upāsaka*. When *Sirināga* heard his words of praise of the Buddha, it was as if iron spikes were pricking his ears and, he became so furious with anger that he ordered eight *Caṇḍālas* to be impaled.⁴ There is also a reference in the *Mahāvamsa*, to a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Niliya*, who was anointed King by queen *Anulā*, after poisoning her previous husband.⁵

The earliest inscriptions of Ceylon, too, bear testimony to the presence of *Brāhmaṇas* in Ceylon just after the introduction of Buddhism. One of the donors of caves at *Sässēruva*, in the *Kurunegala* District, was a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Somadeva*, son of *Vāsakaṇi*.⁶ The owner of a cave at *Vāngala* in the *Nuwarakalāviya* District is given in the inscription on the brow of the cave as *Viritasaṇa*, the son of the *Brāhmaṇa* *Kosika*.⁷

Several other inscriptions, too, of the period under review furnish us with still more evidence to show that there were *Brāhmaṇas* who commanded a high social status in Ceylon. The word *Bamaṇa* occurs in two inscriptions: "*Parumaka Suri putaha Parumaka Bamaṇa Dataha*"; "*Damaguta teraha Bamaṇa puta Mahadataha*." This word *Bamaṇa* is no doubt derived from the Sanskrit *Brāhmaṇa* (*Brāhmaṇa* > *Bamṇaṇa* > *Bamaṇa*). This shows clearly that there were *Brāhmaṇas* who became Buddhists and played an important role in society, raising themselves to the rank of *Parumakas*.

¹ *SV.*, p. 445 : "*Brāhmaṇatisso coropi janapadaṃ viddhaṃseti; saṅgho sannipativā coraṃ paṭibāhatūti sakkasantikam aṭṭha there pesesi . . .*"

² *Manorathapūraṇi*, p. 136 : "*Teneva imasmim dipe Caṇḍāla-Tissa-mahābhaye sakko . . . bhikkūnaṃ ārocesi*".

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 8.

⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p.8

⁵ *Mv.*, XXXIV. v. 25.

⁶ *JRAS (CB)*, Vol. XXI, p. 321.

⁷ *JRASC.B.*, Vol. 31, p. 322.

Another inscription records that a cave was donated by an *Upāsaka* who was the son of a *Nākatika* (astrologer).¹ Yet another inscription refers to a *Parumaka*, the son of an astrologer who was also a *Parumaka*.²

We will see later³ that the profession of astrology was mainly in the hands of *Brāhmaṇas* in Ceylon as in India. Thus it is obvious that the *Brāhmaṇa* astrologer also enjoyed the equal social status with the *Parumakas* during this period.

Further, it is to be noted that five other inscriptions belonging to the period under survey contain eight references to a word '*Paṭake*'. An examination of the parallel usage of this term in other sources will help us to understand its meaning in our inscriptions. Neither Wickremasingha nor Paranavitana says anything about the etymology of this term.⁴

According to Indian Literature, both Sanskrit and Pāli, the word *Pāṭhaka* means "one who recites, one who knows well, one who instructs". In Hindi, too, the word *Pāṭhaka* means "one who recites", hence the "spiritual teacher"—the *brāhmaṇa*. The word *Paṭake* in our Inscriptions seems to be derived from this.

According to the *Mahāniddeśa*, those who read signs and stars are called *Lakkhaṇa Pāṭhakā* and *Nakkattha Pāṭhakā* respectively.⁵ In the *Jātakas* "those who know the science of reading the bodily signs are called *Āṅgavijjā Pāṭhakā*".⁶ On the strength of this evidence, though it is reasonable to infer that these *Pāṭhakas* were *Brāhmaṇas*, these references do not state this explicitly. But a few other references clearly show that these *Pāṭhakas* were *Brāhmaṇas*.

A man who had an extremely beautiful daughter, once went to the king and requested him to have her examined by sign readers and take her into his palace, as there was no more suitable match for her than he. The king agreed to this request and sent *Brāhmaṇas* (*Brāhmaṇe pesesi*) to examine her.⁷ Then there is also a reference to another *Brāhmaṇa* who knew the art of reading good and bad swords (*asilakkhana-pāṭhako Brāhmaṇo*).⁸ The *Mahāvamsa* also refers to a *Brāhmaṇa* as "*Horāpāṭhaka*".⁹ Thus it is justifiable to suppose that the word *paṭake* in our inscriptions may mean "*Brāhmaṇa*".

In all the references in our inscriptions assigned to the period from the 3rd century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., found in the Kāgalla District, the word *paṭaka* is used

¹ *CJSG.*, II., p. 214, No. 674.

² *CJSG.*, II., p. 214, No. 672.

³ See, *infra*, pp. 145-146.

⁴ *CJSG.*, II., pp. 202-204.

⁵ *Mahāniddeśa*, p. 382. "*Lakkhaṇapāṭhakā lakkhaṇaṃ ādisanti, nakkhattapāṭhakā nakkhattaṃ ādisanti*".

⁶ *J.*, I, p. 455 ; II, p. 21.

⁷ *J.*, V, p. 211 : "*Deva nama gehe . . . lakkhaṇapāṭhake pesetvā.*"

⁸ *J.*, I, p. 455.

⁹ *Mv.*, XXXV., v. 71.

in the Māgadhi nominative singular form “*paṭake*”¹ and in combination with the locative singular of the name of a village or a city, i.e., *Cenagamasi paṭake*², *Nilaya Nagarasi paṭake*,³ *Dasataragamasi paṭake*,⁴ *Patagagamasi paṭake*,⁵ *Upaligamasi paṭake*,⁶ *Amanagamasi paṭake*,⁷ *Salivayasi paṭake*,⁸ and *Batasa Nagarasa paṭake*.⁹

It is evident from these references that these *paṭakas* were the leaders of their respective villages or cities referred to above. We have seen earlier¹⁰ that the *Brāhmaṇas* who migrated to the Island first built villages themselves and settled down in them. It is, therefore, justifiable to infer that these are the villages where the *Brāhmaṇa* community lived mostly during this period. It is to be noted here that eight *Brāhmaṇa* families were sent to Ceylon along with the Sacred *Bodhi*-Tree by Asoka.¹¹ Most probably these are the eight villages built by them. The references to the *apara* (other or secondary) *paṭaka* of *Cenagama*, and the *ekapaṭaka* of *Anamagama*, suggest that there were often more than one *paṭaka* in a settlement, and that one of these was looked on as superior to the others.

After the advent of Mahinda, the influence of the *Brāhmaṇa* on society as a house-priest began to decline. But it is, no doubt, true that those who embraced Buddhism were absorbed¹² into the Buddhist lay society, following professions of varied nature, but still tried to retain their status in society and perhaps succeeded to a considerable extent.

The Kṣatriyas

According to the social set up in Ceylon during this period, the king and the members of the royal family as well as the members of those families which were related to the king in one way or other, formed a class by themselves, equivalent to the *Kṣatriyas* of Ancient India.

The *Kṣatriya* is a class of nobles or warriors. Although proofs are wanting of the existence of a group of hereditary military castes under the general name of *Kṣatriya*, in India during our period, still there is no doubt that there was a class of nobles who cultivated the arts of politics and war and occupied certain high responsible positions of state. With the expansion of the king's family, his kinsmen were absorbed in this class as Commander-in-Chief (*Senāpati*), Viceroy (*Uparāja*) and so forth. It was this

¹ Cf. *Vanappagumbe yathāphussitagge* ; *Uvāsage*.

² *CJSG.*, II, p. 204, No. 621 : “ *Cenagamasi aparapaṭake ima gama* ”.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 620.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 619.

⁵ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 203, No. 618.

⁷ *CJSG.*, II., p. 202, No. 615.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204, No. 620.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 202, No. 615.

¹⁰ See *Supra*, pp. 11.

¹¹ *Mv.*, XIX. v. 2.

¹² *Mv.*, XVII, v. 60 : “ *Tato' patissagāmecca pañca pañca satāni ca pabbajjam . . .* ”

class of people who were considered as one of the four *Varnas* or social grades in Ancient India. Gradually they became the ruling class in the state as the representatives of political power, with the king at their head.

In the eyes of the people they were, no doubt, superior to the *Brāhmaṇas*. But the *Brāhmaṇas* tried, whenever possible, to place themselves above the *Kṣatriyas* during the Vedic period. The *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*¹ claims that the royal authority should avoid interference with the *Brāhmaṇas* and reminds the king that he can prosper only if supported by the latter. If he does not employ a *Brāhmaṇa* as *Purohita*, says the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,² "God will not at all accept his offerings". At the time of the *Abhiṣeka*, the king three times bows before the *Brāhmaṇa*; he thereby accepts the subordination of the *Kṣatriya* to the *Brāhmaṇa* and as long as he does so he will prosper.³

From these references it is clear that the influence of the *Purohita* over the king was great during the Vedic period. But it does not necessarily mean that, as a class, the *Brāhmaṇas* were superior to the *Kṣatriyas*, for there are other references in the *Brāhmaṇa* Literature itself to show that the king could at his will make himself the lord of the *Brāhmaṇas*.⁴ Another passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁵ mentions that a king can expel the *Purohita* as he likes.

According to the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*⁶ it is the *Kṣatriya* or the king who enjoys the highest status in society; the *Brāhmaṇa* sits lower than and next to him. When Princess Śarmiṣṭhā suspected that Devayānī, the daughter of the *Purohita*, was assuming an air of superiority, she said to her: "enough of presumptuousness; sitting in a lower place (*nīcaih*) your father goes on flattering my father both day and night. You are the daughter of him who begs and flatters, I am the daughter of him who donates and is praised".⁷

In the whole of Buddhist Literature the *Kṣatriyas* are always assigned the first place in the list of castes. In the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, it is emphatically stated that "the *Kṣatriyas* are superior, the *Brāhmaṇas* are inferior".⁸

Thus the *Kṣatriyas* of Ancient India formed a class by themselves and were conscious of their rank in society. These notions of their rank in society and their customs, probably handed down from ancient times, made marriage within the *Jāti*

¹ *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, I, II : "Rāja vai sarvasyeṣṭe Brāhmaṇavarjam."

² *A. Br.* VII, 5, 24 : "Na vai apurohitasya devā balimaśnuvanti".

³ *A. Br.* VIII, 9 (*Sa nṛpaḥ yannamo brāhmaṇe iti . . . triskṛtvā Brāhmaṇe namaskaroti. Brāhmaṇa eva taṣṣatram vaśameti tadrāṣṭram samūrdham tadviravadāha*).

⁴ *A. Br.* VII, 9, 14 : "Yadā vai rājā kāmāyate atha Brāhmaṇam jīnāti."

⁵ *A. Br.* VII, 25 : "Brāhmaṇaḥ ādāyi āpyayī avasāyī yathākāmaṃ prayāpyah".

⁶ *Br. Upd.*, I, 4, 10 : "tasmāt kṣatrāt param nastī tasmāt brāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyamadhastāt upāste"

⁷ *Br. Up.*, 1, 72, 9-10 : "āsinaṅca sayānaṅca . . . sutāhaṃ sthūyamānasyadatoprati gūhatah".

⁸ *Dīgha.*, I, p. 98 : "Khatthiyā u seṭṭhā hinā brāhmaṇā"; p. 99 : "Khatthiyo seṭṭho jante-tasmīn".

the rule and tended to prohibit all impurity arising from mixture with the lower classes and thus led to a specially sharp caste-like division. ¹

When the consciousness of their rank in society grew up, they were very particular as to the purity of their descent through seven generations, both on the father's and the mother's side; and are described as "fair in colour, fine in presence, stately to behold". ² According to one of the *Jātakas*, the *Kṣatriya* feels his superiority so much that king Arindama calls Sonaka, the son of a *Purohita*, a man of low birth (*Hinajaccā*). ³ But it should be borne in mind that the *Purohita* was held in very high esteem by the king simply because he was his *Guru*, both spiritual and worldly. This was the position of the *Kṣatriya* in India during the 6th century B.C.

Whatever the ancestry of the legendary Vijaya may be, one thing is certain that he was an Āryan prince come from India. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, ⁴ when Vijaya and his band of followers settled down in the Island in the 5th century B.C., his ministers requested him to get himself anointed king of Lankā. But Vijaya did not wish to do so till he obtained a *Kṣatriya* maiden as his queen from India.

Mention is also made in the *Mahāvamsa* ⁵ of Paṇḍuvāsudeva who was the son of Vijaya's brother, Sumitta in Simhapura, as a *Kṣatriya*. Although the *Mahāvamsa* does not say anything about the caste to which Vijaya belonged, the two references mentioned above clearly show that he belonged to the *Kṣatriya* caste. Then Paṇḍukābhaya ⁶ and his uncles ⁷ are also referred to as *Kṣatriyas*. Similarly Paṇḍukābhaya's son Muṭṭasīva and grandson Devānaṃpiya Tissa were *Kṣatriyas*. ⁸

There was another *Kṣatriya* clan, during the reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, at Kājaragāma (modern Kataragama). The representatives of this group of *Kṣatriyas* were among the distinguished personages who were present at the celebration held in honour of the *Bodhi*-branch brought from India by Saṅghamittā. ⁹ But there is no evidence to prove that they were in any way related to the royal family then ruling at Anurādhapura. It appears possible that the *Kṣatriyas* at Kataragama were connected with a stream of immigration to this Island, quite distinct from the main stream whose legend and traditions are the theme of the *Chronicles of Anurādhapura*. ¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.* I, p. 115, "Samaṇo khalu bho gotamo abhirūpo dassaniyo pāsādiko paranāya vaṇṇa-pokkharatāya samannāgato akkhuddāvakaṁso dassanāya"; *Vinaya*, II, 4, 160.

² Fick, *Social Organisation*, p. 82.

³ *J.*, V, p. 257.

⁴ *Mv.* VII, v. 47 : *vinā khattiyakaññāya abhisekaṃ mahesiyā*."

⁵ *Mv.*, VIII, vv. 4, 14, 15.

⁶ *Mv.*, X, vv. 34, 40.

⁷ *Mv.*, X, v. 30.

⁸ *Mv.*, XV, v. 193.

⁹ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 62.

¹⁰ *CJSG.*, II, p. 176.

The *Mahāvamsa* also states that Devānampiya Tissa's brother, the vice-regent Mahānāga, in order to escape the dangerous consequences of the treachery of Devānampiya Tissa's queen, fled with his family from Anurādhapura to Rohaṇa and established a separate settlement there.¹

There was still another *Kṣatriya* settlement at Kālaṇiya in the 2nd century B.C. The ruler of this kingdom was Tissa, who was referred to as a *Kṣatriya*.² Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's mother, the famous Vihāramahādevī, was the daughter of this Tissa.³ Both according to the *Pūjāvaliya*⁴ and *Rājāvaliya*,⁵ Yaṭāla Tissa, the son of Devānampiya Tissa's brother Mahānāga, ruled at Kālaṇiya and built the *cetiya* there. Kākavaṇṇa Tissa of Mahāgāma, who married the daughter of Tissa at Kālaṇiya, was the grandson of Yaṭāla Tissa who ruled at Kālaṇiya while his son Goṭṭābhaya ruled at Māgama.⁶ Thus it is clear that the *Kṣatriyas* of Kālaṇiya were related to the *Kṣatriyas* of Māgama and the *Kṣatriyas* of Māgama were related to the *Kṣatriyas* of Anurādhapura from a very early time.

There was another *Kṣatriya* settlement called *Candanagāma*. The representatives of this group of *Kṣatriyas* also were among the personages who were present at the celebration of the *Mahābodhi* at Anurādhapura during the reign of Devānampiya Tissa.⁷

It is evident from the *Mahāvamsa* that all the kings from Vijaya up to Ilanāga were called *Kṣatriyas*, with the exception of foreign usurpers and the temporary consorts of queen Anulā. It is significant that the *Mahāvamsa* author was very careful not to designate the kings of the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty, from Vasabha to Mahāsena, by the term *Kṣatriya*. But both the *Dipavaṃsa*⁸ and the *Attanagaluvamsa*⁹ refer to the kings of the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty also as *Kṣatriyas*. All these references, undoubtedly, suggest that there was in Ceylon a class of people called *Kṣatriyas* who were either related to the royal family or belonged to ruling families of different origins. We shall have reason to revert to the class affiliations of the Lambakaṇṇas in another context.¹⁰

One of the most important elements of the *Abhiṣeka* of a king in ancient Ceylon was that the king must have a maiden of the *Kṣatriya* caste as his queen at the time of the *Abhiṣeka*. This is referred to both in the case of Vijaya¹¹ and his successor

¹ *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 2-8.

² *Mv.*, XXII, v. 13.

³ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 12.

⁴ *Pjv.*, Edition of 1930, p. 722.

⁵ *Rjv.*, p. 17.

⁶ *Pjv.*, p. 729.

⁷ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 54.

⁸ *Dv.*, XXII, v. 53.

⁹ *AV.*, p. 6, 19.

¹⁰ See, *infra*, pp. 33-36.

¹¹ *Mv.*, VII, v. 47.

Paṇḍuvāsudeva.¹ This undoubtedly indicates to what an extent the early Sinhalese kings were conscious of their rank in society. Further, the fact that a *Kṣatriya* maiden performed the *Abhiṣeka* of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, is highly significant for there is no reference to show that the *Abhiṣeka* was performed by a *Kṣatriya* maiden prior to this. According to the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*² there was no *Abhiṣeka* ceremony in the form in which it was introduced to Ceylon by Asoka prior to Devānaṃpiya Tissa. As the *Kṣatriyas* figure most prominently in this *Abhiṣeka* and as it gives an insight into the type of society which prevailed during the 3rd century B.C. in Ceylon, a few words regarding the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony may not be out of place here.

According to the Brāhmaṇa Literature *Rājasūya* is the name given to the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony.³ This ceremony divides itself into three parts, preliminary rituals, the *Abhiṣeka* itself, and post-*Abhiṣeka* ceremonies. The preliminary rituals mainly consisted of the *Ratnin* oblations which the king had to offer at the houses of his different *ratnins* or ministers and high officials.⁴

The actual *Abhiṣeka* followed on the second day. The king was anointed by sprinkling sacred water brought from the holy rivers and seas, while sitting on the throne covered with a tiger skin. The *Purohita* first performed this ceremony with the proper *Vedic mantras* invoking the deities Savitr, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Mitra, and Varuṇa to secure energy and driving power, ruling capacity, eloquence, truth and the capacity to protect the law, respectively. There was no doubt that the representatives of all the three main groups into which Āryan society was divided took part in the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony.

The *Mahābhārata* even records that the representatives of the *śūdra* and other lower castes also took part in the *Abhiṣeka* of Yudhiṣṭhira.⁵ The association of the representatives of different social groups at the time of the *Abhiṣeka* may have been intended to convey the general acceptance of the new king by the entire population of the country.

At the time of the *Abhiṣeka*, it was the king's duty to take an oath by which he bound himself not to do harm to the *Brāhmaṇas*⁶ and to abide by the provisions of *Dharma*.⁷

After the *Abhiṣeka* was over, the king went out for a state drive. On his return there was a great festival where a game of dice or a chariot race was displayed.⁸ This was the type of *Abhiṣeka* ceremony which was known to Ancient India.

When Vijaya and his band of followers migrated to the Island in the 5th century B.C. there was, undoubtedly, at least one *Brāhmaṇa*,⁹ if not many, who was quite conversant with the existing system of the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony in India. Although

¹ *Mv.*, IX, v. 17.

² *MvT.*, p. 305.

³ *St. Br.*, V, 2 & 3 ; *At. Br.*, VIII, 15.

⁴ *St. Br.*, V, 3, I.

⁵ *Mbh.*, 12, 58, 115-6.

⁶ *A. Br.*, VIII, 15.

⁷ *Mbh.*, 12, 58, 115-6.

⁸ *St. Br.*, V, 3.

⁹ *Mv.*, VII, v. 44.

the *Mahāvamsa* does not give a detailed account of this ceremony, it certainly records that after a *Kṣatriya* maiden was brought from India, Vijaya was anointed king "in full assembly of ministers in accordance with the rules (*yathāvidhi*)".¹ When the *Abhiṣeka* was over, there was a great festival (*mahāchana*) as a part of the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony.² These two statements: "anointed king in accordance with custom", and "a great festival was held", may, perhaps, lead us to suppose that this *Abhiṣeka* was performed in a manner similar to that in which it was performed in India. According to the *Mahāvamsa* Paṇḍukābhaya also had an *Abhiṣeka* ceremony immediately after which he appointed Canda to the status of *Purohita*.³ Paṇḍukābhaya did not solemnise his own *Abhiṣeka* as some scholars are inclined to think,⁴ for the *Mahāvamsa* definitely says that "he caused to perform the *Abhiṣeka*" (*so abhiṣekam kāresi*). The inference can therefore be made that it was not the *Kṣatriya* maiden who performed the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony but the *Brāhmaṇa Purohita*.

But it is very significant that the *Kṣatriyas* figure more prominently in the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony of Devānaṃpiya Tissa than the *Brāhmaṇas*. The following is the account of the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony given in the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*.

'In the first place, he who wishes to be duly inaugurated as king should obtain for this purpose three conches (golden and otherwise), water from the Ganges river, and a maiden of the *Kṣatriya* race. He must himself be ripe for the ceremony (*i.e.*, be over 16 years of age) and be a *Kṣatriya* of noble lineage, and must sit on a splendid Udumbara chair, well set in the middle of a pavilion made of Udumbara branches, which is itself in the interior of a hall gaily decked for the ceremony of *Abhiṣeka*.

First of all, the *Kṣatriya* maiden of gentle race, clothed in festive attire, taking in both hands a right handed sea chank, filled with Ganges water, and raising it aloft, sprinkles the *Abhiṣeka* water over his head, and says as follows :—

"Sire, by this ceremony of *Abhiṣeka* all the people of *Kṣatriya* race make thee their *Mahārāja* for their protection. Do thou rule over the land in uprightness, and imbued with the ten royal virtues. Have thou for the *Kṣatriya* race a heart filled with paternal love and solicitude. Let them (in return) protect, and guard, and cherish thee."

Next the royal chaplain, splendidly attired in a manner befitting his office, taking in both hands a silver chank filled with Ganges water, and raising it aloft, sprinkles water over his head, and says as follows :—

"Sire, by this ceremony of *Abhiṣeka* all the people of *Brāhmin* race make thee their *Mahārāja* for their protection." (here continues the same form of address as before).

¹ *Mv.*, VII, v. 71.

² *Mv.*, VII, v. 71 : *Yathāvidhi ca Vijayaṃ sabbe 'maccā samāgatā rajje samabhiṣiñciṃsu karimvī ca mahāchanaṃ'.*

³ *Mv.*, X, v. 78.

⁴ Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 26. *JRASCB.*, Vol. XXVI, Part 2, p. 119.

Next, the *Gahapati*, attired in a fitting manner, in the same way as in the case of both the *Kṣatriya* maiden and the *Purohita*, sprinkles the *Abhiṣeka* water over his head, and says as follows :—

“Sire, by this ceremony of *Abhiṣeka* all the *Gahapatis*, for their protection, make thee their *Mahārāja*.” (here the form of address continues as before).

Those who address the above form of words pronounce, as it were, a curse upon the king, as if they should say :—

It means that “thou shouldst rule the land in accordance with these our words. Should it not be so, mayest thy head split in seven pieces”.

In this land of Lankā be it known that a *Kṣatriya* Princess, sent by Asoka, performed the ceremony of *Abhiṣeka* over the head of Devānāmpīya Tissa with a right handed chank filled with water from Lake Anotatta. Previous to this no such ceremony was known in Lanka.¹

It is to be noted here that the *Sāratthadīpanī*, the commentary on *Samantapāsādikā*, gives an account of the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony of Devānāmpīya Tissa in a similar way, but slightly different from what is given in the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*.² The closing sentence of this account is as follows :—“It is said that in this Island of Lankā, the *Kṣatriya* maiden herself anointed king pouring ceremonial water from a right handed chank” (*Imasmim pana dīpe . . . khattiyakaññāyeva . . . abhisīciti vadanti*). It is also said that these details mentioned above were given in the Sinhalese Commentary on the *Mahāsihanāda Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (*Idaṃ ca yathāvuttaabhiṣekavidhānaṃ . . . Sihalaṭṭhakathāyampi . . . vuttanti vadanti*).

In the first place it is evident from this that the author of the *Sāratthadīpanī* differs from the author of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* as to the possibility of Devānāmpīya Tissa's *Abhiṣeka* having been performed for the first time only after the sending of the necessaries for the *Abhiṣeka* by Asoka. He does not seem to have accepted that this was the case, for he says clearly: “some say that the *Kṣatriya* maiden herself (*Khattiyakaññāyeva*) performed the *Abhiṣeka*”. He expresses here an air of suspicion as to whether the only *Abhiṣeka* that Devānāmpīya Tissa had undergone, was this. It can, therefore, be inferred that there may have been a school of thought which did not maintain the tradition of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*. This school, to which the author of the *Sāratthadīpanī* belonged, flourished during the reign of Parākrama-bāhu the Great (1153 A.D. -1186 A.D.).

Secondly, the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* says that the details regarding the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony given here are taken from the commentary on the *Cūlasihanāda Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* in the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā*, whereas the *Sāratthadīpanī* again disagrees with this tradition and says that “some say that these details are given in the Sinhalese Commentary on the *Mahāsihanāda Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*”.

¹ *MvT.*, p. 305.

² *Sāratthadīpanī*, Sinhalese edition, 1914, p. 140.

Then again, after describing the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony, both the Commentators give explanatory remarks which also convey the difference of opinions. Following are the two respective passages :—

The Mahāvamsa Tikā

“*Imasmiṃ pana dīpe Devānaṃpiya-tissassa muddhāni Dhammāsokeneva idha pesitā-khattiya-kunāri yeva anotattodaka-puṇṇena sāmuddikadakkhiṇāvattasamkhāna abhisekodakaṃ abhisīcīti vedita-bbāṃ. Tato pubbe pana abhisekagahaṇaṃ nāma natthi. Kevalaṃ navayaṭṭhiyā eva rajjaṃ karimsu. Pacchā pana Devānaṃpiyatisso attano sahāyassa. Dhammāsosokarañño ito rathapatodayaṭṭhādayo mahārahe paṇṇākāre pesesi. Sopi te disvā pasiditvā atiyiṃ tuṭṭho imehi atirekataraṃ kiṃ nāma mahagghaṃ paṭipanna-kāraṃ sahāyassa me pesessāmīti amaccehi saddhiṃ mantetvā lankādīpe abhisekapari-hāraṃ pucchitvā no aññaṃ abhisekapari-hāraṃ nāma atthi, kevalaṃ navayaṭṭhiyā eva kira so rajjaṃ kāretīti sutvā sādhu vata me sahāyassa abhisekapari-hāraṃ pesessāmīti vatvā sāmuddikasamkhādiṃ tīni samkhāni gaṃgodakaṃ aruṇavaṇṇamattikaṃ aṭṭha aṭṭha khattiyabrāhmaṇagahapatikaññāyo ca suvaṇṇasajjalohamattikāmayaghaṭṭhe ca aṭṭhahi khattiyakulehi saddhiṃ aṭṭha amaccakulāni cāti evaṃ sabbatṭhakaṃ nāma idha pesesi. ‘Imehi me sahāyassa abhisekaṃ karoṭhāti’ aññāṇa abhisekatthāya bahu paṇṇākāraṃ pesesi.”*

“It should be known that in this Island, a *Khattiya* maiden sent by *Dhammāsoka* poured the lustral water on the head of *Devānaṃpiya Tissa* from a right spiralled chank produced in the sea, and filled with water from the lake *Anotatta*. Before that there was no such receiving of the unction. They wielded the sovereignty merely by a new staff. Later, however, king *Devānaṃpiya Tissa* sent from here costly presents such as the chariot-goat-staff to his friend king *Dhammāsoka*.

The Sāratthadīpani

“*Yaā hi Devānaṃpiyatisso Mahārājā attano sahāyassa Dhammāsokarañño ito veluyatṭhiyādayo mahārahe paṇṇākāre pesesi, tadā sopi te disvā pasiditvā atiyiṃ tuṭṭho imehi atirekataraṃ kiṃ nāma mahagghaṃ paṭipanna-kāraṃ sahāyassa me pesessāmīti amaccehi saddhiṃ mantetvā lankādīpe abhisekapari-hāraṃ pucchitvā na tattha idiso abhisekapari-hāro atthīti sutvā sādhu vata me sahāyassa abhisekapari-hāraṃ pesessāmīti vatvā, sāmuddikasamkhādiṃ tīni samkhāni ca gaṃgodakaṃ aruṇavaṇṇamattikaṃ aṭṭha khattiyabrāhmaṇagahapatikaññāyo ca suvaṇṇarajatalohamattikāmayaghaṭṭhe ca aṭṭhahi ca seṭṭhikulehi saddhiṃ aṭṭha amaccakulāni cāti evaṃ sabbatṭhakaṃ nāma idha pesesi. ‘Imehi me sahāyassa puna abhisekaṃ karoṭhāti’ aññāṇa abhisekatthāya bahu paṇṇākāraṃ pesesi.”*

“*Dhammāsoka* having seen the costly presents such as the chariot-goat staff, etc., sent by *Devānaṃpiya Tissa*, was highly pleased ; and, thinking ‘ what return presents of greater value than these shall I send to my friend ’ took counsel with his ministers and inquired after the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony, having heard that there was no *Abhiṣeka* of this pattern, he decided to send necessary objects for the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony. He, then, sent three chanks including a sea chank, water from the *Ganges*, ruddy coloured mud, eight each of *Khattiya*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Gahapati* virgins, eight each of gold, silver

He having seen these presents, was highly pleased ; and thinking, ' what return presents of greater value than these shall I send to my friend ' took counsel with his ministers and inquired after the *Abhiṣeka* ceremonies in the Island of Lanka. He heard that there was no *Abhiṣeka* ceremony there, but that he ruled merely by a new staff. He then said : ' well, then, I shall send to my friend the objects necessary for the *Abhiṣeka* ', and sent here three chanks, including a chank produced in the sea, water from the Ganges, ruddy coloured mud, eight each of *Khattiya*, *Brāhmaṇa*, and *Gahapati* virgins, eight each of gold, silver, bronze, and earthen pots, eight *Khattiya* families, eight families of ministers, saying ' Perform the anointing of my friend with this '. They in due course came here with the presents and anointed Tissa as aforesaid. "

bronze, and earthen pots, eight *Khattiya* families, eight families of ministers saying : ' Perform the anointing of my friend with these for the second time '. He also sent many other presents necessary for the *Abhiṣeka* "

It is evident from these two passages that the author of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* differs from the author of the *Sāratthadīpanī* as to the existence of an *Abhiṣeka* ceremony prior to Devānaṃpiya Tissa. The *Mahāvamsa Tikā* says that " Asoka heard that there was no *Abhiṣeka* ceremony, but that Devānaṃpiya Tissa rules merely by a new staff ", whereas the *Sāratthadīpanī* says, " having heard that there was no *Abhiṣeka* ceremony of this pattern (*tdiso abhiṣekaparihāro*) ". The *Mahāvamsa Tikā* further states that Asoka after giving all necessaries for the *Abhiṣeka* said : " Perform the anointing of my friend with these ", whereas the *Sāratthadīpanī* states " Perform the *second anointing* of my friend with these ". From this it appears that the author of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* deliberately omitted comments on the word ' *Puna* ' which occurs in the *Mahāvamsa*.¹ It is also significant that " ruling by the authority of a new staff " was not familiar to the author of the *Sāratthadīpanī*.

The date of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* has been extensively discussed by both Geiger and Malalasekera. Geiger attributes this work to a period between 1000 and 1250 A.D.,² while Malalasekera puts it in the eighth or ninth century A.D.³ Julius de Lanerolle also assigns this work to the 11th century A. D.⁴

¹ *Mv.*, II, v. 36 : " *karotha me saḥāyassa abhiṣekam puno iti.*

² Geiger, *Mv.*, Introduction, p. VIII.

³ *Vamsathappakāsani*, PTS. Introduction, p. CIX.

⁴ Jayatilaka, D. B., *Siṃhala Sāhitya Lipi*, p. 23.

But so far as the date of the *Sāratthadīpanī* is concerned, there is no dispute whatsoever, for the author himself clearly says in his introductory verses that he composed this work during the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great and that he belongs to the School of Dimbulāgala Mahākāśyapa.

Now the important point worth considering here is that if the date of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* was earlier than that of the *Sāratthadīpanī*, what was the reason for the latter to omit the sentence, "rules by a new staff" (*navayaṭṭhiyā eva rajjaṃ kāreti*)? And what was the reason for the former to omit any comment on the word 'punābhiseka' in the *Mahāvamsa*?

A possible explanation of this may be that the author of the *Sāratthadīpanī*, perhaps writing a little later than the author of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, did not know of the tradition that early Sinhalese kings ruled by the authority of a new staff, but believed that the ruling power could only be invested on kings by a form of *Abhiṣeka*. This again is supported by the sentences: 'that there was no *Abhiṣeka* of this pattern before' and 'Perform the *second* anointing of my friend'.

The author of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* may have omitted any comment on 'Punābhiseka', simply because he wanted to give an honourable position to the *Abhiṣeka* sent by Asoka by giving an impression that there was no *Abhiṣeka* prior to this.

However, this *second Abhiṣeka* does not appear to indicate the vassal status of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, for there is no evidence whatsoever in our sources, whether in India or in Ceylon, to show that he was a feudatory king of Asoka. Further, if he was considered a vassal king, Asoka would never have allowed him to use his imperial title Devānaṃpiya by which he was known throughout his empire. Hence this *Punābhiseka* of Devānaṃpiya Tissa does not appear to indicate anything more than his friendship with Asoka.

Another hypothesis is that there may have been two schools of thought as to the existence of the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony in Ceylon prior to Devānaṃpiya Tissa. One school, as early as the 11th century A.D., may have held that there was an *Abhiṣeka*, in some form or other, prior to Devānaṃpiya Tissa, while the other may have held that the only *Abhiṣeka* ceremony known to Ceylon was the one which was introduced by Asoka during the reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa.

One thing is certain that if there was an *Abhiṣeka* ceremony prior to Devānaṃpiya Tissa, it was performed by the *Purohita*, as was the case in India during that period, while the *Abhiṣeka* of Devānaṃpiya Tissa was performed by a *Kṣatriya* maiden. Another peculiarity in the case of the former is that, although the representatives of all the four classes of society were present at the time of the ceremony, it was only the *Brāhmaṇa* who performed the *Abhiṣeka* in accordance with the rules laid down in the *Brāhmaṇic* Literature, whereas in the latter, all the three representatives of the Aryan group headed by a member of the *Kṣatriya* race, performed the *Abhiṣeka*. Yet another interesting point to be noted here is that, though the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Gaḥapati* were given a chance to pour water over the king's head, it is evident from all the available sources¹ that only the *Kṣatriya* maiden was

¹ *Mv.*, II, v. 30 ; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 37 ; *MvT.*, p. 305.

essential to perform the *Abhiṣeka*, for the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Gahapati* were not included in the list of necessities for the ceremony. Then again it is clearly stated that 'it was the *Kṣatriya* maiden sent by Asoka, who performed the *Abhiṣeka* of Devānāmpiya Tissa'.

The possible conclusion, therefore, is that it is true that before Devānāmpiya Tissa there was no *Abhiṣeka* ceremony in the form in which it was introduced to Ceylon by Asoka ; but undoubtedly the *Abhiṣeka* ceremony in some form or other was known in Ceylon. Most probably the early kings prior to Devānāmpiya Tissa followed the Hindu form of *Abhiṣeka*, where *Brāhmaṇa* was the most important figure, whereas in the case of Devānāmpiya Tissa's *Abhiṣeka* a member of the *Kṣatriya* race figured most prominently.

This conspicuous difference as to the status of the *Kṣatriya* and the *Brāhmaṇa* in the case of the two forms of *Abhiṣeka* ceremony mentioned above, encourages us to suppose that the opposition against the pretensions of the *Brāhmaṇas*, in which Buddhism and Jainism played a big part, led, during the Mauryan period, to the use of an *Abhiṣeka* ceremony in which the *purohita* played little or no part. We may therefore conclude that from the third century B.C. onwards the *Kṣatriyas* were the leading social class of Ceylon.

CHAPTER THREE

THE VAIŚYAS

According to the *Brāhmanic* theory of caste, the last and largest of the three superior castes is the *Vaiśya*. They are the farmers and the traders.

In the Pāli literature the term *Vessa* is mentioned only in passages where the *Brāhmanic* theory of caste system was discussed.¹ Thus there are no references to prove the real existence of a caste called *Vessa*.

In the words of Manu and Kauṭilya, their occupations and duties are "cattle-breeding, distribution of alms, sacrifice, study, trade, lending money at interest, and agriculture."² According to this definition, the majority of the population of Ceylon come within the category of the *Vaiśyas*, for agriculture and trade were the chief means of their livelihood which will separately be discussed later.

The *Mahāvamsa* records that when Vijaya requested the king of Madurā in South India to send maidens of equal ranks for him as well as for his followers, the king of Madurā is reported to have sent to him one thousand families of eighteen different guilds (*Seṇī*), in addition to the number of maidens required by him.³ In order to understand the social significance attached to this word *Seṇī* it is necessary to examine the parallel usage of it in Indian literature both Sanskrit and Pāli.

The Pāli term *Seṇī* is the equivalent of Skt. *Śreṇī*, which means guilds of merchants or craftsmen. According to Medhātithi, the commentator on Manu, *Śreṇī* means "guilds of merchants, artisans, bankers, *Brāhmaṇas* learned in the four *Vedas*".⁴ According to Nārada, it means "an assemblage of eminent merchants and by others (it is taken to mean) as a company of artisans".⁵ Kauṭilya too refers to this term as meaning "guilds of workmen",⁶ and "corporations of agriculture, trade and military service".⁷ The *Mahābhārata* also refers to this word in the sense of a guild of merchants.⁸

Although these works slightly differ from one another as to the definition of the term *Śreṇī*, they all include the merchant first in the list in order of preference. It thus seems quite possible that merchants may have been the most distinguished class of people among the *Śreṇī*. But none of these works refers to the number of *Śreṇī* as eighteen.

¹ *Digha.*, I, p. 96 ; III, p. 82.

² *Manu.*, I, 90 ; Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, I, III.

³ *Mvv.*, VII, v. 56, 57.

⁴ Commentary on *Manu.*, *Medhātithi*, VIII, 41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nārada, I, 7.

⁶ *Arthaśāstra*, II, 4.

⁷ *AS.*, 11, I.

⁸ *Mahābhārata*, III, 248, 16.

It is only in the *Jātaka* and the *Smṛti Candrikā* that eighteen guilds are mentioned. It is interesting to note that the merchant is not included in the list of eighteen guilds in both these works. According to the *Jātaka*,¹ the people who were included in the list are carpenters, artisans, painters and the like. But the *Smṛti Candrikā* applies the term to the eighteen low castes and crafts like those of the washerman, leather manufacturer, actor, basket and mat-maker, fisherman, weaver, &c.² Another *Jātaka*³ refers to two ministers of the king of Kosala as the heads of merchants' guilds (*Seṇī pamukhā dve mahāmaccā*). But when the *Jātakas* speak of the eighteen guilds, it is quite obvious that the *Śreṇīs* were not included in the four major social orders. Whenever the king wanted to raise an army in order to open up a battle with another king, he collected armies from all the four classes and the eighteen guilds.⁴

It is evident from these references that originally the word *Śreṇī* was used to denote the guild of merchants and when the population increased the people who followed different occupations formed themselves into organised bodies. With the result the number of guilds also increased. This process of development may be seen in three different stages. In the first stage the word *Śreṇī* was used to denote the guild of merchants. In the second stage it was used to denote a class of people who followed occupations of less social recognition, like carpenters, artisans, &c. In the third stage it was used to denote people who followed still lower occupations such as washing, basket-making, &c. It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that the guilds sent by the king of Madurā in South India to Ceylon somewhere in the 5th century B.C., may have belonged to the first category of merchant-guilds (*Vaiśya*).

References to the word *Vessa* both in literary and epigraphic records of Ceylon during this period are very few. The people popularly known by the term *Vessa* or *Vaiśya* in Indian literature, generally were included into the group or class of *Vaiśyas* in the Ceylon records by the terms *Parumaka*, *Bata*, *Gapati* or *Gahapati*, *Kuṭumbika* and *Gamika*.

In the *Māhāvamsa* the word *Vessa* is referred to in connection with a monastery established by Devānampiya Tissa. According to the *Māhāvamsa*⁵ this monastery is called "Vessagiri", and is so called because there were five hundred monks there, who had belonged to the *Vessa* class before they entered the Order of the *Saṅgha*. It is interesting to know why this particular monastery was so named, discriminating it from other monasteries. Does it mean that there was caste distinction among the monks even at such an early date ?

¹ *Jātaka*, VI, p. 427.

² Mookerji, *Local Govt. in Ancient India*, Mysore Edition, p. 65.

³ *Jātaka*, II, 12.

⁴ *Jātaka*, VI, 22 : "Cattāro ca vaṇṇe aṭṭhārasa seṇiyo sabbaṅca balakāyaṃ sannipāteti".

J., VI, 427 : "Vaḍḍhakikammārakammakārācittakārādīnānāsippakusalā aṭṭhārasa seṇiyo ādāya."
SV., p. 466.

⁵ *Mv.*, XX, v. 15.

There was another monastery in Anurādhapura during the reign of Devānampiya Tissa, called "Issara Samaṇaka".¹ This monastery was so called because there were five hundred resident monks who belonged to the 'noble class' (*Issara*), before they entered on monkhood. The term *Issara* is used in the *Mahāvamsa* in place of the word *Kuṭumbika* in the *Rasavāhīni*. *Saṅgha*, the father of Suranīmāla was referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* as an *Issara*,² whereas the same *Saṅgha* is referred to in the *Rasavāhīni* as *Kuṭumbika*.³ Theraputtābhaya's father is referred to in the *Rasavāhīni* as *Gahapati*,⁴ whereas he is referred to in the *Mahāvamsa*⁵ with an additional title 'Issara' (*Issaro Gahapati*).

At this time Vessagiri buildings, most probably, formed, with the neighbouring rock temple Issara Samaṇaka, part of an extensive monastery which was later repaired by Kassapa I (479-97 A.D.).⁶ It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that the monks who came from the families of *Issara* and *Vessa* may have been accommodated in the same premises, yet in two different monasteries, probably, in keeping with the social status enjoyed by them prior to their ordination.

According to the *Samantapāsādikā*⁷ soon after the arrival of Mahinda, a minister named Ariṭṭha who was a nephew of Devānampiyatissa, entered the Order with fifty-five of his elder and younger brothers. The king built sixty-two cave temples at Cetiyaḡiri and accommodated them there. Then there was another minister named Mahā-Ariṭṭha who was also a nephew of the king and who entered the Order with five hundred followers.⁸ It seems that there were two Ariṭṭhas both of whom were nephews and ministers of the king. But it is clear that Ariṭṭha entered the Order first and lived with his kinsmen at Cetiyaḡiri, while Mahā-Ariṭṭha entered the Order later and lived somewhere else with his followers. It is to be noted here that there was another cave temple called Ariṭṭha Pabbata⁹ which means "the mountain of Ariṭṭha", situated about twenty-five miles South East of Anurādhapura. It is most probable that this was the monastery where the Elder Mahā-Ariṭṭha and his followers were accommodated. We have already pointed out earlier¹⁰ that they all belonged to the *Kṣatriya* class.

The *Mahāvamsa* also states that one of Devānampiya Tissa's younger brothers, Mattābhaya having delighted in the Teachings of the Buddha, entered the Order with the permission of the king.¹¹ He may have taken residence either in the Mahāvihāra or in one of the two monasteries mentioned in the *Kṣatriyas*.

¹ *Mv.*, XX, v. 14.

² *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 19.

³ *Rasavāhīni*, II, p. 83.

⁴ *Rasavāhīni*, II, p. 93.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 55.

⁶ *EZ.*, I, p. 31.

⁷ *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 40. (Sinh. Ed.).

⁸ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 65 ; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 49

⁹ *EZ.*, I, p. 13.

¹⁰ See, *Supra*, p. 30.

¹¹ *Mv.*, XVII, v. 57.

Mention is also made in the *Mahāvamsa* of two groups of *Brāhmaṇas* of five-hundred each, who entered on monkhood from the villages, *Dvāramaṇḍala*¹ and *Upatissa*.² It is most likely that they also may have been accommodated in separate quarters.

As the Community of monks increased in number, the necessity of the establishment of new monasteries may have been unavoidable. In the circumstance when five hundred people of one particular class entered the Order on one particular occasion, the king may have thought of accommodating them in one place, not because they belonged to a particular class of society but for convenience of their proper training and education. But it so happened that these new entrants came in large numbers from different strata of society and at different times. Hence the necessity of housing them in separate places came into vogue ; with the result that the monasteries like *Ariṭṭha Pabbata*, *Issara Saṃaṇaka*, *Vessagiri*, and *Cetiyyagiri* came into existence in addition to the famous *Mahāvihāra*. Most probably it was this system of monastic establishments that formed the nucleus of the later split among the *Saṅgha* into caste groups.

The next reference to the word *Vessa* in the *Mahāvamsa* is found in connection with the families sent to Ceylon by Asoka along with the *Bodhi Tree*.³ To watch over and for the protection of the *Bodhi Tree*, Asoka is also said to have sent eighteen families of *Devas* (*Devakulāni*) and eight families each of ministers, *Brāhmaṇas* and cowherds and eight each of the *Taraccha*, and *Kaliṅga* tribes. The *Mahāvamsa* also adds to the list, eighteen families of guilds (*Seṇi*) such as weavers, potters, *Nāgas*, *Yakkahs*, &c.⁴

According to the *Samantapāsādikā* and its commentary, these families were sent in order to perform certain specific duties towards the *bodhi Tree*. For the protection of the *Bodhi Tree* (*Mahābodhi-rakkaṇatthāya*) eighteen *Deva* families were sent.⁵ Eight families of ministers were sent for the purpose of organising different rites connected with the *Bodhi Tree*.⁶ Eight *Brāhmaṇa* families were sent for the purpose of sprinkling water to the *Bodhi Tree*.⁶ Eight *Vessa* families were sent in order to arrange the necessary offerings.⁶ Eight families of cowherds were sent in order to supply the necessary quantity of milk to wash the *Bodhi Tree*.⁷ Similarly other families also were entrusted certain other duties towards the *Bodhi Tree*.

A perusal of the duties assigned to different families and their order of preference in the list clearly indicates that the *Devakulas* are considered to be the most important

¹ *Mv.*, XVII, v. 59.

² *Mv.*, XVII, v. 60.

³ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 2.

⁴ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 3.

⁵ *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 47.

⁶ *SD.*, p. 154.

⁷ *SD.*, p. 164.

of all. But it is not clear what is implied by this or to which particular class of society the *Devakulas* belonged. Some scholars are inclined to think that they belonged to the *Kṣatriya* caste.¹

According to the Pāli sources,² Asoka's queen was the daughter of a *Seṭṭhi* of *Vedisā* or *Vethisa*. The *Sāratthadipani*³ refers to his name as *Deva* (*Devanāmakassa Seṭṭhissa*). As we shall see later,⁴ the *Seṭṭhi*, undoubtedly, belonged to the *Vaiśya* class in both India and Ceylon.

Asoka sent, according to the tradition, eight princes who were the brothers of Asoka's queen. In other words, they were the sons of *Deva Seṭṭhi* of *Vedisā* city in *Avanti*.⁵ Both the *Pājāvaliya*⁶ and the *Mahābodhivaṇsa*⁷ state that they belonged to the *Kṣatriya* class. But if we accept the fact that Asoka's queen belonged to the *Vaiśya* class, there is no doubt that her eight brothers headed by *Sumitta* also belonged to the same class. In sending these eight princes with their families to protect the *Bodhi* tree, we may suggest that Asoka also sent ten other families of equal rank to assist them in their functions, thus making the number of *Deva* families eighteen.

There is no doubt that when Asoka sent the *Bodhi* Tree, he wanted to send it in the safe custody of highly respected class of people whom he could really trust. It is really significant and very conspicuous that this mission did not consist of at least a single member of Asoka's own clan. The fact is that his marriage with a *Vaiśya* girl may not have been approved by his clansmen, particularly by his father *Bindusāra*. This is also supported by the fact that when he hurried from *Ujjayini* to the death-bed of his father at *Pāṭaliputra*, he is said to have left on the way his wife and children in his wife's city (*Vedisā Nagara*), and to have gone alone to *Pāṭaliputra*.⁸ Even after he became the sole monarch of India, the Queen never thought of going to *Pāṭaliputra*, which was the stronghold of the *Mauryas*. On the other hand *Bindusāra* never saw Asoka's children. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that there may have been some kind of misunderstanding or disagreement between him and his clansmen. This family conflict perhaps led the king to get his two children by his *Vaiśya* wife entered into the Buddhist Order. In the absence of his own clansmen to escort *Saṅghamittā*, his only daughter, the next best suitable people were, no doubt, his Queen's relatives. This may be the reason why Asoka got eight brothers of his Queen to lead the mission to Ceylon with the *Bodhi* Tree and *Saṅghamittā*. Even one of the members of the previous mission led by *Mahinda*, was a person called *Bhaṇḍuka* who was the son of Asoka's Queen's sister.⁹ It is therefore very

¹ Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism*, p. 55.

Wimalakitti, *Sinhala āṇḍuva*, p. 224.

² *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 34; *Mahābodhivaṇsa*, p. 98; *Sāratthadipani*, p. 130; *Mv.*, XIII, v. 9.

³ *SD.*, p. 130.

⁴ See, *infra*, pp. 43-44.

⁵ *MBV.*, p. 154: "Vedisadeviyā sahodarānam aṭṭhannaṃ khattiyakunārānaṃ aggaṃ Sumitta-Bodhiguttābhikkhānaṃ".

⁶ *PJV.*, p. 721.

⁷ *MBV.*, p. 154.

⁸ *SD.*, p. 130.

reasonable on the part of Asoka to send his brothers-in-law along with Saṅghamittā to Ceylon on this mission. It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the eighteen *Devakulas* sent by Asoka were of the rank of the *Vaiśya* class.

One of the Vessagiri cave inscriptions also refers to this word *Deva* among other *Vaiśyas* such as *Parumakas*.¹

Twenty names of persons are mentioned in the inscriptions. Of these twelve are donors, the remaining eight are either the names of their respective fathers or in the case of two out of the five female donors, those of their husbands. All these personages probably belonged to one family, for it was not likely that the caves which stand practically in the same rock could at that time have been owned by persons other than those of one clan.²

Another inscription belonging to the 6th century A.D., at Anurādhapura, refers to five persons who donated one hundred *Kahāpaṇas* to the Abhayagiri monastery. All of them were the residents of one village. One of them is referred to as *Deva*.³ It is most likely that these *Devas* also may have had some connection with the remaining ten out of eighteen *Devakulas* mentioned above.

It is also interesting to note that according to literary evidence of the 15th century A.D. the rulers of the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty from Vasabha to Mahāseṇa, who ruled the country from the first half of the first century A.D. onwards, originated from the stock of Sumitta, who was one of the eight princes that accompanied the *Bodhi* Tree. The Sinhalese prose work *Saddharma Ratnākara* and the two poems *Pārakumbā Sirita* and *Kāvya Sekhara*, all attributed to the 15th century, contain these references. According to these works the Lambakaṇṇas were derived from a branch of the Maurya clan to which Asoka belonged. Thus Sumitta also belonged to the same caste as Asoka.⁴ This shows clearly that these later writers attempted to give a nobler and more ancient origin to this dynasty by including Sumitta in the clan of Asoka, completely ignoring or not knowing the fact that Sumitta came from a *Vaiśya* family.

According to the *Mahāvamsa* the Lambakaṇṇas appear for the first time in Ceylon history during the reign of Ilanāga (33-43 A.D.).⁵ It is very significant that the *Mahāvamsa* does not refer to the kings of the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty as *Kṣatriyas*, perhaps owing to the fact that the author knew that they were of *Vaiśya* origin. The *Dipavamsa* refers to only one king of this dynasty, Saṅghabodhi, as a *Kṣatriya*.⁶

¹ EZ., I, p. 19, No. 3 ; See, *Parumaka*, p. 37.

² EZ., I, p. 18.

³ EZ., IV, p. 141.

⁴ *Pārakumbāsirita*, V, 10 : " *Dahumso raja . . . tama kuṇenev sumituru kumaru samagin kulam dasa aṭa* ".

⁵ *Mv.*, XXXV, v. 19.

⁶ *DV.*, XXII, v. 53.

The *Attanagalu Vamsaya* also calls the same king a *Kṣatriya*, while at the same time referring to all the three princes Saṅgha Tissa, Saṅgha Bodhi and Goṭhābhaya as belonging to *Lāmanipakṣaya*.¹

Paranavitana is inclined to think that the Sinhalese form of “*Lāmani*” has been used as the equivalent of Pāli “*Lekhaka*”, scribe.² According to the *Mahā-Bodhivaṃsa*³ and the *Pūjāvāliya*⁴ Sumitta was given the post of chief scribe or the record keeper of the *Bodhi Tree (Jayamahaleṇa)*. It is evident from these references that at the time Lambakaṇṇas first appear in history they held the position of scribe in the administration.

It is not known how this dynasty originated in Ceylon. The information regarding this matter found in our sources is rather inadequate to form a definite opinion about it.

It is suggested that the Lambakaṇṇas were of totemistic origin, the name implying a hare or a goat because of their long ears.⁵ Lambakaṇṇa means merely the pendent ear, says Dr. Krishnasvāmi Aiyangar,⁶ and he suggests that it may have been derived from a physical deformity brought about artificially by making holes in the ear-lobes.

According to the *Pāṇini*,⁷ there were certain classes of people who were designated by the terms “*Bhinna Karṇa*” and “*Chinna Karṇa*”, which mean “having broken ears” and “having pierced ears” respectively. In the *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*,⁸ also, a reference is made to a class of people called “*Chidra Karnyah*” which means “those who have pierced ears”.

It is, therefore, likely that the people who used to wear large ear-ornaments and were originally known in India as Chidrakarṇas may have been better known by the terms Lambakaṇṇas in Ceylon at a later date.

As we have seen earlier,⁹ the marking of ears of people belonging to certain clans was a regular custom in Indian society. It is twice referred to in the *Atharva Veda*,¹⁰ and this mark is termed *Lakṣman*.¹¹ This shows that the term *Lakṣman* was commonly used to denote the people of certain clans, whose ears were marked with certain specific symbols. It is, therefore, quite probable that when the Lambakaṇṇas, with bored ears as their clan's symbol, appeared in Ceylon, they may have brought their common designation *Lakṣman* also with them. The result could have been the

¹ *Attanagaluvaṃsaya*, pp. 6, 19.

² *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 175.

³ *MBV.*, p. 154.

⁴ *PJV.*, p. 721.

⁵ *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 587.

⁶ *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 86.

⁷ *Pāṇini*, VI, 3, 115.

⁸ *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*, IV, 2, 9.

⁹ See, *supra*, p. 33.

¹⁰ *AVV.*, VI, 141, 1, 2 ; 12, 4, 6.

¹¹ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

Sinhalese term *Lāmāni* (Skt. *Lakṣman* > *Lāmāni*) came into vogue to denote the Lambakaṇṇas who were originally the *Chidrakarṇas*. Thus we see that the Sinhalese form *Lāmāni* has no similarity in meaning or formation with the Pāli *Lekhaka* as Dr. Paranavitana is inclined to think.¹

It has also been suggested by Krisnaswami Aiyangar that the Lambakaṇṇas belonged to the Northern Province, apparently to Jaffna, and also that they seem to have been Tamils.² This claim he bases on the references in the *Mahāvamsa* to the effect that the Lambakaṇṇa Vasabha had his home in the Northern Provinces (*Uttarapassa*).³ But it should be mentioned here that the Lambakaṇṇas were not confined to only one particular part of the country, and that Vasabha himself directed his operations against Subha from Rohaṇa.⁴ There are also references in the *Manorathapūraṇi*⁵ and the *Sihalavattuppakaraṇa*⁶ to Lambakaṇṇas who lived in Rohaṇa even prior to Vasabha. According to the *Manorathapūraṇi* a certain Lambakaṇṇa once discussed the qualities of a novice (*daharo bhikkhu*) with his colleagues (*mittāmaccehi saddhim*) at the entrance to the royal palace. During the first century B.C. (101-77 B.C.), the Kingdom of Māgama was shifted to Anurādhapura. It is, therefore, obvious that there were Lambakaṇṇas in Rohaṇa at least as early as the first century B.C., if not earlier. It is also evident from this reference that although they did not belong to the ruling class, they certainly enjoyed high social status during this period. Later three other Lambakaṇṇas are said to have come from Mahiyaṅgaṇa,⁷ on the borders of Rohaṇa and Malayaraṭa. This shows that they were scattered all over the country.

In the *Cūlavamsa*, however, there occurs a reference to the Lambakaṇṇa, but once again no attempt is made to trace their origin. Parākramabāhu I is said to have constructed a costly golden *maṇḍapa* for the Bowl Relic and placed people of the Lambakaṇṇa clan, with umbrellas swords and whisks in their hands, and other peoples of noble families, round the *maṇḍapa* for its protection. Once again they are mentioned in connection with the consecration of Virapāṇḍu as king of Pāṇḍya by Laṃkāpura, the general of Parākramabāhu. It is said that three Lambakaṇṇa chiefs were asked to carry out the duties of the Lambakaṇṇas (*Lambakaṇṇadhuraṃ*).⁸ They had specific functions to perform in connection with royal consecration, and hence were placed in close proximity to the king. A Carnatic inscription assigned to the twelfth century A.D. also contains a reference to a country of the Lambakaṇṇas.⁹ These references clearly show that during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Lambakaṇṇas were found in South India, too.

¹ *HC.*, Vol. I, Pt. p. 175.

² *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, Intd., p. 10.

³ *Mv.*, XXXVI, v. 58.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 69.

⁵ *Manorathapūraṇi*, Sinhalese Edition, p. 288.

⁶ *Sihalavattuppakaraṇa* (Sinh. Ed. Colombo, 1959), p. 159.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXVI, v. 58.

⁸ *CV.*, XXIV, vv. 213-214.

⁹ *Ephigraphia Carnatica*, VII, p. 158.

Thus, whatever their origin may be, in Ceylon at least they seem to have formed an important bureaucratic class, occupying high and responsible places in society, and administration, with strong family ties, and scattered all over the country. Their close connection with the royal families is evident from the fact that when Ilanāga wanted to take his ceremonial bath in Tissa Vāpi, he found that the Lambakaṇṇas were not there, and was so enraged that, as a punishment, he ordered them to work at the remaking of a road along the bank of the tank, leading to the Mahāthūpa, and set *caṇḍālas* to supervise them.¹ But by caste they belonged to the *Vaiśya* class.²

The *Saddharmarathnākaraya*³ states that *Gaṇavāsi* is another name for the *Lāmāni* family. According to this, the *Gaṇavāsi* family came to Ceylon along with the Sacred *Bodhi* Tree. The origin of this family which produced some of the greatest figures in the history of Ceylon during the fourteenth century, is similarly given in the Sagama inscription of the reign of the king Bhuvanekabāhu V.⁴ According to the Gampola Rock Inscription of the same king there was another family called *Meheṇavara*.⁵ In it as well as in the Sinhalese literature of the Gampola period and after, these families are said to have had their origin from the princes sent to Ceylon by Asoka along with the Sacred *Bodhi* Tree, and are considered to be *Kṣatriyas*. But no Sinhalese king before the Gampola period claimed to have belonged to either of these families.⁶ The originators of the two families were traditionally believed to be brothers of Mahinda's mother, who was a daughter of a merchant of Vidisā.⁷ They were, therefore, *Vaiśyas*, and those who claimed descent from them should appropriately have been described as of the *Vaiśya* class. Thus it is clear that all these three families, the *Lambakaṇṇa*, the *Gaṇavāsi*, and the *Meheṇavara*, belonged not to the *Kṣatriya* class but to the *Vaiśya* class.

It should also be noted here that Vasabha, the founder of the Lambakaṇṇa dynasty, is referred to in an inscription of the first century B. C., as a *Bata*.⁸ We will discuss later⁹ the possibility of *Bata's* belonging to the *Vaiśya* class. This is also supported by a reference made by king Nissanka Malla to a class of people called *Govi* (P. *Gahapati* > *Gāhāvi* > *Govi*). Here he emphatically states that the kingship in Ceylon should be given to the descendants of the Kāliṅga Vamśa only (Vijaya's clan), but not to those who belong to the *Govi* class, however powerful they may be.¹⁰ The historical evidence reveals that the only family which aspired to the kingship, other

¹ *MV.*, XXXV, vv. 16-18.

² See, *supra*, p. 33.

³ Colombo Edition of 1923, p. 296.

⁴ *JRASC.B.*, Vol. 22, pp. 264-265.

⁵ *EZ.*, IV, p. 303.

⁶ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

⁷ *Mv.*, XIII, vv. 9, 13.

⁸ *JRASC.B.*, new series, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 129, No. 5, " *Bata Vahaba* ".

⁹ See, *infra*, p. 42.

¹⁰ *EZ.*, II, p. 162 : " *Govi kulehi āttan rajalilāvaṭ no pātuva mātū kese balavad vuvada Govi kulehi ātto rajayaṭ balā no gatayuttāha* ".

than the Kāliṅgas, during this period, was that of the Lambakaṅṅas. Hence it is quite possible that Nissanka Malla referred to the descendants of the Lambakaṅṅa dynasty as belonging to the *Govi* or *Vaiśya* class.

The Pāli records reveal that Buddhist society in India considered that all kings and other officials of the state belonged to the *Kṣatriya* caste.¹ This may be the reason why the term *Kṣatriya* was loosely used in Ceylon society also. Another reason may be that there was no powerful *Brāhmaṇa* element to regulate claims of caste. At a later date anyone who happened to occupy the throne was necessarily a *Kṣatriya* of either the Solar or the Lunar dynasty. As an example, it may be pointed out that the Nāyakkar Princes who in their South Indian home were content to be good Sūdras had a sudden rise in the caste scale when they crossed Palk's Strait to occupy the Kandyan throne and were looked upon by the haughty Kandyan nobles as *Kṣatriyas* of the Solar race.²

The fact that the term *Vessa* does not occur in the epigraphic records of this period may show that among the people there was no recognition of the class of *Vaiśyas* as mentioned in *Brāhmaṇical* sources ; in place of this, various groups of people are mentioned, some called by names also found in the Pāli canon (e.g., *Gahapati*, *Gamika*, etc.) and others by names of different origin, such as *Parumaka*, and *Bata*. This suggests that in our period *Brāhmaṇic* influence had had no appreciable effect on the social structure, but that certain Buddhist categories of class distinction had begun to take effect. In other words, the rigidity of caste system in Ceylon became less after the advent of Mahinda. This will be discussed in another context.

Parumaka

Both Wickremasinha³ and Paranavitana⁴ are inclined to think that the word *Parumaka* may be derived from the Skt. *Pramukha* (*Pramukha* > *Paramukha* > *Parumukha* *Parumaka*)⁵ which means "eminence", "chief"⁶ &c. In Tamil too the word "*Perumakan*" means "chief". In the inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries this word *Parumaka* occurs very frequently ; but there are very few inscriptions where it has been used to denote a king.

The word *Parumaka* was always used as a special title. In the Vessagiri cave inscription a person called Haruma, the son of *Parumaka* Palikada is styled simply *Upāsaka* (*Parumaka Palikada puta Upasaka Harumasa lene*),⁷ while in another inscription of the same cave, he is called *Parumaka* Maha Haruma (*Parumaka Palikada puta Parumaka Maha Harumasa lene*),⁸ having probably received the title

¹ *Digha*, I, p. 136.

² *EZ.*, IV, p. 305.

³ *EZ.*, I, p. 17.

⁴ *EZ.*, III, p. 123.

⁵ *Skt.*, PRA=PARA in Sinhalese, cf. *Praveni*=*Paraveni*.

⁶ Wimalakitti, *Sinhala Aṅḍuva*, p. 4.

⁷ *EZ.*, I, p. 19, No. 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 4.

after his father's death. From this it is evident that this word *Parumaka* has been used as an honorary title by the people of some social standing.

Sometimes sons of the minister were called *Parumakas*, for instance, “*Mahamata Bamadata puta Parumaka Bahike, Parumaka Pusagute, Parumaka Mite, Parumaka Tise, etehi karite ariṭa mahagama*”.¹ As to the individuals mentioned in this inscription, we see that *Parumaka Bahike* was the son of *Mahamata Bamadata*. From this it is obvious that the word *Putra* here refers not only to the first name, *Parumaka Bahike*, but also to the three names following it, namely *Parumaka Pusagute, Parumaka Mite* and *Parumaka Tise* and that all these four persons were the sons of the minister *Bamadata*.

In another inscription, the son of a *Senāpati* is called *Parumaka*.² The *Senāpati* who stands next in rank only to the Viceroy is, sometimes, a kinsman of the king. This practice is borne out even in literature, for *Ariṭṭha* was the sister's son (*bhāgineyya*) and the *Senāpati* of king *Devānaṃpiya Tissa*;³ so also was *Vasabha* of king *Yasalālaka Tissa*.⁴ In the 5th century, king *Dhātusena* also appointed his sister's son *Senāpati*.⁵ It is, therefore, obvious that the son of a *Senāpati*, whose title was *Parumaka*, was an eminent and honoured person in society.

On the other hand, the Sanskrit word *Pramukha* was the designation by which the head of a Guild or Corporation was known in ancient times.⁶ The position of the chief of the Guild, is also referred to by the word *Senipamukha* in the *Jātaka*.⁷ Another *Jātaka* refers to him as *Jeṭṭhaka* who was an intimate friend of the king.⁸ These two words *Pamukha* and *Jeṭṭhaka* convey the same meaning, “the chief of a Guild”. Heads of Guilds (*Seniyo*) are also called *Pamukha* (President) and also *Jeṭṭhaka* (elder, elderman).⁹ From this it can be safely inferred that *Parumaka* was not only an eminent and honoured person but also economically a highly placed person in society.

Another point to be noticed is the use of the title *Parumaka*. It can be seen from its usage in the inscriptions of this period that it is a term applicable to both men and women. A cave given by *Anuḍiya*, the chief (*Parumaka*), to the *Saṅgha* both present and not present, was referred to in one inscription.¹⁰ Women were referred to as *Parumakas* in several other inscriptions also.¹¹

¹ *EZ.*, I, p. 152.

² *Parkar, AC.*, p. 432, No. 44.

³ *Mv.*, II, v. 25.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXXV, v. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, v. 81.

⁶ *Mookerji, Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 47.

⁷ *J.*, II, p. 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 281.

⁹ *Mookerji, Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 47.

¹⁰ *EZ.*, I, p. 144, No. 2.

¹¹ *EZ.*, I, p. 144, No. 3 ; p. 145, No. 8.

The next important point worth bearing in mind is that it can be very well established from the examples mentioned above and from certain others¹ that this title was more or less hereditary. Sometimes the wife of a *Parumaka* was also called *Parumaka*.²

Another inscription refers to a *Parumaka* who was the son of an astrologer (*Nakatika*) who was himself a *Parumaka*.³ This shows clearly that astrology and astronomy were well known branches of learning in this period. Astrology played an important part even in the everyday life of India during this period, as hardly anything of importance was done without consulting an astrologer. Almost all the important activities connected with worldly life were conducted at astrologically auspicious moments. This profession during this period was not open to everybody. It was a noble profession followed only by *Brāhmaṇas*. This practice in Ceylon may have been, no doubt, much the same during this period. And it is possible that only the people of the upper stratum of society practised astrology as may be seen from the above instance. If they were not *Brāhmaṇas*, they were at least of rank equal to that of *Brāhmaṇas*.

The title *Parumaka* was sometimes attached to the names of Buddhist monks, too, for instance, *Parumaka* Nagatera, and *Parumaka* Sumanatera.⁴ This title may have been conferred on monks of great eminence if they acquired it after Ordination.⁵ If not it has to be inferred that the title was so honoured by the people that, even after joining the Order, some of them used to retain this title.

Lastly, there are a few epigraphic records of this period to show that this word *Parumaka* was also used as a royal title. In one of the inscriptions of Riṭigala caves, a reference has been made to a *Parumaka* Anuḍiya.⁶ Mr. Wickramasinghe identifies⁷ this *Parumaka* Anuḍi with Anulā, Queen successively of Khallātanāga and his younger brother Vattagāmaṇi. This seems quite possible, for the change of cerebral “*ḍ*” to cerebral “*!*” is not uncommon both in Pāli and Sinhalese.⁸

In two other inscriptions of the same place reference is made to the fact that queen Anulā had two sons, *Parumaka* Utiya⁹ and *Parumaka* Tisa.¹⁰ Of them *Parumaka* Tisa then would be no other than her son Mahācūli Mahātissa who reigned from 77 B. C. to 63 B. C. at Anurādhapura.¹¹ Then again in the inscription No. 10^{b1} of the same cave a son of *Parumaka* Uti is also referred to as *Parumaka*. It is quite evident from these instances that royal personages too could use this honorary title *Parumaka*, during this period.

¹ Parker, AC., p. 427, No. 12 ; p. 430, No. 34 ; p. 432, No. 47.

CJSG ; II, p. 217, No. 694 ; p. 214, No. 672 ; p. 192, No. 551.

² CJSG., II, p. 223, No. 732.

³ CJSG., II, p. 214, No. 672.

⁴ AIC., p. 48, No. 83.

⁵ Cf. titles *Saṅgha Pāmokkha*, *Gaṇācariya*, *Saṅghatthera*.

⁶ EZ., I, p. 144, No. 2.

⁷ EZ., I, p. 143.

⁸ Cf. *Soḍasa* = *Soḷasa*, etc.

⁹ EZ., I, p. 144, No. 3.

¹⁰ EZ., I, p. 144, No. 8.

¹¹ EZ., I, p. 145.

Whatever the meaning of this word *Parumaka* may have been, it is certain that the majority of *Parumakas* referred to in the epigraphic records of this period, were wealthy people of the *Vaiśya* class.

Bata

Bata is another word, which occurs in the inscriptions of this period.

This word *bata* occurs as *Bhata* in the Bedsa Cave Inscriptions of western India.¹ According to Bühler the word *Bhata* is derived from the Sanskrit word *Bhākta* which means 'devoted' while Bhagavanlal Indrajī connected it with Skt. *Bhaṭṭa* 'a warrior'.² Parker is inclined to think that the word *bata* in the Ceylon inscriptions, is a derivative of Skt. *Bhṛta* 'workman',³ while Wickramasinhe prefers to connect it with Skt. *Bhrātr* 'brother'.⁴ Paranavitana suggests the possibility of its being a derivative of Skt. *Bhadanta* which means 'reverend'.⁵

All these scholars, except Wickramasinhe, seem to have overlooked the possibility of its being a derivative of Skt. *Bhartr*, 'lord'. Although Wickramasinhe refers to this possibility, he prefers to connect it with Skt. *Bhrātr*.

Epigraphic records of this period refer to two alternative terms which convey the same meaning, *BHATU* and *BATA*. A perusal of the usage of the term *bata* in these inscriptions does not at all encourage us to accept the possibility of its being a derivative of the Sanskrit word *Bhṛta* (workman), as Parker is inclined to think, for the people of the lower strata of society were never referred to by such words as *Raja* or *Tissa* in epigraphic records of Ceylon during this period.

As Paranavitana's interpretation is the latest and as he maintains the possibility of the derivation of this word *Bata* from the Sanskrit word *Bhadanta*, it is necessary to examine the parallel usage of this word in the Indian inscriptions which fall within the period of the inscription under review.

This word *Bhadanta* occurs in Indian inscriptions in two different forms, *Bhadanta* and *Bhayanta*, of which the latter is only a variation of the former. A Bhaja Inscription refers to this word as *Bhayanta*,⁶ while a reference is made in one of the Kuḍa Cave inscriptions to *Bhayata*.⁷ Yet another Kuda Cave inscription contains a reference to show that the words *Bhadanta* and *Bhadata* were used side by side to denote 'the monk': "*Sidham therānaṃ Bhadata Pasatimitāna Bhadanta Agimitāna ca.*"⁸

¹ *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 89, No. 2.

² *ASWI.*, No. 10 : Cave Inscriptions, p. 26.

³ *AC.*, Parker, p. 426, No. 5.

⁴ *EZ.*, Vol. I, p. 141.

⁵ *CJSG.*, II, p. 192, No. 552.

⁶ *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 82.

⁷ *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 87.

⁸ *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 85.

It is evident from these references that the process of the etymological development of these terms was still in the second stage, i.e. *Bhadanta* > *Bhadata* : *Bhayanta* > *Bhayata*. In none of these inscriptions do we find an occurrence of the word in the third stage of its development, i.e. *Bhadanta* > *Bhadata* > *Bata* ; *Bhayanta* > *Bhayata* > *Bata*. One of the Ceylon inscriptions also contains reference to the word *Badata* which means the reverend.¹ This shows clearly that the time has not yet come to effect the third stage of the development of its etymology. The term *Bata* never occurs in contemporary Indian inscriptions in this form.

In our inscriptions the word *Bhatu* and its variations *Bata* may, therefore, be secondary etymological developments of the Sanskrit word *Bhartṛ*, i.e. *Bhartṛ* > *Bhattu*, *Bata* (cf. *Kartṛ* > *Kattu* and *Pramukha* > *Parumaka*, *Bata Gahapati* > *Gapati*.)

On the other hand one inscription contains a reference to a person called *Bata* Nagaraja.² There is not a single epigraphic record either in India or in Ceylon to show that a Buddhist monk was ever named as 'Raja'. It is thus clear that Nagaraja in this inscription is not a monk. Hence the interpretation of the word *Bata* as 'reverend' does not seem to be appropriate. Thus it is reasonable to infer that the word *Bhatu* of which *Bata* is only a variation is derived from the Sanskrit word *Bhartṛ*, 'lord'.

Another inscriptional record of this period refers to a person called *Bata* Mahatisa.³ Wickramasinha identifies this Mahatisa with King Mahācūla Mahātissa, the adopted son of Vattagāmaṇi, owing both to the similarity of the name and to the fact that he lived about this period and took part in the dedication of caves to the Buddhist clergy.⁴

Further, in another inscription a person named *Soṇa* was referred to as *Parumaka*.⁵ while yet another inscription of the same place refers to the same person 'Sona' as *Bhatu*.⁶ This shows clearly that the same person could be referred to by both *Bhatu* and *Parumaka*. We have already mentioned earlier⁷ that Queen Anulā had two sons Uttiya and Tissa both of whom were called *Parumakas*. Of them Tissa was identified with Mahācūla Mahātissa who reigned at Anurādhapura from 16 B.C. to 2 B.C. It is therefore justifiable to infer that the person who used the title *Bata* may have belonged to the rank equal to that of a *Parumaka*.⁸

¹ *CJSG.*, II, p. 115, No. 468 : " *Badata mitana mapitā nagapivata senasene* ".

² *CJSG.*, II, p. 192, No. 552.

³ *CJSG.*, II, p. 442, No. 57 ; *EZ.*, Vol. I, p. 146.

⁴ *EZ.*, Vol. I, p. 146.

⁵ *EZ.*, Vol. I, p. 145, No. 9.

⁶ *EZ.*, Vol. I, p. 145, No. 10a.

⁷ See, *supra*, p. 39.

⁸ In this particular instance the *PARUMAKA* is a King, but this term was used to denote ordinary people as well (See pp. 38-39).

Then again this Mahācūla Mahātissa is referred to in another inscription as "Gamaṇi Tisa".¹ Parker says that this agreed so accurately with the account in the *Mahāvamsa*² of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya's adoption of the son of his brother, King Khallata Nāgā, that it appears to settle the question of the identification of the sovereign called Gamaṇi Tisa, who is thus Mahācūla Mahā Tissa.³ There is also a direct reference to king Vasabha as *Bata*.⁴

We will also see later⁵ that the *Parumakas* normally belonged to the same class of people in Ceylon society, as the *Gamikas* i.e. *Vaiśya*. From the inscriptions it would appear that the *Batas* also had similar social status as that of the *Parumakas*. Therefore, we may assume that the *Batas* in our inscriptions belonged to the *Vaiśya* class in Ceylon society during this period.

Gapati

Another word which occurs frequently in the inscriptions of this period is *Gapati* (=P. *Gahapati*) meaning "householder" or "head of a household", and it denotes generally, if not always, a landowner or merchant of high birth and wealth.

Even in Pāli Literature this word *Gahapati* occurs very frequently to denote a highly respected class of people in society. In the *Samyutta* he was classed with wealthy *Khattiyas* and *Brahmins* as follows:—"This is the case where a man is reborn into a family of high degree, be it of eminent nobles (*Khattiyakule vā*), or *Brahmins* (*Brāhamāṇakule vā*), or burgess (*Gahapatikule vā*), having authority, having great treasures, great wealth, ample hoards of gold and silver, ample aids to enjoyment, ample stores of money and corn".⁶

According to this the *Gahapati* is to be classed among the recognised categories of men that mattered in society, as he was mentioned third in the list in descending order of importance assigned by Pāli Texts. Further, it shows that the convention of the Aryan descent of *Khattiya*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Vessa* was maintained even in this period.

The *Gahapatis* also seem to have distinguished themselves from the ordinary citizens by a certain consciousness of position in society. The son of the *Seṭṭhi Gahapati*, *Yasa*, is called, in the *Mahāvagga*⁷ "*Kulaputta*", "a son of high birth" and "good family".

¹ *AC.*, p. 445, No. 61.

² *Mv.*, XXXIII, vv. 34-35.

³ *AC.*, p. 445, No. 61.

⁴ *JRASC.B.*, New series, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 132 ; No. 5, "*Bata Vahaba*".

⁵ See, *infra*, p. 54.

⁶ *S.*, 3, 3, 1 ; 3, 1, 4 ; 3, 1, 7.

⁷ *Mahāvagga*, 1.1.7. "Atha kho Yasassa kulaputtasso mātā pāsādaṃ abhiruhitvā Yasam kulaputtam apassanti yena seṭṭhi tenupasaṅkami upasaṅkamitvā seṭṭhiṃ gahapatim etadavoca".

It was also the custom in vogue in India during this period that such a *Kulaputta* must, whenever possible, marry from a family of equal rank. This was referred to in the *Jātaka* as follows : “ When the *Bodhisatta* came to life as the son of a householder who lived near a village not far from the city and he came to years, they fetched a young lady (*Kuladhitarāṃ*) of family from Benares to marry him.”¹ Besides, the *Gahapati* played an important role even in the royal court. He usually appeared in the third place in the retinue of the King. This can be seen from a passage which refers to the people who were present at the coronation of the King.² In the enumeration of castes in Pāli Texts he again appears very often in the third place after *Khattiyas* and *Brahmins*.³

Another point to be noticed is that this word *Gahapati* was generally used in combination with the word *Seṭṭhi*, as *Seṭṭhi Gahapati*.⁴ The term *Seṭṭhi* means “ chief of a Guild, treasurer, banker, wealthy merchant.” In the *Vinaya* we see that the Venerable Sudinna’s father was a *Seṭṭhi Gahapati* who was more or less a banker.⁵ Here he is referred to simply as a *Seṭṭhi*. A reference is made to his family as one which had accumulated enormous wealth⁶ while on the previous page he is called *Gahapati*.

On the other hand this word *Seṭṭhi* was sometimes a title conferred by the King on wealthy citizens. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions an office called *Seṭṭhitā* to which the King was to appoint.⁷

Even in Tamil Literature the word “ *Eṭṭhi* ” conveys the same meaning as the word *Seṭṭhi* in Pāli. V. V. R. Dikshitar observes that the merchants were the wealthiest community in the Tamil land and the King honoured them with titles. *Eṭṭhi* was one such title.⁸ Swaminatha Aiyar, in his commentary on the *Maṇimekhalai* states that the term *Eṭṭhi* is a title that was conferred on the people of the *Vaiśya* caste.⁹ *The Madras Tamil Lexicon* also explains the term as a “ title of distinction conferred on persons of the *Vaiśya* caste.”¹⁰ The *Jātaka* too mentions an office called *Seṭṭhi*

¹ *J.*, II, p. 121.

² *J.*, II, p. 241 : “ *Khattiyā amaccā ca Brāhmaṇagahapatiratṭhikadovārikādayo ca* ”.

³ *Cūlavagga*, V, p. 24 : “ *Ānanda Khattiyapaṇḍitāpi Brāhmaṇapaṇḍitāpi Gahapatipaṇḍitāpi* ” *Vinaya*, p. 227.

Vinaya, II, p. 161 ; *JA.*, I, p. 218 ; *Digha.*, I, p. 336 : “ *Yadi Khattiyapariṣaṃ yadi Brāhmaṇapariṣaṃ yadi Gahapatipariṣaṃ yadi Samaṇapariṣaṃ* ”.

⁴ *Mahāvagga*, I, 7, 7 : “ *Tena kho pana samayena . . . tattha kalandakaputto nama seṭṭhi-putto hoti* ”.

⁵ *Vinaya*, I, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 17.

⁷ *Mv.*, XI, vv. 25, 26.

⁸ *Silappadikaram*, Introduction, p. 39.

⁹ *Maṇimekhalai*, Swaminatha Aiyar Commentary, 1931, p. 47.

¹⁰ *Madras Tamil Lexicon*.

(*Seṭṭhiṭṭhāna*) in a city, which was conferred only on such persons as who possessed requisite wealth and talent.¹ Anāthapiṇḍika himself is referred to by the name *Mahāseṭṭhi* in the *Jātakas*.²

The office of the *Seṭṭhi* seems to have been permanently occupied by a *Gahapati*. Nowhere is it mentioned that a member of another class, such as a rich *Brahmin* held this position. A reference is made to a *Seṭṭhi Gahapati* in the *Vinaya* as a very rich person who was helpful to ordinary people as well as to the King : “ Then occurred to the inhabitants of Rājagaha thus : This *Seṭṭhi Gahapati* is very helpful to both the King and the inhabitants of Rājagaha ; hence let us request the king to issue an order to the royal physician, Jivaka, to treat him for his illness. Then on recovery, the *Seṭṭhi Gahapati* gave 2,00,000 *kahāpanas* to both the king and the physician ”.³

From this we learn that both the King and the ordinary citizens had tried to give him the best possible treatment to get him recovered from his illness, simply because he was very helpful to them. If he had not been recognised as such a wealthy person neither would have been given the services of the royal physician for his illness nor could he have given a medical fee of 2,00,000 *kahāpanas* to the Doctor as well as to the King. Thus we see from the above instance that the term *Seṭṭhi* was used as an honorific title for which wealthy *Gahapatis* were eligible in Indian society.

Besides, there are few references where we find that this term *Gahapati* alone was used to denote a wealthy citizen. In the *Samyutta* Anāthapiṇḍika is referred to simply as a *Gahapati*.⁴ Though he is simply called *Gahapati* he is the best known and most liberal of the Buddha’s lay supporters. Sometimes he is also referred to as a *Seṭṭhi* and *Mahāseṭṭhi*.⁵

In combination with *putta* (cp. *Kulaputta*) the term *Gahapati* is meant to include the members of the *Gahapati* rank, clansmen, especially in address. So used by the Buddha in enumerating the people as “ *Gahapati vā Gahapatiputto vā aññatarasmim vā kule paccājāto*,⁶ and ” *Gahapati vā Gahapatāniyo vā*.⁷

As regards occupations the *Gahapati* engaged himself in all recognised trades. Most frequently he was referred to as a *Seṭṭhi*, as may be seen from reference mentioned above. Sometimes he was referred to as a *kassaka*, “ farmer ”,⁸ and *dārukammika*, “ carpenter ”.⁹ The wealth and comfortable livelihood of a *Gahapati*

¹ *J.*, I, pp. 120-122.

² *J.*, I, p. 95 ; pp. 231-232.

³ *Vinaya*, VIII, 1, 9, 3.

⁴ *Samyutta*, 2, 2, 10 ; *Lo* ; 1.8. “ *Anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati āyasmante Sāriputte abhippaṣanno hoti* ”.

⁵ *J.*, I, pp. 95, 231-232.

⁶ *Digha*, I, p. 62.

⁷ *A.*, II, p. 57.

⁸ *Anguttara*, I, p. 239 : “ *Tinimāni . . . kassakassa gahapatissa karantiyāni* ”.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 391 : “ *Atha kho dārukammika-gahapati . . .* ”.

is evident from an expression like “*kalyāṇabhattiko Gahapati*”, a man accustomed to good food.¹ Sometimes he followed the occupation of the weaver, as can be seen in the following passage: “How can the venerable Upananda, the son of the Sakyans, before being invited, going to the house of a householder who is a weaver, put forward a consideration with regard to robe material?”²

It is evident from the above reference that the merchant (*Seṭṭhi*) attained at a very early time to a position of high social importance. This was chiefly due to his possession of great wealth derived from various trades. He seems to have been the principal representative of the *Gahapati* class. Thus we see that both *Gahapati* and *Seṭṭhi* are more or less identical in their functions. They are the people who made religious endowments and benefactions in India from a very early period. This can be clearly seen from the early epigraphical records which refer to the grants of caves to the Buddhist Clergy.

A Buddhist Cave Inscription at Māhad contains a reference to a cave grant made by *Gahapati Seṭṭhi*.³ Another inscription refers to a *Seṭṭhi*, the son of a *Gahapati* who donated a cave to the *Saṅgha*.⁴ Yet another inscription at Bedsa furnishes a reference to a gift of a *Cetiya*garha by the President of a Guild, who was a *Gahapati*.⁵ Another inscription of the same place refers to both father and son as *Gahapatis*.⁶

Some of the Sanchi Stūpa Inscriptions also contain records of grants made by *Gahapatis*.⁷ Several other inscriptions of the same place refers to donors as *Seṭṭhis*.⁸

In a Karle Buddhist Cave Inscription we find that the establishment of a cave-dwelling by the *Seṭṭhi* Bhūtapāla from Vejayanti.⁹

The practice of endowments to the Buddhist Clergy was very similar in Ceylon during this period. It was but natural that the newly converted people of Laṅkā should follow the same religious customs which were followed by the Indian Buddhists of the same period. It may, therefore, be justifiable to infer that the *Gahapatis* mentioned in the inscriptional records of Ceylon, come under the same category as the donors in Indian inscriptions of the same period. It may again be very reasonably assumed that it was those munificent endowments and support

¹ *Vinaya*, II, p. 77 : “*Kalyāṇabhattiko gahapati āyasmantā dabbena mallaputtēna dhammiyā kathāya sandassito*”.

² *SBB.*, Vol. XI, Pt. II, p. 67.

³ *ASWI.*, Vol. II, p. 88, No. 2 : “*Sidham Gahapatisa sethisa*”.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 89, No. 3 : “*Gahapatiputasa seṭṭisa*”.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 93, No. 4 : “*Virasenakasa Gahapati pamughasa*”.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 95, No. 8 : “*Sayiti Gahapatiputasa*”.

⁷ *EL.*, Vol. II, p. 88, No. 24 ; p. 99, No. 23 ; *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 371, No. 36.

⁸ *EL.*, Vol. II, p. 98, No. II ; p. 100, No. 35 ; Vol. II, p. 88, No. 25, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 102, No. 47 ; p. 106, No. 85 ; p. 372, No. 40 ; p. 374, No. 167 ; p. 387, No. 285.

⁹ *EL.*, Vol. VII, p. 48 : “*Vejayantito sethina*”.

rendered to Buddhism in its early stages by the people of the upper strata of society like *Parumakas*, *Gapatis*, etc. that paved the way for its popularity and propagation among the people at large.

Gapatis may be placed in between *Parumakas* and *Gamikas* in order of frequency in the inscriptions of Ceylon. It is also evident from one inscription that this title was hereditary : " Cave of the two female householders, Cittaguttā and Cudā, the daughters of Anuradi, the householder " ¹ But this hereditary character alone does not encourage us to infer that the people of this *Gahapati* class formed themselves into a well defined caste in the real sense of the word, for we have already seen that *Gahapatis* used to follow different occupations.

An inscription also refers to "*Gapati rupadaka*" which means *Gapati*, the Sculptor. ² Another point to be noticed is that this term *Gapati* was applicable to women as well : "*Gapati vasali puta Mahasumanasa*." ³

There are two other inscriptions where two additional titles were referred to along with the title *Gapati* : "*Dame devanapi Gapati visakaha*" ⁴ "*Dame devanupi Gapati siva*" ⁵ A careful examination of these two titles is, therefore, necessary here to make an attempt to understand the special significance attached to them.

The word *Dame* may be derived from Pāli *Dhamma* which means " Righteous ", and *Devanapi* and *Devanupi* may be the equivalents of Pāli *Devānampiya* which means " beloved of Gods." The word *Dame* seems to be a purely religious title.

The title *Devānampiya* occurs in the inscripational records as a special royal title. This title was used by kings in India even before Asoka. This can be seen from Asoka's Rock Edict VIII : "*Atikrataṃ antaraṃ Devānāmpriya vihara yātra nama nikramiṃsu*" ⁶ Barua interpreted this term *Devānāmpriya* as " Kings " of the past. Except in one inscription ⁷ all the other inscriptions refer to Asoka by the term *Devānāmpriya* or *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi*. In the Nagarjuni Hill Cave Inscription ⁸ a reference is made to Asoka's grandson Daśaratha with the title *Devānāmpriya*. It is thus clear that this title *Devānāmpriya* was used by Indian Kings from a very early date.

Dr. Rahula says ⁹ that the assumption appears justifiable that when *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśi* (Asoka) sent his gifts along with the Spiritual Message to Tissa of Lanka,

¹ *AC.*, p. 437, No. 50. cf. *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 95, No. 8.

² *CJSG.*, II, p. 214, No. 671.

³ *AC.*, 428, No. 18.

Ibid., p. 437, No. 50.

CJSG., II, p. 195, No. 571.

⁴ *AC.*, p. 429, No. 25.

⁵ *AC.*, p. 430, No. 32.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, II, p. 189.

⁷ '*Devānāmpiyasa Asokasa*': *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 49n.

⁸ *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 79.

⁹ *HBC.*, p. 27.

he also conferred upon his friend the title of Devānampiya as a mark of imperial recognition; for no King in Ceylon before Devānampiyatissa seems to have used this title. It can be established from the inscriptional records dating from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. that there were several Kings who used this term as an honorific title, namely Saddhātissa 137-119 B.C.,¹ Lajjitissa 119-109 B.C.,² Vattagāmaṇi Abhaya 103-102, 89-77 B.C.,³ Vaṅkanāsikatissa 109-112 A.D.,⁴ Gajabāhuka Gamaṇi 112-134 A.D.,⁵ and Mahallakanāga 134-140 A.D.⁶

Though this title was used to denote a King from Devānampiyatissa to Mahallakanāga it can be well inferred from the two inscriptions mentioned above that the usage of this term which was originally only a royal title gradually underwent a change in that towards the end of the 2nd century A.D., it was made to apply to others as well, and that the term was used by ordinary, yet well to do, people in society as a title. It is probable that, to begin with, this title was conferred on other members of the royal family.

A recent discovery of another inscription at the Southern Gateway of the Ruwanveli Dāgāba also indicates that people who were not Kings used this term as an honorific title. This inscription reads : “*Lonama jitanaka Devapi Upasika Tisaya datu ni jane.*” (The Relic enshrinement of the female devotee Tissā Nāgā the beloved of the God, the daughter of Lonama).⁷ However, it is certain that the persons referred to in the first two inscriptions mentioned above belong to the category of *Gahapatis*.

Thus it may be assumed that the people of the *Gahapati* class of Ceylon Inscriptions during the period under survey had more or less the social status of the *Vaiśya* class of the Indian caste system.

Kuṭumbika

The term *Kudibika* (=Skt. & P. Kuṭumbika), ‘householder’, found in an inscription of about the first century B.C. must have denoted a person of the same standing as a *Gahapati*.⁸ The *Jātakas* frequently refer to this word *Kuṭumbika* to denote a rich landowner with a wealth of 800 million.⁹ The *Kuṭumbika* Sujāta of Banaras lodges in his park five hundred ascetics.¹⁰ They were not only rich landowners, but also traders and money lenders. In one story a *Kuṭumbika* is always seen

¹ *EZ.*, Vol. I, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Silālekhaṇasaṃgrahaya*, Wimalakitti, Pt. II, p. 53.

⁸ *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. p. 237.

⁹ *J.*, IV, p. 370.

¹⁰ *J.*, V, p. 465.

going by a cart to distant villages to collect debts, sometimes accompanied by his wife.¹ Another *Jātaka* refers to a *Kuṭumbika* who once lent a villager one thousand *Kahāpaṇas*.²

Matrimonial alliances with such a *Kuṭumbika* family appear to have been considered suitable by the rich and aristocratic families in India during this period. A leading citizen seeks the daughter of a *Kuṭumbika* living in a village for his son.³ Even the *Bodhisatta* was once reborn in a *Kuṭumbika* family and earned his living by dealing in corn.⁴

The literary records of Ceylon reveal that the position of a *Kuṭumbika* in Ceylon society was more or less the same as in Indian society. Both the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Rasavāhini* refer to the *Kuṭumbika* very frequently. During the reign of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa of Rohaṇa there was a very rich *Kuṭumbika* named Saṅgha in Khaṇḍakavīthi village.⁵ Then there was another *Kuṭumbika* named Tissa in Hundari Vāpi village in the same District.⁶

Other famous *Kuṭumbikas* of Rohaṇa during this period were *Nāga* of *Niṭhila-veṭṭhika*,⁷ *Rohaṇa Gahapati* of *Kittigāma*,⁸ *Kumāra* of *Kappakandara*,⁹ *Vasabha* of *Kuṭumbiyangana*,¹⁰ *Abhaya* of *Mahindadoni*,¹¹ *Uppala* of *Kapiṭṭha*,¹² and *Matta* of *Vāpi*.¹³

Mention is also made of a few *Kuṭumbikas* who lived, during the reign of *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi*, in the country to the north of the Mahavāli and the Kālani rivers. The *Rasavāhini* speaks of a very rich *Kuṭumbika* named Datta in the Northern Province (*Uttara Passa*),¹⁴ and an *Issara*¹⁵ in the city of Mahela near Anurādhapura.¹⁶ There was still another *Issara* in the village of Veni in Rājaraṭṭha.¹⁷

¹ *J.*, II, p. 341 ; III, p. 107 ; IV, p. 45.

² *J.*, II, p. 388.

³ *J.*, I, p. 196.

⁴ *J.*, II, p. 267.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 19 ; *Rsv.* ; II, p. 33.

⁶ *Mv.* XXIII, v. 45 ; *Rsv.* ; II, p. 186.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 49 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 87.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXIII, v. 55 ; II, p. 93.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXIII, v. 64 ; II, p. 96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXIII, v. 68 ; II, p. 97.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXIII, v. 78 ; II, p. 99.

¹² *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 82 ; *Tsv.*, II, p. 101.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XXIII, v. 90 ; II, p. 102.

¹⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p. 191.

¹⁵ See p. 74 for identification of *Issara* and *Kuṭumbika*.

¹⁶ *Rsv.*, II, p. 166.

¹⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 145.

These references suggest that the *Kuṭumbikas* lived in Rohaṇa also during the reign of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, for there is no reference to show that they lived in other parts of the country. It is, therefore, interesting to examine why we find them in Rohaṇa alone during his reign.

The history of Rohaṇa goes as far back as that of Anurādhapura during the reign of Devānaṃpiyatissa. It was Devānaṃpiya Tissa's younger brother, Mahānāga, who fled to Rohaṇa with his family in order to escape the dangerous situation created by Devānaṃpiya Tissa's queen, and who established his capital at Mahāgāma, and ruled over the whole of Rohaṇa for the first time in the history of Ceylon.¹

But it should be borne in mind that at the time Mahānāga fled to Rohaṇa, there was in Kataragama a *Kṣatriya* family the representatives of which attended the ceremony of planting the Bodhi Tree at Anurādhapura.² "We are not told of the reaction of the Kataragama *Kṣatriyas* to Mahānāga's arrival, but two ruling houses cannot exist so close to each other for long without coming into conflict".³ This inference is supported by the fact that according to the *Samantapāsādikā* there was a king named Mahānāga who went abroad with his brother and became the sole monarch of Rohaṇa after his return.⁴ According to the *Mahāvamsa* there was only one other king by the name Mahānāga before the time of Buddhaghosa, and that was Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga. There was no need for him to go abroad, for there was no dispute whatsoever as to his right to the throne. On the other hand it is possible that when Mahānāga, the brother of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, fled to Rohaṇa he had to fight with the then ruling prince or chieftain there. Probably having been once defeated, he was forced to seek refuge abroad as he could not return to Anurādhapura, from which he had already fled.⁵

However, the hostility between these two families may have continued till the reign of Goṭhābhaya, the grandson of Mahānāga, who, according to the *Dhātuvamsa*, slew ten brother-kings, of Kataragama.⁶ This is also evident from an epigraphic record about thirty miles east of Kataragama.⁷

From Goṭhābhaya onwards there was no political rivalry in Rohaṇa. The political stability which was thus brought about by Goṭhābhaya, was strengthened by Kākavaṇṇa Tissa's matrimonial alliance with the Kingdom of Kālaṇiya.⁸

According to the *Dhātuvamsa*, there was a ruling prince named Siva at Seru in the District of Batticaloa.⁹ It further says that Kākavaṇṇa Tissa's brother-in-law, Prince Abhaya, who lived in Girinuvara having fallen out with the Prince Duṭṭahgamaṇi

¹ *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 2-8.

² *Mv.*, XIX, v. 54.

³ *HC.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 146.

⁴ *SMP.*, II, p. 473.

⁵ Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 61.

⁶ *Dhātu.*, pp. 23-4.

⁷ *CJSG.*, II, pp. 99-100.

⁸ *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 13-22.

⁹ *Dhātu.*, pp. 32-33.

owing to a dispute regarding their clans, went to his friend Siva at Seru with his family and lived in the city called Soma. This clearly indicates that these two families were not on good terms with the royal family in Rohaṇa.

Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, having realised the importance of becoming friendly with these two families in order to bring about the political unification of the entire region to the south of Mahāvāli, built a Dāgāba at Seru with the permission of the ruler there. Thus the ruler of Rohaṇa succeeded in unifying the entire portion of Ceylon to the South of the Kālaṇi and the Mahavāli rivers by peaceful means, and made Mahāgāma its Capital.

It is evident from this that there was no serious political unrest in Rohaṇa from the 3rd century B.C. onwards. When a country is free from foreign invasions and internal disputes of a serious nature, it is but natural that the country's economy would prosper to a very high degree.

On the other hand, the political upheavals in Anurādhapura, which were largely brought about by foreign invasions tended in every way to diminish the prosperity of the people. In addition to this there was a famine called *Akkhakkhāyika* in Anurādhapura during the 2nd century B.C.¹ In the circumstances, though Anurādhapura was far more prosperous than Rohaṇa from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd half of the 2nd century B.C., Rohaṇa was more prosperous than Anurādhapura during the first half of the 2nd century B.C.

According to the *Sammohavinodanī*, there were twelve thousand Bhikkhus residing at Tissamahārāma and when the Brāhmaṇa Tissa famine broke out in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi there was grain in the Vihāra to last for three years.² In the monastery of Cittala Pabbata, too, there were twelve thousand *Bhikkhus* during the same Brāhmaṇa Tissa famine.³ This clearly indicates how prosperous Rohaṇa was during this period. It is, therefore, not a surprise to see more *Kuṭumbikas* in Rohaṇa than in other parts of the country during this period.

It is also interesting to note that one of the paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Phussadeva, is referred as a *Parumaka* in an epigraphic record belonging to the first century B.C.⁴ According to both the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Rasavāhini* he was the son of a *Kuṭumbika* named Uppala.⁵

¹ *Mv.*, Trans., p. 222, note 6: "The famine was so severe that during it *Akka* nuts which at other times were used as dice, were eaten, and hence it was called *Akkhakkhāyika*".

² *SV.*, p. 445: "Brāhmaṇa-Tissa-bhaye kira Cittalapabbate dvādasa bhikkhusahassāni paṭivasanti. Tathā Tissamahāvihāre. Dvīsipi mahāvihāresu tinnam vassānaṃ ekarattameva vaṭṭaṃ mahā mūsikādayo khādimsu".

³ *SV.*, p. 445.

⁴ *JRASC.B.*, New series, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 132, No. 56, 57, 60.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 82; *Rsv.*, II, p. 101.



The paladin Veļusumana is also referred to as a *Parumaka* in another inscription assigned to the same period,¹ whereas, according to the literary evidence, he was a *Kuṭumbika Putta* (son of a *Kuṭumbika*).²

This shows that the *Kuṭumbikas* in Ceylon society were more or less identical with the *Parumakas*. We have seen earlier,³ that the *Parumakas* belonged to the *Vaiśya* class. It is, therefore, justifiable to conclude that the *Kuṭumbikas* in Ceylon during this period belonged to the same class of people as the *Parumakas*, the *Vaiśya*.

Gamika

Another word which occurs in the inscriptions is *Gamika* (=P. *Gāmika*) which normally means 'the head of the village'. Almost in the same sense as *Gāmika* is the word *Gāmaṇī* used in ancient Indian Pāli Literature. The word *Grāmaṇī* which occurs frequently in Vedic Literature, is usually taken to mean 'the head of the village'.⁴

The villages were the real centres of social life and important units of the economic structure of a country from ancient times. It is, therefore, no doubt that the village headman was the most important figure in the village. But the *Grāmaṇī*, in Vedic times, seems to have been a more important personage than the village headman is at present, for he is included among the eight *Viras* (heroes or friend of the King) who are expected to be present at the *Rāḍ Yajña* celebration. This celebration was intended to restore a deposed King to his Kingdom or procure the allegiance of refractory subjects to a reigning King.⁵ The other *Viras* are the Royal Chaplain (*Purohita*) the Queen (*Mahiṣī*), the Herald (*Sūta*),⁶ the Chamberlain (*Kṣatṛ*), and the Collector General (*Sangrahitr*).⁷

Then again he was included in the twelve *Ratnins* of the King.⁸ Before the Consecration ceremony took place it was the custom of the King to go to the house of each of the twelve *Ratnins* to ascertain his faithfulness to the King. Here he is mentioned in the 6th place in order of importance. In the process of the same Rājasūya Ceremony where the passing round of the Sacrificial Sword is mentioned 'Grāmaṇī' appeared again in the 5th place just after *Sthapati* (Governor of a District).⁹ Thus it is evident that *Grāmaṇī* was one of the most important officials of the King and a very influential and prominent figure. It seems from this that the

¹ *JRASCB.*, New series, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 132, No. 54.

² *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 68 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 97.

³ See *supra*, p. 40.

⁴ Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 171.

⁵ Law N. N., *Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 87.

⁶ The interpretation of Eggeling and Rau (*Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien, Wiesbaden* 1957, pp. 108-9).

⁷ This is the generally accepted interpretation based on the commentary. Recently Wilhelm Rau has given good reason to believe that the term refers to a charioteer (Rau : pp. 109-110).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁹ Law, *Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 175.

Vedic *Grāmaṇi* was something more than mere village headman. It appears that the *Grāma* in Vedic times was not a settled village, but a nomadic horde within the larger tribe.¹ The *Grāmaṇi* would thus be an important leader subordinate to the King.² It appears that this sense of the word, rather than that of a mere village headman, was carried to Ceylon.

Dr. Altekar says that there was normally only one headman for each village. His post was usually hereditary. By caste he was normally a non-Brāhmin. He was the leader of the village militia since the Vedic age, and therefore he may have often belonged to the *Kṣatriya* caste. Sometimes a *Vaiśya* too aspired for and obtained the office. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*³ shows that the office of the *Grāmaṇi* was often the goal of the ambition of a *Vaiśya*.⁴

It is also evident from the Pāli Literature that these two terms *Gāmika* and *Gāmaṇi* were used side by side do denote the headman of the village. According to the *Vinaya*⁵ King Bimbisāra of Magadha, who was the ruler of eighty thousand villages was in the habit of meeting all the 80,000 village headmen (*Gāmika*), now and then, in an assembly in order to instruct them with regard to wordly affairs. From this it is obvious that the *Gāmika* was the head of only one village and was not the head of several villages as some scholars are inclined to think,⁶ definitely during the 6th century B.C., if not earlier.

The maintenance of peace and order and the administration of justice were in the hands of the village headman.⁷ In post-Vedic India the *Grāmika* was the head of the village administration, in contrast to Vedic *Grāmaṇi* who was primarily a tribal military leader. The *Grāmika* was assisted by elderly men of the village in his administration. *Jātakas*⁸ inform us that *Gāmaṇis* transacted their business themselves. These *Jātakas* do not refer to the existence of any village Councils or Committees by which the administration was carried on in the villages. But if the village headman acted unreasonably or against the established customs of the locality or realm, the village elders could set the matter right by pointing out his mistakes to the headman. There is a reference in the *Jātaka* to a cancellation of the order of a headman who prohibited the sale of strong drinks and slaughter of animals, when the villagers pointed out to him how these were time-honoured customs of the village.⁹

¹ Eggeling and Rau, pp. 51-55.

² Eggeling and Rau, pp. 56-57.

³ *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, II, 5.4.4.

⁴ *State and Govt. in Ancient India*, Altekar, p. 172.

⁵ *Vinaya*, I, p. 179 : "Atha kho Māgadho Seṇiyo Bimbisāro tāni asitīm gāmikasahassāni diṭṭhadhammike atthe anusāsivā uyyojesi".

⁶ Law, *A.I. Polity*, p. 88 : "It is not clear whether he is the headman of a particular village, in which case his importance would be considerably diminished. It is probable that he is the head of all village headmen".

⁷ *Vinaya*, II, p. 296 : "Tena kho pana samayena Mañicūlako Gāmaṇi tassaṃ parisāyaṃ nisinno hoti, atha kho avuso Mañicūlako Gāmaṇi taṃ parisāṃ etadavoca".

⁸ *Kuṇāla Jātaka*.

⁹ *Pāṇiya Jātaka*.

It is also evident from the Pāli Literature that the word *Gāmaṇi* was used as an honorific title by some persons of social standing. In the *Samyutta* this was used as a title in addition to personal names such as Canda, Yodhājīva, Hatthāroḍha, Asibandhaka Putta, and Rāsiya.¹ But it is worthy of notice that this word was not used to denote a king anywhere in Ancient Indian Literature.

It is only in the Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon that this title appears for the first time as part of the personal name of some of the kings belonging to the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries.

According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the first Sinhalese king whose name included the title *Gāmaṇi* was Dīghagāmaṇi, the father of Paṇḍukābhaya.² The next king who used this title was the celebrated Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (C. 101-77 B. C.).³ The *Mahāvamsa* author here explains that Prince Gāmaṇi was so called because he was the Lord of Mahāgāma. After Duṭṭhagāmaṇi this title forms part of the names, as given in the Chronicles, of Vattagāmaṇi Abhaya (C. 103-102 B.C.),⁴ Amandagāmaṇi Abhaya (C. 79-89 A.D.),⁵ and Gajabāhukagāmaṇi (C. 173-195 A.D.).⁶

Though it is evident from the above references that the word *Gāmaṇi* was used as a part of a personal name, the early Sinhalese epigraphic records reveal that it was also used as a title. An inscriptional record at Mihintale⁷ refers to Uttiya as "*Gamaṇi Uti Maharaja*", thus proving that the title *Gāmaṇi* was used by kings who reigned long before Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The King Uttiya was the younger brother and successor of Devānaṃpiyatissa, the contemporary of Asoka.

After Uttiya the title was used by the King Saddhātissa as "*Devanapiya Maharaja Gamaṇi Tisa*."⁸ It is, therefore, justifiable to infer that this word may have been used as a title by many other kings, too.

There are a number of inscriptions which refer to the reigning king by the title *Gāmaṇi Abhaya* alone, without any other particulars which enable us to identify him with any king mentioned in the Chronicles.⁹ The inscriptions at Bóvattegala show that the title *Gāmaṇi* was used also by princes who ruled the South-Eastern

¹ *Samyutta*, IV, pp. 305-330.

² *Mv.*, IX, v. 13 : "*Dīghāyussa kumārassa tanayo Dīghagāmaṇi sutvā ummādacittaṃ taṃ tassa iato kutūhalaṃ*".

³ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 71 : "*Mahāgāme nāyakattaṃ pitunāmañca attano ubho katvāna ekajjhaṃ Gāmaṇi Abhaya iti*".

⁴ *Mv.*, XXXIII, v. 34 : "*Tassa rañño kaṇiṭṭho tu Vattagāmaṇi nāmaḷo taṃ duṭṭhasenāpatikaṃ hantvā rajjamakārayi*".

⁵ *Mv.*, XXXV, v. 1 : "*Āmaṇḍagāmanyabhaya mahādāṭṭhikaaccaye navavassānaṭṭhamāse rajjam kāresi taṃ suto*".

⁶ *Mv.*, XXXV, v. 115 : "*Vaṅkanāsikatissassa accaye kārayi suto rajjam bāvisavassāni Gajabāhukagamaṇi*".

⁷ *ARASC.*, for 1933, p. 14.

⁸ *EZ.*, I, p. 142.

⁹ *CJSG.*, II, pp. 25, 197, 15, 218.

part of the Island and who appear to be identical with the *Kṣatriya* of Kājaragāma mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.¹ Thus it is clear that any ruling prince was eligible to bear this title *Gāmaṇi*, during our period or survey.

But so far as Ceylon is concerned the word *Gamika* is not identical with *Gāmaṇi*. *Gamika* in Sinhalese exclusively refers to a village headman. Although Altekar² is inclined to think that the village headman may often have belonged to the *Kṣatriya* caste, the *Gāmaṇi* is referred to in the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* as belonging to the *Vaiśya* caste;³ moreover, the *Kṣatriya* was always referred to as *Rājanya* or *Rājā* in Vedic Literature and the *Grāmaṇi* is never mentioned as such. Thus in the Vedic times and in the time of the redaction of the Pāli Canon *Gāmaṇi* was essentially a *Vaiśya* title and does not appear to have been borne by a *Kṣatriya*.⁴

A king named *Gāmaṇi* is the hero of the *Gāmaṇi Jātaka*.⁵ In the *Jātaka Pāli*,⁶ however, there is nothing to show that *Gāmaṇi* was the name of the king. It is only in the Commentary, written in Ceylon in the fifth century A.D., that King *Gāmaṇi* is mentioned.

It is therefore reasonable to infer that the *Gamikas* of the Sinhalese inscriptions, who would only be considered identical with *Gāmaṇis* in India in post-Vedic times, belonged to the *Vaiśya* class in Ceylon society during this period, while the *Gāmaṇis* were much more important persons, usually nobles or members of royal families.

This title *Gamika* was more or less hereditary.⁷ This leads us to infer that *Gamikas* were not elected during this period. This hereditary character also shows that they were conscious of their class (= *Vaiśya*) in society. It is also worthy of note that in one inscription⁸ both titles *Parumaka* and *Gamiya* (= *Gamika*) were used by one and the same person, *Naga*.

Another inscription refers to a joint grant by *Parumaka* and a *Gamika*.⁹ It is quite reasonable to assume from this that there was not much difference between *Parumakas* and *Gamikas* in status. Hence it is not far wrong to assume that

¹ *CJSG.*, II, pp. 99 and 175-6.

² *State and Government in Ancient India*, Altekar, p. 172.

³ *History and Culture of Indian People*, Vol. I, p. 431.

⁴ *JRAS of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1936, p. 446.

⁵ *J.*, I, p. 136.

⁶ *J.*, I, p. 136 : “*Api ataramānānaṃ phalāsāve samijjhati vipakkabrahmacariyosmi evaṃ jānāhī Gāmaṇī*”.

⁷ *CJSG.*, II, 125, No. 519 : “*Gamika mitapala puta gamika naga*”.

ibid., p. 127, No. 530 : “*Gamika Siva puta Gamika Kantisaha*”.

ibid., p. 206, No. 630 : “*Gamika Tisa puta Gamika Maliya*”.

ibid., p. 226, No. 752 : “*Gamika Anodi puta Gamika Rakiya lene*”.

⁸ *AC.*, p. 440, No. 55 : “*Barata Mahatisaya kape, Parumaka Naga Gamiya detake*”.

⁹ *CJSG.*, II, p. 225, No. 744 : “*Gamika Sivasa Parumaka Sivasa ca*”.

Parumakas also may have belonged to the same class of people as the *Gamikas*, i.e. the *Vaiśyas*, for all respectable householders of the village, who took part in the village administration in the Tamil country, were known as *Perumakkāl* (the chief of the village).¹

According to the inscriptional records, the village headman had one subordinate officer called *Baḍagarika* (Treasurer).² This shows that the collection of the Government revenue was another important duty of the village headman, in addition to his duty of maintenance of peace and order in the village.

¹ Altakar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 174.

² *CJSG.*, II, p. 127, No. 532 : "*Gamika Kaṇṭisaha Baḍagarika Anuradaha lene*". cf. *Skt : Bhāṇḍāgarika*.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ŚŪDRAS

The class of people who were employed in menial work in Ceylon society during the period under review may have corresponded to the Śūdra class in Indian society during the same period. In order to understand the position of the Śūdras in Ceylon, it is necessary to examine their position in Indian society during the period in which the Āryans may have started to migrate to Ceylon.

According to the *Dharmasūtras*, the duty of the Śūdra was to serve the three higher *varṇas*, and thus to maintain his dependents.¹ Gautama declared that the Śūdra could live by practising mechanical arts, if he could not maintain himself by serving others.² Kautīlya also states that although the chief means of livelihood of a Śūdra is the service to others, he can maintain himself by following the professions of artisans, dancers, actors, etc.,³ which are probably independent occupations meant for the Śūdra who is not at the service of the twice-born. Thus it seems that a section of the Śūdra community worked as weavers, wood-workers, smiths, leather-workers, potters, painters, etc.⁴

A passage in the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes the classification of the means of livelihood of the four *varṇas*. According to this, the *Brāhmaṇa* lives on charities, the *Kṣatriya* on the use of the bow and arrow, the *Vaiśya* on agriculture and tending of cattle, and the Śūdra on the use of the sickle and carrying-pole.⁵

It can be inferred from this that the Śūdra was employed not only as domestic servant but also as slave and labourer. A passage in the *Dīgha Nikāya*⁶ defines the position of the Śūdra as *Suddo vā Sudda-dāso vā* which means "the Śūdra or the Śūdra slave". According to this definition it is clear that the Śūdra was more or less identical with the *Dāsa* (slave) during this period. The *Brāhmaṇical* theory that the Śūdra was meant for the service of the three higher *varṇas* is broadly reflected in the employment of slaves and labourers by the *Brāhmaṇas*,⁷ the *Kaṣṭriyas*,⁸ and the *Seṭṭhis* and *Gahapatis*.⁹ Thus it is evident that the Śūdra population in Ancient India from *circa* 6th century B. C. to *circa* 3rd century B. C. consisted of domestic servants, slaves, labourers, artisans, and the aboriginal people.¹⁰

¹ *Āp. Dh.S.*, I, 1-7 ; *Gau. Dh.S.* 10, 54-57.

² *Gau. Dh. S.*, 10, 53-55 ; 10, 60.

³ *Arthaśāstra*, 1-3.

⁴ Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 88.

⁵ *Majjhima*, II, p. 180.

⁶ *Dīgha.*, I, p. 104.

⁷ *J.*, IV, p. 15 ; *Majjhima*, II, p. 186.

⁸ *J.*, V, p. 413.

⁹ *Vinaya*, I, p. 243, 272 ; II, p. 154.

¹⁰ For details see : *Śūdras in Ancient India* by Sharma ; *Social and Rural Economy in Northern India* by Bose ; *Social Organisation* by Fick.

It is significant that the word *Śūdra* does not occur either in the literary or in the epigraphic records of Ceylon during this period. The *Mahāvamsa* records that one thousand families of eighteen guilds were sent to Ceylon by Paṇḍu, the king of Madurā, during the reign of the legendary Vijaya.¹ Although the *Mahāvamsa* reference does not give an insight into the social status of these families of different guilds, the references in the *Jātaka* and the *Smṛti* literature of the later period clearly state that the social status of those who belonged to the eighteen guilds was certainly lower than that of the *Vaiśyas*.

According to the *Jātaka*,² the people who were included in the list of eighteen guilds are carpenters, artisans, painters and the like. The *Smṛti Candrikā* applies this word *Śreṇi* (guild) to eighteen low-castes such as those of the washerman, leather-manufacturer, actor, basket and mat-maker, fisherman, weaver &c.³ Thus the reference in the *Mahāvamsa* to the word "eighteen" undoubtedly speaks of the eighteen types of low-castes which come under the category of *Śūdras*.

The *Mahāvamsa* also contains a reference to a list of families sent to Ceylon by Asoka along with the *Bodhi Tree*.⁴ According to the order of preference mentioned in this list, mention is made of the families of cowherds (*Gopaka*), umbrella-bearers (*Taraccha*), the weavers (*Pesakāra*), the potters (*Kumbhakāra*), and all other guilds, immediately after the word *Vessa*. This shows that these people were placed in the fourth place in the scale of social gradation, assigning them to the category of *Śūdras*.

Blacksmiths and coppersmiths are not expressly mentioned in early sources, but it is evident that weapons and numerous tools of iron and steel were made and that the *Lohapāsāda* was roofed with sheets of copper. The supposition that there were blacksmiths during this period is supported by the reference to the word *Dasāddhāyudhasannaddho*⁵ which means 'equipped with five kinds of weapons' namely sword, bow, battle-axe, spear and shield.⁶

There are direct references to goldsmiths and jewellers. The word *Taladhara* (*Tulādhāra*), which means goldsmith, occurs in the Vessagiri inscription,⁷ while there are several pre-Christian inscriptions which contain records of donations by jewellers (*māṇikāra*).⁸

A weaver (*Pehekara*) is mentioned in one epigraphic record of the 1st century B.C. and in another inscription of the same period a tank named *Pehera Vavi* occurs.⁹ Both the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Sihalavatthuppakarāṇa* refer to weavers.

¹ *Mv.*, VII, v. 57.

² *J.*, VI, p. 427.

³ Mookerji, *Local Govt. in Ancient India*, p. 65.

⁴ *Mv.*, 19, 1-3.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 82.

⁶ Clough, *Sinh. Dict.*, S. V.

⁷ *EZ.*, I, 18 : *Taladara Naga*.

⁸ *CJSG.*, II, p. 203, No. 617 : *Aḍikaya Utaraha duve kahapaṇa Manikar puta*.

⁹ *JRASC.B.*, Vol. V, New series, p. 76.

often.¹ References are not wanting in inscriptions to show that there were potters (*Kubala*), too, during this period.² *Kuṃbalagāma* was a village in Rohaṇa,³ and *Kuṃbhasela Vihāra* ascribed to the early ruler of Rohaṇa, Goṭhābhaya,⁴ *Kulālitissa Vihāra*,⁵ *Kuṃbalatissa Pabbata*,⁶ and *Kuba Vehera*,⁷ took their names either from being founded by potters or from being situated in a potter's village.

Both literary and epigraphic records of this period furnish us with evidence to show that there were painters (*Cittakāra*). According to the *Visuddhimagga* there was a monk named *Cittagutta* who lived in a cave adorned with beautiful paintings but was so absorbed in meditation and religious practices that the works of art which surrounded him in his own dwelling went unnoticed by him.⁸ The *Mahāvamsa* speaks of a *Cittasālā* (painting hall) in Anurādhapura in the 3rd century B. C.⁹ The walls of the Mahāthūpa were decorated with a variety of paintings depicting events in the life of the Buddha and scenes connected with the building of the Thūpa.¹⁰ An inscription of the 1st century B. C. also contains a reference to a word *Citakara* (painter).¹¹

There are no direct references to leather-workers as such, but there are references to the use of leather in drums and footwear. "Hides were used to protect the backs of war elephants against flame and molten pitch, and when the Mahāthūpa was under construction its foundations were consolidated by elephants whose feet were bound with leather."¹² An inscription of the 2nd or 1st century B. C. contains a reference to a word *Rupadaka*.¹³ This, no doubt, suggests that there were sculptors during this period. In the circumstances it is reasonable to conclude that most of the low-caste people in the list of eighteen guilds mentioned above were in Ceylon during the period under survey.

The *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, the earliest known Pāli Lexicon of Ceylon, also refers to five kinds of servants : *Taraccha* (umbrella-bearers), *Tantavāya* (weavers), *Rajaka* (washerman), *Nahāpita* (barber) and *Cammakāra* (leather-worker).¹⁴ This work was written by Moggallāna in the reign of Parākramabāhu the Great.¹⁵ Although it belongs to a later period, there is no doubt that the author had followed the tradition

¹ *M. v.*, XIX, v. 3. *Sihv.*, pp. 1, 2.

² *JRASC.B.*, Vol. V, New Series, p. 76.

³ *Sahasavatthu*, p. 85.

⁴ *Dhātuvamsa*, p. 31.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXXVI, v. 327.

⁶ *University of Ceylon Review*, I, p. 62.

⁷ *JRASC.B.*, No. 73, p. 55.

⁸ *Visuddhimagga*, I, p. 28.

⁹ *Mv.*, XX, v. 53.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXX, vv. 78-88.

¹¹ *JRASC.B.*, Vol. V, New series, p. 72.

¹² *Mv.*, (Geiger-Trns.), XXIII, v. 86 ; XXV, v. 36.

¹³ *CJSG.*, II, p. 214, No. 671. It is to be noted that *Rupadaka* in Ceylon was not considered as belonging to low-caste e.g. "*Gapati Rupadaka*".

¹⁴ *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, v. 295.

¹⁵ Law, *History of Pali Literature*, Vol. II, p. 639.

handed down from the Mahāvihāra monks of Anurādhapura, for we have seen earlier¹ that the craftsmen mentioned were considered as low-caste people during the period under survey.

The *Mahāvamsa* reports that Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga² ordered barbers (*Nahāpitas*) to work continually at the four gates during the *Giribhaṇḍa Pūjā*³. The *Mahāvamsa* also refers to two kinds of fishermen : *Bālisikā* who catch fish with bait⁴ and *Kevaṭṭā* who catch them with nets.⁵ Both commentaries of the *Ānguttara* and the *Majjhima* also contain references to a class of people who followed fishing as a profession.⁶

In Ceylon, slaves (*dāsa*) were normally employed in the capacity of domestic servants and labourers. The word *Dāsa* is used in the *Rg Veda*, in the sense of enemies of the Āryans.⁷ Thus it seems that the conqueror in those early days treated the conquered as his slaves. This was no doubt the usual practice in India even during the post-Vedic period.

A reference in the *Vinaya* to one of the three types of slaves is made as *Karamarānita*.⁸ In the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*, Sutasoma expresses his fear and doubt whether Brahmadata, the king of Bārāṇasī, would enslave the captured princes.⁹

It is significant that although prisoners of war were the first to be considered as slaves, they appear last in the list of slaves enumerated in the *Vinaya*. This clearly suggests that the idea of slavery had undergone a great deal of change in the course of time and had developed into a permanent institution in Indian society during the post-Vedic period.

According to the *Vinaya* there were three categories of slaves. Those that are born in the house (*Antojāta*), those that are bought with money (*Dhanakkīta*), and those that are captured in the war (*Karamarānita*).¹⁰ The *Manusmṛti* speaks of seven kinds of slaves : *Dhajāhṛta* (those who are captured in war), *Bhaktadāsa* (those who serve in return for maintenance), *Gṛhaja* (those who are born in the house), *Kṛita* (those who are bought), *Dātrima* (those who are received as gifts), *Paitrika* (those who are inherited from the father) and the *Danḍadāsa* (those who are made slaves by way of punishment).¹¹

¹ See, *supra*, p. 56.

² *Mv.*, XXXIV, 84.

³ *EZ.*, Vol. I, pp. 58-65 ; *Mv.* xxxiv, v. 3.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 62.

⁵ *Mv.*, 28, 37.

⁶ *Ānguttara Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 367.

Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā, p. 1008.

⁷ Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, p. 407.

⁸ *Vinaya*, I, 2, I.

⁹ *Jātaka*, V, pp. 456, ff.

¹⁰ *Vinaya*, I, 2, I.

¹¹ *Manu*, VIII, 415.

A comparison of these two lists shows that the first six in the latter are only variations of those in the former. The only addition to the former from the latter seems to be the seventh category, *i.e.*, *Daṇḍadāsa*. It is strange, as Fick has rightly pointed out¹, that this category was not included in the list of slaves referred to in the *Vinaya*, as we have reference to show that there were slaves who lost their freedom as punishment. In the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* a reference is made to a village headman (*gāma-bhojaka*) who has spoken ill of the inhabitants of the village before the king, and is condemned to the position of a slave of the villagers.² Similarly ministers,³ *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas*, and men of high birth might be reduced to slavery.⁴ Thus it is evident that there were four types of slaves in India during this period.

According to the *Nīti Nighaṇḍu*, the institution of slavery was sent to Ceylon in the same form in which it was in India, during the 5th century B. C. It states that "now the origin of slavery is as follows : King Paṇḍuvas of India sent a Princess as queen to king Vijaya, the first king of Laṅkā, and 700 maidens of different castes, and male and female slaves, and thence forward slavery was established in Laṅkā."⁵

According to both the *Samantapāsādikā*⁶ and the *Nīti Nighaṇḍu*⁷ there were four kinds of slaves in Ceylon : *Antojāta*, *Dhanakkita*, *Karamarānita*, and *Sāmamā-savyopagata*.

The first category consisted of slaves who had been born and bred in the same family for generations. The second category of slaves are those purchased from their parents or their masters. The third category are those stolen from a foreign country, captives taken in war by kings, and women who, having been expelled from their families for losing their caste, have become the property of the king. The fourth category consists of those who for their livelihood or for their protection, of their own accord, agree for a certain sum to become slaves; who steal the property of others; or burn the house or granary of others and cause damage; the person who borrows money is unable to pay the principal and the interest, and thus becomes the slave of the creditor.⁸

In the *Mahāvamsa* the word *Dāsa* occurs for the first time in the description of the reign of Paṇḍuvāsudeva. According to this record the royal chaplain predicted that the son of Paṇḍuvāsudeva's daughter would one day destroy his uncles. She was, therefore, made to live in a well protected chamber built upon a single pillar (*Ekathūnikagehe*) and a female slave (*Dāsi*) was kept inside the chamber to watch over her.⁹

¹ Fick, *Social Organisation*, p. 30.

² *J.*, I, p. 100 : *Tañca tesañceva dāsaṃ katvā*.

³ *J.*, VI, p. 389 : "*Porāṇakā amaccā dāse katvā adāsi*".

⁴ Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, p. 92.

⁵ *Nīti Nighaṇḍu*, p. 7.

⁶ *Samantapāsādikā*, III, p. 177.

⁷ *Nīti Nighaṇḍu*, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

⁹ *Mv.*, IX, vv. 2-4, 15, 16, 19.

In the same text there is a reference to a slave (*Dāsa*) named *Kāvela* who was put to death by the brothers of *Ummāda Cittā*, when they discovered that he was in *Gāmaṇi*'s service.¹ Then again a reference is made to a slave-woman who helped *Ummāda Cittā* to get her baby son exchanged for a baby girl who was born about the same time to another woman.²

In the *Rasavāhīni* a reference is made to a woman named *Nāgā* in *Nāgadīpa*, who became a slave of a certain family, in return for a loan of sixty *kahāpaṇas*.³ Later she borrowed another sixty *kahāpaṇas* from her master on agreement that she would, in addition, be a night slave (*ratti dāsī*=servant woman engaged in night duties) as well. Thus she continued life as a slave till she was made free by the king.⁴ Another story tells how both husband and wife became slaves to a rich family for a similar reason, during the reign of king *Saddhā Tissa*.⁵ Poverty among the poorer classes was so acute during this period that sometimes parents were compelled to sell or mortgage their children for a few *kahāpaṇas*. According to the *Rasavāhīni* one such man mortgaged his daughter to a rich family for twelve *kahāpaṇas*,⁶ while a son was mortgaged by his parents for eight *kahāpaṇas*.⁷ *Manorathapūraṇi* speaks of another instance of the mortgage of a girl by her parents for twelve *kahāpaṇas*.⁸

References to captives in war who were treated as slaves do not occur frequently in our sources, but the *Rasavāhīni* furnishes us with evidence to show that this type of slave was known in Ceylon during this period. According to this *Veḷusumana* promised *Ejāra* to bring *Kākavaṇṇa Tissa* as a captive and make him his slave (*dāsa*), when *Veḷusumana* visited the former under the disguise of a spy.⁹

Besides the types of slaves mentioned above, kings, nobles, and rich people used to obtain the services of other types of slaves. Once when a famine broke out in *Rājaratṭha*, a son of an *Issara* (= *kuṭumbika*) ordered his slaves and hirelings (*dāsa kammakare*) to go to the country of *Malaya* (the central hills of Ceylon) and collect paddy.¹⁰

According to the *Sihala Vatthu*, king *Saddhā Tissa* is said to have given to a female devotee one hundred each of both male and female slaves. It further says that this gift was made in order to honour her by raising her status to a rank equal to that of his daughter.¹¹ It is clear from this that there was a large number of slaves assigned to each member of the royal household.

¹ *Mv.*, IX, v. 22.

² *Ibid.*, IX, v. 24 ; X, vv, 1-3, 85.

³ *Rasavāhīni*, II, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 31.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 143.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 32.

⁸ *Manorathapūraṇi*, p. 277.

⁹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 62 : " *Kākavaṇṇa-Tissaṃ bandhitvā ānetvā tava dāsaṃ karomi* ".

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 145.

¹¹ *Sihalavatthupparāṇa*, p. 96.

The slaves were employed not only in royal households, the families of the nobles and other rich householders, but also in the monasteries. We learn from the *Samantapāsādikā* that kings donated slaves to monasteries.¹

The acceptance of male and female slaves is not in keeping with the rules of discipline of the *Bhikkhus*.² But when the Order of monks and the number of monasteries grew in number, the custom of employing slaves in monasteries came into vogue. This was not uncommon even in India during this period. We learn from a *Jātaka* that the Buddhist monasteries maintained slaves and servants who begged alms on behalf of the monks, or served as gardeners or went on shopping errands.³

The Kārle and Nāsik cave inscriptions show the types of magnificent endowments made to the monasteries by Śaka Princes. The Kuṣāṇa inscriptions from Mathurā also tell the same story.⁴ It is reported in Pāli literature how the Buddhist monasteries are so often found overflowing with gain and honour (*lābha sakkāra*), like the five rivers.⁵ This, no doubt, was the type of monastic life adopted by the monks in Ceylon, too, during this period.

However, as this custom of accepting slaves by monks came into existence, the commentators may have tried to justify such acceptance by interpreting it to suit the injunctions of the Buddha. This is evident from the Majjhima Commentary, which states that it is true that it is improper to accept slaves, but it is proper to accept them in the form of *Kappiyakāra* (one who undertakes the responsibility of providing monks with their needs) and *Ārāmikas* (attendants and servants of the monastery).⁶ By whatever names they were designated, it is beyond doubt that they were actual slaves in monasteries, for the *Samantapāsādikā* emphatically states that they should not be ordained.⁷ It is to be noted here that the Buddha has prohibited this not because there is any caste distinction but because they are not free from encumbrances.⁸ A 1st century inscription records a donation by a man and a woman who were slaves.⁹

The gift of slaves to monasteries¹⁰ and individuals¹¹ clearly shows that these people could be given to others like personal property. There are references to show that this was exactly the case in Indian society during this period.¹² Thus it is evident

¹ SMP., III, p. 177 : “*Vihāresu rājūhi ārāmikadāsā nāma dinnā honti*”.

² *Dīgha*, I, p. 49.

³ *Jātaka*, III, p. 49.

⁴ *EI.*, 21, 10.

⁵ J.I, p. 449 : II, p. 415 ; III, p. 126.

⁶ *Majjhima Comm.*, p. 404 : “*Dāsavasena tesam paṭiggahaṇam na vaṭṭati kappiyakārakam dammi ārāmikam dammīti evam vutte pana vaṭṭati*”.

⁷ *SP.*, III, p. 177.

⁸ *Mahāvagga*, I, pp. 84, ff.

⁹ *EZ.*, IV, p. 135, N. I : “*Dasi Anula dīni Dasa kalaca*”.

¹⁰ *EZ.*, IV, p. 135, No. I.

¹¹ *Sihalavatthu*, p. 96.

¹² *Jātaka*, I, p. 341 ; V, p. 223 ; VI, p. 138.

that the master was free to sell or give his slaves as he liked, and even had the right to chastise his slaves and punish them in whatever way he liked.¹

But it is evident from the references cited above that the slaves in Ceylon society were generally treated rather as adopted dependents or as faithful domestic servants than as menials. They were employed as guardians² and the personal attendants of the members of the royal household³ and sometimes they were entrusted with secret missions of high responsibility.⁴

It is reasonable to assume that this mild treatment of slaves was much favoured in Ceylon owing to the influence of Buddhism from 3rd century B.C. onwards.

The code of treatment of a slave by a master and of duties and relations between the two are referred to in the *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.⁵ According to this discourse the Āryan master assigns his slaves and servants work according to their strength (*yathābalaṃ kammantasamvidhānena*), supplies them with food and wages (*bhattavetanānupadānena*), tends them in sickness (*gilānūpaṭṭhānena*), shares with them unusual delicacies (*acchariyānaṃ rasānaṃ samvibhāgena*), and grants leave at times (*samaye vossaggena*). According to the *Sutta-Saṅgahaṭṭhakathā*, constant relaxation should be accorded to them so that they need not work all day, and special leave with extra food and adornments should be supplied with.⁶ As Professor Basham has rightly pointed out 'if read in terms of rights rather than of duties, they seem to imply the employee's right to fair wages and conditions, regular holidays, and free medical attention'.⁷ The slaves and servants should, in return, discharge their duties towards their master in five ways : They rise before him, lie down to rest after him ; they are content with what is given to them ; they do their work well ; they carry about his praise and good fame.⁸

On the other hand the *Samantapāsādikā* specifically states that the kings gave slaves to monasteries,⁹ for the donation of slaves to monasteries was considered as meritorious. This religious sentiment attached to the rendering of services to monks by way of a slave or a servant were so popular that even kings offered themselves to the *Saṅgha* as slaves. Devānampiya Tissa is reported to have assumed the role of a gatekeeper for three days to honour the *Bodhi* Tree immediately after it was brought to Ceylon.¹⁰ Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (1st century A.D.) offered himself,

¹ *Jl.*, p. 451 : *Tāletvā bandhivā . . .*

² *Mv.*, IX, vv. 2-4.

³ *Sihalavatthu*, p. 96.

⁴ *Mv.*, IX, vv. 15, 16, 19.

⁵ *Dīgha*, III, p. 182, ff.

⁶ *Sutta-Saṅgahaṭṭhakathā*, p. 59 : "Aphāsukāle kammaṃ akarivā sappāyabhesajjādini datvā paṭijagganena. Niccasamaye ca kālasamaye ca vossajjanena. Chananakkhattakilādisu alaṅkāra-bhaṇḍakhādaniyabhojanīyādini datvā".

⁷ *Sources of Indian Traditions*, p. 116.

⁸ *Dīgha*, III, pp. 182 ff.

⁹ *SMP.*, III, p. 177 ; *Mv.*, IX, v. 44, 15, 22 ; X, v. 19.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 32.

his queen, his two sons, his state elephant and his state horse to the *Sangha*, and then redeemed himself and the rest by giving to the Order of Monks various suitable gifts worth six hundred thousand and to the Order of Nuns things worth one hundred thousand.¹ A noble son of the Lambakaṇṇa family, once having listened to a discourse, offered to the *Sangha* his valuable ornaments, his chariot and oxen, his children and wife, and finally himself saying ' I am also your slave. '²

This shows that these slaves were not actual slaves in the real sense of the word. They were free men of high social status. Offering services to the *Sangha* in the form of a slave or a servant became such a popular meritorious act that the kings, nobles and other rich people used to offer more and more slaves to the monasteries towards the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.³

Thus it would not be improper to point out that although the word *dāsa* is generally translated as 'slave' and implies menial services by one person to another, the evidence is not wanting to show that the people of Ceylon did not understand it as it was commonly understood by the Hindu law-makers.

Although there is no direct evidence to prove that the slave-trade was known in early Ceylon, the donors making dedication of slaves to the monastic establishments and the price paid to them in order to make them free, may lead us to infer that the slave trade was in existence at least in a modified form.

A number of instances have been recorded in inscriptions of the 6th century A.D.⁴ as to how the slaves were freed by others by paying money to those monasteries. We saw earlier⁵ that the slaves were freed by those who could afford to pay their prices, during the period prior to 4th century A.D. In other words, a slave could be bought by anybody. In a way this amounts to some kind of slave trade in Ceylon. The special feature of this slave trade was that the buyer did not buy slaves in order to derive any material benefit such as to enjoy their services as slaves and to earn money by selling them to others, but to enjoy the spiritual happiness only by making them free. The price for redeeming a temple slave is not fixed. It depended upon the degree of wealth and charity of the redeemer.⁶

It is also interesting to note that when the slaves were given, it was generally the custom to give them away with land and cattle (*khetta vatthu gava mahisa dāsi dāsa*). This shows that these slaves may have been mainly employed for agricultural purposes, assigning them various functions in accordance with their skill and ability. But it does not necessarily mean that they were employed in agricultural operations alone. They may have been employed in other arts and crafts as well, for the purposes of constructing buildings, monasteries, *ceṭīyas*, and tanks in the capacity of stone-cutters, masons, carpenters, goldsmiths, jewellers, painters and sculptors, etc.

¹ *Mv.*, XXXIV., vv. 86-88.

² *Sihv.*, p. 159.

³ *EZ.*, IV, pp. 139-140.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 132-133.

⁵ *See, supra*, p. 64.

⁶ *See, supra*, p. 64.

The Pāli chronicles refer to the history of the founding of eight settlements by the first colonists from India.¹ The *Mahāvamsa Tikā* says that these settlements were opened up in areas where water was easily available.² There are also references to show that where there was no river water available, large reservoirs were built by Anurādha and Paṇḍukābhaya in order to make settlements easily habitable.³ This clearly suggests that agriculture was the chief means of livelihood of those early settlers.

Besides this, both the literary and epigraphic records reveal that *cetiya*s, cave temples, steps and pillars were constructed in large numbers during this period. But none of these records speaks of how the donors employed labour for them. There is no doubt that the services of the *Śūdra* class were obtained for these activities.

The small farmers may have carried on their agricultural operations single-handed or with the co-operation of the members of his family. But the rich landowners could not have cultivated their big estates without employing labourers to a considerable degree.

The *Mahāvamsa* records that Paṇḍukābhaya's uncle Girikaṇḍa Siva cultivated an area of 100 *karisas*.⁴ According to Rhys Davies, 100 *karisas* is equal to 400 acres.⁵ Duṭṭhagāmaṇi not only commissioned his brother Tissa to bring under cultivation vast tracts of land in Dīghavāpi,⁶ but he himself promoted agricultural operations on a grand scale in Rohaṇa.⁷ The *Rasavāhīnī* also speaks of a certain rich man named Dubbutṭhi Tissa who employed many hundreds of people to celebrate a harvest festival.⁸ Another person named Danta got his lands cultivated by others.⁹

It can be inferred from these references that the hired labourers, too, may have been employed in agricultural work of varied nature such as ploughing, field-watching, harvesting, tending and grazing cattle and dairy production.

For the construction of monasteries, *cetiya*s, cave temples, pillars, steps and tanks, too, no doubt, labourers were obtained. It is also evident from an inscriptional record of the 3rd century A.D.¹⁰ that hired labour was paid by the employer. According to this three hundred *Dama Kahāpaṇas* were donated for the purpose of cutting a flight of steps leading to a *Stūpa* at Murutāṅge in the Dambadeni Hat Pattu.

¹ *Mv.*, VII, vv. 43-47.

² *Mv. Tikā*, p. 261 : “*Tasmim tasmim saṃpannasalilāsaye abhinippadesse gāme nivesayum*”.

³ *Mv.*, IX, vv. 85, 88.

⁴ *Mv.*, X, vv. 29-31.

⁵ *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon, International Numismata Orientalia* (London, 1877), p. 14.

⁶ *Rsv.*, II, p. 69.

⁷ *Rsv.* II, p. 69.

⁸ *Rsv.*, II, p. 166.

⁹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 196.

¹⁰ *CJSG.*, II, p. 22, No. 381.

Thus we see that the *Śūdra* class of people in Ceylon during this period consisted of domestic servants, artisans, barbers, fishermen, washermen, slaves and hired labourers.

The Untouchables

In addition to the four social groups which we have discussed in previous chapters, there were five categories of people who were assigned a position still lower than that of the *Śūdra* in the social scale. They are *Caṇḍāla*, the *Veṇa*, the *Nesāda*, the *Pukkusa*, and the *Rathakāra*. They are also called *Hinā jāti* (people of low birth).¹

The Caṇḍāla

The position of the *caṇḍāla* class in Ceylon was the same as in India during this period. They were employed to perform the lowest and most unclean types of work, such as to cleanse streets and sewers, to carry the dead, and to watch cemeteries.

The son of a *Śūdra* by a *Brāhmaṇa* woman, according to the Sūtra literature, is branded as a *caṇḍāla*.² References as to the origin of the *caṇḍāla* are not to be found in Pāli sources as in the Sūtra literature, but they certainly explain their social standing in Indian society. A *Jātaka* describes the *caṇḍālas* as the lowest men on earth.³ Contact with the wind that touched a *caṇḍāla's* body was regarded as pollution.⁴

The very sight of a *caṇḍāla* was capable of bringing evil consequences.⁵ A *Jātaka* speaks of the daughter of a *Seṭṭhi* of Banāras, who, having seen a *caṇḍāla*, washed her eyes which were contaminated by a mere glance at him.⁶ Food and drinks if seen by them, were not to be taken by the members of the higher *varṇas*.⁷ If a member of the higher *varṇas*, partakes of food of *caṇḍāla*, even without knowledge, he will be excommunicated and degraded to the level of a *caṇḍāla*. It is reported that sixteen thousand *Brahmaṇas* lost their caste because they unknowingly took food which had been polluted by contact with the remnants of a *caṇḍāla's* meal.⁸

Another *Jātaka* speaks of a *Brāhmaṇa* who ate the remnants of the meal of a *caṇḍāla* through hunger and committed suicide in order to avoid the contempt of his people.⁹ *Caṇḍālas* were not even permitted to enter the inner city. If they violated this restriction they were to be beaten without any mercy.¹⁰

¹ *J.*, 2, 1 ; *Majjhima*, I, pp. 93, 96, 129 ; *Aṅguttara*, II, p. 85.

² *Gau. Dh.*, S. 1, 9, 17, 7.

³ *J.*, IV, p. 397.

⁴ *J.*, III, p. 233.

⁵ *J.*, IV, p. 376.

⁶ *Ibid.*, “*Apassitabbayuttakam passimhāti gandhodakena akkhini dhovivā*”.

⁷ *J.*, IV, p. 390.

⁸ *J.*, IV, p. 386.

⁹ *J.*, II, pp. 82-84.

¹⁰ *J.*, IV, pp. 376, 391.

They were assigned certain despised professions which they had to follow hereditarily. According to the *Silavimam̐sa Jātaka* a *caṇḍāla* is engaged in removing corpses (*chava chaḍḍaka caṇḍāla*).¹ *Milinda* speaks of a *caṇḍāla* who is a corpse-burner (*chavadāhaka*).² The *caṇḍālas* were also sometimes engaged in sweeping the streets.³

In the *Jātaka*, he is also employed in whipping criminals and cutting off their limbs.⁴ It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that he was employed as executioner as well, for both the *Viṣṇusmṛti* and the *Manusmṛti* state that a *caṇḍāla* must live by executing criminals sentenced to death.⁵

The *Mahāvam̐sa* speaks of five hundred *caṇḍālas* who were employed as scavengers for cleaning the city of Anurādhapura, two hundred for cleaning the sewers, one hundred and fifty for taking dead bodies away to the cemeteries and one hundred and fifty as watchmen especially of cemeteries.⁶ For these *caṇḍālas* there was a separate village called *Caṇḍālagāma* to the North-West of the general cemetery.⁷ They also had a separate cemetery for themselves called *Nīca Susāna* (despised cemetery), situated to the North-East of the *Caṇḍālagāma*.⁸ Both the *Mahāvam̐sa* and the *Rasavāhini* contain records to show that even in other parts of the country the *caṇḍāla* community lived in villages exclusively meant for them.⁹

Sometimes the king had the power to degrade any person to the position of a *caṇḍāla* or even to a position lower than that of a *caṇḍāla* as a punishment. The *Mahāvam̐sa* records that when king Ilanāga having found that the *Lambakaṇṇas* were not present on the occasion of his ceremonial bath at *Tissa Vāpi*, he ordered them to work at the remaking of a road leading to the *Mahāthūpa*, and set *caṇḍālas* to supervise them.¹⁰ Such treatment would reduce them to *Caṇḍāla* status. They were presumably allowed after some time to regain their old status by purification ceremonies. According to the *Sammohavinodanī* king Bhātiya (38–68 A.D.) is said to have degraded certain people who had eaten beef (*gomam̐sa*) to the position of scavengers in his palace premises.¹¹

The *Rasavāhini* speaks of a *caṇḍāla* named Bahula and his seven sons who lived in a village meant for *caṇḍālas* (*helloligāme*) near Anurādhapura.¹² Both the *Mahāvam̐sa* and the *Rasavāhini* refer to the story of the Prince Sāli, the son of *Duṭṭhagāmanī* who preferred marriage with a *caṇḍāla* girl, the daughter of the leader

¹ J., III, p. 195.

² *Milinda*, p. 331.

³ J., IV, p. 390.

⁴ J., III, pp. 41, 179.

⁵ *Viṣṇu*, S. 16, 11 : *Manusmṛti*, X, 51. ff.

⁶ *Mv.*, X, vv. 91–92.

⁷ *Mv.*, X, v. 93 ; *Mahābodhivam̐sa*, p. 84.

⁸ *Mv.*, X, v. 94.

⁹ *Mv.*, XXXVII, v. 140 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 117, 119.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, XXXV, vv. 16–18.

¹¹ *Sammohavinodanī*, p. 310.

¹² *Rsv.*, II, p. 7.

of a *caṇḍāla* village, to the ancestral throne.¹ It is also reported that when the news of Prince Sāli's courtship with this *caṇḍāla* girl spread, not only the king but also the entire country got excited and tried to persuade him to change his mind, but it was without success. Hence he was deprived of his rights to the throne.²

This sentiment of contempt towards the *caṇḍālas*, both politically and socially, is also evident from other sources. The *Visuddhimagga* states that a monk who is not virtuous is looked down upon by gods and men in the same way as a *caṇḍāla* boy who undertakes the responsibility of the administration of a country.³ A deep sentiment of contempt towards the *caṇḍālas* is expressed again in the *Visuddhimagga* in the following simile ; " As a golden swan takes pleasure in the seven rivers, but takes no pleasure at all in a cesspit at the gate of a *caṇḍāla* village ".⁴ It is clear that a cesspit is a bad enough place. The cesspit at the gate of a *caṇḍāla* village is still worse, and a most unfitting and contemptible place for such a swan to live in. This clearly shows the degree of contempt attached to everything connected with the word *caṇḍāla*.

According to the *Sammohavinodani* there was a person called Brāhmaṇa Tissa during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. He was such a powerful political aspirant that he raised a revolt in Rohaṇa. Consequently there was a period of great disaster in Ceylon, which lasted for twelve years.⁵ He was very unpopular, particularly among the monks, and the hatred with which he was looked upon by them is well illustrated by the epithet *caṇḍāla* added to his name. The *Aṅguttara* commentary names this disaster *Caṇḍāla Tissabhaya* instead of the term *Brāhmaṇa Tissabhaya*.⁶ This shows that there could be no greater dishonour to a *Brāhmaṇa* than to be called a *caṇḍāla*.

It is reported in the *Mahāvamsa* that to the North of the *Nica Susāṇa* of the *caṇḍālas* in Anurādhapura, a line of huts was built for the huntsmen (*vyādha*) who were aborigines and whose position was probably similar to or lower than that of the *caṇḍāla*.⁷

And wherever the word *vyādha* is used in the chronicles, the professional Sinhalese hunters are never meant, but aboriginal tribesmen.⁸ Paṇḍukābhaya also provided a place for the *vyādha deva* (deity of the *vyādhas*), in Anurādhapura.⁹

These aboriginal people were also called the *Pulindas*.¹⁰ According to the *Mahāvamsa* they were the descendents of the children of Vijaya by Kuveṇi. This shows that there were two branches of huntsmen, i.e., *Vyādhas* (ordinary aborigines)

¹ *Mv.*, XXXIII, v. 2 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 117.

² *Mv.*, XXXIII, v. 3.

³ *Visuddhimagga*, p. 54.

⁴ *Visuddhimagga*, p. 650.

⁵ *Sammohavinodani*, pp. 445-6.

⁶ *Manorathapūrāṇi*, I, p. 92.

⁷ *Mv.*, X, v. 95.

⁸ Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 104.

⁹ *Mv.*, X, v. 89.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, VII, vv. 60-68.

and *Pulindas* (reputed descendents of Vijaya by Kuveni), who had identical functions and places in society. The fact that these *Vyādhas* were accommodated in a place to the North of the *Nica Susāna* of the *cāṇḍālas*, shows, that their status was equal to, if not lower than, that of the *Caṇḍālas*.

The Pāli chronicles of Ceylon speak of Vijaya's sexual relations with an aboriginal woman called Kuveni. She bore a son and a daughter by him. When afterwards she was discarded by Vijaya, and returned to her relatives, she was killed by them, but her children fled to Malaya, the mountainous region of central Ceylon. When they grew up, the elder brother took the younger sister for his wife and they lived there under the protection of the king. Thus they became the ancestors of the *Pulinda* tribe.¹

The word *Pulinda* is a term for an uncivilised tribe in India. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the *Pulindas* were included in the category of outcastes such as *Dasyus* and *Antas*.² Kauṭilya also states that in the new settlements, aboriginal tribes such as the *Vāgurikas*, the *Śābaras*, the *Pulindas*, and the *Caṇḍālas* were entrusted with the work of internal defence.³

It is evident from this that the *Pulindas* were classed with the *Caṇḍālas* in India during this period. But it appears that it may not have been the same in Ceylon, for it is clear from the legendary story referred to above that the *Pulindas* were thought to have originated from the intermarriage of the first Aryan colonists with aboriginal women. This is supported by an inscriptional record attributed to the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. The inscription runs as follows: "Hail! the stone cut by Siddhattha, king Abhaya, the Pulinda, having caused it to be done."⁴

A reference is also made in an inscription to a person called *Milaka Pusa*.⁵ In another inscription a person is referred to as *Milaka Tisa*.⁶ The word *Milaka* is the derivative of the Pāli *Milakkha* equivalent to the Sanskrit word *Mleccha* which, according to the *Arthaśāstra*, means the savage tribes inhabiting the frontiers.⁷ According to the *Sihalavatthu* they lived in separate villages, following the profession of executing people sentenced to death.⁸

In the *Sahassavatthu* the *Milakkha* is referred to as savages living in the hilly country (*Milakkha-Malayavāsī*).⁹ He earns his living by hunting (so *pana ludda-manusso*).¹⁰ A reference is also made to a *Milakkha-Manusso* (savage man) living near the cave named *Amara* situated in the hilly country (*Malayaraṭṭha*).¹¹ The

¹ *Mv.*, VII, vv. 60-68.

² *A. Br.*, 7, 18.

³ *Artha Śāstra*, II, I.

⁴ Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 99 : "Sidha raja Pulida Abhaya naka re sidhata kapagala".

⁵ *JRASC.B.*, New Series, II, p. 131, No. 31.

⁶ *JRASC.B.*, 36, p. 60.

⁷ *Arthaśāstra*, 7, 10, 14 ; 12, 4.

⁸ *Sihalavatthu*, p. 136 : *Milakkhudese . . . coraghātake*.

⁹ *Sahassavatthu*, p. 78.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

Rasavāhini refers to the same person as a *Nesāda* (hunter).¹ There is, therefore, no doubt that the *Mlecchas* were savage tribes whose professions were similar to the *Caṇḍāla*'s.

Besides this, the word *Mleccha* is also used to denote non-Āryan invaders.² It is possible that the class of people who were designated by the term *Milaka* were either the aboriginal people whom the pioneer Āryan colonists found here when they first arrived in the Island, or those who belonged to the non-Āryan stock who migrated to Ceylon from South India. However, these references to *Milaka Pusa* and *Milaka Tisa* suggest that they became fully Āryanised after the advent of Mahinda and adopted even Āryan names like *Pussa* and *Tissa*.

Side by side with these *Mlecchas*, there were also professional hunters (*Nesādas*).³ The *Rasavāhini* speaks of separate settlements of hunters as *Nesādagāma*.⁴ The commentarial literature also bears testimony to the existence of hunters who ultimately entered the Order of the Saṅgha.⁵ According to this, a well known *thera* named Soṇa was the son of a hunter. It is also reported both in the *Manorathapūraṇi* and the *Rasavāhini* that most of the *Nesādas* in Ceylon finally became monks and a few of them even attained Arahantship.⁶ The *Rasavāhini* also speaks of the wife of a hunter, who became a nun and attained Arahantship.⁷ It is evident from this that the position of the *Nesāda* in Ceylon was not similar to that of the *Caṇḍāla*. They may have been included in the category of *Caṇḍālas* so long as they followed hunting, which represented the lowest stage of human culture, as a profession. But in Indian society their status was exactly identical with the *Caṇḍāla*'s.

Although the words *Pukkusa*, *Veṇa* and *Rathakāra* are not referred to in our sources during the period under review, it is interesting to examine their counterparts in Ceylon.

Bose says that as even the very word *Pukkusa* is subjected to a wide range of variants in Indian literature, nothing can be definitely said about the origin or the occupation of these people.⁸ Yet, it is evident from all the available sources that the *Pukkusas* were included in the *Caṇḍāla* group in Indian society. According to the Pāli sources, the *Pukkusa* is called *Pupphachaḍḍaka* or *Pukkusa* which is used to denote the removers of faded flowers from temples.⁹ Hence those who remove faded flowers and clean temples and palaces are called *Pupphachaḍḍaka* or *Pukkusa*. But references are not wanting in Pāli literature to show that the word *Puppha* is also used to denote "menses, blood".¹⁰ In the *Milinda*, the word *Pupphavatī* is used to denote a menstrous

¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 57.

² Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, p. 457.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 1, 132.

⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p. 56.

⁵ *Manorathapūraṇi*, p. 255 ; *Sumangalavilasini*, p. 887 ; *SV*, p. 309.

⁶ *Manorathapūraṇi*, pp. 21, ff ; *Rsv.*, II, pp. 132, 147.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 148.

⁸ Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, p. 445.

⁹ *J.*, III, p. 195.

¹⁰ *J.*, V, p. 331.

woman.¹ In the *Samantapāsādika*, Buddhagohsa commenting on “*Pupphaṃ’sā uppajji*”, says that *Pupphaṃ* means the blood discharged during the period of menses (*Pupphanti utukāle uppamalohitassa nāmaṃ*).² In the circumstances if we take *Puppahchaḍḍaka* to mean one who removes and cleans the blood-stained clothes, he is no other than the washerman.

As Fick has rightly pointed out, the removers of faded flowers did not constitute a separate class of people in society.³ But it is to be admitted that the washermen undoubtedly formed a class by themselves. They are included in the group of eighteen low-castes and hence are considered as *Śūdras*.⁴ It is therefore reasonable to infer that originally the *Puppahchaḍḍaka* was not the ordinary washerman, but the washerman who was meant for cleaning the blood-stained clothes of women. But there are no references to show that either the remover of faded flowers or the washerman was classed with the *Caṇḍālas* in Ceylon society. In contemporary Ceylon only certain low-class washermen are willing to undertake the cleansing of this and similar articles.

It is also most likely that the *Veṇas* and the *Rathakāras* were considered as *Śūdras* in Ceylon, but not as outcastes. The word is explained in the *Jataka* commentary as *Tacchikā* (carpenter’s wife).⁵ In the *Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā* the word *Veṇa* is used to denote a class of people working on willows and reeds.⁶ We have seen earlier that the carpenters and the basket- and mat- makers belonged to the *Sūdra* class in Ceylon society.⁷

In the *Jātaka* verses the word *Rathakāra* is used to denote the leather-worker (*cammakāra*).⁸ The commentary on the *Petavatthu* also explains *Rathakāra* as *Cammakāra*.⁹ Thus it is clear that the *Rathakāras* also belonged to the *Sūdra* group,¹⁰ but not to the *Caṇḍālas* as was the case in India.

It is also interesting to note that no *Caṇḍālas* are referred to in the inscriptions of this period. The donors referred to in them are either the *Kṣatriyas*,¹¹ the *Brāhmaṇas*,¹² the *Vaiśyas*,¹³ or the *Śūdras*.¹⁴ Now the question arises as to why they were not included among the donors in our inscriptions. Is it because they could not afford to donate owing to poverty or because they were not Buddhist ?

¹ *Milinda*, 2, 126.

² *SMP.*, Vol. I, p. 147.

³ Fick, *Social Organisation*, p. 206.

⁴ See, *supra*, p. 57.

⁵ *J.*, V, p. 306.

⁶ *Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 175 ; “*Veniṇvāti Veṇajātikā vilva kārā naṭakārā*”.

⁷ See, *supra*, p. 144.

⁸ *J.*, IV, p. 172 : “*Rathakāro va cammassa parikantaṃ upāhanaṃ*”.

⁹ *Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā*, III, pp. 1, 13.

¹⁰ See, *supra*, p. 66.

¹¹ See, *supra*, pp. 19–20.

¹² See, *supra*, pp. 15–17.

¹³ See, *supra*, pp. 37–42.

¹⁴ See, *supra*, p. 58.

On the whole the *Caṇḍālas* could not have been economically well up, for they were normally not permitted to follow any profession other than the type of menial work assigned to them by society.¹ But the literary sources furnish us with evidence to show that there were well-to-do *Caṇḍālas* who could afford to make the type of donations made by others. The *Rasavāhini* speaks of the headman of a *Caṇḍāla* village, who was an artisan.² Thus it is clear that there were at least a few fairly rich *Caṇḍālas* who could donate to the *Saṅgha* if they were permitted to do so.

There is no doubt that they were normally Buddhists. The *Rasavāhini* again refers to a *Caṇḍāla* called *Bahula* and his seven sons who were *Upāsakas*.³ The term *Upāsaka* is exclusively used in our sources to denote the devout lay Buddhist.⁴ It is therefore clear that neither poverty nor religion stood on their way to obstruct any donations to the *Saṅgha*. Hence the possible answer to the absence of *Caṇḍālas* in inscriptions would be that they were not permitted to appear among other donors owing to their caste.

¹ *Mv.*, X, vv. 91-92

² *Rsv.*, II, p. 118.

³ *Rsv.*, II, pp. 7-8.

⁴ See, *infra*, p. 164.

CHAPTER FIVE
FAMILY ORGANISATION

From what we have discussed in the previous chapters, it is evident that society in Ceylon was split up into a great number of families (*kula*). As the family has generally formed the basic unit of society throughout the history of human civilisation, it plays an important role in the social structure of any country in the world. Hence, before we discuss the pattern of family life in Ceylon during the period under survey, it is necessary to examine the type of family life in India, particularly in the North Eastern and the North Western parts of India whence the pioneer Āryan colonists may have started to migrate to this country somewhere in the 5th century B. C.¹

The real family life of an individual begins with his marriage, on which the continuance of the family system rests. Marriage therefore had to be regulated according to orthodox family traditions in Indian society.

According to these traditions, "regarding the age of marriage of a girl or a boy, there is a great variety of opinion among the Hindu writers; and it is extremely difficult to say anything specific and uniform about their general opinion".² But all these writers agree upon one point, *viz.* that the bride must be younger by three or more years than the husband.³ According to the Buddhist sources the boy's age at the time of marriage is generally given as sixteen (*Soḷasavassakāle*).⁴ But it seems probable at least in the case of the *Kṣatriyas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* and all those who left their homes for education at that age,⁵ that twenty or so was the age of marriage, for girls are sometimes seen to have married at the age of sixteen. In the *Asilakkhaṇa Jātaka*⁶ reference is made to a princess who was given in marriage when she was sixteen years old. The commentary on the *Dhammapada*⁷ refers to a beautiful daughter of a *seṭṭhi* of Rajagaha, named Kuṇḍalakesī, who remained unmarried till the age of sixteen. This is said to be the age at which women normally start to think of men in terms of matrimony.⁸

Cousins were normally considered the most fitting partners in matrimony. King Ajātasattu married Vajirā, the daughter of his father's sister.⁹ The Commentary on the *Dhammapada* refers to a householder of Magadha named Magha, who married his maternal uncle's daughter named Sujātā.¹⁰ It further states that Ānanda tried

¹ Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 49.

² Prabhu, *Hindu Social Organisation*, p. 182.

³ *Gau.*, IV; *Yāj.*, I, 52; *Manu*, III, 4, 12; *Āp.* II, 6, 13, 1. *The Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana also says that the bride must be at least three years younger than the bridegroom (*Kām.*, III, 1, 2). "Trivarsāt prabhṛti nyūnavayasām".

⁴ *J.*, VI, pp. 72, 363.

⁵ *J.*, II, p. 277; III, p. 122; IV, p. 237; V, pp. 127, 210.

⁶ *Asilakkhaṇa J.*, (No. 126).

⁷ *Dhp. Com.*, II, p. 217.

⁸ *Dhp. Com.*, II, p. 217.

⁹ *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 2, 3.

¹⁰ *Dhp. Com.* II, p. 265.

to marry his father's sister's daughter named Uppalavaṇṇā.¹ References to the marriage of cousins in the *Jātakas* too are not wanting.² This form of cousin marriage, i.e. marriage with the daughter of the mother's brother or the son of the father's sister, was usual and even looked on as desirable.

In terms of the method of consecrating a marriage union there were eight forms of marriage among the Hindus :³ They are : The *Brāhma*, the *Daiva*, the *Ārṣa*, the *Prājāpatya*, the *Āsura*, the *Gāndharva*, the *Rākṣasa*, and the *Paiśāca* forms.

The *Brāhma* form is the gift of a daughter by the father, after decking her with ornaments, to a man learned in the *Vedas* and of a good character, whom the bride's father himself invites.

The *Daiva* form involves the gift of the daughter as above to a priest who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance.

The *Ārṣa* form is the type of marriage wherein the father gives his daughter in marriage to the bridegroom, after receiving a cow and a bull, or two pairs of them from the bridegroom in accordance with the requirements of *Dharma* and not in any sense with the intention of selling his child.

The *Prājāpatya* form is that in which the father makes a gift of the daughter, by addressing the couple with the following words : " May both of you perform together your *Dharma* ", and with due honour to the bridegroom.

In the four forms mentioned above, the important point to be noted is that it is the father or the guardian who makes the gift (*dāna*) of the bride to the bridegroom. But in the *Ārṣa* form, the bridegroom has to give money to the father or the guardian of the bride, and thus, in a sense, purchases the bride.

The *Gāndharva* form is that in which the mutual love and consent of the bride and bridegroom is the only condition required to bring about the union. Neither the father nor the guardian need have a hand in bringing about the marriage. But such a marriage may be subsequently consecrated by going through the sacred rites of *vivāha*.

The *Rākṣasa* form is described as " the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home while she cries and weeps, after her kinsman have been slain or wounded and their houses broken." It is the capture of the bride by force.

The *Paiśāca* form is one in which the man seduces, by stealth, a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated, or disordered in intellect.

According to the Buddhist sources, all these forms of marriage were broadly included in three forms :—Marriage arranged by guardians of both parties, *Svayamvara* marriage, and *Gāndharva* marriage.

¹ *Dhp. Comm.*, II, p. 49.

² *J.*, I, p. 457 ; II, p. 327 ; VI, p. 486.

³ *Manu.*, II, 27-37 : *Yāj.* I, 58.

The most approved and the commonest form of marriage was that arranged by the guardians of both parties between two families of the same caste and equal rank. The first four forms of marriage current among the Hindus may be safely included in this form.

The most important factor to be considered before the settlement of marriage was the equality of birth of the parties concerned. The *Dhāmapada* Commentary,¹ speaks of how a *seṭṭhi* of Sāvatti considered the equality of birth before he agreed to the proposal sent by the *seṭṭhi* of Sāketa for the marriage of his daughter with the latter's son. The *Babbu Jātaka*² furnishes us with a reference to a girl of Sāvatti, Kāṇā who was given in marriage to a person of equal rank in another village. The *Nakkhatta Jātaka* speaks of a young man in the neighbourhood of Sāvatti, who proposes to marry a young girl belonging to the same caste.³ Reference is made in the *Therīgātha* Commentary to a marriage of a girl named Isidāsī, the daughter of a wealthy merchant, with a merchant's son of equal position.⁴ Similarly a *Senāpati* of the king of Surattā (N. W. India) got his daughter married to a family of equal status.⁵

Not only the rich and the nobility but also the ordinary common man was very particular about equality of social rank in contracting a marriage. The Commentary on *Vimānavatthu* tells us how careful an *Upāsaka* of Sāvatti was to get his daughter married to a person of equal rank.⁶ Thus it is evident that all the members of different strata of society commonly considered equality of social rank as the primary factor for the settlement of marriage.

Evidence is not wanting to show that the *Svayamvara* form of marriage was also in vogue in this period. But it is to be noted that this form of marriage was practised only among the royal families.⁷ The *Gāndharva* form of marriage was also known but was not as common as the arranged form of marriage. The primary consideration for the settlement of this form of marriage was the mutual love and consent of the marriage partners, irrespective of the equality of caste to which they belonged.⁸

Marriage in this period was usually monogamic ; polygamy was not unknown but was limited mainly to the richer class and the nobility. The only reference to the existence of polyandry in Buddhist literature occurs in the *Kuṇāla Jātaka* where we find that princess Kaṇhā was allowed to marry five suitors selected by her in a *Svayamvara* assembly.⁹ The usual custom was that a woman could not marry

¹ *Dhp. Com.*, I, p. 390.

² *J.*, I, p. 477.

³ *J.*, I, p. 257.

⁴ *Th. Com.*, p. 260.

⁵ *Petavatthu*, pp. 244-257.

⁶ *Vimānavatthu Com.*, p. 128.

⁷ *Dhp. Com.*, I, pp. 278-279 ; *J.*, V, p. 426.

⁸ *J.*, I, p. 133.

⁹ *J.*, V, p. 426.

more than one husband at a time. Hence this appears to be an exception. But polygamy was quite common among the rich and the nobility. According to the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, the three upper classes were allowed to marry four, three and two wives respectively if they could afford to maintain them.¹ The *Śūdra* was confined to one wife. According to the *Dhammapada* Commentary a certain *Gahapati* named Magha of Magadha had four wives, Nandā, Cittā, Sudhammā and Sujātā.² King Bimbisāra had five hundred wives³ and King Okkāka had five queens.⁴

Divorce may have not been much favoured, but it was not unknown to the Pāli literature. According to the *Therīgāthā* Commentary Isidāsī was sent away twice by her two former husbands on the ground that she was not agreeable to them. Reference is also made to the possibility of remarriage of women during this period,⁵ though it was not favoured in Hindu society.⁶

The family comprised the patriarch, his wife (or wives), his unmarried daughters⁷ and his sons with their wives and children. Children were no doubt naturally the happy corner of the household, though of course to a Hindu father a daughter has not been, for economic reasons, a great blessing as the son who has been considered fit to save his father from hell, and to support him in old age. But once a daughter is born, natural affection cannot be denied. Thus a boy and a girl received equal care and affection from their parents in Indian society. It is therefore reasonable to infer that this may have been the type of family life which the Āryan colonists of Ceylon were familiar with.

References are made to the word *Kula* (family) in the inscriptional records assigned to the period under review. The inscription of Kuṭukanna Tissa who was the son of Mahācūli Mahā Tissa, and who deposed Anulā, shows that he belonged to the *Devanapiya Kula*.⁷ This seems to imply that the kings of Anurādhapura considered themselves members of the family of Devānampiya Tissa. The word *Kula* is also frequently accompanied by the word *Gahapati*. One inscription refers to the work of the family of the householder named Siva (*Gapati Siva Kulasa*).⁸ Still another inscription contains a reference to "the cave of the family of the ascetic Sumana, the householder".⁹ Yet another inscription refers to a cave of the family of Anurāda, which was donated to the *Saṅgha*.¹⁰

¹ *Yāj.*, I. 57.

² *Dhp. Com.*, I, p. 269.

³ *Mahāvagga*, VIII, pp. I, 15.

⁴ *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini*, p. 258.

⁵ *J.*, I. p. 307.

⁶ Prabhu, *Hindu Social Organisation*, p. 195.

⁷ *EZ.*, II, p. 156 : *Devanapiya Kuḷahi Macuḍikaha Puta*.

⁸ *AC.*, p. 430, No. 32.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 423, No. 4.

¹⁰ *CJSG.*, II, p. 125, No. 522.

Even the ordinary people who did not bear any special title are referred to as having their families. One of the Vessagiri cave inscriptions refers to one such person as follows : "The cave of Sonutara, son of Sumana and descendent of the family of Sonutara".¹ Further according to the genealogies given in the inscriptions it can be well established that the titles or offices such as *Parumaka*,² *Bata*,³ *Gapati*,⁴ and *Gamika*⁵, were hereditary. This hereditary character of these titles itself shows that the family organisation was well established in Ceylon during this period.

References are made frequently to the word *Kula* in combination with the word *Geha* and sometimes with the word *mahā*. Thus when it is used in a compound as *Kulageha* or *Mahākula* it always means not an ordinary family but a well-to-do and perhaps an aristocratic family. Nandimitta, who was one of the paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, was born in a *Kulageha* (noble family) of which the daily income is said to have been one thousand (coins) (*Sahassupādāna-kulagehe*).⁶ The *Sahassavattu* refers to another *kulageha* which commanded the services of slaves.⁷ An ordinary family, as we know, could not afford the services of slaves. It is therefore obvious that the word *Kulageha* is used in our literary sources to denote well-to-do families.

Sometimes we come across references to great families (*Mahākula*) which appear to be quite distinct from ordinary families. The *Sahassavattu* speaks of one of the ministers of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, named Cūlūpaṭṭhāka Tissa, who was reborn in a great family (*Mahākula*) in the Northern Province.⁸ According to the same work Kākavaṇṇa Tissa had a son named Dīghābhaya by another wife. He is said to have established a guard over the frontier line on the Southern bank of the Mahāvāliṅga against the Tamils in the North. He selected able men from great families (*Mahākulas*) and kept each of them at different strategic points of every two *yojanas* to protect the frontier.⁹ The *Rasavāhini* speaks of another paladin named Dāṭhāsena who was born in a great family (*Mahākula*) in Rohaṇa during the reign of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa.¹⁰ The term seems to have been confined to upper-class families.

On the other hand the single word *Kula* as it occurs in our literary sources denotes the ordinary family.¹¹ A reference is also made to a person named Maṇḍagutta who was born in a certain family (*Ekassa kulassa gehe*).¹² He was so poor that when

¹ *EZ.*, I, p. 20.

² See, *supra*, p. 37.

³ See, *supra*, pp. 41-42.

⁴ See, *supra*, p. 46.

⁵ See, *supra*, p. 54.

⁶ *Sahassavattu*, p. 27.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 32.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 49.

⁹ *Sahassavattu*, p. 92.

¹⁰ *Rsv.*, II, p. 104.

¹¹ *Sahassavattu*, p. 188.

¹² *Sahassavattu*, p. 50.

there was no other means of paying back a loan he and his wife became slaves of another family. This shows that the *Kula* in which he was born was quite distinct from the *Kulagehas* and the *Mahākulas*.

There were sometimes leading families after which the entire village was named. A reference is made to a *Chagāma Kula* in the village of Chagāma in Rohaṇa. The story goes on to say that this *Kula* was in possession of a *Bodhi*-Tree with a well arranged courtyard around it. It is said that the inhabitants of the village used to come over there for worship. This may lead us to believe that the family which could afford to maintain a place of public worship in its premises, may have enjoyed the privileges of the leading family in the village.

According to the epigraphic records of this period, the family in Ceylon comprised a husband¹ his wife,² sons,³ and daughters.⁴ One inscription refers to a cave built by an aunt, father's sister (*matulaniya*).⁵ Another inscription of the same place refers to sisters of the uncle (*matula baginiyana*).⁶ The Vessagiri cave inscriptions record twenty names of persons.⁷: "Of these twelve are donors, the remaining eight are either the names of their respective fathers or in the case of two out of the five female donors those of their husbands ; all these personages probably belonged to one family, for it was not likely that the caves which stand practically in the same rock could at the time have been owned by persons other than those of one clan. This was certainly the case in regard to six of them, namely, Parumaka Palikada,⁸ his wife Cita,⁹ his father-in-law Sirikita,¹⁰ his son Haruma,¹¹ his daughter-in-law Tisa,¹² and his grandson Anikaṭa Sona.¹³

The inscriptions in the Kudā Situlpahuwa area give us the information that a family of a *Gahapati* consisted of father named Yasopāla, his son named Soṇa, his daughter Uti, and his son-in-law named Ataguta.¹⁴ Four other inscriptions found in the same area supply us with information about a *Gamika* family comprising three brothers, all of whom bore the title *Gamika*, named Siva, Sumana, and Sadona, Siva's son, the village headman Kaboja and his daughter named Sumana.¹⁵ This shows that this family even consisted of grand-children. Still another three inscriptions refer to a *Parumaka* family which consisted of even great-grand-children.

¹ *AC.*, p. 446, No. 67.

² *Ibid.*, p. 430, No. 37 ; p. 450, No. 76 ; p. 420 ; p. 429 , No. 26.

³ *Ibid.*, 427, No. 11, 12 ; p. 428, No. 18, 19, 20, 21 ; p. 428, No. 27, 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 420, p. 437, No. 50 ; p. 452, No. 79 ; p. 454, No. 82.

⁵ *AC.*, p. 427, No. 13.

⁶ *AC.*, p. 428, No. 14.

⁷ *EZ.*, I, pp. 18-21.

⁸ *EZ.*, I. p. 19, No. 2a & b.

⁹ *EZ.*, I. p. 19, No. 2b.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 2a.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 6.

¹³ *EZ.*, I, p. 18, No. 1.

¹⁴ *JRASC.B.*, Vol. II, New series, p. 130, No. 17, 18.

¹⁵ *JRASC.B.*, Vol. II, New series, p. 131, No. 27-30.

According to these inscriptions Veḷusumana had a son named Parumaka Veḷu and a grand-son named Parumaka Pusadeva.¹ Parumaka Pusadeva had a son named Parumaka Abaya² and a daughter named Anuradi who was married to a prince named Pusadeva.³ Thus all these references lead us to the conclusion that the joint family system, as the case was in India, was in existence in Ceylon society also during this period.

The system of marriage in Ceylon society, too, was generally not very different from what was in India during the same period. Marriage arranged by guardians of both parties was the usual form as in India. The equality of caste was the primary consideration.

Vijaya did not agree to get himself consecrated king till he obtained a girl of equal rank to be his queen.⁴ Consequently his marriage was arranged by his ministers with a *Kṣatriya* girl who was the daughter of Paṇḍu in the kingdom of Madura in South India.⁵ King Paṇḍu also sent suitable (*yathāraha*) girls, after due consideration with his ministers,⁶ to be wedded to Vijaya's ministers.⁷ The *Mahāvamsa* also tells us how Paṇḍuvāsudeva refused to get himself consecrated king till he obtained a suitable girl as his queen.⁸ Accordingly his marriage too was arranged by one of his ministers⁹ with Bhaddakaccānā.¹⁰

The *Rasavāhiṇī* refers to a marriage of a person named Tissa with a village girl named Sumanā. When Sumanā expressed her desire to get married to Tissa, her parents did not give their consent till they were satisfied as to the equality of family and the lineage of Tissa (*Kulavamsam pucchitvā*).¹¹ This shows that even among the ordinary people equality of birth was considered the most important factor for a marriage settlement. But it is to be noted that Prince Sāli married a girl of the *Caṇḍāla* caste,¹² which was quite unusual not only in Ceylon but also in India. Although Duṭṭhagāmaṇi at first opposed this marriage vehemently and agreed later,¹³ the fact that the Prince was deprived of the rightful ownership of his ancestral throne of Anurādhapura,¹⁴ proves that this type of marriage was not favoured at all by the society.

¹ *JRASC.B.*, II, New series, p. 132, No. 54.

² *Ibid.*, No. 55.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 56.

⁴ *Mv.*, VII, v. 47.

⁵ *Mv.* VII, v. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, v. 52.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VII, v. 57.

⁸ *Ibid.* VIII, v. 17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, v. 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, v. 28.

¹¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 35.

¹² *Mv.*, XXXIII, vv. 2-3 : *Rsv.*, II, p. 14-22.

¹³ *Rev.*, p. 19-20.

¹⁴ *Mv.*, XXXIII, v. 3.

On the other hand, the marriage of cousins was most desired owing to political, social and economic reasons. This practice was quite common from the royalty to the ordinary common man.

Cittā, daughter of King Paṇḍuvāsudeva, was so very beautiful that anybody seeing her would run mad. Hence Cittā was called Ummāda Cittā. Being afraid of a prophecy that Cittā's son would kill her brothers for the throne, the princes kept their only sister in a chamber having but one pillar and the entry to the chamber lay through the king's sleeping apartment. Cittā had only one serving-woman. One day she saw her maternal uncle's son named Dīghagāmaṇi and fell in love with him at first sight. With the help of the maid, Gāmaṇi used to get into the princess's chamber without the knowledge of others every night and had a happy union with her. Matters went on this way for some time till Cittā was discovered to be with child. The serving woman informed the queen, who having questioned her daughter, brought the matter to the notice of the king. The king in consultation with his sons gave Cittā in marriage with her lover who was her maternal uncle's son.¹ Paṇḍukābhaya married his mother's brother's daughter named Suvannapāli and made her his queen.² This may have been the usual practice current among the nobility and the ordinary people also.

On the other hand, an epigraphic record assigned to the second half of the third century B.C.³ speaks of a marriage of a daughter with her uncle, which was quite an unusual practice in Ceylon society. King Uttiya was the brother of Mahānāga, the ruler of Rohaṇa. The inscription in question records: "Abi Anuradi, the wife of King Uttiya and daughter of King Nāga".⁴ The *Mahāvamsa* records that King Vasabha married his uncle's widow named Mettā.⁵ But there is no doubt that these were exceptions mainly confined to few members of the royalty.

There are no instances of the *Svayamvara* form of marriage during any period of Ceylon history. But there is evidence to show that the *Gāndharva* form of marriage was in existence, though, of course, not as frequent as the arranged form of marriage. The *Mahāvamsa* refers to Vijaya's marriage with Kuveni who wasted no time to obtain the prior consent of her parents to it.⁶ Similarly *Dīghagāmaṇi*⁷ and *Paṇḍukābhaya*⁸ contracted their marriages through the mutual love of the parties concerned.

According to the *Rasavāhiṇi* a certain merchant of Mahātittappaṭṭana to the North of Anurādhapura went to the South to sell his goods and there he met a girl named Hemā. They fell in love at first sight and were married without obtaining

¹ *Mv.* IX, vv. 13-20.

² *Ibid.*, X, v. 78.

³ *AC.*, p. 420.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Raja Naga jita Raja Uti jaya Abhi Anuradhi.*

⁵ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 70.

⁶ *Mv.*, VII, v. 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, vv. 13-20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, X, v. 78.

prior consent from their parents.¹ Similarly a young man and a girl who lived in the Mahāvāluka street in the city of Anurādhapura fell in love with each other and got married.² Kākavaṇṇa Tissa's marriage too was not arranged by anybody, but took place through mutual consent.³

Marriage during this period was normally monogamous. But among the nobility and the rich polygamy also was in practice, as was the case in India. An inscription assigned to the period from the 3rd century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. refers to a person called an *Ordika* who was the officer in charge of the harem of prince Siva.⁴ This shows that even the princes used to maintain their own harems during this period. If that was the case with princes there was no shadow of doubt that kings too had their harems. Both the *Mahāvamsa*⁵ and the *Sahassavatthu*⁶ speak of another wife (*Aññā bhariyā*) of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa of Rohaṇa. The *Mahāvamsa* also refers to two wives of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.⁷ His first and the chief queen was Anulādevī, the mother of Mahācūli Mahā Tissa.⁸ The second queen was Somā Devī⁹, who was taken away to India by one of the seven Tamils who invaded Ceylon during Vaṭṭagāmaṇi's time¹⁰ and who was restored to her position when Vaṭṭagāmaṇi defeated the Tamils.¹¹

There is reason to believe that King Devānaṃpiya Tissa also had a harem, for it is said in the *Mahāvamsa*¹² that when all the female members of his royal household (*Sabbā antepurittthiyo*) heard of the arrival of Mahinda, they expressed their desire to see him. King Tissa made suitable arrangements in the inner city and invited Mahānāga's harem of five hundred ladies headed by Anulā Devī also to the assembly to listen to Mahinda.¹³

Among the nobility, too, polygamy may have been in practice. In one of the Vessagiriya inscriptions, a reference is made to "the wife of the father of Anikaṭa Soṇa, named Tisa".¹⁴ It is obvious from this that Tisa was not Anikaṭa's mother. Therefore, "this expression seems to indicate either that Anikaṭa Soṇa's father had many wives or that he married a second time. It might also indicate a custom (still in vogue) for a wife to speak of her husband as the father of her child, thus

¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 136.

² *Rsv.*, II, p. 49.

³ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 22 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 59.

⁴ *CJSG.*, II, p. 204, No. 620.

⁵ *Mv.* XXIII, v. 17.

⁶ *Sahassavatthu*, p. 92.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXXIII, v. 48.

⁸ *Mv.*, XXXIII, vv. 35-36.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, v. 47.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, v. 57.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, v. 85.

¹² *Mv.*, XIV, v. 46.

¹³ *Ibid.*, XIV, vv. 56-57.

¹⁴ *EZ.*, I, p. 18. No. 1.

avoiding the use of his name as a mark of respect.”¹ Thus it is obvious that polygamy was quite common among the royalty and the richer class of people during this period.

But there is no evidence to show that polyandry was in vogue among the Sinhalese in this period. While mañ enjoyed the privilege of marrying more than one woman at a time, woman was debarred from having more than one husband. But when the husband was dead, the widow was allowed to remarry. The *Mahāvamsa* furnishes us with an instance of widow remarriage.² In it we read that king Khallāta Nāga was over-powered by the commander of his troops, named Kammahāratthaka. The commander was killed by the king’s brother, named Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The latter began to rule the kingdom, took his nephew, Mahācūlika, as his son and made his elder brother’s wife, Anulā Devī, his queen. The *Mahāvamsa* also speaks of another Anulā, the wife of Cōra Nāga, who remarried five times, poisoning her husbands one after the other.³

The position of women during this period was generally satisfactory. Our sources furnish us with evidence to show that from the earliest times women were allowed considerable freedom and independence in Ceylon society. Women were allowed to go about freely without being accompanied by any male member of their families, and they even enjoyed the freedom of choosing their life-partners as they desired within the limits of the caste regulations. The *Valāhassa Jātaka*⁴ relates that there were aboriginal Vāddā women,⁵ called Yakkhas, who lived in Sirisavattu in the Island of Lanka. They were in the habit of going to the sea-coast in order to meet merchants. Once they met five hundred ship-wrecked merchants on the shore and the chief of the Yakkhiṇis took the leading merchant to Sirisavattu and married him. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Kuveṇi was freely enjoying her leisure in the open air and when she met Vijaya she treated the honourable guest right royally and gave her consent to become the wife of this stranger on her own accord.⁶

For the royal reception accorded to the Buddhist mission headed by Mahinda in the 3rd century B.C., King Devānampiya Tissa invited five hundred ladies of the royal household of his brother, Mahānāga, headed by his chief queen Anulādevī.⁷ She arrived there with other ladies and having saluted and made offerings to the *theras* placed herself respectfully at their side.⁸ In the afternoon on the same day when Mahinda was about to preach in the royal garden, “innumerable females of the first rank assembled there, crowding the entire royal garden and ranged themselves

¹ *EZ.*, I, p. 18, fn.

² *Mv.*, XXXIII, vv. 33-36.

³ *Mv.*, XXXIV, vv. 15-27.

⁴ *J.*, II, p. 89-91.

⁵ *AC.*, p. 422.

⁶ *Mv.*, VII, vv. 11-29.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XIV, v. 56.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XIV, v. 57.

near the *thera*.”¹ According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, “noble women and maidens, the daughters-in-law and daughters of noble families, crowded together in order to see the *thera*. While he exchanged greetings (*Sammodanto*) with them night had fallen.”² It is evident from this that women were given their freedom to attend public functions and were honoured by giving their due rights in the society.

Women played an important role even in the field of politics when the country was in danger. Duṭṭagāmaṇi, before he declared war against Eḷāra, consulted his mother Vihāramahādevī about war preparations. Purely on her advice he had thirty two fortresses built along the frontier line and established dummy kings exactly like himself in front of each fortress to deceive the enemy.³ Even at the age of twelve⁴ she volunteered to be cast adrift on the sea in expiation of her father and saved the country from danger.⁵ References to women rulers are also found in the *Mahāvāṃsa*. Queen Anulā herself reigned for four months in Anurādhapura.⁶ Sivalī, the daughter of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi and younger sister of Cūlābhaya, reigned for four months.⁷

In the inscriptional records assigned to this period, women appear fairly often as donors of caves. Among these donors there were female *Devanupiyas*,⁸ *Parumakas*⁹ and *Upasakas*.¹⁰ However, there were no women recorded among the *Gamikas* and *Gahapatis*, nor among the ministers and officials. There were several Princesses and Queens. They are usually mentioned in the inscriptions as the wives or daughters of men.¹¹ This evidence does not show exactly whether women had the equal footing with men or whether they had been placed in a lower position. However, it is obvious that they were given complete freedom in religious matters. Thus it is reasonable to infer that their place in society might not have been degenerated to such an extent as that of the Indian women during this period.

Good household wives are always devoted to their husbands. According to both the *Rasavāhini*¹² and the *Sahassavatthu*,¹³ there was a merchant named Nandi in Mahātitttha (modern Māntoṭa near Mannar). He went abroad on a business mission leaving his wife behind and did not return for three years. Once one of the ministers of the king (Saddhā Tissa) of Laṅkā went on his official circuit and happened to see the wife of the merchant Nandi. He offered her a thousand (coins) through

¹ *Ibid.*, XV, vv. 3-5.

² *DV.*, XIII, vv. 14-15.

³ *Mv.*, XXV, vv. 55-56.

⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p. 58.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 13-21 : *Rsv.*, II, p. 58.

⁶ *Mv.*, XXXIV, v. 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXV, vv. 12-14.

⁸ See *supra*, pp. 47-48.

⁹ See, *supra*, p. 37.

¹⁰ See *infra*, p. 167.

¹¹ *ASCAR.*, 1911-12 ; p. 94, No. 5 ; *CJSG*, II. p. 124, No. 516 ; p. 128, No.

¹² *Rsv.*, II. p. 139.

¹³ *Sahassavatthu* p. 145.

a servant woman and asked her to come and take pleasure with him. As she was so devoted to her husband she refused the proposal. The minister tried to persuade her for the fourth time, offering her eight thousand (coins); yet she refused his request.

On the other hand, references are not wanting to show that there were bad and wicked wives as well. According to the *Mahāvamsa* the queen of Devānampiya Tissa coveted the kingship for her son and went so far as to take the life of her husband's younger brother, the vice-regent named Mahānāga by offering a poisonous mango which, unfortunately for the lady and fortunately for Mahānāga, was eaten by the little son of the queen with a fatal result.¹ The queen of King Tissa of Kalyāṇi intrigued with her husband's younger brother named Ayya Uttika. The liaison was discovered by the king. Ayya Uttika fled from the kingdom but nothing is mentioned about any punishment inflicted on the queen by the king.² The queen of Vohāraka Tissa intrigued with her husband's younger brother known as Abhayanāga who in course of time slew the king and himself became king with his elder brother's wife as his queen.³ Anulā, an infamous queen, fell in love successively with a palace guard, a city carpenter, a wood-carrier and the *Purohita*, misconducted herself with each of them, and caused in turn the death of each of them by poison.⁴

Children were no doubt much loved. There is no instance to show that the birth of a girl was unfavoured in Ceylon society. Both girls and boys received equal care and affection from their parents. The parents even desired to have children of both sexes equally. Once Vihāra Mahā Devī went to Tissa Mahā Vihāra to listen to a discourse at the conclusion of which the Thera advised her thus : " You are enjoying this great prosperity as you have accumulated merits in your previous births. It is therefore your duty to do the same in this life, too."⁵ Then the queen said, " Venerable Sir, what prosperity would there be for those who have no children ?"⁶

The *Rasavāhinī* also refers to the same incident, but the queen's reply there differs from that in the *Mahāvamsa*. Here she says, " what prosperity would there be for those who have neither a daughter nor a son (*dhītā vā putto vā natthi*).⁷ It is evident from this that parents normally desired both girls and boys equally, but there was no doubt that they preferred a son to a daughter for economic, political and social reasons.

The *Mahāvamsa* says that Vihāramāhā Devī requested a novice (*Sāmaṇera*) at the Kōtapabbata Vihāra to make an aspiration to be reborn in her womb for the sake of the upliftment of the Sāsana (*Patthehi mama puttakam*).⁸ Both the

¹ *Mv.*, XXV, vv. 2-5.

² *Ibid*, XXII, vv. 13-14 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 57.

³ *Mv.*, XXXVI, vv. 42, 51.

⁴ *Ibid*, XXXIV, vv. 15-27.

⁵ *Ibid*, XXII, v. 32.

⁶ *Ibid*, XXII, v. 33.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 59.

⁸ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 35.

*Rasavāhīnī*¹ and the *Sahassavatthu*² refer to a son obtained by an *Upāsikā* through prayers. The *Sahassavatthu* emphatically states how she ignored her only son who was born to her on account of her prayers (*attanā patthetvā laddham*), even after having seen that he was bitten by a serpent. It is evident from these inferences that prayers for getting children, particularly sons, were not uncommon in Ceylon society during this period. Even nowadays many a pilgrimage is undertaken to places like Kataragama by Sinhalese women for the purpose of having a male child.³

On the birth of a child, friends and relatives came with presents to the parents.⁴ Villagers were happy when a son was born of one of the families in their village.⁵ There was a day fixed for naming the child.⁶ Twelve thousand monks were invited to participate in the naming ceremony of Prince Duṭṭhagāmaṇī,⁷ instead of inviting *Brāhmaṇas* as was the case in Hindu society. This shows that after the advent of Mahinda even the domestic ceremonies were remodelled in the Buddhist way.

Regarding the general education of a child during this period we have very little information. But there is reason to suppose that even prior to the advent of Mahinda, the general standard of education may have been fairly satisfactory. In the *Mahāvamsa* we read that Vijaya in the 5th century B. C. dispatched a letter to the king of Madura requesting him to send suitable girls for him and his band of followers.⁸ Then again he sent another letter to his brother Sumitta asking him to send one of his kinsmen to succeed him.⁹

Reference is also made in the *Mahāvamsa* to a letter sent by King Abhaya to prince Paṇḍukābhaya asking him not to cross the Mahavāli Gaṅga.¹⁰ The *Mahāvamsa* also speaks of some *Brāhmaṇa* teachers during this period. There was a *Brāhmaṇa* named Paṇḍula who was well versed in the Vedas (*Veda Pāraḡo*). Paṇḍukābhaya was entrusted to him by his mother to be trained in the arts and sciences necessary for a king. Paṇḍula put him into the same tutorial class in which his son Canda was educated and gave a complete training both in arts and sciences.¹¹ It appears from this that Paṇḍula played the important role of the leading teacher whose duty it was to train the children of the royal household and of the nobility. He may also have been considered as the head of the leading educational institution of the day. We saw earlier¹² that there lived many other *Brāhmaṇas* in Ceylon prior

¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 3.

² *SV.*, p. 7.

³ J. M. Seneviratna, *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. V. p. 92.

⁴ *Sahassavatthu*, p. 83.

⁵ *Rsv.*, II, p. 97 ; *SV.* p. 83.

⁶ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 65 ; *Rsv.* II, p. 98 ; *SV.*, p. 83.

⁷ *Mv.*, VII, v. 51.

⁸ *Mv.*, VIII, 7.

⁹ *Mv.*, VIII, vv. 3, 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, X, v. 48.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X, vv. 19-23.

¹² See *supra*, p. 14.

to the advent of Mahinda. There is no doubt that many of these *Brāhmaṇas* were engaged in educational activities for the benefit of the common man in addition to their other activities of varied nature. It is evident from these references that various branches of learning were known in Ceylon during the pre-Christian centuries.

After the advent of Mahinda in the 3rd century B. C. Buddhism became the dominant religion in the Island. Monasteries were built by kings and princes throughout the country for monks who started teaching the Buddha Dhamma. The result was the gradual improvement in literary and religious education of the people. Regarding the Buddhist system of education in India, it is believed that "Buddhist education and learning centered round monasteries as Vedic culture centered round the sacrifice. The Buddhist world did not offer any educational opportunities apart from or independently of its monasteries. All education, sacred as well as secular, was in the hands of monks. They had the monopoly of learning and of the leisure to impart it. They were the only custodians and bearers of the Buddhist culture".¹ The same was no doubt the general system of education in Ceylon after Buddhism became the dominant religion in the 3rd century B. C.

References to people who could read and write well are made frequently in the *Mahāvamsa*. Prince Uttiya, a grandson of King Uttiya sent a secret letter to his brother's queen by a man disguised as a Buddhist monk.² Mention is also made of letters which passed between Prince Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and a *Brāhmaṇa* named Kuṇḍala of Dvāramaṇḍala near Cetiyaḡiri. Again there is a reference to a golden plate (*Sovaṇṇapaṭṭaṃ lekhaṃ*) caused to be inscribed by King Devānaṃpiya Tissa under the instructions of Mahinda, which Duṭṭhagāmaṇi found in his palace at Anurādhapura.³ In the *Pūjāvaliya* it is stated that in each lecture hall King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi caused to be placed a priceless canopy, a pulpit, a carpet, and a *Bana* book.⁴ The *Mahāvamsa* also speaks of another important record of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, named "*Puñña-pothaka*", "register of meritorious deeds", which he kept and which he made his secretary read publicly at his death-bed.⁵

It is therefore most probable that registers were kept by kings and others and to this class of written historical documents the *Sihalaṭṭhakathā Mahāvamsa*,⁶ so often referred to in the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, evidently belonged. There was no doubt that these documents furnished materials for the composition, in later days, of the two Chronicles of Ceylon, the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*.

Both the *Mahāvamsa*⁷ and the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*⁸ speak of the writing down of the Pāli Scriptures and the Commentaries during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya

¹ R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 394.

² *Mv.* XXII, v. 15.

³ *Mv.* XXVII, vv. 2-6.

⁴ *Pūjv.*, Ch. 34, p. 723.

⁵ *Mv.* XXXII, v. 25.

⁶ Oldenberg's *Dīpavamsa*, Introduction, p. 4.

⁷ *Mv.* XXXIII, vv. 102-103.

⁸ *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, p. 11.

(88-76 B. C.) at Āloka Vihāra near Matale. It is most likely that manuscripts of this edition were made available in the Māha Vihāra and other monasteries in the Island.

It is evident from these references that there was a written literature at least of religious nature, both Pali and Sinhalese, in Ceylon after Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya. It is true that there is not a single reference in our sources to any written work until about 80 B. C., but there is every reason to suppose that a written literature must have existed at least a century or two before, if not still earlier.¹

Thus it is obvious that the art of writing was well developed during this period. This is also corroborated by the discovery of thousands of cave inscriptions, assigned to this period, at different places of worship throughout the country. These epigraphic records themselves indicate the general standard of education among the people of different social standing from the king to the slave.²

From these references it is very difficult to establish the extent of literacy among the laity. But there is no doubt that the literacy among the people who lived in the neighbourhood of the monasteries was generally satisfactory, for a passage in the *Majjhima Commentary* refers to literacy among the villagers in remote areas. It says that when a circular is sent out by the king to a remote province (*Paccanta-janapada*), those who cannot read get someone else to read for them.³ The term *Paccanta* in this context no doubt indicates the criterion on the illiterate areas in the country. On the contrary it shows that the people in urban areas were sufficiently educated to read and understand when such a circular was sent to them.

It is to be borne in mind that even after the advent of Mahinda the education of the country was not entirely in the hands of monks. The *Brāhmaṇas* were still carrying on their educational activities. The *Samantapāsādikā* refers to an incident where King Bhātiya appointed a minister Dīghakārāyaṇa, a *Brāhmaṇa* who was a great scholar versed in various languages (*Paṇḍito bhāsantara-kusalo*), to decide on a textual and a doctrinal point over which the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri maintained conflicting views.⁴ According to the *Mahāvamsa* when the Vaitulya doctrine was introduced to Ceylon by heretics during the reign of Vohāraka Tissa, the Abhayagiri Fraternity accepted it as orthodox. Hence the minister Kapila was appointed by the king to hold an inquiry and purify the Dhamma by eliminating the Vaitulya doctrine.⁵ The *Mahāvamsa* also records that during the reign of Mahāsena, the minister of justice (*Vinicchaya-Mahāmacca*) expelled Tissa Thera from the Order of monks after an inquiry made according to the *Vinaya* into certain charges of defeatism (*Antima Vatthu=Pārājikā*) against him.⁶

¹ *Catalogue of Sinh. MSS. in the British Museum*, Introduction, p. XI.

² See, *supra*, p. 62.

³ *MA.*, p. 157.

⁴ *SMP.* (SBE), p. 418.

⁵ *Mv.* XXVI, v. 41.

⁶ *Mv.* XXXVII, vv. 38-39.

Twenty years after the death of Mahāseṇa, his second son Jetṭha Tissa established an Institution (*Sippāyatana*) and taught the art of ivory carving to many people.¹ It is therefore reasonable to infer from this that similar institutions may have been established by previous kings to impart the secular education on various branches of arts and crafts. Some of these arts were handed down in families from father to son. Even military arts such as archery and swordsmanship were sometimes handed down from father to son. Phussadeva, one of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's ten paladins, was trained in archery by his own father. It is said that this art was handed down in their family (*Vamsāgataṃ*).²

The general standard of female education also may not have been far behind that of men during this period. According to the *Mahāvamsa* all the women in the royal household of Devānampiya Tissa, in addition to the five hundred women headed by Anulādevī, the queen of Mahānāga were proficient enough to understand the language in which Mahinda preached on the second day of his arrival in Ceylon.³ In the *Dīpavamsa* too it is clearly stated that Mahinda had a friendly discussion (*Sammodamānā*) with innumerable ladies who gathered round him in the royal garden, in the afternoon on the same day.⁴ This shows clearly that they also knew the language of Mahinda. We have seen earlier that Prince Uttiya sent a secret letter to the queen of his brother, Tissa of Kalyāṇī.⁵ It is evident from this that she was able to read and write well.

Numerous names of female donors appear in the inscriptions of this period. As these female donors belonged to different strata of society from queens⁶ to slave women,⁷ it is justifiable to suppose that the women who lived in the urban areas where these inscriptions were engraved had a fairly good education both religious and secular. There is no doubt that the learned Buddhist nuns were their teachers in the same way as the monks were the teachers of men.

Apart from religious and general education, women were given a special training in cookery which is considered an essential attainment of a woman. The *Rasavāhini* refers to a daughter of the chief minister of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa of Rohaṇa, who was given special training, both practical and theoretical, in the art of cookery (*Sūpasattha*).⁸ From this we may infer that women were trained not only in cookery, but also they may have been given a thorough training in entire household management. There were ladies who were well-versed even in warfare and political science.⁹

¹ *Mv.*, XXXVII, vv. 100-101.

² *Ibid*, XXXIII, v. 85.

³ *Mv.* XIV, vv. 54, 56, 57.

⁴ *Dv.*, XIII, vv. 14-15.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 15.

⁶ See, *supra*, p. 39.

⁷ See, *supra*, p. 62.

⁸ *Rsv.*, II, p. 45.

⁹ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 55 ; XXXIV, v. 27 ; XXXV, vv. 12-14.

The relationship between parents and children was one of love and affection. This sentiment was so great particularly on the part of parents that when a child did something which even brings great dishonour to his family, parents would naturally pardon him for his offences purely due to their love towards him. We know how determined was prince Sāli to marry a *Caṇḍāla* girl not only against the wish of his father but also of the entire country, and how king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi made an attempt in vain to get him to change his determination, and how he was finally reconciled with his son approving of his marriage out of paternal love.¹

On the other hand children also loved their parents in a similar way. According to the *Sihalavatthu*² there was a poor tailor in Anurādhapura. It is said that he divided his body into two with a carpenter's marking thread (*Kālasuttena*) wishing that half of his body should work for his own support and the other half for that of his parents. Thus whatever he earned in the forenoon, he spent on alms for the *Bhikkhus* and he maintained his parents with whatever he earned in the afternoon.

Parents were held in very high esteem by the children and the children were trained from their childhood to be obedient to their parents. According to the *Rasavāhini*, Kākavaṇṇa Tissa once fell out with one of his chief ministers named Saṅgha. The minister fled to the hilly country with his wife and only daughter who was very beautiful. When they went half way, the parents feared of being recognised by others owing to the attraction of their daughter's beauty, and decided to leave the daughter on the high way. Having decided thus, they asked the daughter to wait at a certain place while they brought food from the neighbouring village and went away. Seven days elapsed, yet the parents did not return. Meanwhile many people who passed that way requested the girl to go along with them. She refused them all saying, "those who do not abide by the advice of their parents will meet with disaster in this life and will be reborn in a lower state after death".³ But it is to be noted that the relationship between husband and wife is stronger than that between parents and children. The same story in the *Rasavāhini* relates that when the minister suggested to his wife that they should leave their daughter, the wife replied, "please do whatever you like ; I shall not object to it (*ahaṃ te manam na bhindāmi*)."⁴

All these references will show us how strong was the family tie which brought forth harmony and happiness of the family life in Ceylon society during this period.

On the other hand the father too, as the head of the family in Ceylon society, may have wielded very wide powers over the members of his family. In Indian society of the same period the father exercised absolute authority in dealing with the members of his family. "He could pledge, sell, amputate and even kill any person under his potestas for an offence committed by him. Some *Vedic* legends also show that the father could blind or sell a guilty son by virtue of this patriarchal

¹ *Mv.*, XXXIII, v. 3 ; *Rsv.*, II, pp. 114-122.

² *SV.*, p. 1.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 46.

authority.”¹ But there is no doubt that this was not exactly the same in Ceylon society, particularly after the advent of Mahinda, for in a Buddhist society the duties of all the members of every household were regulated according to the code of social ethics as laid down by the Buddha. In the *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* we find that the father should treat his children in “restraining them from vice, exhorting them to virtue, training them to a profession, contracting suitable marriages for them and in due time handing over their inheritance”.²

But we have instances to show that owing to poverty or fear, the father exercised his powers to mortgage, sell, discard or even to kill his children as he liked.

According to the *Rasavāhīnī*³ there was a poor man named Nakula in Rohaṇa during the reign of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa. It is reported that he was once compelled by his acute poverty to mortgage his only daughter for twelve *Kahāpaṇas*. The *Aṅguttara Commentary* also refers to another man who mortgaged his daughter for twelve *Kahāpaṇas*.⁴ During the reign of Saddhā Tissa a certain poor farmer of Anurādhapura mortgaged his daughter to a rich family for eight *Kahāpaṇas*.⁵ When the famous femine (*Brāhmantiya*?) broke out in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, both the father and the mother with their mutual consent obtained a loan of twelve *Kahāpaṇas* from a rich family by giving their daughter to serve them as a slave.⁶ Not only daughters but also sons were mortgaged by their parents when they faced financial difficulties. During the reign of Saddhā Tissa, a person called Muddhagutta of Rohaṇa mortgaged his son to a rich family for eight *Kahāpaṇas*.⁷

The *Sihalvatthu* speaks of a poor man who sold his eldest son for a cow and lived happily afterwards.⁸ Once when a famine broke out in Nāgadīpa, as there was no other means of maintaining themselves, the parents sold their daughter to a *Kuṭumbika* family for forty *Kahāpaṇas* and lived comfortably.⁹

Through fear also sometimes fathers did not hesitate to put their children into insecure and dangerous positions. Tissa of Kalyāṇī, according to our sources, did not even consult his ministers in casting his only daughter Devī to the sea in expiation of his sacrilege, the slaying of the chief monk of Kalyāṇī.¹⁰ One of the chief ministers of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa also abandoned his only daughter on the highway exposing her to all kinds of obvious dangers for a beautiful girl of her position.¹¹ Although the minister sought the consent of his wife for his merciless action against this innocent girl, it is clear from his wife's expression that she could not object to it (*manam na bhindāmi*), and that the minister had the freedom to exercise his absolute

¹ Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 18.

² *Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, p. 181.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 143.

⁴ *AA.* (Hevāvitāraṇa Edition), p. 277.

⁵ *Sihalavatthu*, p. 121.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 32.

⁸ *Sihalavatthu*, p. 89.

⁹ *Sihalavatthu*, p. 147.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 20-21 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 58.

¹¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 46.

authority in this matter. Sometimes owing to acute poverty people have gone to the extent of even killing their children. The *Sahassavatthu* speaks of how a certain person was tempted to kill his only son as he could not afford to give alms.¹

Although these references show us the extent to which a father could exercise his powers over the members of his family, there is no doubt that he discharged as far as possible, his duties towards them in accordance with the code of social ethics as laid down in the *Sigālovāda Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*.²

Regarding the right of inheritance it is difficult to say what actual practice was customary during this period. But there is no doubt that the practice in the succession of kings will throw at least some light on the subject.

According to the *Jātakas*, kingship in India was hereditary in the family (*kulasantakam rajjam*) during this period.³ Normally the eldest son succeeded his father on the throne,⁴ whilst the second son became the Viceroy (*Uparāja*). According to the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* the eldest son of a king is generally appointed *Uparāja*.⁵ The office of *Uparāja* usually goes to the heir to the throne. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Vijaya who was the eldest son of King Sihabāhu, was anointed *Uparāja*.⁶ Paṇḍuvāsudeva, the second king of Ceylon, made his eldest son Abhaya *Uparāja*.⁷ This usual practice of succession was changed either in the case of a king who died without leaving any issue or in the case of the eldest son who had no children at the time of his succession, but with at least one younger brother.

Vijaya invited his brother Sumitta to succeed him because he had no legitimate son to follow him after his death.⁸ As Sumitta was too old, he sent his youngest son Paṇḍuvāsudeva to succeed Vijaya.⁹ Paṇḍuvāsudeva was succeeded by his eldest son Abhaya.¹⁰ But his line of succession was broken by Paṇḍukābhaya who captured the kingdom by defeating his uncle.¹¹ After this for two generations, from Paṇḍukābhaya to Devānampiya Tissa, the throne of Anurādhapura was handed down from father to son—Paṇḍukābhaya¹² > Muṭasiva¹³ > Devānampiya Tissa. It is to be noted here that Devānampiya Tissa was not the eldest son of Muṭasiva. The question as to why he succeeded his father instead of his elder brother is not explained anywhere in our sources. Perhaps Abhaya died before his father or was set aside owing to some disqualifications.¹⁴

¹ *Sahassavatthu*, p. 36.

² *Dialogue of the Buddha*, III, p. 181.

³ *J.*, I, p. 395 ; II, p. 116 ; IV, p. 124.

⁴ *J.*, I, p. 127 ; II, p. 87, 212.

⁵ *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, p. 154.

⁶ *Mv.*, VI, v. 38.

⁷ *Mv.*, IX, vv. 12, 14.

⁸ *Mv.*, VIII, v. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, vv. 10, 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, X, v. 52.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X, v. 78.

¹² *Ibid.*, XI, v. 4.

¹³ *Mv.*, XII, v. 7.

¹⁴ *HC.*, Vol. 1, Pt. I, p. 133.

On the other hand, when Devānampiya Tissa ascended the throne of Anurādhapura it is most likely that he had no children, or if he had, his child may have been an infant. Thus circumstances may have forced him to appoint his younger brother Mahānāga to the office of *Uparāja*.¹ The queen of Devānampiya Tissa knew of Mahānāga's legal rights to the throne of Anurādhapura by virtue of his office of *Uparāja*. This may have been the reason why she plotted against Mahānāga to kill him with poison,² in order to see her son succeed Devānampiya Tissa. This shows that she had no fear of the other brothers of Devānampiya Tissa because they had no claim to the throne by virtue of their offices. But when Mahānāga fled to Rohaṇa³ after discovering the treacherous plot of his brother's queen, Uttiya, Devānampiya Tissa's second brother, became the heir to the throne.⁴ Uttiya was succeeded, according to seniority, by his brothers, Mahāsiva,⁵ Sūra Tissa,⁶ and Asela,⁷ one after the other.

When these brothers succeeded one after the other, this practice may have set a precedent in the law of succession in the royal family of Anurādhapura, deviating from the usual practice of succession from father to son, which existed earlier.

But this earlier practice was followed by the rulers of the kingdom of Rohaṇa for four generations from Mahānāga to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Saddhā Tissa succeeded his brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇī not because he had any claim to the throne of Anurādhapura, but because he was the only person left behind in his family to succeed Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, as the latter's son prince Sāli was disqualified owing to his marriage with a *caṇḍāla* girl.⁸ Both from the *Mahāvamsa*⁹ and the *Rasavāhīnī*¹⁰ it is clear that prince Sāli was the legitimate heir to the throne because he held the office of *Yuvarāja*. According to the *Rasavāhīnī*, even after he was disqualified to the throne Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, at his death-bed, tried to persuade him to succeed him after his death (*tāta mamaccayena imaṃ rajjaṃ paṭipajjāhi*).¹¹ Yet prince Sāli refused to do so in order to honour the tradition of his clan. The tradition of his clan was that a *Kṣatriya* prince could marry either a *Kṣatriya* girl or a *Brāhmaṇa* girl only (*Rājakaññiṇaṃ vā brāhmaṇakaññiṇaṃ vā*).¹² Hence Saddhā Tissa ascended the throne (*So taṃ na icchi. Athassa accayena Saddhātissakumāro rājā ahoṣi*).¹³ Thus this practice of the law of succession from father to son was changed again in the kingdom of Anurādhapura. This can be seen from the genealogical table given below.

¹ *Mv.*, XIV, v. 56.

² *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 3-5.

³ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XX, v. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXI, v. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXI, v. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXI, v. 12.

⁸ *Mv.*, XXXIII, v. 3.

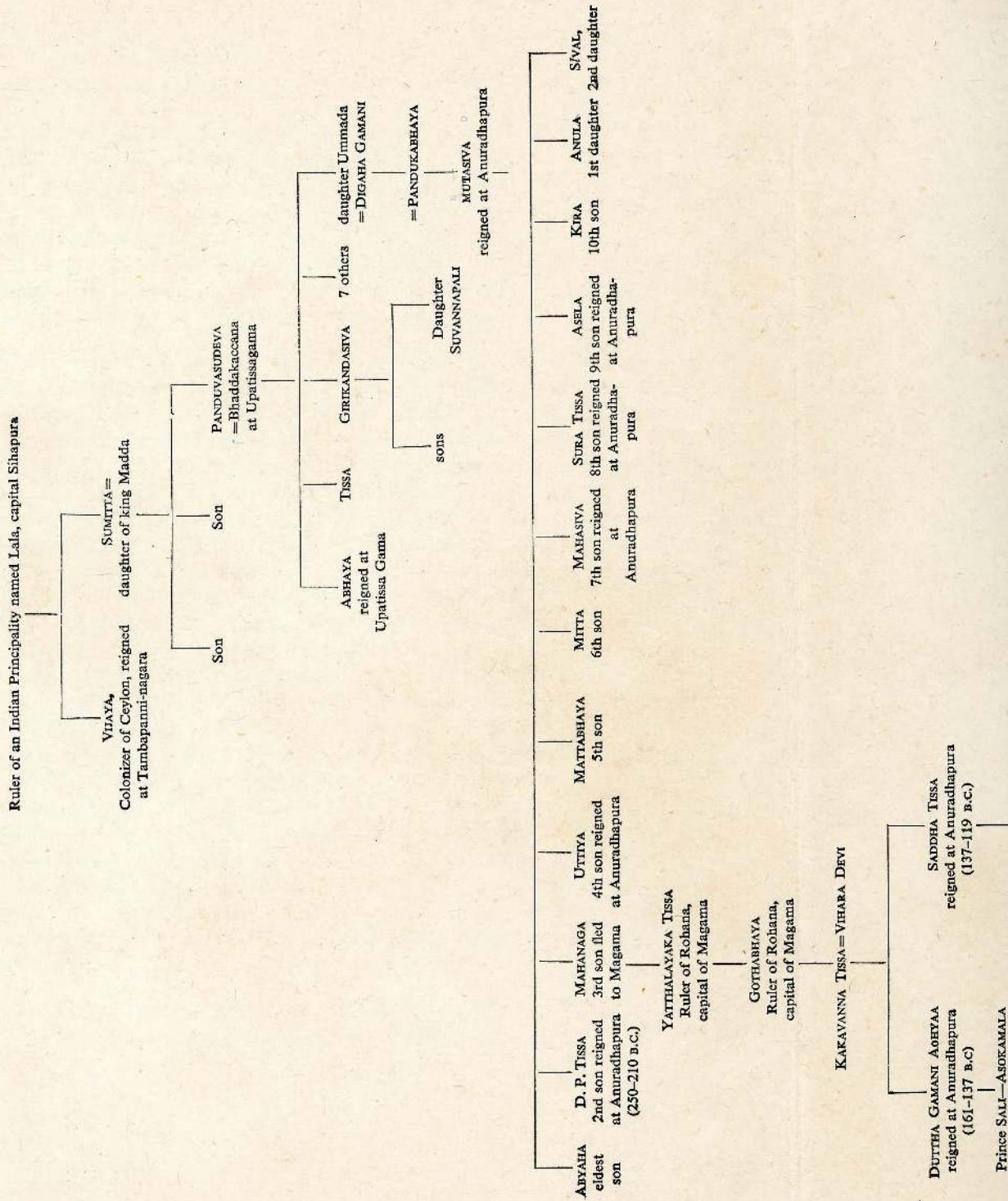
⁹ *Ibid.*, "So rajjaṃ neva kāmayaṭ".

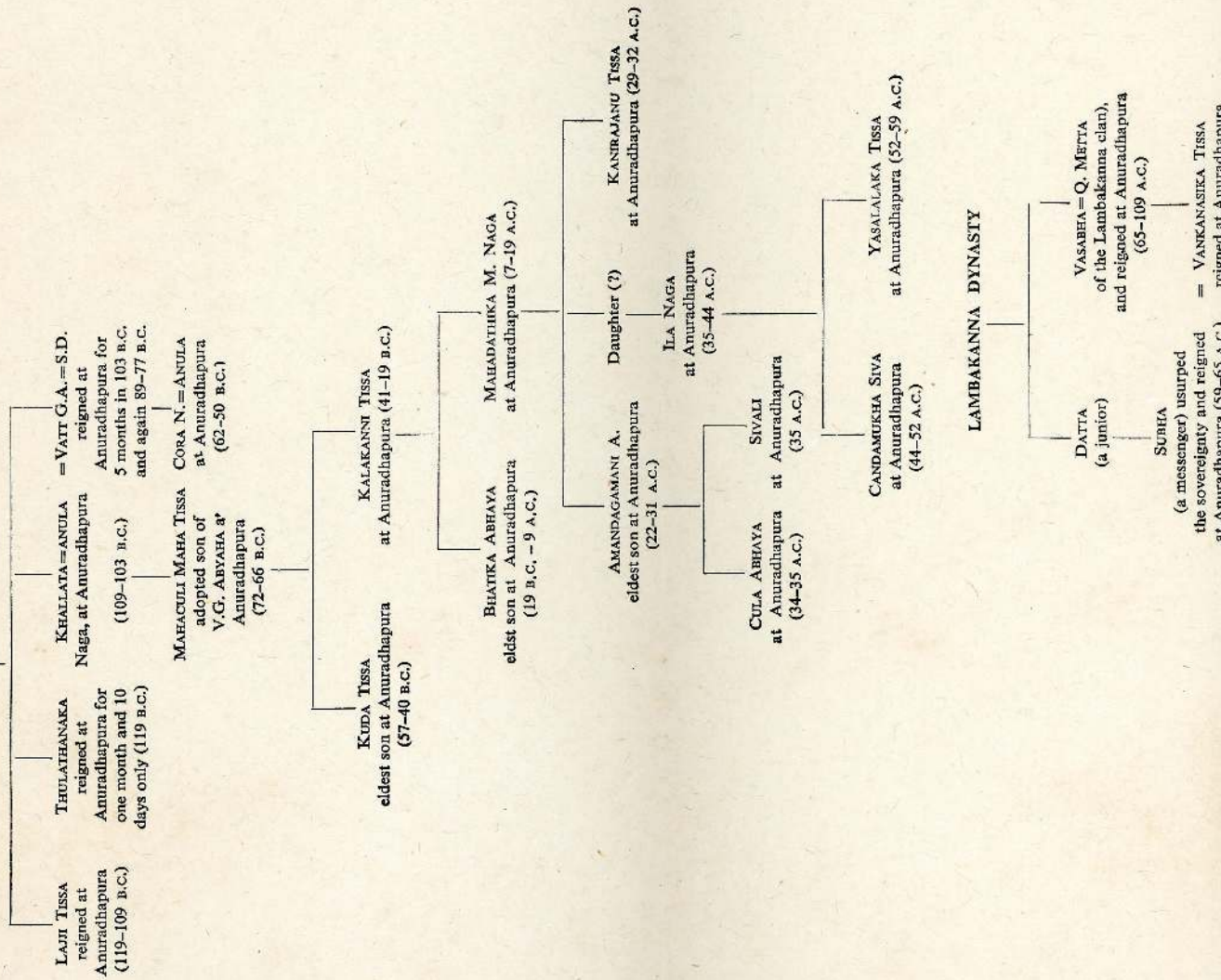
¹⁰ *Rsv.*, II, p. 116 : "Aparabhāge rājakumārassa yuvarājaṭṭhānaṃ datvā"

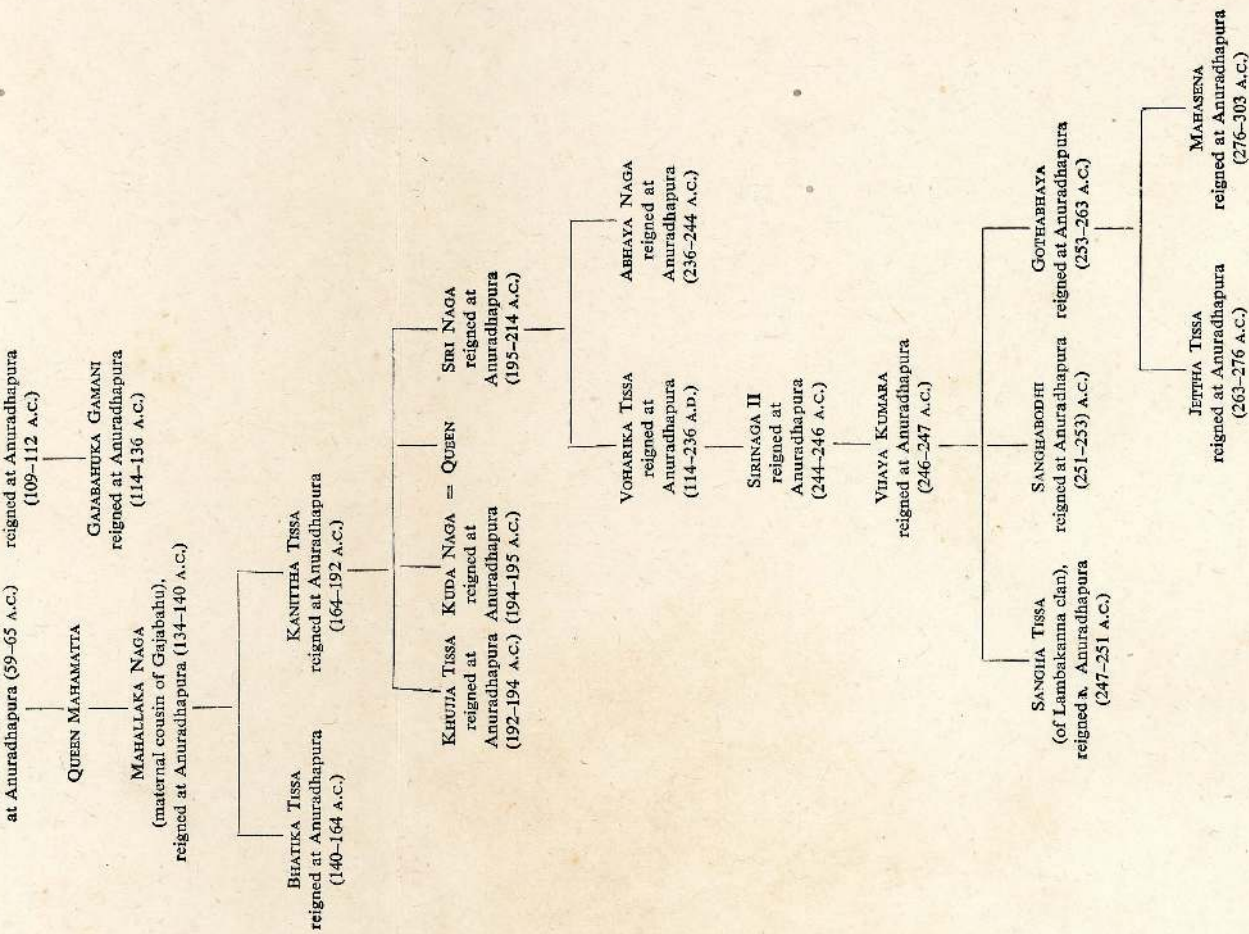
¹¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 122.

¹² *Rsv.*, II, p. 119.

¹³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 122.







Notes: The Chronology is given as in *History of Ceylon*, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 843.



Thus the above discussion will show us clearly that the law of succession which was generally accepted by the majority of ruling families during the period, was not from father to son as M. B. Ariyapala has suggested,¹ but from generation to generation as Geiger has rightly pointed out in reference to the later period.²

On the other hand, this genealogical table further reveals that there were two traditions of the law of succession in Ceylon during this period : They are the Anurādhapura tradition and the Rohaṇa tradition. The Anurādhapura tradition is that in which all the sons in the second generation enjoyed equal rights to ascend the throne in accordance with their seniority, in turn, after the death of their father. This tradition started in the kingdom of Anurādhapura, just after the death of Paṇḍuvāsudeva and continued to the mediaeval times, except in one instance which occurred during the period between Paṇḍukābhaya and Muṭasiva.

The Rohaṇa tradition is that in which the succession went from father to son. This tradition started from Mahānāga in the kingdom of Rohaṇa and continued for four generations up to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi without a break. But suspicion has been expressed by Paranavitana as to this law of succession from father to son in the kingdom of Rohaṇa, on the strength of a cave inscription found at Kusalanakanda in the Batticaloa District.³ This record, he says, which is the earliest form of the Brāhmī script, gives the following genealogy : “ Uparāja Naga, his son Rāja Abhaya, his son Gāmaṇi Tisa ”. Thus he makes an attempt to identify these three as Mahānāga, Goṭhābhaya and Kākavaṇṇa Tissa. If this identification is to be accepted Goṭhābhaya has to be taken as the son of Mahānāga himself, and not of Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa, son of Mahānāga.⁴ Goṭhābhaya, thus, has to be taken as a brother and not a son of Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa, as stated in the *Mahāvamsa*.⁵ Paranavitana had based this hypothesis on the possible interpretation of the word *Bata* as “ brother ”. But we have seen earlier⁶ that *Bata* should be interpreted not as ‘ brother ’ but as ‘ lord ’. Hence it is difficult to accept his view about the genealogy of the kingdom of Rohaṇa, and therefore we are inclined to uphold the genealogy as given in the *Mahāvamsa*. This shows that the kingdom of Rohaṇa followed this tradition very strictly. It is interesting to speculate why the kingdom of Rohaṇa was so particular in observing this tradition. It appears that the rulers of Rohaṇa were more concerned about the political stability of the kingdom than the individual interest, for there was another rival ruling family in Rohaṇa called the *Kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma. We have seen earlier⁷ the political rivalry which took place between the *Kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma and the *Kṣatriyas* of Rohaṇa (Mahāgāma), and how the former were defeated by the latter.

¹ Ariyapala, M. B., *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, p. 53.

² Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 114.

³ *HC.*, Vol., I, Pt. I, p. 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 7-11.

⁶ See, *supra*, p. 41.

⁷ See, *supra*, pp. 49-50.

On the other hand, Mahānāga himself was well aware of the danger that could fall on the kingdom as well as on the political aspirants, when the right of succession was left open to all the sons in the second generation. It is therefore likely that he may have laid down a law that only the eldest son could succeed his father after the latter's death, because he was aware of the political upheavals which took place in the kingdom of Anurādhapura which maintained the first tradition of succession to the throne as mentioned above.

It may also be possible that when Mahānāga fled to India,¹ he saw the stability of the kingdoms he visited, which followed the law of succession from father to son, and therefore he adopted the same law to ensure the stability of the kingdom created by him in Rohaṇa.

It is also possible that the *Kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma, as quite a distinct stream of immigration from that of the Anurādhapura *Kṣatriyas*, brought with them the law of succession from father to son from some part of India from where they migrated to Ceylon. It is thus possible that the Rohaṇa tradition of succession from father to son was adopted from the *Kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma. If that was the case, Mahānāga may have thought of adopting this law of succession in his family in order to avoid possible political conflicts and to ensure the political stability of his kingdom.

Another possibility is that the Rohaṇa dynasty always produced only one son in all the four generations, which is most unlikely. However, it is certain that at this time the kingdom of Rohaṇa was far more stable than that of Anurādhapura both politically and economically.

Although Saddhā Tissa belonged to the Rohaṇa dynasty, he ascended the throne at Anurādhapura. Hence his sons normally had to abide by the tradition of Anurādhapura kingdom and they succeeded one after the other. Thence forward almost all the kings of Anurādhapura followed the same tradition when the political situation was normal.

Even though it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty what actual practice was customary so far as the right of inheritance among the ordinary people was concerned during this period, on the analogy of the two traditions of royal succession discussed above we are inclined to suppose that the right of inheritance among the ordinary people also may not have been very different from that of the royal families. In other words, the people who lived in that part of the country to the south of Mahavāli Gaṅga and Kālaṇi Gaṅga normally followed the Rohaṇa tradition of succession, while those who lived to the north of these rivers followed the Anurādhapura tradition.

But it should be remembered that before the Rohaṇa tradition became popular in the South, the joint family system was commonly followed both by the Southern and the Northern people during the 3rd and the 2nd centuries B. C., according to

¹ See, *supra*, p. 50.

the epigraphical records of this period.¹ This shows that the Anurādhapura tradition of succession was followed even by ordinary people throughout the country, at least in the early pre-Christian centuries, if not earlier. But when the Rohaṇa tradition became more popular in the South, towards the 1st century B.C., even the ordinary people in that part of the country may have naturally preferred succession from father to son to succession from brother to brother, which was the current practice in the North in all the families, including the royal household.

But on the other hand, after about the 1st century B. C., while the royal families followed the Anurādhapura tradition more and more regularly as time progressed,² it is reasonable to infer that ordinary families both in the North and the South increasingly followed the law of succession from father to son, for we have references in the *Niti Nighaṇḍuva* to the order of succession among the ordinary families in that period. According to this work the order of succession was as follows : " If the husband has no descendents, adopted children, parents, grandfather or grandmother, or brothers &c., descending from them, or any relation worthy of preserving his name and lands, all his lands and other property will devolve on the wife "³ This text, though comparatively modern, contains laws and social customs transmitted orally from a much earlier period, and may represent practices which began in this period. It is obvious from this that the immediate successors to the father's property were his children and not his brothers. Brothers came in the fifth place in the order of succession.

When there were more than one child, the property was divided equally among them. The *Niti Nighaṇḍuva* also says that " if a man with a wife and children dies intestate, in their absence, the movable property of the estate should be divided into equal portions ; a portion for each child and a similar portion for the wife. In some instances the lands only will be divided among the children, all the movable property being inherited by the wife "⁴ The brothers had the right of inheritance only when there were no children of the deceased.⁵

Among the children, daughters were not entitled to equal shares with their brothers. The children, at their father's death, were entitled by right of paternal inheritance to their father's lands. The brothers, however, may marry off all their unmarried sisters to other men in the *Diga* form of marriage after the father's death and so obtain possession of all the father's lands.⁶ This shows that normally sons were entitled to the paternal property and not daughters. This is also referred to in the *Niti Nighaṇḍuva* in the following words : " If the parents have several children and one of the daughters has been married in *Diga* by her father, or after his death, by her mother or brothers, she loses her right to inherit the paternal lands."⁷

¹ See, *supra*, p. 78.

² See, *supra*, pp. 93-94.

³ *Niti Nighaṇḍuva*, p. 28.

⁴ *NN.*, p. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶ *NN.*, pp. 36-37.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

This system of right of inheritance was no doubt traditionally handed down from generation to generation for many centuries prior to the mediaeval period of Ceylon history.¹ It is therefore reasonable to suppose that this system of right of inheritance was in existence even during the period under survey at least in a nucleated form if not in the same form in which we find it in the mediaeval period.

The references to the customs concerning the disposal of the dead in Ceylon are far too meagre to decide what actual practice was customary during this period. But the few stray references in literary sources assigned to this period throw at least some light on this aspect of society.

There were three forms by which the disposal of the dead was carried out, *viz.* post-cremation burials, cremation, and the exposure of dead bodies uncremated and unburied. Of these three, post-cremation burial may have been the most respected. References are not wanting to show that this form was meant for Buddhist monks and kings only. The *Mahāvamsa* refers to the post-cremation burial of Mahinda's relics in a *cetiya*.² Similarly, the relics of Saṅghamittā were buried in a *thūpa* after she was cremated.³ When Elāra was killed in battle, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī paid him due respect, had his body cremated and built a *cetiya* for his ashes.⁴ Although the references to the cremation of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī⁵ do not show us exactly what was done with his ashes, we have every reason to suppose that they also were deposited in a *cetiya*, for this form of disposal of the dead was the usual practice among prominent people in Indian Buddhist society of the same period. The Buddha himself is said to have caused *cetiyas* to be built, depositing in them relics of several of his disciples who were *Arahants*, such as Sāriputta and Moggallāna.⁶ It may be noted here that four kinds of people are mentioned as being worthy of memorial *thūpas* enshrining their relics, namely a Buddha, a *Pacceka* Buddha, a *sāvaka* and a *Cakkavatti* king.⁷ Ceylon society being predominantly Buddhist, there is no doubt that the same custom of disposal of the dead with regard to Buddhist monks and kings was adopted during this period.

The *Mahāvamsa* also contains references showing how the funeral rites of such personages were conducted. When Mahinda passed away, King Uttiya, who was overpowered by great sorrow, after paying due homage, having sprinkled scented oil on the corpse, deposited it in a gold plated coffin (*sovaṇṇa-dōṇi*) and placed it in a palanquin beautifully decorated with gold. Then the body was taken in a state procession consisting of four-fold armies in addition to various other processions from different parts of the country, through all the highly decorated streets of Anurādhapura to the Mahāvihāra, where it was placed on a specially prepared

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

² *Mv.*, XX, vv. 44-45.

³ *Ibid.*, XX, v. 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XV, v. 73.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXII, v. 80.

⁶ *Dhp. Com.* III, 83 ; *S. Vil.*, II, p. 554.

⁷ *Digha*, II, p. 142.

dais called *Pañhambamālaka* and homage was paid to it for seven days after having decorated the area¹ around the Mahāvihāra as a mark of respect for the Elder. On the seventh day the body was cremated on a pyre composed of scented woods, and afterwards a *cetiya* was built over the ashes on the same spot.²

In the case of Elāra, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi ordered all the people who lived within the area for one *yojana* to assemble, paid him respect worthy of a king and, having cremated the body, deposited Elāra's ashes in a newly built *cetiya*.³ This reference does not give us any idea about the exact order of the state funeral procession. But probably this procession was conducted in the same way as that of Jeṭṭha Tissa's father. According to the *Mahāvamsa* "after his father's death Jeṭṭha Tissa became king. To punish the hostile ministers who would not go in procession with him, at the performing of the king's funeral rites, the king himself preceded forth, and placing his younger brother at the head and then the body following close behind and then the ministers, whilst he himself was at the end (of the procession), he, when his younger brother and the body were gone forth, had the gate closed immediately behind them, and he commanded that the treasonous ministers be slain and (their bodies) impaled on stakes round about his father's pyre".⁴

Cremation without depositing the ashes in a *cetiya* formed the second form of disposal of the dead. It is possible that this form was meant for middle-class people of all social groups, who could afford the expense of a funeral pyre. This is evident from a story in the *Rasavāhini*, which refers to a cemetery in Mātoṭa (modern Mannar) where cremation was to be seen side by side with dead bodies cast there unburied and uncremated.⁵

The third form was the exposure of corpses to beasts and birds in cemeteries. These cemeteries were named as *Āmakasusāna*.⁶ It is quite likely that this method was followed by the ordinary poor man who could not afford a funeral pyre. The burial of dead bodies without cremation seems to have been totally absent in Ceylon during this period.

There is no reference to show that coffins were used to carry dead bodies, as far as the middle-class and the poorer class of people were concerned. Corpses were normally carried by four people in a small bed covered with a cloth. The *Mahāvamsa* speaks of how Tissa was carried away from a monastery by four novices in order to give Duṭṭhagāmaṇi the impression that they were carrying a dead monk. (*Mata-bhikkhu-niyāmena*).⁷ It is obvious from this that this was the usual way of carrying the dead bodies of those clergy and laity who enjoyed less social prestige and honour.

¹ Area of 300 *yojanas* in extent.

² *Mv.*, 25, 70-75.

³ *Mv.*, XXV, vv. 70-73.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXXV, vv. 118-121.

⁵ *Rsv.*, II, p. 142.

⁶ *Rsv.*, II, p. 6.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXIV, v. 43.

There were also cemeteries which belonged to different social groups. The *Mahāvamsa* refers to a cemetery named *Isibhūmaṅgaṇa* exclusively meant for monks from an area extending for three *yojanas* around Anurādhapura.¹ The cemetery where the members of the royal family of Anurādhapura were cremated is referred to as *Rājamālaka*.² It seems that there were also many other cemeteries belonging to other people of different social standing, for we have references to 150 *Caṇḍālas* who were assigned the duty of removing the dead bodies (*Mata-nihārake*) to the cemeteries and to another 150 as the watchers of cemeteries.³ Further we have reference to a *Nica susāna* situated to the the North East of the city of Anurādhapura, exclusively meant for *Caṇḍālas*.⁴ This shows that even the cemeteries were categorised in accordance with the social ranks of the people in Ceylon during this period.

According to the *Sahassavatthu* another important funeral custom was for the relatives of the dead to bring presents⁵ to the new head of the family. This custom may have come into vogue for economic reasons. Hence it is reasonable to infer that it was followed by the poorer people only. It is still followed, but only by the poorer classes.

Another very important practice which is strikingly observed even today was that when a funeral procession was to pass by a *cetiya*, beating of drum was to be stopped until the procession passed the premises of the *cetiya*.⁶ This may have been the same in the case of a procession passing by a cemetery, for even to-day, this custom is very widely observed in Ceylon.

¹ *Ibid.*, XX, vv. 47-48.

² *Ibid.*, XXII, v. 80.

³ *Mv.*, X, v. 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, X, v. 94.

⁵ *Sahassavatthu*, p. 36.

⁶ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 74.

CHAPTER SIX
EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS

The joint family was the earliest unit of settlement in Ceylon. A group of houses comprising a number of such large families formed a *Gāma* or village. Before we discuss the formation of village, it is necessary to examine the problem of the earliest Āryan migration to this country.

The origin of the early settlers of Ceylon, as in the history of many nations, is shrouded in myth and legend. But the legendary story given in the Chronicles, as Geiger¹ and Basham² have pointed out, may possibly contain a germ of truth which may help towards a solution of the problem.

On the basis of the possible identification of the place-names given in the legend and the comparative linguistic studies of the Sinhalese language, historians generally support the theory that the early settlers of Ceylon were of the Āryan group and came from North India.³

The *Mahāvamsa* contains references to the names of kingdoms in North India, such as *Vaṅga*,⁴ *Kaliṅga*,⁵ and *Magadha*.⁶ These ancient names of kingdoms are confused by other place-names referred to in the Chronicles, such as *Lāla*,⁷ *Suppāraka*⁸ and *Sihapura*.⁹ Although these place-names are differently identified in terms of different regions, it is obvious that they did exist in North India either towards the West or towards the East. It is also obvious that the *Mahāvamsa* contains more place-names in North-East India than the *Dipavamsa*. But the omission in the *Mahāvamsa* of the ancient port of *Bhārukaccha*, given in the *Dipavamsa*¹⁰ is significant. Perhaps, the author of the *Mahāvamsa* wanted to connect the genealogies of Sinhalese kings with that of the Buddhist dynasties in North India. It is also possible that the author of the *Mahāvamsa* was aware of more place-names in India and tried to connect them with the legend.

¹ Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 49.

² A. L. Basham, "Prince Vijaya and the Āryan Colonisation of Ceylon," *CHJ.*, Vol. I, No. 3, (1952), p. 6.

³ Mendis, *Early History of Ceylon* (1954), p. 6.

Codrington, *A Short History of Ceylon*, (London 1939).

Rapson, Ch. XXV, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I.

⁴ *Mv.*, VI, vv. 1-2 ; *Dv.*, IX, v. 2.

⁵ *Mv.*, VI, vv. 1-2.

⁶ *Mv.*, VII, v. 4.

⁷ *Mv.*, VII, v. 5 ; *Dv.*, IX, v. 5.

⁸ *Mv.*, VII, v. 46 ; *Dv.*, IX, v. 16.

⁹ *Mv.*, VII, v. 35 ; *Dv.*, IX, v. 4.

¹⁰ *DV.*, IX, v. 26.

So far as the problem of the original home of the Āryan pioneers in Ceylon is concerned, historians are divided in their opinion on many points. One school of thought maintains that these people came from Western India, possibly from Gujarat.¹ The second school believes that they came from Eastern India, possibly from the lower Gangetic plain.²

The Eastern School maintains that Lāḷa or Lāṭa³ of the Chronicles is identical with the ancient name of *Rādha* in West Bengal and *Suppāraka* with the modern Singur in the Serampur subdivision of Hoogly, and has tried to locate the original home of Āryans in Eastern India.⁴ This region is also considered as belonging to the kingdom of Kāliṅga (Orissa) or Magadha (South Bihar).⁵

The Western School has identified Lāḷa or Lāṭa with a region of *ancient Gujarat*, especially on the authority of Ptolemy,⁶ and Simhapura with Sihor in Kathiawar.⁷ Lāṭa has also been located in lower Sind by one authority.⁸

Professor Basham in his examination of the problem of the early Āryan colonists in Ceylon⁹ brings out evidence to show that the weight of the Western theory is greater than that of the Eastern theory. He says that the fact that the frequent occurrence of the word *Gāmaṇī* in the early inscriptions of Ceylon shows that the original settlers came from the West, for it was in the Western India that the term was widely used in the pre-Buddhist period.¹⁰ Further he says that 'the frequent substitution of "ha" for Indo-Āryan "sa", which exists in the Sinhalese language to this day suggests a Western source, and even reminds us of the Iranian dialects where the mutation is regular'.¹¹ He also finds striking points of contact between early Ceylon and North-Western India, in the use of the epithet Mahārāja as applied to kings and in the importance of the king's brother in the affairs of the kingdom. Further he says that the brother-to-brother succession which was frequent, if not regular in the Island, can only be paralleled in India by the succession of the Śaka rulers of Ujjain.¹²

¹ Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 49.

Basham, *CHJ.*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 169.

Paranavitana, *HC.*, Vol., I, Pt. I, pp. 82-94.

² Majumdar, *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 135.

Ray, "Lāḷa, a note," *JRAS.* (Bengal) new Series, Vol. XVIII, p. 436.

Siddhārta, *JRASC.B.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 123-150.

³ *DV.*, IX, v. 5 ; *Mv.*, VI, vv. 4-5.

⁴ Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 125.

⁵ Ray, 'Lāḷa, a note,' *JRAS.*, (Bengal) New Series, Vol. XVIII, p. 436.

⁶ *HC.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 91.

⁷ Sandesara; "Ceylon in the Literature and Traditions of Gujarat," *CHJ.*, II, pp. 8-13.

⁸ Hugh Neville, *Taprobanian*, Vol. I, p. 57.

⁹ *CHJ.*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 163-171.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol., I, No. 3, p. 169.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

We have seen in the previous chapter¹ how the law of succession from brother-to-brother was frequent in the early period and how it became more regular towards the mediaeval period. The fact that the absence of this law of succession in Eastern India of the same period also suggests the closer connection of the early kings of Ceylon with those of the Western India where this system was followed at least by the Śaka rulers of Ujjain, if not by all the ruling families. This problem, however, will remain controversial until a comprehensive study of place-names and a linguistic analysis and comparison of the ancient elements of the Sinhalese Language with similar languages in North India are undertaken. This is really wanting, for linguists again are divided on the basis of their studies on this problem.²

A tentative solution may be arrived at on the basis of other considerations also. It is believed that navigation in the Indian ocean originated in the coastal regions of the Arabian Sea.³ Very early in the history of Eastern navigation, the coastline of Western India may have been known to some of the sea-faring people. The Āryans probably learnt the art of seamanship from the navigators in the Arabian Sea. Evidence in support of this view can be adduced from the account of the coming of Vijaya given in the Chronicles. According to these works Vijaya on his way to Ceylon touched at Suppāraka, an important port along the Western coast of India.⁴ According to the *Dīpavamsa* he next stopped at Bhārukaccha (Broach) at the mouth of the Narmadā river, for three months before he sailed for his destination.⁵ According to the *Tirthakalpa*, a Jaina work, there was in Ceylon a king named Candragupta. Once when he was with his daughter Śudarsanā in the royal court there arrived a merchant from Bhārukaccha. Śudarsanā accompanied this merchant to Bhārukaccha at a later date on a pilgrimage in a fleet of seven hundred ships belonging to the latter.⁶ We also read of traders coasting round India from Bhārukaccha to Suvarṇabhūmī⁷, touching at a port of Ceylon on the way.⁸ It is also evident from this that this route of navigation was known to early Āryans both in India and Ceylon from a very early date.

That the pioneer Āryan colonists came from Western India may also be confirmed by another argument. By the time the Āryans began to migrate to Ceylon (traditionally c. 500 B.C.), Eastern India was not fully Āryanised.⁹ Bengal remained

¹ See, *supra*, pp. 93-94.

² Geiger, *A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, Preface, p. XI.
Siddhārtha, *JRASC.B.*, Vol., XXXIII, pp. 123-150.
Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, pp. 33-70.

³ Admiral Ballard, *Rulers of the Indian Ocean*, p. 1.
Panikkar, *India and the Indian Ocean*, p. 23.

⁴ *DV.*, IX, vv. 15-16 ; *MV.*, VII, v. 46.

⁵ *DV.*, IX, v. 26.

⁶ *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report (1905-6)*, p. 144.

⁷ *J.*, III, p. 188.

⁸ *J.*, II, p. 127.

⁹ Fick, *Social Organisation in N. E. India*, p. 13.

in this period outside the pale of Āryan influence.¹ If the early settlers were Āryans, as is generally accepted, they could not originally have come from a non-Āryanised part of India.

Thus, though it is possible to establish that the earliest Āryan colonists came from Western India, the conflicting evidence in the Chronicles suggests that there were at least two major streams of immigrants from India—one came from the North-West of India led by Vijaya, which was later followed by the other coming from the North-East of India.²

Consideration of the ancient name Tambapaṇṇi in Ceylon, and the river of a similar name in South India has led to a suggestion of an early migration from that region.³ This may rather be doubted because South India was outside the pale of Āryan culture during this period. But until a study correlated with many branches of scientific investigation on the movement of early tribal groups in India is undertaken the routes followed by particular peoples in history will remain only probabilities.

Whatever the original home of these Āryans may have been, according to the Chronicles, no sooner they migrated to this country than they settled down in eight different places as the first step in their colonisation movement. "Here and there did Vijaya's ministers found villages. Anurādhagāma was built by a man of that name near the Kadamba river (*Malvatu Oya*). The Chaplain Upatissa built Upatissagāma on the bank of the Gambhira river, to the North of Anurādhagāma. Three other ministers built, each for himself, Ujjain, Uruvela and the city of Vijita".⁴ The place where Rāma settled is called Rāmagāma, the settlements of Uruvela and Anurādhā are called by their names, and the settlements of Vijita, Dīghāyu and Rohaṇa are named Vijitagāma, Dīghāyu and Rohaṇa. Anurādhā built a tank and when he had built a palace to the South of this, he took up his abode there.⁵

According to the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* these Āryans opened up all these settlements in areas where water was easily available.⁶ Thus the settlements were expanded from this initial base, possibly along the course of rivers and streams in the northern part of the Dry Zone. But the actual extent of this settlement cannot be established from this account. On the basis of the tradition, it appears that sometime after the first colonization the area of settlement extended up to and beyond the Mahavāli-gaṅga in the East and the foothills of the Central Highlands in the South.

Settlements in other parts of the Island, probably independent of the region discussed above, existed, especially in the area to the south of Mahavāli-gaṅga.

¹ Basham, *CHJ.*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 163-171.

² Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 49.

³ Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 23.

⁴ *Mv.*, VII, vv. 43-45.

⁵ *Mv.*, IX, vv. 9-11.

⁶ *MvT.*, p. 261.

According to the *Mahāvamsa* it was the *Kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma and of Candana-gāma who opened up settlements in this area.¹ These Southern Settlements may have been established along the four rivers, Kumbukkan Oya, Māṇikgaṅga, Kirindi Oya and Valavegaṅga.

A third region of settlement was confined to the lower basin of the Kālaṅgaṅga in the West.² This settlement may not have been extensive, but the attraction of the pioneers into this region may have been the Gem District in the upper Kālaṅgaṅga.³ The settlers in this region may have belonged to another stream of immigration independent of the other two streams.

Thus it can be inferred that there were several streams of immigration from different parts of India, spread over an extensive period of time. We have discussed already the main regions of settlement, according to historical sources. But the full authenticity of this account is doubtful, for it is confused by a number of traditions unskillfully blended. It is, therefore, difficult to ascertain the types and the characteristics of these settlements from the Chronicles. But the names of these settlements ending in *Gāma*, signifying village settlement, as the *Grāma* in ancient India, possibly give us a clue as to their nature.

Grāma in ancient India consisted of a group of families united by ties of kindred. According to the *Kaṅkhāvīvaraṇī* a place which consists of at least one or two houses is called a *Gāma*.⁴ According to the *Vinaya*⁵ a place which consists of at least one or two houses, whether occupied by people or deserted, is called a *Gāma*. There were *Gāmas* both fortified (*Parikkhitta*) and unfortified (*aparikkhitta*). It further says that a place where caravan traders lived at least for four months and afterwards deserted is called a *Grāma*.

But according to the *Jātakas* the average *Gāma* consisted of families numbering from thirty to a thousand.⁶ The village proper was enclosed by a wall or stockade with gates (*gāmadvāra*).⁷ Villages were generally situated in the midst of cultivated fields and jungles. Beyond the enclosure lay the arable land of the village (*Gāmak-khetta*) which was itself protected from pests, beasts and birds by fences⁸ and snares.⁹

¹ *Mv.*, XIX, vv. 54-55.

² Mendis, *Early History of Ceylon*, p. 24.

³ Vadia and Fernando, *Gems and semi-precious Stones in Ceylon, Record of the Department of Mineralogy in Ceylon, Professional Paper, No. 2, (1944), p. 15.*

⁴ *Kaṅkhāvīvaraṇī*, p. 26.

⁵ *Vinaya*, II, p. 46.

⁶ *J.*, I, p. 199 ; III, p. 281.

⁷ *J.*, I, p. 239 ; II, pp. 76, 135 ; II, p. 9.

⁸ *J.*, I, 215.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 145, 154.

This *Gāmakkhetta* was made up of individual holdings separated from one another by channels dug for co-operative irrigation.¹ A holding was generally small enough to be maintained by the family owning it, sometimes with the help of a hired labourer.²

Beyond the arable land of the village lay its common grazing ground or pastures³ for its herds of cattle⁴ and goats⁵, whether belonging to the king⁶ or the commoner.⁷ The villages ended in the uncleared jungles which were the sources of its firewood and litter.⁸

In short, the following extract from the *Jātaka*⁹ furnishes us with information as to how a village in ancient India was built up by the communal labour of its inhabitants : " In the village there were just thirty families, and one day the men were standing in the middle of the village transacting the affairs of the village. They doing good work, always in the company of the *Bodhisatta*, used to get up early and sally forth, with knives and axes and clubs in their hands. With their clubs they used to roll out of the way all stones that lay on the four highways and other roads of the village ; the trees that would strike against the axles of chariots, they cut down ; rough places they made smooth ; causeways they built ; they dug water tanks and built the hall ; they showed charity and kept the commandments. In this wise did the body of the villagers generally abide by the *Bodhisatta's* teaching and keep the commandments ".

The villages in ancient India were of three kinds : the ordinary agricultural village or mixed type, the special and suburban village or industrial type and the border village or frontier type. The first type consisted of those villages which were occupied by men of all castes and occupations and some of which were destined, in course of time, to grow into towns. The special and the suburban type was occupied solely by particular communities, and some of them specialised in a particular branch of industry.¹⁰

Thus there came to exist villages inhabited solely by people of different castes or social groups, such as villages of *Brāhmaṇas*,¹¹ *Caṇḍālas*,¹² hunters,¹³ robbers,¹⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 336 ; IV, p. 167 ; V, p. 412.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 277 ; III, p. 162 ; IV, p. 167.

³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 388.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, p. 149 ; IV, p. 326.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 240.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 194, 388.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 317 ; V, p. 103.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 199.

¹⁰ Sathosh Kumar Das, *Economic History of Ancient India*, (Calcutta 1944), p. 186.

¹¹ *J.*, I, 368 ; III, p. 293, IV, p. 276.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV, p. 200, 376, 390 ; VI, p. 156.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 36 ; IV, p. 413 ; V, p. 337 ; VI, p. 71.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 430.

carpenters,¹ smiths,² potters³ and weavers.⁴ The existence and growth of such caste-villages in the suburban areas were partly due to the policy of segregation adopted by the higher castes or the king with regard to the people of the lower castes, such as the *Caṇḍālas*, who were not allowed to live within the walls of the city.⁵

The third type, the Border Villages (*paccantagāma*), were situated in the frontier areas. These villages being far away from the centre of administration of the country, were normally inhabited by uncultured and unruly people such as robbers and bandits.⁶

Larger than the *Kula* and *Gāma* was a 'townlet' or *Nagaraka* of which the example cited is the famous Kusinārā, the place of the Buddha's death.⁷ *Nigama* is also the term for a townlet, as in the expression *Gāma Nigama* frequently found in Pāli literature. R. K. Mookerji says that there was of course no hard and fast line between the *Gāma* and the *Nigama*, village and town.⁸ But according to the *Vinayattha Mañjūsā*, *Nigama* is a market place which was not protected by a parapet wall.⁹ Hence *Nigama* was a settlement of merchants.¹⁰ On the other hand, when we look at the terms applied to denote different political divisions frequently found in Pāli literature such as *Gāma*, *Nigama*, *Rājadhāni*, it is obvious that *Nigama* was considered a higher unit than *Gāma* both in size and importance. Thus it is evident that there was a clear difference between the *Gāma* and the *Nigama*.

Some of these *Gāmas* and *Nigamas* gradually developed into towns. According to the *Jayaddisa Jātaka* a certain king made a settlement on a certain mountain, cultivated the area by clearing the jungles, and bringing a thousand families with much treasure, founded a big village. This village in course of time grew into a town, *Cullakammāsa* by name.¹¹ According to another *Jātaka* story the town of *Kammāssadhamma* also grew out of a village.¹²

Some of the towns were fortresses in the midst of a collection of villages and these fortresses grew into towns. The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*¹³

¹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 18, 405 ; IV, p. 159, 207, 344.

² *Ibid.*, III, p. 281.

³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 376.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 356.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 200, 376, 390 ; VI, p. 156.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 220.

⁷ *Dīgha.*, II, p. 146.

⁸ Mookerji, *Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 299-300.

⁹ The source is a later *Ṭikā*, not available in London.
Wimalakitti, Sinhalese Govt., p. 25.

¹⁰ *SBE.*, XIV, pp. 176-177.

¹¹ *J.*, V, p. 35.

¹² *Ibid.*, V, p. 511.

¹³ *Dīgha*, Vol., II, p. 220.

speaks of how Ajātasattu of Magadha built a fortress at Pāṭaligāma to check the advance of the Vajjis. This village and the fortress grew up into the town of Pāṭalīputra in the course of two generations.¹

These cities in ancient India were surrounded by walls and defended by a moat or even three moats, a water-moat, a mud-moat and a dry-moat.² In the *Paṇḍara Jātaka* it is said that one should keep a secret carefully guarded in his mind just as a city is strongly guarded by being girt round by deep moats.³ Another *Jātaka* refers to how a city was well-guarded by a parapet wall.⁴ The city of Kusāvati was surrounded by seven ramparts with four gates.⁵

The inner city was divided into different wards or streets specially meant for people of different castes and occupations. From the *Jātakas* we learn of the ivory-worker's street (*dantavithi*),⁶ the street for washermen (*rajakavithi*),⁷ the weavers' place⁸ and the *Vaiśya* quarter⁹ in Benaras, and of the florists' quarter (*upphalavithi*)¹⁰ and the cooks' quarter¹¹ in Sāvatti. Thus we see how people were segregated according to their castes and occupations in the cities in ancient India. We have, therefore, every reason to believe that when the pioneer Āryan colonists migrated to Ceylon they also brought with them the knowledge of the types and the characteristics of Indian village and urban settlements.

The movement which was started by pioneer Āryan colonists,¹² somewhere in the 5th century B.C., continued unabated. When the population increased both owing to the new immigrants from India and the local increase, the establishment of new settlements became still more necessary. An epigraphic record of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. indicates that four brothers jointly founded a village called Ariṭa : "The sons of the Mahamata Bamadata (namely) His Eminence Bahika, His Eminence Pusaguta, His Eminence Mita and His Eminence Tisa—by these (Chieftains) was founded the great village Ariṭa".¹³ Thus people began to build up villages wherever suitable in order to earn a comfortable living.

Place-names referred to in our sources both literary and epigraphic suggest that there were two forms of settlement, the village settlement (*gāma*) and the urban settlement (*nagara* or *pura*).

¹ V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th edition, p. 39.

² *J.*, No. 546.

³ *J.*, V, pp. 81-82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 538.

⁵ *Digha.*, Sinhalese edition, p. 105.

⁶ *J.*, I, p. 320.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 81.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 356.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 547.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 82.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 315, *Paccuppanna-Vatthu*.

¹² See, *Supra*, p. 101.

¹³ *EZ.*, I, p. 152.

The Village Settlement

The habitations of the people in the early stage of colonisation may have been the many hundreds of caves to be found on hills, mountains and rocks. The inscriptions above the drip-line on many such caves refer to their being given to Buddhist monks.¹ These inscriptions reveal that the caves were owned by people of different social standing both male and female such as *Parumakas*, *Batas*, *Gamaṇis*, *Gamikas*, *Gapatis*, and *Upasakas*. Some of these caves belonged to particular families including even grand-children.² This might suggest that not only ordinary people but also nobles owned caves converted into houses. The fact that the donors of caves, belonging to different strata of society, were in a position to donate their cave dwellings to the monks as soon as Buddhism came into Ceylon, encourages us to suppose that the custom of living in cave dwellings had already been changed to house-dwellings in villages. In other words, village life in Ceylon was fully developed by the time Buddhism was introduced in the 3rd century B. C.

This is supported by the word *gama* which occurs very frequently in both literary and epigraphic records assigned to this period. A cave inscription at Lenagala in Kāgalla District refers to a village called Amana belonging to a *Paṭaka* (*Brāhmaṇa*).³ Another inscription at Yaṭahalena in the same district contains a reference to another village named Upali.⁴ Yet another inscription of the same place speaks of a village called Dusatar.⁵ Three more villages, Nilaya, Salivaya and Cema are referred to in still another inscription found at Yaṭahalena.⁶ It is evident from this that by the time these records were inscribed the system of village settlement was fully developed in Ceylon.

Many names of villages occurring in the historical records may give a clue to their origin. A number of village names ending in— *Vāpi* such as *Sumanavāpi Gāma*,⁷ *Pelivāpikagāma*,⁸ *Vihāravāpigāma*,⁹ *Hundarivāpigāma*¹⁰ and *Kadahavāpigāma*,¹¹ suggest that there were 'tank villages' which were founded after the building of tanks. These names further suggest that the construction of tanks preceded the village settlements. The *Mahāvamsa* speaks of how Vasabha, one of the paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, made a settlement habitable by building a tank with the help of other villagers.¹²

¹ *EZ.*, I, pp. 10-39.

² See, *Supra*, p. 78.

³ *CJSG.*, II, p. 202, No. 615. For the interpretation of the term *paṭaka* see *Supra* 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 203, No. 618.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 203, No. 619.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204, No. 620.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXVIII, v. 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, v. 39.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXIII, v. 90 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 102.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXIII, v. 45 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 86.

¹¹ *EZ.*, III, p. 215.

¹² *Mv.*, XXIII, vv. 92-93.

According to the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, the availability of water was considered the most important factor for opening up a new settlement.¹ Where there was no river water easily available, large reservoirs were built in order to make the settlement habitable. Thus Anurādha² and Paṇḍukābhaya³ are considered to have started building tanks for the first time in the history of Ceylon. Thus the construction of tanks was the first step towards the opening up of village settlements in the second stage of the Āryan colonisation movement. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that all the 'tank villages' referred to above came into existence in this phase of colonisation.

Thus the village tank was the most important feature of the ancient village in Ceylon particularly in the Dry Zone areas. 'A village tank was nothing but a shallow sheet of water varying in size from two to three acres to more than one hundred, but commonly from twenty to fifty in area. On the low side of the tank a stretch of paddy fields, a couple of hundred of yards, a quarter of a mile, or half a mile long, or even more could be seen.'⁴

Such stretches of paddy fields are referred to in the inscriptions by the words *kubara*, *keta* and *viya*. In the Riṭigala Inscription reference is made to the dedication of *kubara* and *keta*.⁵ The Maha Situlpahuva Rock Inscription too refers to the donation of *kubara* and *keta*,⁶ for the maintenance of monks at Cittalapabbata Monastery. The Thūpārāma Slab Inscription of Gajabāhu I, refers to the word 'uta viya' which denotes the paddy field.⁷ Of these three, the word *kubara* is nothing but present day *kumbura* (field). *Viya* is equivalent to the word *kubara* as in the expression *uta-kubara* occurring in the Jetavanārāma Slab Inscription of Muḷu Tisa.⁸ Normally the word *keta* (P=*Khetta*) also means an ordinary field, just as *kubara*. But *khetta* in Pāli generally means a stretch of paddy fields. According to the *Rasavāhini* there was a *khetta* in Rohaṇa, of five hundred *karisas* (about 1,400 acres).⁹ The *Mahāvamsa* reports that Girikaṇḍa Siva cultivated a *khetta* of one hundred *karisas* (about 800 acres).¹⁰ According to the Rock Inscription at Situlpahuva a *keta* was donated by a king for the maintenance of monks at Cittala Pabbata Monastery.¹¹ It is also reported that there were twelve thousand resident monks in this monastery during this period.¹² It is therefore quite likely that the *keta* given to this monastery is not an ordinary *kubara*, but a large area of paddy fields.

¹ *MvT.*, p. 261.

² *Mv.*, IX, v. II.

³ *Ibid.*, X, vv. 85, 88.

⁴ Parker, *Village Folk Tales of Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 6.

⁵ *EZ.*, I, p. 148, No. 6.

⁶ *JRASCB.*, New Series, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 13.

⁷ *EZ.*, III, p. 116.

⁸ *EZ.*, III, p. 117.

⁹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 37.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, X, vv. 29-31.

¹¹ *JRASCB.*, New Series, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 133, No. 63.

¹² *Sammohavinodani*, p. 445.

In some of these villages the lake (*Vila*) served the purpose of the village tank. There is a reference to such a lake (*Vilake*) in the Majimagama near Cittalapabbata.¹

According to Arrian of the 1st century A. D. the houses in Indian villages were built of perishable material like wood and reeds.² Pliny, writing on the same period refers to the moderate height of houses in Ceylon.³ The latter account was based on information gathered from Ambassadors from Ceylon, who went to Rome during the time of Claudius (41-54 A. D.).

These villages were defended⁴ at least by fences against the wild beasts, because the forest was situated beyond the village boundary.⁵ There is no doubt that these forest belts were the common property of the whole village for all the villagers collected their firewood and other produce from them. Further these uncleared jungles were used as common grazing grounds or pastures for the herds of cattle belonging to the respective villages situated close to them.⁶ The residential quarters of monks were generally situated within the village but near the village boundary (*Gāmanta senāsana*).⁷ Sometimes ascetic monks used to live in the jungles near the villages,⁸ where it was convenient for them to go on their daily begging round in the adjoining village and meditate quietly.

Generally an ordinary village may have comprised a few families belonging to one particular caste or occupation. Thus some villages grew up on a communal basis and were named after the particular community or caste.

Both literary and epigraphic sources assigned to this period contain references to such villages. According to the *Mahāvamsa* there was a *Brāhmaṇa* village called Upatissa Gāma which was founded by Upatissa, the *Purohita* of Vijaya, on the bank of the Gambhīra river,⁹ to the North of Anurādhagāma. There was another *Brāhmaṇa* village called Paṇḍulagāma to the South of Anurādhapura.¹⁰ These references indicate that *Brāhmaṇas* arrived in Ceylon with the first Āryan settlers.¹¹

Both the *Mahāvamsa*¹² and the *Sāratthadīpanī*¹³ speak of another village belonging to a *Brāhmaṇa* named Tivakka, situated on the way to Anurādhapura from Jambukolapaṭṭana. This village is again referred to both in the *Mahāvamsa*¹⁴ and the

¹ JRASCB., New Series, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 133, No. 64.

² Mc. Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 174.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴ *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī*, see, *supra*, p. 267.

⁵ *Rsv.*, II, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Mv.*, VII, v. 44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, X, v. 20.

¹¹ See, *supra*, p. 33 ff.

¹² *Mv.*, XIX, v. 36.

¹³ *Sāratthadīpanī*, p. 157.

¹⁴ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 60.

*Samantapāsādikā*¹ as one of the eight leading villages where one of the eight Bo-saplings was planted during the reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa. Dvāramaṇḍalagāma, where the famous *Brāhmaṇa* Kuṇḍala lived, was situated near Cetiya Pabbata.² Epigraphic records, too, bear testimony to the existence of villages mainly occupied by the people of *Brāhmaṇa* caste.³ According to an account given in the *Mahāvamsa* King Mahāsena, having destroyed all the Hindu temples in a *Brāhmaṇa* village called Kalanda *Brāhmaṇa* Gāma, built three *vihāras*, Gokanna, Erakāpilla and Migagāma.⁴

In Rohaṇa there were two *Kṣatriya* villages, Kājaragāma⁵ and Candanaḡāma,⁶ during the reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa. According to the *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa* there was another *Kṣatriya* village near Mahiyaṅgana, where a *Kṣatriya* named Selābhaya the father of Saṅghabodhi⁷ used to live. Although there are no direct references to the *Kṣatriya* villages in the North, there is every reason to suppose that there were at least a few villages mainly occupied by the people of *Kṣatriya* caste, who were connected to the royal household at Anurādhapura.

Similarly there were certain villages occupied by *Caṇḍālas* alone. Both the *Mahāvamsa*⁸ and the *Mahābodhivamsa*⁹ refer to a *Caṇḍāla* Gāma situated to the North-West of the general cemetery in Anurādhapura. During the reign of Paṇḍukābhaya there were in this village one thousand *Caṇḍālas* who served the city of Anurādhapura in different capacities.¹⁰ According to the *Rasavāhini* there was another *Caṇḍāla* village close to the Dakkhina Cetiya in Anurādhapura during the reign of Sirināga, a *Brāhmaṇa* usurper.¹¹ The same work refers to another *Caṇḍāla* village in Anurādhapura during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.¹²

References are not wanting to show that there were villages occupied entirely by certain groups of people who followed different occupations. The *Mahāvamsa* *Ṭikā* refers to a Kumbhakāragāma (Potter's village) situated to the South of Anurādhapura during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.¹³ According to the *Sahasavattu*, Velusumana went to this particular village and obtained a large pot in order to take water from the Tissavāpi.¹⁴ According to a story given in the *Visuddhimagga*¹⁵ this village continued

¹ *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 100.

² *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 23.

³ See, *supra*, p. 31.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXXVII, vv. 40-41.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIX, v. 53.

⁶ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

⁷ *Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa*, p. 2.

⁸ *Mv.*, X, v. 93.

⁹ *Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 84.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, X, vv. 91-92.

¹¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 7.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, p. 117.

¹³ *MvT.*, p. 483.

¹⁴ *Sahasavattu*, p. 85.

¹⁵ *VSM.*, pp. 66-67.

as the settlement of potters even up to the time of Buddhaghosa. The story refers to a monk of the Thūpārāma who was seen going out from the Southern gate of Anurādhapura and taking the road towards *Kumbhakāragāma*. As this account agrees with that of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, there is no doubt that both works refer to the same village. It is therefore justifiable to suppose that this village was occupied purely by potters and continued as the supply centre of pots to the city of Anurādhapura for many centuries. The *Mahāvamsa* also refers to another village of potters, when a Tamil was the leader.¹ The *Sihalavatthu* speaks of a *Kumbhakāragāma* in Rohaṇa during the reign of Saddhā Tissa.²

The *Mahāvamsa Tikā* states that Asokamālā, the queen of Prince Sāli, in her previous birth was the daughter of the leading carpenter of a *Vaḍḍhakigāma* situated in the Western side of the city of Anurādhapura.³ The word *Vaḍḍhakī* seems to have been used as a common name to denote different groups of people connected with architectural work such as brick-making, etc., for we have references in the *Mahāvamsa* to both *Iṭṭhakavaḍḍhaki*⁴ and *Iṭṭhakavaḍḍhakigāma*.⁵ The *Vaḍḍhakigāma* may have been meant for all the craftsmen collectively known as *Vaḍḍhakīs*, irrespective of their work.

The Vessagiriya Rock Inscription of Sirināga II, refers to a tank of a village of jewellers (*Maṇikāragāma*).⁶ According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Candamukha Siva, the son of Ilanāga, built a tank in the *Maṇikāragāma* and donated it to the Issarassamaṇa Monastery.⁷ The *Sihalavatthu* speaks of a village of smiths (*Kaṇṇikāarakagāma*) and a village of agriculturists (*Kasikammakāarakagāma*).⁸ There was an industrial village (*Kammantagāma*) in Anurādhapura, which belonged to Mitta, the commander-in-chief of Eḷāra.⁹

It is recorded in the *Rasavāhīnī* that there was a village of cowherds (*Gopālagāma*) situated near a certain large village.¹⁰ This shows that even the cowherds formed themselves into a separate community and tried to lead a segregated life. Dr. Rāhula thinks that Dvāramaṇḍala, a village near Mihintale, was mainly composed of *Gopālakas*.¹¹ But according to the account given in the *Mahāvamsa*¹² it is not possible to arrive at such a conclusion. The *Mahāvamsa* says that when Paṇḍukābhaya was twelve years of age, his uncles, having come to know that the former was still alive, issued an order to kill all the *Gopālakas* living in that village. This does not

¹ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 14.

² *Sihalavatthu*, p. 12.

³ *MvT.*, p. 606.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXX, v. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXV, v. 109.

⁶ *EZ.*, IV, p. 222.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXXV, vv. 46-47.

⁸ *Sihalavatthu*, p. 12.

⁹ *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 4.

¹⁰ *Rsv.*, II, p. 22.

¹¹ *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 22.

¹² *Mv.*, X, vv. 12-17.

necessarily mean that all the inhabitants of that village were cowherds. It seems quite possible that when boys were about twelve, if they were not given education, they usually helped their parents or the other villagers by looking after the cattle, because cattle-rearing was one of the main sources of income in the past in those nucleated villages. Children of this age, unlike those of later times, had no schools to attend. Even today, in remote villages, while the elderly people go to the field children of twelve years or so, who do not attend schools, look after the herds of cattle either belonging to their own families or to other families of high social status.

Dvāramaṇḍala was one of the few fairly well-developed villages during the reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa. When Mattābhaya, the younger brother of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, entered the Order of monks after listening to a discourse preached by Mahinda, he was followed by five hundred each from the villages, Cetārigāma, Dvāramaṇḍala, Vihirabija, Gallakapīṭha and Upatissa.¹ It is quite unlikely that people of low social prestige such as *Gopālakas* had the courage to follow Mattābhaya at a time so soon after the arrival of Mahinda, when the caste system was well established in society, for we know that Devānaṃpiya Tissa invited particularly ladies of noble families to listen to the first sermon of Mahinda at Mahāmeghavāna.² The *Mahāvamsa* also contains a reference to a wealthy *Brāhmaṇa* named Kuṇḍala who lived in this village.³ It is very unlikely that such a person, receiving royal recognition,⁴ should live in a village mainly composed of low caste people like *Gopālakas*. The only reasonable interpretation, therefore, would be that Dvāramaṇḍala was not a *Gopālakaḡama*, but a mixed village. Our sources also furnish us with information as to the existence of fishing villages (*kevaṭṭagāma*) during this period.⁵ Thus there were two types of villages, that composed of people of different social grades and that mainly occupied by people of one particular caste or occupation.

The frequent occurrence of the words *Gāmaṇi* and *Gamika* in a large number of epigraphic records of this period suggests that the village system was well organised at least from the 3rd century B. C. onwards. We have seen earlier⁶ that unlike in India, these two words have been used in Ceylon to denote two different groups of people in the field of administration. But the Ceylon *Gamika*, however, was the same as the Indian *Gāmika*, village headman. The information that can be gathered from our sources regarding the functions and powers exercised by the *Gamika* in Ceylon is very meagre.

An epigraphic record assigned to about the 1st century A. D. found at Nuvara-kanda in the Devamedī Hatpattu, Kurunāgala District, contains a reference to ' *Gamika Kaṇṭisaha Baḍakarika Anurāda lene* ', the cave of Anurādhā, the treasurer

¹ *Mv.*, XVII, vv. 57-60.

² *DV.*, XIII, v. 14.

³ *Mv.*, XXIII, vv. 23-24.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXIII, vv. 23-34.

⁵ *Rsv.*, II, p. 107 : *Mahājallikam nāma kevaṭṭagāman.*

⁶ See, *supra*, p. 54.

of the village headman Kaṇṭhisa.¹ The fact that the village headman employed a treasurer shows that one of his main functions was to collect the revenue from the village on behalf of the king. This is corroborated by another reference in the Jetavanārāma Inscription of Mulu Tisa (c. 229–247 A. D.)² to “*Bojiya-Patiya*” (Skt. *Bhojika Prāptika*), ‘the income accruing to the *Gāmabhojaka*, village headman.’ Reference to the village headman by the word “*bhojika*” is also found in an inscription assigned to the 3rd century B. C.³ According to the *Rasavāhini*⁴ and the *Sahassavatthu*⁵ Velusumana is said to have been brought up by the headman of the village called Giri (Giribhojaka). It is evident from this that the word *Gāmabhojaka* was used as a synonym of *Gamika* to denote one and the same person, the village headman.

Gamika or *Gāmabhojaka* was the head of the village administration. It is evident from the *Jātaka* commentary that the *Gāmabhojaka* exercised both judicial and executive powers over the affairs of the village. Thus one *Gāmabhojaka* prohibited the killing of animals within his jurisdiction and stopped the sale of intoxicating drinks.⁶ Another *Gāmabhojaka* fined a fisherman’s wife for stirring up a quarrel and she was tied up and beaten to make her pay the fine.⁷ Not only did he maintain peace and order in the village, but also he acted as the guardian of the villagers. Once when crops failed in a village owing to famine, the headman distributed food to the village on promise of receiving a share of their next crops.⁸

Although he enjoyed substantial power over village administration, he had to exercise it in accordance with the existing customs and traditions of the villagers. In other words he had no power to abuse the rights of the villagers. As we have seen earlier,⁹ the village headman had to bow down to the common opinion of the village elders in matters of imposing new laws regarding the village affairs. This encourages us to suppose that there was a democratic form of administration, at least in nucleus, in these villages. As the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā* written in Sinhalese was handed down from generation to generation for nearly nine centuries before it was translated into Pāli, it is reasonable to believe that this system of village administration and the functions and powers of the *Gāmabhojaka*, depicted in it, may have been known to the early Sinhalese in Ceylon during our period of survey.

The Urban Settlement

When the village settlements grew in number, some of them gradually developed into towns or cities (*nagara* or *pura*) during this period. It is difficult to say precisely

¹ *CJSG.*, II, p. 127, No. 532.

² *EZ.*, I, pp. 152–159.

³ Parker, *AC.*, p. 253.

⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p. 98.

⁵ *SV.*, p. 83.

⁶ *J.*, IV, p. 115.

⁷ *J.*, I, p. 483.

⁸ *J.*, II, p. 134.

⁹ See, *supra*, p. 53.

under what circumstances these villages formed themselves into towns. But there is no doubt that the ever increasing population, closer contact with foreign countries, both cultural and commercial, and the rapid development in political and religious activities were important factors which led to the growth of urban settlements. Thus it can be inferred that some of these settlements grew up as commercial centres in the neighbourhood of sea-ports while others grew up as political and religious centres in the interior.

Ptolemy's Geography¹ of the second century A. D. gives a reasonable account of the trade and marts of the time in Ceylon. This work refers to the existence of eleven towns and the marts in the Island.² In the previous century Pliny refers³ to the existence of five hundred towns in Ceylon. This no doubt is an exaggeration, though the information was obtained from ambassadors from Ceylon to Rome.

The Ceylon Chronicles and other literary sources often refer to a number of ports of which Mahā Tittha was considered the most ancient. When the king of Paṇḍu sent wives for Vijaya and his followers along with one thousand families of eighteen guilds to Ceylon, they landed at Mahātittha (now Mantai).⁴ According to another manuscript of the *Mahāvamsa*,⁵ by the time they arrived in Ceylon the neighbourhood of this port was a village settlement, for it was then called *Mahātittha Paṭṭanagāma*. Seven days after the cremation of Eḷāra, Bhalluka, his nephew, disembarked at Mahātittha with a powerful army of sixty thousand soldiers, proceeded towards Anurādhapura and encamped in the Kolambahālaka village.⁶ During the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, seven Tamils from South India landed at Mahātittha with strong forces and marched towards Anurādhapura.⁷ It is to be noted here that the omission of the word *Gāma* in this reference which simply mentions the word Mahātittha is very significant. This probably means that the characteristics of an ordinary village had disappeared from this place by this time. In other words, it had developed into an urban settlement.

Through this famous sea-port cultural relations between India and Ceylon were strengthened. During the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, when the Brāhmaṇatissa famine was over, the *Bhikkhus* who went to India disembarked on their return journey at Mahātittha.⁸ According to the *Sahassavatthu*, a group of pilgrim monks went to India, taking ship from Mahātittha.⁹ References are not wanting to show that commercial relationships with foreign countries also developed largely through this port. According to the *Rasavāhini*, there was a merchant named Nandi, in

¹ *The Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, ed. and trans., E. L. Stevenson (New York 1932), pp. 158-519.

² *Ibid.*, p. 158.

³ *Pliny*, VI, 22.

⁴ *Mv.*, VII, v. 58.

⁵ *Mv.*, Buddhadatta Eddition, p. 48, D. 58.

⁶ *Mv.*, XXV, vv. 79-80.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, v. 39.

⁸ *Sammohavinodani*, I, p. 448.

⁹ *Sahassavatthu*, p. 36.

Mahātīttha, who carried on export and import trade with foreign countries by means of a fleet of ships.¹ The *Sahassavatthu* speaks of another resident merchant of Mahātīttha, who went to the interior of the country to sell his goods and returned after a while.² It is obvious from this that Mahātīttha had grown up into a well developed commercial centre during this period.

The *Mahāvamsa Tikā* states that Vasabha built the Kohāla tank near *Mahātītthapaṭṭana*.³ No doubt he built this tank to meet the ever-growing needs of an increasing population of this place. The fact that Mahātītthapaṭṭana was thickly populated during this period can also be adduced from another reference. According to the *Rasavāhīni* there was a common cemetery for the entire city by the name *Mahātīttha Susāna*, where many burning funeral pyres and unburied corpses cast on it could be seen every day.⁴ Thus we can see how the village *Mahātītthapaṭṭanagāma* gradually developed into a famous commercial centre inhabited mainly by merchants.

There is also sufficient evidence to show that this commercial centre before long became one of the most important provincial administrative centres in Ceylon. The *Rasavāhīni* refers to a minister named Siva who was appointed Governor of this place.⁵

The Mannar Kaccari Pillar Inscription also refers to an officer who was in charge of this port as *Mahapuṭu laddan*.⁶ It is evident from this that political importance was attached to this place as late as the 9th century A. D.

The *Rasavāhīni* also records the splendour of Mahātīttha as follows : " At that time the king appointed one of his ministers, named Siva, as the Governor of Māhātīttha. The minister having got all the streets properly cleaned and decorated beautifully and having caused flags and banners to fly on the buildings, mounted on a beautifully decorated chariot accompanied by a powerful army of soldiers, and made a state drive along the streets encircling the entire Mahāpaṭṭana."⁷ From this it is obvious that *Mahātītthapaṭṭana* had developed to the status of a city with well arranged streets. There were in this city storeyed buildings with attractive balconies (*alankatapāsāda tale*).⁸ This also shows that many of the inhabitants of this city were rich people, mostly belonging to the merchant class.

The *Rasavāhīni* also reports how the wife of the merchant referred to above, having decked herself with all kinds of precious ornaments, watched the state drive of the newly appointed Governor, from the balcony of her house with a retinue of female

¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 139.

² *Sahassavatthu*, p. 126.

³ *MvT.*, p. 653.

⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p. 142.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁶ *EZ.*, III, p. 113.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 139.

⁸ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

slaves.¹ This undoubtedly shows the status and the comforts enjoyed by the average citizen of this town. Thus we can see that the place had all the necessary characteristics of a city.

But it is to be noted that Mahātittha is not referred to anywhere in our sources as *Nagara* or *Pura*. It is referred to as Mahātitthapaṭṭana. According to the *Jātaka* the word *Paṭṭana* means 'town, city or port'.² In Tamil too *Paṭṭanam* means town,³ and the word is probably originally dravidian. It is therefore most likely that *Mahātitthapaṭṭana* was an urban settlement mainly occupied by Tamils, for otherwise the several waves of Tamil invasion referred to above⁴ could not have landed here so freely as they did.

Literary and epigraphic records also bear testimony to this fact. According to the *Dāṭhāvamsa* there was a Hindu shrine at this place during the reign of Śrī Meghavarna (352-379 A. D.).⁵ The inscription on the stone canoe at Anurādhapura assigned to the last quarter of the 10th century A. D.,⁶ refers to the word 'Mahavuṭu' (probably derived from *Mahāpaṭṭana*) as another name for Mahātittha, the modern Tirukētisvaram near Mannar.⁷ This inscription states that "we all of us, who receive rations at this *Mahāpāli*, have given our shares of rice for the new works being carried out at the *Stūpa* of the Jetavana Monastery. Those who violate this shall take (upon themselves) the sins committed by (all) the inhabitants of the Island. (They also) shall incur the sins committed by a killer of goats at Mahavuṭu (Mahātittha)."⁸ Another inscription at Kataragama assigned to the first quarter of the 10th century A. D.⁹ refers to this sea-port as *Mahavoṭi*. This inscription states that "the householders in this village shall not be impressed for service. *Getaḍ* should not be levied. Should this command be infringed by any they shall take upon themselves the sins committed by a killer of cows at Mahavoti".¹⁰ From these imprecations it is obvious that Mahātittha was considered, at this time, to be a place of unusual sanctity and a sin committed there very heinous. It seems to have been held as a sacred place rather by the Hindus than by the Buddhists.¹¹ Thus we see how the village settlement of Mahātittha gradually grew into a commercial and administrative centre and a sacred place of the Hindus in course of time.

¹ *Ibid.* loc. cit.

² *J.*, I, p. 121 ; IV, pp. 16, 137 ; V, p. 75.

³ Carter, *Sin. Eng. Dictionary*, p. 349.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 116.

⁵ *Dāṭhāvamsa*, Canto 5, V, I, p. 35. "Paṭṭanam otarivā devālaye paṭivasimsu manobhīrāme.

⁶ *EZ.*, III, p. 132.

⁷ *Ceylon Antiquary*, Vol. X, p. 133, cf. *Rājaratnākaraya*, p. 50, "Ikbiti Sumitrādi Rājakumāravarun nāngāvū nāv ekaviṭama mahavaṭupatun tota vatuyeya".

⁸ *EZ.*, III, p. 133.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Jambukola in Jaffna Peninsula also was another important port with foreign connections, especially with the port of Tāmalitti in Bengal.¹ The branch of the *Bodhi* Tree was brought by ship to this port and from there was taken to Anurādhapura.² Devānaṃpiya Tissa's first goodwill mission to Asoka, headed by his nephew, Mahā Aritṭha, embarked from Jambukola and landed at Tāmalitti in seven days.³ They also returned after five months by the same route with Asoka's gift of second *Abhiśeka* for Devānaṃpiya Tissa.⁴

Devānaṃpiya Tissa's second deputation also, led by one of his ministers, Aritṭha by name, sailed from Jambukolapaṭṭana⁵ and disembarked at Tāmalitti. The *Mahāvamsa Tikā* also refers to this place as Jambukolapaṭṭana.⁶ There was a high-road from the Northern gate of Anurādhapura to Jambukolapaṭṭana.⁷ It is evident from these references that there was an important commercial town in the neighbourhood of this sea-port during this period.

All this evidence shows us that from the 3rd century B. C. onwards Jambukolapaṭṭana became more important than any other port so far as the cultural and commercial relations with Northern India were concerned. It is also reasonable to infer that not only the area adjoining Jambukolapaṭṭana developed into a well organised commercial town, but also it was occupied mainly by Buddhists, for this was considered an important place of Buddhism during this period.

According to the *Sammohavinodanī*, during the Brāhmanatissa famine, when the *Bhikkhus* wanted to go over to India, they assembled at Nāgadīpa and took ship at Jambukolapaṭṭana.⁸ Further, according to the *Samantapāsādikā*, when the Thera Tissadatta came from India to Ceylon, he too disembarked at the same port.⁹ Both the *Mahāvamsa*¹⁰ and the *Samantapāsādikā*¹¹ inform us that there was a monastic centre in this city called *Jambukola Vihāra*. This *Vihāra* was so well known among the Buddhists as a pilgrim centre that even the people from Yonaraṭṭha came to worship the *Cetiya* in this *Vihāra*.¹² According to both the *Rasavāhīnī*¹³ and the *Sahassavatthu*,¹⁴ there were many hundreds of resident monks in Nāgadīpa. It

¹ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 6.

² *Ibid.*, XIX, vv. 22, 38 ; *SMP.*, I, p. 98.

³ *Ibid.*, XI, vv. 20-23.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, vv. 28-38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII, v. 7.

⁶ *MvT.*, p. 402.

⁷ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 24.

⁸ *Sammohavinodanī*, p. 446.

⁹ *SMP.* (Sin. ed.), II, p. 377.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, XX, v. 25.

¹¹ *SMP.* (Sin. ed.), II, p. 377.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 377.

¹³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 38.

¹⁴ *Sahassavatthu*, p. 56.

should also be noted here that one of the eight Bo-saplings sprung up from the seeds of the sacred Bodhi Tree was planted here.¹ All this evidence shows how this place grew up into a commercial centre and a sacred city of Buddhism.

Some of the other ports and trading centres in the coastal region around the Island also undoubtedly formed important urban settlements. An epigraphic record assigned to about the 2nd century A. D., found on a rock in a ruined monastery near the seashore at Goḍavaya in the Māgampattu, Hambantota District, refers to a grant made to the monastery by a king named Gāmaṇi Abaya, of the customs duties from the sea-port of *Goḍapavata*.² Thus it is probable that the first urban settlements of Ceylon grew up along the sea coast as commercial centres.

Village settlements, when transformed for political purposes into administrative centres, were called *Pura* or *Nagara*; thus Anurādhagāma,³ Tambapaṇṇi, and Upatissagāma later became Anurādhapura,⁴ Tambapaṇṇi Nagara⁵ and Upatissa Nagara.⁶ Thus the administrative centres formed important urban settlements during the period under survey. It is strange that the Chronicles do not mention any provincial urban settlements where petty rulers exercised their administrative functions. But some of the pre-Christian cave inscriptions contain references to the existence of such settlements in different parts of the country.

Reference is made to a town called Nilaya (*Nilaya Nagarasi*) in an inscription assigned to the period from the 3rd century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., found at Yaṭahaleṇa Vihāra in the Kāgalla District.⁷ Another inscription of the same period found at Lenagala Vihāra in the same District refers to a town named Batasa (*Batasa Nagarasi*).⁸ An inscription assigned to about the 2nd century A.D., found at Āndāgala Vihāra in the Kurunāgala District, refers to a city called *Ratavahanaka* and a monastery of the same name.⁹ A provincial ruler by the name of Rocinagaraja (one who was born of Rocinagara) is mentioned in another inscription near Teldeniya.¹⁰ Still another inscription speaks of a local ruler, of Mahiyaṅgana named Siva.¹¹

Yet another inscription ascribed to 2nd and 1st c. B.C., found at Bovattegala, in the extreme South of Ceylon, contains a reference to a ruling family of ten brothers (*Dasabhātikarāja*).¹² The names of these settlements ending with the word *Nagara*

¹ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 59.

² *CJSG.*, II, p. 197, No. 586.

³ *Mv.*, VII, vv. 43-45.

⁴ *DV.*, IX, v. 35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, v. 34.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, v. 36.

⁷ *CJSG.*, II, p. 204, No. 620.

⁸ *CJSG.*, II, p. 202, No. 615.

⁹ *CJSG.*, II, p. 212, No. 662.

¹⁰ *ASCAR.*, for 1935, p. 110.

¹¹ *ASCAR.*, for 1952, p. G 33.

¹² *CJSG.*, II, pp. 99-100.

and other places where ruling families used to live, no doubt, were small administrative centres spread all throughout the country though it is difficult to ascertain their actual formation.

According to the Chronicles there were two urban settlements during the legendary period of Ceylon history. Of these two, Tambapañṇi was the first town where Vijaya resided and governed his Kingdom.¹ The *Dipavaṃsa* states that this town of Tambapañṇi was built by Vijaya on the most excellent river-bank, in the South, with suburbs all round.² The second town was Upatissa Nagara. This was built by the *Purohita* Upatissa, and had well arranged markets, opulent, prosperous, extensive, beautiful and charming.³ After the death of Vijaya, the capital of Ceylon was transferred from Tambapañṇi to Upatissa Nagara⁴ and continued there up to the time of Paṇḍukābhaya. It was the Prince Paṇḍukābhaya who built the city of Anurādhapura⁵ on the site of Anurādhagāma founded by Anurādhā.⁶

Of all the settlements referred to above no city has such a wealth of information in the Chronicles as Anurādhapura. This flourished for nearly nine centuries after Christ in all its splendour, but was chiefly a religious and administrative centre.

Paṇḍukābhaya in building up this city first of all fortified it by a parapet wall with four gates (*dvāra*), the outside of which he laid out four suburbs (*dvāragāma*).⁷ He also built near the Western gate a tank called Abhayavāpi, a common cemetery (*Mahāsusāna*), a place of execution (*Āghātanaṃ*) and a chapel for a goddess named the "Western Queen" and established the banyan tree of the Vessavaṇa and the palmyra tree of the *Vyādhadeva*. Separate places were also set for the Yonas and for the great sacrifices.⁸ Different classes of people were allocated different quarters, outside the city. It appears that the municipal organisation of this city was highly advanced. There were five hundred scavengers of the *Caṇḍāla* Class, two hundred for cleaning the sewers, one hundred and fifty for removing dead bodies from the city and another one hundred and fifty as cemetery watchers.⁹

All these *Caṇḍālas* were settled in a separate village to the North-West of the common cemetery.¹⁰ To the North-East of this village, a cemetery called *Nicasusāna* was established exclusively for the *Caṇḍālas*.¹¹

¹ *DV.*, IX, v. 31 ; *Mv.*, VII, v. 39.

² *Ibid.*, IX, v. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, IX, v. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, vv. 4-5.

⁵ *Mv.*, X, v. 76.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, v. 43.

⁷ *Ibid.*, X, v. 88.

⁸ *Ibid.*, X, vv. 88-90.

⁹ *Mv.*, X, vv. 91-92.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, X, v. 93.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X, v. 94.

To the North of this cemetery, in between two rocky mountains, residential quarters were built for the hunters.¹ In the area between this place and the Gāmaṇī tank a hermitage was built for the ascetics of various denominations.² A residence for *Nigaṇṭha* Jotiya was built to the North of *Nicasusāna*.³ In this locality another *Nigaṇṭha* named Giri and many other recluses were also settled and *Nigaṇṭha* Kumbhaṇḍa was provided with a separate hermitage.⁴ The locality to the West of this and to the East of the hunters' quarters, was allocated for five hundred families of heretical beliefs.⁵ He also built a hermitage for *Paribbājakas* between Jotiya's temple and the Gāmaṇī tank,⁶ and residences for *Ājivakas* and *Brāhmaṇas* were also built there.⁷ Here and there in this city he also built the *Sivikāsālā*⁸ and the *Sotthisālā*.⁹

To the East of the city he built a suitable dwelling for the *Yakkha* Kāvela and another for Cittarāja below the Abhaya tank.¹⁰ The *Yakkhiṇṭ* named Valavāmukhī who used to live near the Southern gate of the city, was provided with a permanent residence inside the city near the king's palace.¹¹ Having thus organised the city, he appointed his uncle Abhaya to the post of guardian of the city (*Nagaraguttika*).¹²

According to the *Mahāvamsa* the *Nagaraguttika* was the person who was in charge of the administration of the city during the night (*ratti-rajjam*).¹³ *The Mahāvamsa Tikā* also states that the *Nagaraguttika* is the person whose duty it was to protect and administer (*rakkhāvaranagutti*) the city during the night.¹⁴ Dr. Rahula thinks that he was perhaps the prototype of the mayor of later times.¹⁵ But this interpretation does not seem to be quite correct.

The *Chavaka Jātaka*¹⁶ speaks of a *Nagaraguttika* who was only a town sentinel. According to the *Kanavera Jātaka*¹⁷ when a dangerous robber made the city unsafe,¹⁷ the residents went to the king with the request that he should arrest the great robber (*mahācoraṇ*), upon which the king charged his *Nagaraguttika* with the arrest and execution of this man. In the *Sulasā Jātaka*, the person who arrested the thief who

¹ *Ibid.*, X, v. 95.

² *Ibid.*, X, 96.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 97.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vv. 98-99.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 100.

⁶ *Mv.*, v. 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 102.

⁸ See, *Infra*, p. 374.

⁹ See, *Infra*, p. 374.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, X, v. 84.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, X, vv. 85-86.

¹² *Ibid.*, v. 8.

¹³ *Ibid.* v. 8.

¹⁴ *MvT.*, p. 293.

¹⁵ Rahula, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 17.

¹⁶ *J.*, III, p. 30.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, p. 59.

broke into houses in the night was a *Nagaraguttika*.¹ According to the *Bandhanāgāra Jātaka* it was the *Nagaraguttika* who arrested the *Bodhisatta* who was trying to escape at midnight from this house (*atha imaṃ nagaraguttikā aggahesuṃ*).² In this reference the plural form *Nagaraguttikā* is very significant. This clearly shows that there were more than one *Nagaraguttika* to watch over the city during the night. In the past, as today, there could not have been more than one mayor of any city, whatever its extent. Further, it was not the duty of the mayor to catch robbers in the night. The *Milindapañha* also says that the meditative monk should keep himself awake during the whole night by standing, sitting and walking in the same way as the *Nagaraguttika* does.³ Further, the *Atthasālinī* explains the term *Nagaraguttika* as follows : “Nagaraguttika is the person who having sat in the centre of the city where four roads meet, examines all those who enter the city during the night as to whether they are outsiders or the inhabitants of the city.”⁴ These references prove that *Nagaraguttika*'s functions in no way resembled those of the mayor of later times. It is therefore most probable that the *Nagaraguttika* was an officer whose duties resembled those of a modern police officer of high rank.⁵

The plan of the city of Anuradhapura cannot be ascertained from the account given in the *Mahāvamsa* alone. But this can be seen clearly from archaeological excavations⁶ and the description given in the *Mahāvamsa*.⁷ According to the *Mahāvamsa* it was Devānaṃpiya Tissa who planned this city, allocating different sites for religious buildings of varied nature.⁸ Thus he developed it predominantly as a religious centre.

Archaeological evidence shows two sections of the city, the inner Citadel (*Antopura*) and the outer city (*Bahinagara* or *Bahipura*). The area of the inner Citadel contains the king's palace and probably residential quarters of other officers. All these buildings were constructed of wood or bricks, laid in mud. No durable buildings have been excavated in this city. There were four gates, facing the cardinal directions, and connected by four main roads,⁹ perhaps leading to four great sea-ports, *Mahātitttha* in the North-West, *Jambukolapaṭṭana* in the North, *Gonagāmapaṭṭana* (on the Eastern coast) and the sea-port at the mouth of *Mahākandara* river (probably in the North).¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 436.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 140.

³ *Milinda*, p. 345.

⁴ *Atthasālinī, Samuddesakathā Vaṇṇanā*, 'cittaṃ'.

⁵ *P T S. Dictionary*.

⁶ *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Vols. I & III.

⁷ *Mv.*, XX, vv. 10-28.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Mv.*, XV, vv. 1, 3, 11 ; XVI, v. 4 ; IX, v. 24.

¹⁰ *Rahula, Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 21.

The monasteries and other religious buildings were situated to the North and South of the Citadel.¹ The ruins of the Mahavihara, the famous centre of Buddhist learning with an international repute, can be seen in the South. The remains of the buildings of Uttaravihara, the famous rival school of the Mahāvihāra, was situated to the North of the Citadel. The ruins of the four *Dvāragāmas*² at the entrance to the four gates of the city also can be seen in this site. In these *Dvāragāmas* there were four market places (*Niyama*=P. *Nigama*). The Tonigala Rock Inscription of Sri Meghavarna, the son of Mahāsena, informs us that there was a market town called *Kalahumana* in the North of the area included within the city of Anurādhapura.³ Paranavitana also says that "an unpublished rock inscription at Labuāṭabāṇḍigala, which begins "*Nakarahi pajimapasahi Mahatubaka niyatatanhi*" shows that a similar market town named *Mahatubaka* existed in the East. Perhaps, there were such *Nigamas* in the West and the South of the municipal area."⁴

The archaeological evidence is not inconsistent with the literary, and shows that the plan of this city which was by tradition established by Paṇḍukābhaya in an area of sixteen *yojanas* in circumference,⁵ was not altered either by Devānampiya Tissa or by any other subsequent ruler. The only thing they did was the addition of some magnificent monuments to the city. For example, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built Ruvanvāli Dāgāba and Lovāpāsāda;⁶ in the North of the city, Abhayagiri was built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (88-77 B.C.).⁷ Mahasena (274-302 A.D.) built the Jetavanārāma to the North of the city.⁸ Thus the evolution of Anurādhagāma into Anurādhapura took place both as the capital of the Island and a religious city and it continued to flourish in its full splendour during our period of survey.

Closely connected with the administrative centres, particularly with the capital city, was the fortress towns. When the kingdom of Anurādhapura fell into the hands of Eḷāra (2nd century B.C.),⁹ it appears that he built defensive fortresses at every strategic point to protect his kingdom from the Sinhalese rulers operating from *Māgama*. Both according to the *Mahāvamsa*¹⁰ and the *Rasavāhini*¹¹ there were twenty-four fortresses constructed along the *Mahāvāligaṅga*. These fortresses were, no doubt, merely outposts. In between these and Anurādhapura there was a real fortress town called Vijitapura.

¹ *Memoirs of Archeological Survey of Ceylon*, Vol. 1, pp. 8-27.

² *Dāṭhāvamsa*, ch. v., p. 36.

³ *EZ.*, III, p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

⁵ *Rājaratnākara* (Colombo 1907), p. 5.

⁶ *Mv.*, Chap. 30 & 31.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXXIII, v. 82.

⁸ *Mv.*, XXXVII, v. 33.

⁹ See, *Infra*, p. 156.

¹⁰ *Milinda*, p. 345.

¹¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 98.

This city was surrounded by a strong parapet wall of eighteen cubits in height,¹ and defended by three moats (*tiparikham*), a dry-moat, a mud-moat and a water-moat.² There were four gates,³ which were made out of wrought iron, difficult for enemies to destroy.⁴ Above the four gates there were four *gopuras* (a tower like structure) where hundreds of soldiers guarded the fortress day and night.⁵

In the area between Vijitapura and Anurādhapura there was another fortress town called Mahela Nagara.⁶ According to the *Rasavāhini*, this city also was defended by a parapet wall sixteen cubits in height and by three moats, as was in the case of Vijitapura. In addition to the *Gopuras*, there were *Aṭṭālas* in this city.⁷ *Aṭṭālaka* was the gate-structure projecting from the wall right and left of the actual gateway, manned in case of emergency by soldiers who could defend the entrance from both sides.⁸ This fortress, unlike Vijitapura, had only one gate made of iron.⁹ The fact that it took four months to destroy each of these cities,¹⁰ shows how strongly fortified they were during the reign of Eḷāra. In the area between Mahela Nagara and Anurādhapura there were 32 other fortresses of similar strength.¹¹ Our sources do not furnish us with any detailed information about these. But the *Rasavāhini* says that on the day Duṭṭhagāmaṇi captured Anurādhapura, Dāṭhāsena, one of the paladins of the former, destroyed thirty two fortresses lying between two mountains.¹² It is evident from this that they were not the fortresses of the kind of Vijitapura or Mahela Nagara, but mere check points situated between Mahela Nagara and Anurādhapura.

During this period Māgama was another important urban settlement situated in the Southern Kingdom of Rohaṇa. According to the *Mahāvamsa* it was Mahānāga, the younger brother of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, who established this settlement in the 3rd century B.C.¹³ This was the capital of the Rohaṇa Kingdom for four generations up to Kākavaṇṇa Tissa. From this centre of administration, Kākavaṇṇa Tissa extended his sway as far as Dīghavāpi in the North-East and Kalyāṇi in the West,¹⁴ and brought it to the supreme position in the South.

¹ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 28 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 72.

² *Ibid. loc. cit.*

³ *Mv.*, XXIV, v. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXV, v. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXV, v. 30 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 72.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXV, v. 48 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 105.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 105.

⁸ Geiger, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 58.

⁹ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 49.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, XXV, vv. 47, 49 ; *Rsv.* II, p. 73.

¹¹ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 75 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 106.

¹² *Rsv.*, II, p. 106.

¹³ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 8.

¹⁴ *HC.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 148-150.

The plan of this city also may have been similar to that of Anurādhapura, for Mahānāga at the time of his flight was the *Uparāja* and may have been well acquainted with the arrangements of the city of Anurādhapura. It is reasonable to suppose that he built this city on the same pattern. According to the *Sihalavatthu* there was a well-known *Cetiya* near the Western gate (*pacchimadvāra*) of Mahāgāma.¹ This suggests that this city also had well arranged streets for people of different social grades. The *Sahassavatthu* speaks of a *Maṅgalavīthi* (auspicious street) in this city.² This was probably the street leading to the palace, and where the residential quarters of Government officials were situated. A section of this city was known as Rājagāma (Royal village) where Kākavaṇṇa Tissa used to give alms to thousands of monks every day.³ The *Sihalavatthu* also speaks of a Mahāvihāra in Mahāgāma, where there were twelve thousand resident monks.⁴ It is most likely that this was the monastery situated in the Rājagāma referred to in the *Sahassavatthu*. Perhaps it was situated in the Royal village (Rājagāma) not far from the palace.

We have seen earlier⁵ that most of the *kutumbikas* of Rohaṇa, at that time, lived in Mahāgāma. Thus it can be well inferred that the average inhabitants of this city were generally well-to-do people both economically and socially. People of low social prestige may generally have been forbidden to reside inside the city. The *Sihalavatthu* tells us of a goldsmith who lived outside the city of Mahāgāma.⁶ On the whole the people of Rohaṇa and particularly those of Mahāgāma were noted for their piety.

There were a few other places in the Southern kingdom which assumed the characteristics of urban settlements owing to the political activities of the local rulers who lived there for a short period. The most noted of such settlements were Kalyāṇī, Giri Nagara, and Śeru.⁷

¹ *Sihalavatthu*, p. 104.

² *Sv.*, p. 53.

³ *Sv.*, p. 80.

⁴ *SIHV.*, p. 165.

⁵ See, *supra*, p. 48.

⁶ *SIHV.*, p. 107.

⁷ *HC.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 148.

CHAPTER SEVEN

OCCUPATIONS

As the social stratification of early Ceylon was based on occupation, the professional life of the people during this period must be discussed. This is dealt with under (a) agriculture and cattle-rearing, (b) trade, (c) intellectual professions, (d) military occupations, and (e) cottage industries and crafts.

The fact that the early Āryan colonists who came from India opened up new settlements in areas where river water was easily available¹ is clear evidence to show that they were an agricultural people. When the ever increasing population began to spread throughout the country, storage of water became an urgent necessity, particularly in areas where no river water was easily available. This primary need was met with by the building of tanks in large numbers by kings and nobles.² The *Mahāvamsa* incidentally refers to the construction of such tanks by particular kings.³ A few inscriptional records of the period also refer to some of these tanks.⁴ The names of a few villages also imply that they were located near tanks.⁵

The evolution of the system of irrigation during this period will not be discussed here.⁶ But in order to understand the importance attached to agricultural activities, at least the foremost tank builders of the period are worth mentioning.

Three kings of this period are well known as tankbuilders. Saddhātissa is credited with the construction of 18 tanks.⁷ These are not referred to by name. But according to the *Pūjāvaliya* it was Saddhātissa who built the famous Padaviya Vāva.⁸ The next king known as a tank-builder was Vasabha. According to the *Mahāvamsa* he built eleven tanks and twelve canals.⁹ The *Pūjāvaliya* refers to the number of tanks built by Vasabha as sixteen, all of which are named.¹⁰ The *Rājāvaliya* agrees with the *Pūjāvaliya* only with regard to the names, but it gives the grand total as twelve.¹¹ Whatever the discrepancies that occur in these sources as to their exact number, it is certain that Vasabha built many tanks.

¹ *MvT.*, p. 261.

² See, *Infra*, p. 133.

³ *Mv.*, XXXIV, vv. 32-33 ; XXXV, vv. 5, 94 ; XXXVI, vv. 3-6 ; XXXVI, v. 130 ; XXXVII, vv. 47-50.

⁴ *EZ.*, I, pp. 66-74, No. 6 ; pp. 208-211, No. 18 ; pp. 252-256, No. 22.

⁵ See, *supra*, p. 102.

⁶ For a detail account of the irrigation system in early Ceylon, see, *JRAS.* (CB) New Series, Vol. VII, pp. 43-52.

⁷ *Rjv.*, p. 44.

⁸ *Pjv.*, p. 723.

⁹ *Mv.*, XXXV, vv. 84-94.

¹⁰ *Pjv.*, p. 239.

¹¹ *Rjv.*, p. 33-34.

By far the most important tank-builder of this period was Mahāseṇa, to whom is ascribed the construction of 16 tanks and a canal.¹ The *Pūjāvaliya* also speaks of 16 tanks and a canal,² while the *Rājāvaliya*³ and the *Rājaratnākara*⁴ contain references to seventeen tanks. Of all his works Minneriya is the most famous and extensive.

An idea of the extent of paddy land to the North of Mahavāligaṅga may be gained from the land brought under cultivation after the completion of the Minneriya tank alone. The *Pūjāvaliya* refers to the cultivation of 20,000 *karīsas* of land (about 80,000 acres under this scheme of irrigation.⁵ This is no doubt an exaggeration. According to modern calculation the irrigation capacity of this tank is not more than 4,000 acres.⁶ We have seen above⁷ that many other tanks, similar in size, are also known to have functioned during this period. The inscriptions of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries name nearly 150 tanks and canals which are not mentioned in the *Chronicles*.⁸ The total area brought under cultivation, undoubtedly, would then be very considerable. This is also confirmed by inscriptions recording donations of paddy lands to the monasteries.⁹

Not only in the North but also in the Southern Kingdom of Rohaṇa, the cultivation of paddy was in prosperous condition. According to the *Sammohavinodanī* there were twelve thousand resident monks each at Tissamahā Vihāra and the Cittalāpabbata monastery. When the Brāhmaṇatissa famine broke out during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, there was grain in those monasteries to last for three years.¹⁰ This alone shows how prosperous paddy cultivation was in Rohaṇa during the period under survey.

Thus by the end of the 3rd century A.D., the greater part of the Dry Zone areas both in the North-Central and the South-Eastern parts of Ceylon were brought under wet paddy cultivation. This shows clearly that the inhabitants of this country depended on agriculture as their main source of livelihood.

According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Girikaṇḍa Siva, Paṇḍukābhaya's uncle, cultivated an area of 100 *karīsas* (about 800 acres).¹¹ Suvāṇṇapālī, the beautiful daughter of Girikaṇḍa Siva, went herself to the field in a palanquin with her retinue, carrying food for her father and the reapers.¹² This shows that agriculture was considered

¹ *Mv.*, XXXVII, vv. 47-50.

² *Pjv.*, p. 296.

³ *Rjv.*, p. 37.

⁴ *Rjk.*, p. 26.

⁵ *Pjv.*, p. 296.

⁶ *JRAS.* (CB), New Series, Vol. VII, p. 50.

⁷ See, *supra*, p. 127.

⁸ *JRAS.* (CB), New Series, Vol. VII, p. 49.

⁹ *EZ.*, I, pp. 252-256, No. 22.

¹⁰ *SV.*, p. 445.

¹¹ *Mv.*, X, v. 30.

¹² *Ibid.*, X, vv. 30-31.

a most honourable and important occupation. Not only in times of peace but also in times of emergency the members of the royal families took part in agricultural activities.¹ According to the *Rasavāhīnī* Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, just before declaring war against Eḷāra, organised a food production campaign on a large scale wherever possible. While he himself cultivated in Rohaṇa, he sent his brother Saddhātissa to carry out agricultural activities in Dīghavāpi.²

Agriculture was looked on as honourable not only by the members of the royal families but also by the nobles. According to the *Rasavāhīnī* Mahānēla, one of the paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, was born in a family of great wealth. When he was trying to spend his time without doing any professional work, his parents told him that he would not maintain the dignity of his family unless he followed an occupation either in agriculture or in trade.³

Kings and nobles celebrated both the harvest festival and the sowing festival on a grand scale. When Girikaṇḍa Siva held the harvest festival, his beautiful young daughter also participated in it with her retinue.⁴ When a wealthy *Kuṭumbika* of Mahela Nagara near Anurādhapura held a sowing festival (*vappamaṅgala*), he invited hundreds of people to celebrate the occasion.⁵ At this festival ploughing was done with the help of pure white oxen (*sabba-seta-balivadde*) washed with turmeric water.⁶ Festoons of shell-fish were tied round their necks and their horns were decorated with sheaths of gold and silver. The people, who were decked with beautiful clothes and ornaments, after lending a hand with the ploughing, enjoyed the festive meal. The women, who remained at the farmer's house enjoyed themselves in a similar manner.⁷

Ploughing with oxen was the usual form of wet paddy cultivation.⁸ Only oxen were made use of for the purpose of ploughing. There is not, so far as I have seen, a single reference to show that either buffaloes or cows were used for ploughing during this period.

The *Sihalavatthu* speaks of an agricultural labourer (*kasikammakāraka*) who went to a certain famous blacksmith in Anurādhapura to get his agricultural equipment (*kasiparikkhārāṇi*) made.⁹ Although this does not specifically say what these tools were, the fact that he went to a blacksmith undoubtedly proves that he used ploughshares, etc.

¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 69.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 113.

⁴ *Mv.*, X, vv. 30-31.

⁵ *Rsv.*, II, p. 166.

⁶ Water mixed with turmeric powder is considered capable of purifying dirt of any nature even to-day.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 166.

⁸ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

⁹ *Sihv.*, p. 26.

Rice was the main crop produced from agriculture. Our sources frequently refer to rice as *sāli*. This term in modern Ceylon is used only for a particular type of rice, but in early literature it seems to imply rice of any kind. According to the *Sihala-vatthu*, King Saddhātissa in disguise worked as a labourer in a *sālikkhetta* and offered alms to the monks from the paddy he obtained from the farmer.¹ The *Mahāvamsa* also tells us how Mahācūli Mahātissa gave alms in a similar manner after working in a *sālikkhetta* as a labourer.² The *Rasavāhīni* also refers to a large field of *sāli* rice which belonged to a *kuṭumbika* who lived in a village to the North of Mahāvāli-gaṅga (*Uttarapasse*).³ Another paddy field of 500 *karīsas*, which belonged to a wealthy man named Canda Suriya in Rohaṇa is also referred to in the same work.⁴

According to the Tonigala Inscription there were three seasons of harvest or crop during the year. They were known as “*Piṭadaḍaḥasa, Akalahasa and Madehasa.*”⁵ These three seasons of crop can be seen even to-day in the villages of the North-Central Province where fields are irrigated by means of tanks and do not depend on the uncertain rainfall. Of the names of the three crops occurring in this inscription, two can be identified with their modern equivalents. *Akala* is the crop now known as *Yala*. The *Yala* crop is sown at the time of the South-West monsoon which, for these parts of Ceylon, brings only a small quantity of rain. The principal harvest of the year in all parts of Ceylon is now known as *Māha* and is sown during the North-East monsoon. The name corresponding to this in the present inscription is *Piṭadaḍa*. Parānavitana also says that “there is no doubt that this word *piṭadaḍa* stands for *Māha* as its being first mentioned points to it as the principal harvest of the year. The third crop called *Made* in this inscription is still known as *māda* (middle) and is so called because it intervenes between the two major harvests. It is the least important of the three ; and in many a year when the tanks are not full it is altogether neglected. This crop is not known in many districts of Ceylon, including the greater part of the low country, where the cultivation of paddy depends entirely on the rainfall.”⁶

Although the Chronicles do not refer to *hēna* cultivation there is no doubt that this form of cultivation was known in ancient Ceylon. An area of forest is cleared by felling the trees and burning the shrubs, and is sown with dry corn, such as gingelly (*tila*), beans (*māsa*) etc.⁷

¹ *Sihv.*, p. 32.

² *Mv.*, XXXIV, v. 3.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 191.

⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p. 36.

⁵ *EZ.*, III, p. 177.

⁶ *EZ.*, III, p. 185.

⁷ *Sihv.*, pp. 97, 98.

References to the sesamum oil, which was used both as a medicine¹ and food², show us that gingelly was a common crop produced from *hēna* cultivation. The *Mahāvamsa* also reports that sesamum oil was extensively used in order to make the concrete foundation of the Mahāthūpa still harder and more solid.³ According to the *Sihalavatthu* a person named Tissa of Anurādhapura used frequently to offer sesamum oil to the *Saṅgha* in large quantities during the reign of King Saddhātissa.⁴

Another important crop produced by *hēna* cultivation was beans (*māsa*). Both the *Mahāvamsa*⁵ and the *Rasavāhini*⁶ inform us that the six brothers of Gōṭhayimbara went to the forest and cut down the trees in order to lay out a beanfield (*māsakkhetta*). The *Rasavāhini* also refers to a large beanfield in a village called Brahmacola in the Southern Province of Ceylon. According to this story it appears that this beanfield was the common property of all the villagers and beans were possibly the main crop cultivated in this village.⁷ According to another story in the same work, there were two kinds of beans, the *rājamāsa* (white beans) and the *kālamāsa* (black beans).⁸ A provincial chief named Vilasa of the Kadalisāla village was very famous for his wealth in paddy, beans and other kinds of grain. Once the king (Saddhātissa), in order to test his wealth, ordered him to send paddy and beans to the palace. The latter sent 500 cart-loads each of *sāli* paddy, *rājamāsa* and *kālamāsa*.⁹ This is probably an exaggeration : but there is no doubt that beans were an extensively cultivated crop.

Green peas (*mugga*) also were another favourite crop of the villagers.¹⁰ Millet (*kangu*) was cultivated in dry land.¹¹ Various kinds of fruits such as pumpkin (*lābuja*) and ash-pumpkin (P=*kumbhaṇḍa*=S. *puhul*) were grown in *hēnas* as well as in home gardens. The *Mahāvamsa* records that Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi Abhaya started growing such fruits everywhere as part of a drive to increase the food supply in his kingdom.¹² The *Mahāvamsa* also refers to a heap of pumpkins (*lābuja*) in comparison with the heap of heads of the enemies of Paṇḍukābhaya.¹³ According to the *Sihalavatthu* there was a field of pumpkins (*labujakkhetta*) belonging to a peasant named Kambuddha during the reign of Saddhātissa.¹⁴

¹ *Mv.*, XXXIV, v. 56 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 153.

² *Rsv.*, II, pp. 166, 183.

³ *Mv.*, 29, 12.

⁴ *Sihv.*, p. 3.

⁵ *Mv.*, 23, 51.

⁶ *Rsv.*, II, p. 87.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

⁸ *Rsv.*, p. 131.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, p. 131.

¹¹ *Mv.*, XXXII, v. 30.

¹² *Mv.*, XXXV, vv. 6-7.

¹³ *Mv.*, X, v. 72.

¹⁴ *Sihv.*, pp. 97-98.

From incidental references in the *Mahāvamsa* it appears that arecanut palm also was cultivated.¹ Even though Dr. Rahula says that "it is strange that we do not hear often enough about coconut plantation during this period",² a reference to both coconut and palmyra plantation, particularly in Rohaṇa, can be adduced from the *Mahāvamsa* itself. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us how Theraputtābhaya used to pluck fruits by striking coconut and palmyra trees with an iron rod 38 inches in circumference and sixteen cubits in length when he was twelve years of age.³ The *Rasavāhini* also refers to a large coconut estate which belonged to the Kappakandara Vihāra in Rohaṇa.⁴

A reference to a sugar mill⁵ also shows that sugar cane also was cultivated and the fact that weaving was extensively known in Ceylon during this period⁶ shows that there was some cotton plantation. Although we do not come across references to many crops cultivated in highlands, it is indeed possible, that a greater variety of crops were cultivated both in permanent garden-lands and in *hēna-lands*, for we have inscriptional references to trees and shrubs, coconut trees, betel, oranges, plantains, jak (*Bulat dodam kel kos*) and fruits of other kinds which were considered important towards the end of the Anurādhapura period.⁷

According to the *Mahāvamsa* chewing of betel with pieces of dried arecanut and with a little powdered lime (*cunna*) was a widespread custom in Ceylon.⁸ The *Sahassavatthu* also contains a reference to this custom during the reign of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa.⁹ Betel was the last compulsory item to be offered to the monks at an alms giving ceremony even at that time.¹⁰ Hence there is no doubt that betel also was grown widely.

Spice commodities such as black pepper (*marica*), ginger (*siṅgivera*), turmeric (*haliddi*) and the like also were grown here and there. The *Mahāvamsa* records how Duṭṭhagāmaṇi ate black pepper without offering a portion of it to the *Saṅgha*, and in expiation built a *cetiya* called Maricavaṭṭi.¹¹ Both the *Mahāvamsa*¹² and the *Rasavāhini*¹³ refer to the hilly districts (*Malaya*) as the place where turmeric and ginger were grown in abundance.¹⁴ The *Sahassavatthu* also refers to turmeric as an

¹ *Mv.*, XXVI, v. 47.

² *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 239.

³ *Mv.*, XXIII, vv. 58-59.

⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p. 94.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXXIV, vv. 4-5.

⁶ See, *Infra.*, p. 149.

⁷ *EZ.*, I, pp. 113-120.

⁸ *Mv.*, XXXV, vv. 62-64.

⁹ *SHV.*, p. 80.

¹⁰ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

¹¹ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 114; XXVI, vv. 16-17.

¹² *Mv.*, XXVII, v. 21.

¹³ *Rsv.*, II, pp. 145, 166.

¹⁴ *SHV.*, p. 80.

important commodity. Garlic (*lasuṇa*) was another widely cultivated crop.¹ Thus we see that wet paddy cultivation, dry cultivation, and *hēna* cultivation were carried out effectively, in order to meet with the demand of the ever increasing population.

In spite of development in agriculture there occurred several famines in Ceylon during this period, due to political upheavals or to severe drought or both. During the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi there occurred a famine called *Akkhakkhāyika*.² We have seen earlier³ the reason why this famine was so named. The *Mahāvamsa Tīkā* further says that according to the Commentaries this was called the *Pāsānachātaka* famine⁴ (the famine which led the people to eat stones). The second famine occurred during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.⁵ This broke out because of a revolt raised by a *Brāhmaṇa* named Tiya, and hence it was called *Brāhmaṇatiya* famine. According to the Pāli Commentaries, this was the most severe famine ever experienced in Ceylon. It became so acute that people even ate human flesh (*manussā manussamaṃsaṃ khādantā*).⁶ According to the *Rasavāhiṇī* this famine lasted for twelve years, during which period there was no rain.⁷

During the reign of Kuḍḍanāga there was another famine called the *Ekanālika*.⁸ There was yet another during the reign of Siri Saṅghabōdhi,⁹ owing to a severe drought. But a statement of Hiuen Tsiang in the 7th century A.D. helps us to visualise the general condition of agriculture when the country was free from such troubles as those mentioned above. He says "that the soil is rich and fertile ; the climate is hot ; the ground is regularly cultivated ; flowers and fruits are produced in abundance."¹⁰

Animal Husbandry

Rearing of cattle also formed an important occupation in ancient Ceylon as it did in India, for it is obvious that cattle must play an important role in a country where wet paddy cultivation is practised. On the other hand this was an important source of the country's economy. Hence cattle were reared for two purposes, milk and agriculture.

Milk-rice (*pāyāsa*) was one of the most common meals offered to the *Saṅgha* during this period. Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, on the occasion of the naming ceremony of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, invited twelve thousand monks and offered them milk-rice (*pāyāsa*).¹¹

¹ *Ibid. loc. cit.*

² *Mv.*, XXXII, v. 29.

³ See, *supra*, p. 50.

⁴ *MvT.*, p. 593.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXXIII, vv. 37-40.

⁶ *Rsv.*, II, p. 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁸ *Mv.*, XXXVI, v. 20.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXVI, v. 74.

¹⁰ *Hiuen Tsiang*, Book, X, p. 235.

¹¹ *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 65-70.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇī established 44 refectories to serve monks every day with milk-rice mixed with honey.¹ When Vasabha fled and took refuge in the Mahāvihāra, it is said that he was fed by the monks there with milk-rice.²

The price of an ordinary cow normally ranged between 8 and 12 *kahāpaṇas*.³ Clarified butter, ghee and curd were prepared from milk. Butter and ghee were frequently offered to the monks both as food⁴ and medicine.⁵ They were sometimes used as cooking oil⁶ and for offering lightings in shrines. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī offered butter for the purpose of lighting a thousand lamps every day at twelve such places.⁷

While milk, butter, ghee and curd were obtained from cows, bulls were used for ploughing the fields and for transport. We have seen earlier⁸ how the ploughing was done with the help of oxen. Once a wealthy provincial chief is said to have sent to the king various kinds of grain in one thousand five hundred cart-loads drawn by three thousand oxen.⁹ According to the *Rasavāhiṇī* when prince Sāli was appointed *Uparāja*, the people of the hilly districts (*malaya*) brought him various kinds of presents loaded on one hundred carts pulled by two hundred oxen.¹⁰ Merchants too transported their goods by means of carts pulled by oxen.¹¹ Cattle rearing was carried on such a large scale in Ceylon during this period that there were separate villages for cowherds, as we have seen in the previous chapter.¹² Thus it is clear that animal husbandry formed an important occupation.

But it is to be noted that we do not come across a single reference to show that cattle were reared in Ceylon for meat. As we have seen earlier¹³ during the reign of Bhātiya, beef-eating was totally forbidden among the high caste people. Those who used to eat beef were considered *Caṇḍālas*.¹⁴ Dr. Malalasekara states¹⁵ that Bhātiya summoned the butchers and lowered their social status to that of the scavengers (*caṇḍālas*) and that later he married the daughter of a butcher. But according to the *Sammohavinodani* they were not butchers (*goghātakas*), but merely beef-eaters (*gomam̐sa-khādake*).¹⁶ But there is no doubt that when beef-eating was prohibited the prohibition of killing cattle was also included in the injunction.

¹ *Ibid.*, XXXII, v. 39.

² *Ibid.*, XXXV, v. 65.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 32 ; *AA.*, p. 277.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXII, v. 45.

⁵ *Rsv.*, II, p. 176.

⁶ *Mv.*, XXXII, v. 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXII, v. 37.

⁸ See, *supra*, p. 129.

⁹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 131.

¹⁰ *Rsv.*, II, p. 116-117.

¹¹ *Mv.*, XXVIII, v. 21 ; *Sihv.*, p. 15.

¹² See, *supra*, p. 113.

¹³ See, *supra*, p. 67.

¹⁴ *SV.*, p. 440.

¹⁵ *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 371.

¹⁶ *SV.*, p. 440.

On the other hand it is noteworthy that Ceylon, being predominantly a Buddhist country particularly after the advent of Mahinda, adhered to the custom of eating the flesh of other animals. This was not looked down upon in high class society. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, roast meat was a special delicacy in the pre-Buddhist society in Ceylon.¹ Often the meat was roasted over a glowing embers and such a preparation was called *Aṅgāramaṃsa*. Even after the advent of Mahinda the eating of flesh of other animals seems to have been widely in vogue.² Not only people themselves ate meat, but also they often offered it to the monks.³ Meat was a compulsory dish in a royal meal.⁴

Frequent references are made to the eating of venison (*migamaṃsa*),⁵ wild-boar (*sūkaramaṃsa*),⁶ peacock (*mayūramaṃsa*),⁷ hare (*sasamaṃsa*),⁸ parrot (*sukamaṃsa*),⁹ and snipe (*vaṭṭakamaṃsa*).¹⁰ Of these various kinds of meat, the flesh of the peacock was considered the most delicious and rare.¹¹

Trade

The mercantile profession also was considered as respectable as agriculture and cattle-rearing in early Ceylon. The convention that the people of the *Vaiśya* class should normally follow either agriculture or trade as their occupations¹² shows how far they were caste-minded when they had to decide over a means of livelihood. Sometimes they followed trade side by side with agriculture.

An inscriptional record assigned to the period about the 1st century B.C., found in the Koravakgala area in the Yāla District, refers to one such man named Siva (*Kasaka ca vani ca-Sivasa*).¹³ The *Rasavāhini* also refers to a wealthy farmer who was engaged in foreign trade in addition to his agricultural activities.¹⁴ It is evident from this that only those who were economically well established could carry out trading activities of this kind. Hence it is obvious that the merchants in Ceylon at this period were not as numerous as agriculturists.

According to the *Valāhassa Jātaka*, even before the Āryans migrated to this country, the *Yakkhiṇis* (which term presumably implies the female aborigines) who lived in Sirisavattu in the Island of Laṅka, used to lure into their city merchants

¹ *Mv.*, X, vv. 14-16.

² *Rsv.*, II, pp. 78, 115.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 128.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵ *Rsv.*, p. 78.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 132.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 132.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, p. 36.

¹³ *JRASC.B.*, Vol. II, New Series, p. 132, No. 59.

¹⁴ *Rsv.*, II, pp. 191-192.

shipwrecked on the coast between Kalyāṇi (Kālāṇiya) and Nāgadīpa (Jaffna Peninsula). On one occasion they captured five hundred merchants and the chief *Yakkhiṇi* took the chief of the merchants for her husband.¹ According to the *Divyāvadāna* Vijaya is also said to have belonged to a family of merchants.² Pliny informs us that four envoys were sent by the Sinhalese king of the day to Emperor Claudius, in the company of a freedman of Annius Plocamus, who being caught by the North winds while sailing round Arabia, drifted to a sea-port in Ceylon, and was treated with consideration when brought before the king.³ According to Sir Mortimer Wheeler⁴ recent discoveries of Latin and Greek inscriptions containing the name of Annius Plocamus in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, indicate that the embassy of the King of Ceylon to Rome must be assigned to a date considerably earlier than the reign of Claudius. It is, therefore, quite probable that the trade mission sent by Bhātika Abhaya is the same as the one referred to by Pliny, for the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* tells us that Bhātika Abhaya sent envoys to the country of Romanukha, and obtained large quantities of coral with which he had a net made to adorn the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura.⁵ Coral was, and is, a well known product of the Mediterranean, and the name, Romanukha as C. W. Nicholas has pointed out can easily be explained as formed by the addition of the pleonastic suffix *-ka* to the Latin 'Romanus'. Nicholas further argues that according to the traditional chronology, Bhātika Abhaya reigned from 22 B.C. to 7 A.D. which period falls within the principate of Augustus, and the inscription mentioning Annius Plocamus referred to above is dated in the 35th year of a Caesar who can be no other than Augustus.⁶ Thus it is quite likely that Ceylon had commercial intercourse with distant countries in the West also.

The existence of a large number of ports in Ceylon⁷ also indicates the importance of the export and import trade at this period. Of the ports, Mahātīttha was the most important, and we have seen in the previous chapter how Mahātīttha gradually grew up into a commercial town.⁸ The archaeological survey too has revealed the remains of Hindu temples, Tamil pottery and other signs of the settlement of foreign people there.⁹ The *Rasavāhini* speaks of a very rich export and import merchant of Mahātīttha, who regularly went abroad for trade with a fleet of cargo boats.¹⁰ The personal name 'Samuda' or 'Hamuda' (meaning ocean) found in epigraphic records of the early pre-Christian centuries also suggests that sea-faring was held in esteem by the Sinhalese of this period.¹¹ The king's officers were stationed

¹ *J.*, II, pp. 89-91.

² *Divyāvadāna*, Ed. Cowell, & Neill, p. 523.

³ *Pliny*, VI, 84-91.

⁴ Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London, 1954, p. 128.

⁵ *MvT.*, p. 630.

⁶ *HC.*, Vol. Pt. I, p. 225.

⁷ See, *supra*, p. 116 ff.

⁸ See, *supra*, p. 116 ff.

⁹ *ASCAR*, for 1950, p. G. 15.

¹⁰ *Rsv.*, II, pp. 139 ff.

¹¹ *ASCAR.*, 1911, 12, p. 99.

at the principal sea-ports to collect customs. An inscription assigned to the 1st century. A.D., found at Goḍvāya near Hambantota contains a reference to customs duties levied by such officers.¹

Further, the discovery of a terrace inscribed with the names of Tamil *Gahapatis* (*dameḍa gahapatikana*) also shows the importance of the foreign trade of this period. Paranavitana says that this inscription proves that the stone terrace was the common property of the Tamil house-holders of ancient Anurādhapura, and was probably used as their assembly hall. The surface of this terrace contains, in one line, seven short records which tell us that that portion of the platform immediately above each record was the seat of a particular individual among the Tamil householders. The names of some of these householders are *Kubira*, *Tisa*, *Kubira Sujata*, *Saga*, *Naseta* and *Kārava*. The last named is described as a ship-captain. The difference in level at the surface of the various compartments of the platform was probably intended to indicate the difference in rank and social status of the individuals whose seats were on them. If so, it is interesting to note that the ship-captain (*navika*) occupied the highest seat.² This inscription has been assigned to a date between the 3rd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. Hence the word *navika* no doubt proves that the foreign trade between South India and Ceylon was well established during this period.

Ceylon traded not only with India and other countries in the West, but also with the Eastern countries. Ceylon's commercial intercourse with China too was of early origin. The Sinhalese Ambassadors who went to Rome during the reign of Bhātika Abhaya in the 1st century A.D. are said to have stated that there was commerce between Ceylon and China.³ The relationship between Ceylon and China both cultural and commercial was more and more strengthened towards the 4th century A.D. Fa Hien who visited Ceylon during the 1st quarter of the 5th century A.D., after spending two years, sailed for Java in a large merchant-vessel on which there were 200 people.⁴ The *Samantapāsādikā* refers to voyages between Mahāittha and Suvannabhūmi (Burma).⁵ The *Rasavāhini* also records that a merchant named Dantakuṭumbika of Anurādhapura went to Suvannabhūmi for trade.⁶ According to the *Mahāvamsa* there was in the village called Dvāramaṇḍala near Mihintale a *Brāhmaṇa* named Kuṇḍala who was also an import merchant.⁷ From all these statements it is clear that the commercial relationship of Ceylon with foreign countries both Eastern and Western in general and with India in particular was considerably advanced during this period.

¹ *CJSG.*, II, p. 197, No. 586.

² *JRASCB.*, Vol. XXV, No. 93, pp. 54-55.

³ *Pliny*, VI, p. 22.

⁴ *HC.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 18.

Giles, *The Travels of Fa-Hein*, 1959, p. 78.

⁵ *SMP.*, p. 808.

⁶ *Rsv.*, II, p. 192.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXIII, vv. 23-24.

Exports

Among the commodities exported from Ceylon, precious stones, pearls, elephants' textiles, ivory and tortoise-shell were considered most profitable.

Precious Stones

Ceylon was famous for its precious stones from the early pre-Christian centuries. Kauṭilya mentions Ceylon as a gem producing country.¹ Reference is made in the *Mahābhārata* to Vibhīṣaṇā, the king of Ceylon, who sent as tributes to King Yudhiṣṭhira, gems and pearls of very high quality in abundance.² According to the *Maṇimekhalai* Ceylon was known as Ratnadvīpa (the Island of Gems).³ In the 7th century A.D. Hiuen Tsiang also referred to Ceylon by the same name.⁴ According to the *Mahāvamsa* Vijaya's ministers sent many presents including most valuable gems and pearls to the king of Madurā in order to obtain suitable maidens for Vijaya and for themselves.⁵ The *Mahāvamsa* also reports that Devānaṃpiya Tissa sent Asoka various types of precious stones such as sapphire (*indanīla*), cat's-eye (*veḷuriya*), ruby (*lohitaṅka*), etc. as presents.⁶ This shows that these three kinds of gems were considered the most valuable of all. There was another group of seven gems (*sattaratana*) which are less valuable than the former group.⁷ References to the words *manikara* (jeweller)⁸ and *maṇikaragama* (village of jewellers)⁹ in the epigraphic records of this period also indicate that Ceylon produced gems abundantly. It may, therefore, be inferred that precious stones played an important role in the country's export trade, particularly with India for according to the *Mahāvamsa*, when Devānaṃpiya Tissa sent precious stones to Asoka, the latter confessed that those precious stones of Ceylon were not available in India (*ratanāni idisāni ettha natthi*).¹⁰

An epigraphic record of Mysore assigned to the 10th or 11th century, refers to some Mysore merchant princes, one of whom was Dāmodara Seṭṭhi's brother who was skilled in testing all manner of gems and who belonged to a Malayala family.¹¹ Although this record does not fall within the period under review, it leads us to infer that there were such reputed gem merchants in South India at a very much earlier date than this. According to the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, with the

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Trns. Samasastrī, p. 83.

² *Mahābhārata*, Trns. Vol. II, pp. 92-93.

³ *Maṇimekhalai*, Kriṣṇasvāmi Iyenger, Canto IX, V. 21-26.

⁴ Si-Yu-Ki, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Beal, p. 235.

⁵ *Mv.*, VII, vv. 49-50.

⁶ *Mv.*, XI, v. 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVII, v. 37.

⁸ *CJSG.*, II, p. 203, No. 617.

⁹ *EZ.*, IV, pp. 218-222, No. 27.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, XI, v. 25.

¹¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. 5, I, Trns. p. 157, No. AK. 108. *Nānā ratna parīksaye-embud abu tannn.*

discovery of the Monsoon by Hippalus in the middle of the 1st century, or possibly earlier, Roman merchants frequently visited the ports of South India, from where they obtained commodities from Ceylon.¹

From the above discussion it is clear that India was not a gem-producing country ; yet there were very famous gem-merchants there. On the other hand, Ceylon was famous in the then known world as the Island of gems and the Roman mariners obtained Ceylonese commodities from South Indian merchants. Precious stones were no doubt among these.

Pearls

Ceylon was famous not only for gems but also for its pearls from the earliest times, for mention is made in the *Mahāvamsa* of pearls among other presents sent to the king of Madura by Vijaya's ministers² and to Asoka by Devānampiya Tissa.³ Kauṭilya also refers to a variety of pearls from a place which, according to the commentary, is a river near the village Mayūrā in the Island of Siṃhala.⁴ The fact that the pearl fishery was one of the main sources of income during this period can also be adduced from Fa Hien's statement about the pearl fishery in Ceylon in the 1st quarter of the 5th century A.D.⁵ According to the *Mahāvamsa* eight varieties of pearls were miraculously found on the sea-shore on the day of Devānampiya Tissa's accession to the throne of Anurādhapura.⁶ These were : horse-pearls (*hayamuttā*), elephant-pearls (*gajamuttā*), waggon-pearls (*rathamuttā*), myrobalan-pearls, (*āmalakamuttā*), bracelet-pearls (*valayamuttā*), ring-pearls (*aṅguliveṭhakāmuttā*), *kakudha* fruit-pearls (*kakudhaphalamuttā*) and common pearls (*pākatikamuttā*). According to the *Mahāvamsa* *Ṭikā* the first two of these were very special kinds which contain the figures of horse and elephant (*assarūpa-hatthirūpa-saṅṭhānāmuttā*).⁷ Leaving aside the miraculous side of the story, this shows at least that the people at this time had a fair knowledge about the various types of pearls. Pearls as big as myrobalan fruit are also said to have been found on the shore near the port Uruvela (*Uruvelapaṭṭana*)⁸ during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The discovery of large pearls on the sea-shore on auspicious occasions seems to be purely legendary, since we have no reliable evidence of pearls even of the small size being found thus. The passages in question, however, point to the productivity in pearls of the seas around Ceylon.

¹ *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 227-230.

² *Mv.*, VII, vv. 49-50.

³ *Ibid.*, XI, v. 16.

⁴ *Arthasāstra*, Trans. p. 83.

⁵ *CHJ.*, Vol. II, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 15.

⁶ *Mv.*, XI, vv. 14-15.

⁷ *MvṬ.*, p. 301. The commentator's explanation is probably incorrect, but the fact that pearls were classified thus is clear evidence of their commercial importance.

⁸ *Mv.*, XXVIII, v. 36.

The *Mahāvamsa* also reports that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi decorated the assembly hall of the Lohapāsāda with festoons of pearls all round.¹ Duṭṭhagāmaṇi also enshrined heaps of gold, precious stones, pearls and diamonds at the four corners of the relic-chamber of the Mahāthūpa.² Bhātika Abhaya is said to have managed to get one hundred cart-loads of pearls reduced to powder, which was mixed with lime and used for white-washing the Mahāthūpa.³ Mahādāthika Mahānāga decorated the Ambatthala Mahāthūpa by hanging festoons of pearls all round.⁴ There is therefore no doubt that the foreign merchants were also attracted to this country by the availability of pearls of various types.

Elephants

According to Megasthenes Ceylon exported elephants to India as early as the 3rd century B.C. He says that "Ceylon had herds of elephants which are there very numerous and of the largest size. These elephants more powerful than those of the mainland and in appearance larger and may be pronounced to be in every way more intelligent. The Islanders export them to the mainland opposite in boats which they construct for this traffic from wood supplied by the thickets of the Island, and they dispose of their cargoes to the king of Kaliṅga".⁵ It is also most likely that not only elephants but also ivory and various kinds of ivory goods were exported from Ceylon. There was in Anurādhapura a wealthy merchant named Dantakāra Kuṭumbika in the village called Dantakāragāma.⁶ The fact that the village was called Dantakāra and the richest man of the village bore the name of the village suggests that it was mainly composed of ivory carvers. It is therefore quite likely that when he sailed to Suvannabhūmi for trade, he took ivory and ivory goods made by the fellow-inhabitants of his village. According to the *Mahāvamsa*. Mahāsena's younger brother, Jetṭha Tissa, was an expert in the art of ivory carving and he established a school to teach it to those who were interested in it. At the request of his father, he himself carried out several difficult works of this art. Among his works a chair of state studded here and there with beautiful ivory carving and a charming figure representing a *Bodhisatva* are specially mentioned.⁷ Thus it is possible that, as well as elephants, ivory and ivory goods also were exported to foreign countries.

¹ *Ibid.*, XXXVII, v. 31.

² *Ibid.*, XXX, v. 95.

³ *Mv.*, XXXIV, v. 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, v. 74.

⁵ Mc Crindle : *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 173-175.

⁶ *Sahassavatthu*, pp. 191-192.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXXVII, vv. 100-103.

Textiles

As we shall see later¹ there are references to weaving and weavers in ancient Ceylon. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* states that Ceylon produced muslins.² The Prakrit work, *Tirṭhakaḷpa* contains reference to a merchant of Ceylon who exported a large quantity of cloths to Bhārukaccha by ship.³ The *Rājatarāṅginī*, the Kaṣhmīr Chronicle, records that a cloth manufactured in Ceylon was worn by a certain queen of that country.⁴ When Duṭṭhagāmaṇī lay on his death-bed he expressed his desire to see the construction of the Mahāthūpa completed before he breathed his last. As there was hardly any time to complete the actual work, Saddhātissa, in a moment, covered the entire structure of the proposed Thūpa with cloths to give an appearance of the completed thūpa and showed it to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.⁵ Further, thousands of monks were offered the *ticivara* (three kinds of robes) by kings, nobles and even by commoners. It is evident from these references that weaving was an advanced industry and cloth was available in abundance. Textiles formed one of the commodities exported from Ceylon. We find no reference to the manufacture of silk cloths in Ceylon at this period, or of any cloth other than cotton.

According to Strabo, tortoise-shell was another important export from Ceylon.⁶ We have seen in the previous chapter⁷ that Ceylon produced a variety of spices such as ginger, turmeric, pepper, *etc.*, and other crops such as coconut, arecanut, sesamum, *etc.* It is therefore reasonable to suppose that these commodities also may have formed items in the country's export-trade at least in small quantities, among the other more important items discussed above.

Import-Trade

Somewhere in the middle of the 1st century A. D. the Graeco-Roman merchants obtained Ceylon goods from South India.⁸ To pay for the commodities, these merchants brought gold and silver, copper, glass, coral, semi-precious stones of various kinds, earthenware of superior quality, wines and horses.⁹ It is therefore most probable that these commodities were imported to Ceylon from South India.

Horses may have formed one of the most important items in the import trade. The earliest reference to horse-merchants from abroad can be seen in the *Mahāvamsa*. During the reign of Sūratissa there were in Anurādhapura two Tamil usurpers, Sena and Guttika, who were the sons of a horse-merchant of South India, who used

¹ See, *Infra*, p. 149.

² *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 47.

³ *Archaeological Survey of India; Annual Report (1905-6)*, p. 144.

⁴ *Rājatarāṅginī*, Sarga, I, vv. 294-297.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXXII, vv. 2-3.

⁶ Strabo, *Geography*, p. 271.

⁷ See, *supra*, p. 132.

⁸ *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 227-230.

⁹ *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 44-45.

to import horses to Ceylon.¹ Frequent references to the cavalry in the permanent army force in the Sinhalese kingdom during this period² and the fact that horses were not found locally show that they were brought to Ceylon from abroad. According to the *Rasavāhini* Velusumana, one of the paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, had a *Saindhava* horse.³ This word *Saindhava* suggests that they were of a breed originally brought from the Indus (*sindhu*) valley. Horses were also imported from Persia and the king of the Island prized them so much that the traders who brought them were at one time exempted from the usual taxes.⁴

According to the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*⁵ there was a famous merchant named Kuṇḍala who imported camphor, sandalwood, etc., from abroad during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.⁶ According to the *Rasavāhini* this merchant sent Duṭṭhagāmaṇī 500 valuable clothes of various colours, various kinds of perfumes such as camphor, sandals, aloe-woods (*Agaru*), etc., medicinal goods and various types of bedding material. Silk was another imported article. The *Rasavāhini* tells us how Goṭhayimbara celebrated the victory of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī by organising a drinking party on a very elaborate scale. The story goes on to say that he decorated the drinking pavilion with silk curtains (*paṭṭasānti*).⁷ Procopius who lived in the 6th century A.D., informs us how difficult it was for the Byzantines to buy silk from Ceylon owing to the heavy demand of the Persian merchants, and hence they had to buy silk directly from Indian merchants who imported silk to Ceylon.⁸ According to Cosmas, in the 6th century A.D., ports in Ceylon were crowded with ships coming from India, Persia, Ethiopia, etc.⁹ Thus it seems that Ceylon's trade with the West, both export and import, increased in quantity from the times of the Embassy to Rome down to the 6th century, unlike the trade of India, which was at its height when that of Ceylon was just beginning.

Internal Trade

Side by side with foreign trade, internal trade also developed during this period. The word *Vaṇija* or *Vaṇica* occurs among the names of other donors in early Brāhmi inscriptions. An inscription assigned to the period between the 1st century B. C. and the 1st century A. D., at Vilbā Vihāra in the Kurunāgala District refers to one such merchant who donated a cave to the *Saṅgha*.¹⁰ According to another inscription of the 1st or 2nd century B. C. found at Bambaragastalāva, there was a *Parumaka*

¹ *Mv.*, XXI, v. 10.

² *Mv.*, XVIII, v. 29 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 66.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 98.

⁴ *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 165.

⁵ *MvT.*, p. 449.

⁶ The *Mahāvamsa* itself only gives a general term. The explanation of the *Tikā* may be based upon later information.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 89.

⁸ Procopius, *Persian Wars*, Trns. Bk. I, Ch. XX, Sections 9-13.

⁹ *Christian Topography*, Ed. Mc Crindle, p. 365.

¹⁰ *CJSG.*, II, p. 212, No. 661.

who was a merchant.¹ C. W. Nicholas suggests that this merchant may have been the president of a local merchants' guild.² This suggestion does not seem to be quite acceptable, for we have seen earlier³ that the word *Parumaka* has been used in epigraphic records of this period not as an official title but as an honorific. This merchant, therefore, may either have belonged to a family of nobles, for it was also considered that the merchants' profession was one of the two most respectable occupations that a man of a noble family normally should follow,⁴ or have been the leading merchant of the place, rather than the president of a local merchants' guild.

On the other hand, if there were such organised merchants' guilds, they would have been in existence rather in the neighbourhood of sea-ports than in the interior. But there is no epigraphic record which contains references either to a merchant or to a merchants' guild in those areas at this time. Even the literary sources refer only to leading merchants at sea-ports⁵ but not to any such guilds. Hence it is most unlikely that such guilds existed in the interior as early as the 1st or the 2nd century B. C.

But, on the other hand, the word *Puka* ($P=Pūga$) occurring in another inscription⁶ cannot simply be ignored. This reference no doubt shows that there were corporations or guilds of some kind in this period. But we are again in difficulty in deciding whether they were the guilds of artisans, agriculturists or merchants, *i.e.*, the craft-guild, trade or merchant guild, because side by side with the word *Śrent*, the term *Pūga* also is used by some of the ancient Indian political thinkers to denote various types of guilds and corporations.⁷ It is thus evident that there were leading merchants who enjoyed a high social status during this period. One such merchant was Kuṇḍala, who was a *Brāhmaṇa*.⁸ These references show us that the people belonging to higher classes in society such as the *Brāhmaṇas*, the nobles and the *Vaiśya* considered the profession in trade as an honourable occupation.

The local merchants used to go to distant parts of the country in ox-wagons to fetch the produce of those areas. We have seen earlier how merchants went frequently on such business trips to the hilly districts (*malaya*) in search of ginger, turmeric, pepper, *etc.*⁹ Similarly the merchants from the commercial towns in the neighbourhood of sea-ports used to go to the interior to fetch local produce in exchange for foreign goods. The *Rasavāhīnī* refers to one such merchant of Mahāittha Paṭṭana, who traded in the area to the West of Anurādhapura.¹⁰

¹ *Sir Paul Peris Felicitation Volume* (Colombo 1956), p. 61.

² *JRASC.B.*, Vol. V. Pt. I, New Series, p. 71.

³ See, *supra*, p. 37-40

⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p. 36.

⁵ See, *supra*, p. 117.

⁶ *ASCAR.*, 1932, p. 9.

⁷ Mookerji, *Local Govt. in Ancient India*, p. 34.

⁸ See, *supra*, p. 86.

⁹ See, *supra*, p. 132.

¹⁰ *Rsv.*, II, p. 136.

The trading centres (*niyama*=*nigama*) in the capital and other cities are referred to both in the epigraphic and literary sources. We have seen earlier that there were four such trading centres outside the four gates of Anurādhapura.¹ There were market places not only on the outskirts of the city but also in the inner city. The *Dīpavaṃsa* refers to one such market (*antarāpaṇa*) in the city of Upatissagāma.² Even in the capital city, there were such market places³ in addition to the four trading centres outside the city gates. It appears from this that the above four trading centres were public market-places while the shops (*āpaṇa*) within the city were meant for the people of the privileged classes. It is recorded in the *Mahāvāṃsa* that when Suranimala went to Anurādhapura to meet Kuṇḍala, the merchant, he went shopping within the city and bought perfumes from such a shop.⁴

As the majority of the population consisted of peasant-cultivators, there was no doubt that barter played an important role in internal trade. But there are enough references to show that coins were also widely used. The *Samantapāsādikā* refers to an incident where the queen of Vasabha (127-171 A. D.) offered to a monk 300 *kahāpaṇas* along with three robes.⁵ The *Rasavāhīnī* refers to several incidents where the *kahāpaṇa* was used as the medium of transactions.⁶ But with regard to the trading activities in the rural areas, barter may have played a more important role than money.

The Intellectual Professions

There were a few intellectual professions such as teaching, astrology and medicine, in Ceylon during this period. A perusal of the stray references occurring both in the literary and in the epigraphic sources will show us that these professions were mainly in the hands of the *Brāhmaṇas*, at least in the pre-Buddhist period.

Teachers

We have seen earlier that there were *Purohitas* who were the advisers of kings in matters both worldly and spiritual.⁷ They also served as the teachers of the royal families and also possibly of the families of nobles.

The *Brāhmaṇa* Paṇḍula who was well-versed in the *Vedas* was the teacher of Paṇḍukābhūta.⁸ He seems to have been a reputed teacher of the day, for it is reported that his normal charge for a complete course of studies necessary for an heir-apparent was one thousand coins.⁹ The fact that he is said to have given

¹ See, *supra*, p. 107.

² *DV.*, IX, v. 36.

³ *Mv.*, XXIII, v. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXIII, vv. 28-29.

⁵ *SMP.*, p. 337.

⁶ *Rsv.*, II, p. 9 ; pp. 118 ff ; pp. 143 ff.

⁷ See, *supra*, pp. 11 ff.

⁸ *Mv.*, X, v. 20.

⁹ *Mv.*, X, v. 19.

one hundred thousand coins to Paṇḍukābhaya in order to raise an army, after the completion of his course of studies,¹ indicates that Paṇḍula was one of the richest men in Anurādhapura. We have also seen earlier² that some of the epigraphic records of this period contain references to the *Brāhmaṇa* teachers (*Paṭake*). Another inscription of the 1st century B. C. records the name of the donor who is a teacher (*Parasatisa acariya*).³ From this it is not quite clear whether this teacher was a *Brāhmaṇa* or not. But as the above references prove beyond doubt that the teaching profession was mainly in the hands of the *Brāhmaṇas*, it may be inferred that this Parasatisa also belonged to the same class. Further, as this inscription records a donation by the teacher in question, it is also clear that teachers normally enjoyed a high status, both economically and socially.

On the other hand, in the period when the *Brāhmaṇas* were the custodians of knowledge and wisdom, it is difficult to determine whether the educational facilities were available to the ordinary people, particularly the *Śūdras* and other low-castes. But there is no doubt that the door of education as well as that of the educational profession in art and various branches of science was opened to everybody, irrespective of his class in society, after the introduction of Buddhism in the 3rd century B. C., for we have a clear reference to a family of *Caṇḍālas* who were experts in architecture, particularly in the art of constructing *Cetiya*s.⁴ It is reported that once they refused to teach a powerful political usurper the art of breaking a certain *Cetiya*. This shows that these *Caṇḍālas* had followed two professions, the construction of *Cetiya*s and the teaching of that branch of science to others. An epigraphic record refers to a teacher of archery (*danu acariya*).⁵ Phussadeva's father was another famous teacher of archery.⁶

The most remarkable change that took place in the teaching profession was that from the 3rd century B. C. onward when the place of the *Brāhmaṇa* teacher in pre-Buddhist society was occupied by the Buddhist monks. But it is to be noted that unlike the *Brāhmaṇas* the Buddhist monks did not carry out the educational activities as a means of livelihood but as social and spiritual service.

Astrologers

We have seen earlier⁷ that many of the astrologers of this period also belonged to the community of *Brāhmaṇas*. An astrologer (*nakatika*) is referred to in an inscription assigned to the pre-Christian centuries, found at Periyakaḍu Vihāra.⁸ In this inscription both the astrologer and his son are called *Parumakas*. C. W. Nicholas is inclined to think that the astrologers formed guilds of their own and the *Parumaka nakatika* of this inscription was therefore the president of his guild.⁹ But from what

¹ *Ibid.*, X, v. 24.

² See, *supra*, p. 16.

³ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. II, p. 129, No. 3.

⁴ *Rsv.*, II, p. 7.

⁵ *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. V, p. 223, No. 15.

⁶ *Rsv.*, II, p. 101.

⁷ See, *supra*, pp. 12 ff.

⁸ *CJSG.*, II, p. 214.

⁹ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. V, p. 75.

we have discussed in a previous chapter, it is clear that the word *Parumaka* was rather an honorific than an official title.¹ On the other hand, it is difficult to suppose that the astrologers formed guilds in the same way as the merchants, because astrology was considered neither a business pursuit nor a craft. Further it was and is an occupation open only to an educationally privileged few. Therefore, the second inscription of the same place (Periyakaḍu Vihāra)² which refers simply to a *nakatika* can mean an ordinary astrologer, while the *Parumaka nakatika* in the former was a leading astrologer. However, it is obvious from these references that the astrologers also enjoyed a high social status during this period. The *Rasavāhini* also states that astrologers predicted a famine during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.³

Physicians

Physicians also undoubtedly occupied a high position in society. Two inscriptions from Magulmahāvihāra and Piccadeniya contain references to donations by physicians (*veja*).⁴ The physician referred to in the latter was a *Brāhmaṇa* who was both king's physician and teacher. It should be noted that ancient medical books in India were written in Sanskrit and the *Brāhmaṇas* were the chief masters of this language. Hence it is justifiable to infer that the medical profession was mainly in the hands of *Brāhmaṇas*. There is another reference to an *Upāsaka Veja* in an inscription of the 1st century from Rājagaṇe.⁵

References to physicians are not wanting in the literary sources also in this period. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi established eighteen hospitals in various parts of the country, fully equipped with qualified physicians and other medical facilities.⁶ Buddhadāsa, the grandson of Mahāsena, was renowned as a great physician, and various miraculous cures were attributed to him, even snakes seeking his assistance. A jewel which he is said to have received from a snake in gratitude for a cure, he placed in the stone-image in the Abhayagiri Vihāra. It is said that he appointed a royal physician for every ten villages, and established hospitals for the crippled and the dumb and also for animals.⁷ This shows that not only the *Brāhmaṇas* but also the nobles practised medicine as time went on. Further, when the field of education gradually changed from the hands of the *Brāhmaṇas* to those of the Buddhist monks, after the 3rd century B.C., some of the Buddhist monks too became proficient in medicine.

According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, once when the queen of Vasabha fell ill, her attendant went to the elder Mahāpaduma for treatment. The queen, after her recovery, offered the elder three robes and 300 *kahāpanas* as a mark of gratitude

¹ See, *supra*, p. 37-40

² *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. V, p. 75.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 113.

⁴ *CJSG.*, II, p. 26 ; *U C R.*, VII, p. 241, No. 4, Note 32.

⁵ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. V, p. 74.

⁶ *Mv.*, XXXII, v. 38.

⁷ *Mv.*, XXXVII, vv. 105 ff.

(*ācariyabhāga*).¹ This shows clearly that there were some monks who were experts in medicine. But it is to be noted that according to the *Dighanikāya*, the monks are instructed not to practise medicine² because it is considered a secular science (*tiracchāna-vijjā*). But according to the *Samantapāsādikā*, this condemnation was modified in such a way that the monks could treat their fellow-monks, certain very close relations, such as parents, and some others intimately connected with them in their monastic life.³ If a layman requests a monk to treat a patient or prepare some medicine, the request should not be complied with. The laymen should know the 'proper' way of consulting a monk. If a layman were to inquire from a monk as to what should be given for a certain ailment, then it is proper to tell him. The *Samantapāsādikā* further says that if a man says to a monk : 'Sir, my mother is ill ; please prescribe some medicine', he should not be given any prescription. But monks may start a conversation among themselves about what they gave to a certain monk when he was suffering from a similar illness. If the man listens to the conversation and treats his mother accordingly there is nothing wrong.⁴ When the attendant of the queen of Vasabha went to the elder Mahāpaduma for medicine, he started a conversation with other monks in exactly the same way as described above. This shows quite clearly that the monks of his period did not practise medicine as a profession but as a service, within the scope of the rules of discipline. But this relaxation in the rules at the commentarial stage, no doubt encouraged some of the monks in later times to devote a good deal of their life for medical practice. Beside this, there were a few other professions which can be included in the category of intellectual occupations, such as scribe (*lekhaka*) and store-keeper (*koṭagarika*). The *Mahāvamsa* refers to *lekhakadhittikā* who was the queen of Mahāsena.⁵ Three pre-Christian inscriptions at Maha Ālagamuva refer to persons who were store-keepers.⁶

Military Occupations

Frequent references to the four-fold army and the five weapons in the *Mahāvamsa* are evidence of the professional military life.⁷

The army no doubt played the most important role so far as both the internal and the external defence of the country was concerned. It was, therefore, necessary, as far as possible, for the king to appoint those who were closely connected with the royal family to the high posts in the army. In ancient times, the commander of the army (*senāpati*) held a prominent position in the state. According to the *Arthaśāstra*, in India, too, the *Senāpati* was the highest commander of the whole

¹ *SMP.*, p. 237.

² *DN.*, I, pp. 9, 54.

³ *SMP.*, pp. 335-336.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 336-337.

⁵ *Mv.*, VII, v. 16 ; XVIII, v. 29 ; XXV, v. 81.

⁶ *Mv.*, XXXVII, v. 26.

⁷ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. V, p. 74.

army and ranked with the heir-apparent and the *Purohita* in respect of salary.¹ The position of the *Senāpati* in Ceylon too was no doubt the same as that of the *Senāpati* in India of the same period.

Ariṭṭha was the sister's son and the *Senāpati* of Devānaṃpiya Tissa.² Yasalālaka Tissa's commander-in-chief was the uncle of Vasabha who was a Lambakaṇṇa.³ An inscription of the 2nd century B. C. also refers to a *Senāpati* who was a *Parumaka*.⁴ There is another reference to a *Parumaka* who was the son of a *Senāpati*.⁵

Other high officials of the army too seem to have mainly belonged to the class of nobles. According to both the *Mahāvamsa*⁶ and the *Rasavāhiṇī*,⁷ all the ten paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi were the sons of *Kuṭumbikas*. These *Kuṭumbikas* enjoyed high social status equivalent to that of the nobles. Of the ten paladins, Nandimitta was the nephew of Mitta, the commander-in-chief of Eḷāra.⁸ According to the *Rasavāhiṇī*, Goṭṭhayaṃbara was in the habit of sitting on a chair of height equal to that of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (*raññā saddhiṃ saṃsaṃdanto nisīdi*).⁹ Thus it is clear that all the army commanders and other high officers of the army normally belonged to the class of nobles.

Even when ordinary soldiers were recruited to the army, special care was taken to select them from the noble families (*mahākula*) as far as possible. When Dighāyu, another son of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, was entrusted with the frontier guard against Eḷāra along the Mahāvāliḡaṅga he raised an army of soldiers purely from the noble families.¹⁰ But it is hardly likely that the entire army was recruited from noble families alone, for there could not have been such a large number of nobles in Ceylon during any period of Ceylon history. Yet, there are certainly no references to show that soldiers were recruited from low-caste communities. Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that while all the higher ranks in the four-fold army belonged to the class of nobility, the ordinary soldiers may often have belonged to the class of *Gahapatis*.

Archers and swordsmen formed the main body of the army. Phussadeva, one of the paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was renowned for archery and he was also an expert in fighting with bow and arrow on horse and elephant.¹¹

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, V, 3, p. 247 ; Shamastry's Trns., p. 307.

² *Mv.*, XI, v. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, XXXV, v. 59.

⁴ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. II, p. 130, No. 21.

⁵ Parker, *AC.*, p. 432, No. 44.

⁶ *Mv.*, Ch. 23.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, pp. 78-114.

⁸ *Mv.*, XXIII, vv. 4, 8 ; *Rsv.*, II, p. 79.

⁹ *Rsv.*, II, pp. 94-95.

¹⁰ *Rsv.*, II, p. 84.

¹¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 101.

Epigraphic records of this period also contain references to archery. They are mentioned in two inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries, found at Haṅdagala and Nuvarakanda¹. *Danuacariya* referred to in the Nuvarakanda inscription indicates that there were experts in archery, who trained others also in that art. Another inscription at Roṭṭakulam near Potuvil refers to *Danuga Sumanaha*.²

Three other paladins of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Nandimitta,³ Suranimala⁴ and Dāthāsena⁵ were expert swordsmen, while Veḷusumana was a famous fighter on horse back,⁶ and probably was the commander of the cavalry. Labhiyavasabha was a famous fighter on elephants,⁷ and was probably the commander of the elephant force.

Cottage industries and crafts

Cottage industries and crafts were normally followed by those of the non-agricultural population whose social status was lower than that of the *Vaiśyas*. Weaving, pottery-making, and sugar-milling were the best known cottage industries of this period. According to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* these were generally considered as low occupations (*hīna-sippa*).⁸ This means that those who followed them also were considered as low-caste people.

Weaving

We have seen earlier⁹ that the manufacture of cotton cloth was in an advanced condition in Ceylon during this period. This can also be established from the fact that cotton cloths formed one of the most important articles of the country's foreign trade.¹⁰ There is therefore no doubt that weaving was an important cottage industry.

Among the families sent to Ceylon by Asoka along with the Sacred *Bodhi* Tree mention is made in the *Mahāvamsa* of those of weavers.¹¹ According to the *Chronicles*, weaving was widespread among the inhabitants of this country as early as the 5th century B. C. The *Mahāvamsa* states that Kuveṇi sat under the foot of a tree spinning cotton (*kantanti*) on the day when Vijaya and his followers landed in Ceylon.¹²

¹ *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. V, p. 223, No. 15.

² *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. V, p. 74.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 83.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 105.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 103.

⁸ *SMV.*, p. 930.

⁹ See, *supra*, p. 141.

¹⁰ See, *supra*, p. 141.

¹¹ *Mv.*, XIX, v. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, VII, v. II.

A weaver is referred to in one inscription of the 1st century A. D., found at Hittaragama Hinna. In another of the same period, found at Kaduruvāva, a tank named *Pehekaravavi* (weaver's tank) occurs.¹ According to the *Sihalavatthu* there was a famous tailor (*tunnāvāya*) named Tissa in Anurādhapura during the reign of Saddhātissa.² The *Mahāvamsa* also states that there were many tailors in Anurādhapura. When Duṭṭhagāmaṇi lay on his death bed, Saddhātissa is said to have shown him the proposed structure of the Mahāthūpa, 120 cubits in height, covered with white cloths stitched by tailors within a very short period of time.³ This shows the availability of cloth in abundance and the presence of tailors in large numbers at this time. Thus it is clear that the weaving industry was highly developed during this period. As time went on these weavers also formed distinct communities and used to live in separate villages specially meant for them.⁴

Pottery

Pottery was another important cottage industry. The excavation of the Tissa Tank in Anurādhapura throws some light as to the existence of a potters' village. Thousands of fragments of pottery found at this place, a few of which were inscribed with early Brāhmī letters are certainly of pre-Christian date. In two instances there are words on the upturned sides of rice-plates, which appear to be the names of the persons for whom they were made. One was inscribed "*Gapati Sivasa*", and the other is ". . . . ke Dayapusaha Aba". On all other fragments only one or two letters were found.⁵ These numerous fragments of pottery provide clear evidence of the early existence of the potter's wheel in Ceylon.⁶ The *Sihalavatthu* refers to a potter who, seeing a carter's bull abandoned in mud, took its skin in order to prepare clay.⁷ We have seen earlier⁸ that numerous potters lived in Ceylon during this period. An inscription at Patahamalla⁹ refers to yet another potter and yet another unpublished inscription at Mihintale records a donation by a potter named Tisa (*Kubala Tisa*).¹⁰ Potters too formed a separate class in society and had separate settlements named after their occupation as *Kumbhakāragāma*.¹¹

Sugar-milling

Sugar-milling was another important industry. Mahācūli Mahātissa, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, once did labour in a sugar-mill (*gulayantamhi*) where jaggery was

¹ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. V, p. 71.

² *Sihv.*, pp. 1-4.

³ *Mv.*, XXXII, v. 3.

⁴ *Mv.*, XL, v. 96.

⁵ *AC.*, pp. 44-62.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁷ *Sihv.*, p. 15.

⁸ See, *supra*, p. 57.

⁹ *CJSG.*, II, p. 192.

¹⁰ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. V, p. 76.

¹¹ See, *supra*, p. 58.

made and obtained jaggery as his wages which he offered to the monks.¹ A 4th century inscription at Tissamahārāma incorporates a grant of land for the cultivation of sugar-cane.²

The *Sihalavatthu* refers to a merchant of Anurādhapura, who once transported a cart-load of jaggery to a market for sale.³ According to both the *Mahāvamsa*⁴ and the *Rasavāhini*⁵ Duṭṭhagāmaṇi used to offer the Preachers of the Doctrine (*Dhammakathika*) of every monastery in the Island one *nāli* (three pints)⁶ of jaggery four times a month. The *Rasavāhini* also reports that when, once a sowing festival was going on in the field of a rich man, five hundred monks of the Abhayagiri monastery came to his house for alms on a mischievous invitation given by an enemy of the farmer, his wife without any hesitation or difficulty prepared a special meal with ghee, honey and jaggery.⁷ Kākavaṇṇa Tissa is said to have offered every day curd and jaggery and various kinds of rice-cakes prepared out of jaggery to thousands of monks at the royal monastery in Mahāgāma.⁸ All these references clearly show that sugar-milling was a prosperous cottage industry in Ceylon during this period.

Although direct references are not to be found, it is likely that other types of cottage industries such as bamboo-work and mat-making, *etc.* also existed, for the *Sumāngalavīlāsini* in enumerating low-occupations refers to the workers in bamboo (*naḷakāra*),⁹ while in other commentaries references are made to mat-making (*kaṭasāraka*).¹⁰

Metal Work

Blacksmiths

Blacksmiths (*kammāra*) are not particularly referred to in the Chronicles or epigraphic records; yet, we have references in other sources to weapons and tools of iron and steel made on a large scale during this period. Frequent references to the five weapons of war (*pañcāyudha*) both in the *Mahāvamsa*¹¹ and the *Rasavāhini*¹² and to various tools such as axe (*pharasu*), mamoty or digging-hoe (*kuddāla*) and adze (*vāsi*), *etc.*¹³ clearly indicate that metal work was an important craft. In our sources,

¹ *Mv.*, XXXIV, vv. 4, 5.

² *AIC.*, p. 67.

³ *Sihv.*, p. 15.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXII, vv. 44-45.

⁵ *Rsv.*, II, p. 77.

⁶ *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 83.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 166.

⁸ *Sihv.*, p. 80.

⁹ *Smv.*, p. 930.

¹⁰ *J.*, VI, p. 574; *DA.*, I, p. 137; *DhA.*, II, p. 183.

¹¹ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 82.

¹² *Rsv.*, II, p. 75.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 88.

the five weapons of war are not enumerated anywhere. Hence it is difficult to determine their exact nature. However, sword, bow and javelin are the weapons most frequently referred to in our sources.

It is stated in the *Mahāvamsa* that Vijaya was armed with both a sword and a bow when he landed in Ceylon.¹ We have seen earlier that some of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's paladins were expert sword fighters while others were archers.² In Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's battle, the chiefs on both sides fought with swords,³ while both Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Eḷāra while on elephants-back fought with javelins.⁴ A javelin is also referred to in Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's fighting with his brother, Tissa while on horse-back.⁵

Copper-smiths

The fact that the Lohapāsāda was roofed with copper⁶ indicates that there were copper-smiths also. It is said that this copper was miraculously found in the village called Tambapiṭṭhigāma during Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's time.⁷ A reference is made in the *Mahāvamsa* to a statue of the Buddha, which was established in the shrine-room near the Sacred *Bōdhi* Tree by the King Vohāarakatissa.⁸ The *Sihalavatthu* speaks of a smith who worked both in copper and gold.⁹ One of the Vessagiri inscriptions also refers to a goldsmith.¹⁰ From these evidences it is difficult to determine as to what community did these smiths belong. But it is certain that they were not considered as low caste people, because they were the people who made ornaments, weapons of war and other metal crafts for the royal families in those days. The *Sihalavatthu* speaks of a goldsmith who made ornaments for King Saddhātissa.¹¹

Carpenters

Both in the Chronicles and the pre-Christian inscriptions mention is made of carpenters. *Vaḍaka Sumana*¹² and *Vaḍaka Suvatiya*¹³ occurring in two donative inscriptions at Situlpahuva are direct references to carpenters. The Pāli term *Vaḍḍhaki* was used to denote all those who engaged in various types of building works.¹⁴ According to the *Mahāvamsa* Duṭṭhagāmaṇi consulted five hundred brick layers (*iṭṭhaka*

¹ *Mv.*, VII, v. 19.

² See, *supra*, p. 361.

³ *Mv.*, XXV, vv. 58-64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXV, vv. 69-70.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXIV, v. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXVII, v. 42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, v. 16.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXVI, v. 31.

⁹ *Sihv.*, p. 107.

¹⁰ *EZ.*, I, p. 18.

¹¹ *Sihv.*, p. 107.

¹² *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. II, p. 131, No. 34.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 132, No. 58.

¹⁴ *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, p. 92.

vaḍḍhaki) about the construction of the Mahāthūpa,¹ and the chief architect was rewarded with a suit of clothes worth one thousand coins, a pair of slippers, and twelve thousand *kahāpaṇas*, possibly as the consulting fee.² A reference to a carpenter of the lord Vasabha (*Bata Vasaha*) of Rōhaṇa,³ gives interesting evidence of the existence of carpenters and builders who were not self-employed, but served a single master. The *Bata Vasaha* referred to seems to have been a local chief and not a king, since no royal titles are given. The carpenter concerned was evidently fairly prosperous, since he gave a cave to the Order.

Vaṭuka, a South Indian, became the city carpenter (*nagaravaḍḍhaki*) of Anurādhapura, gained the confidence of the king, and ultimately married queen Anulā.⁴ When King Subha was threatened with danger by the rebel Vasabha, he entrusted his daughter and the royal insignia to an architect to safeguard them.⁵ The *Mahāvamsa Tikā* says that this *vaḍḍhaki* was an intimate friend of the king.⁶

From all these references it is obvious that the carpenters and builders of this period were responsible people in society.

Artists and Entertainers

Reference in the *Mahāvamsa* to a hall of paintings (*cittasālā*) gives a clear evidence that painting was a developed art in this period.⁷ The *Mahāvamsa* also speaks of the wall-paintings depicting events in the life of the Buddha, in the relic-chamber of the Mahāthūpa.⁸ A reference is made to a *Citakara Data* in an unpublished inscription found at Bellavagala in Vilacciya Korale.⁹ When Duṭṭhagāmaṇi lay on his death bed, Saddhātissa employed painters to decorate the artificial structure of the Mahāthūpa with all kinds of beautiful paintings.¹⁰ The *Visuddhimagga* speaks of a cave which was adorned with beautiful paintings.¹¹ Besides these there were sculptors (*Rupadaka*),¹² ivory carvers (*Dantakāra*)¹³ and jewellers (*Maṇikāra*).¹⁴

Music, musicians, singers and dancers both male and female are frequently referred to in the *Mahāvamsa*.¹⁵ Epigraphic records of this period also refer to dancers (*naṭa*). One inscription at Sāsseruva contains references to a dancer named Cuḍa

¹ *Mv.*, XXX, v. 5.

² *Ibid.*, XXX, v. 14.

³ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. II, p. 132, No. 58.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXXIV, v. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXV, vv. 101-104.

⁶ *MvT.*, p. 650.

⁷ *Mv.*, 20, 53.

⁸ *Mv.*, 30, 78-88.

⁹ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. V, p. 72.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, 32, 1-6.

¹¹ *VSM.*, I, p. 38.

¹² *CJSG.*, II, p. 214.

¹³ See, *supra*, pp. 140.

¹⁴ *CJSG.*, II, p. 203, No. 617 ; *JRASC.B.*, Vol. 36, No. 98 ; *ASCAR*, 1911-12, No. 97.

¹⁵ *Mv.*, 25, 99, 102 ; 31, 37, 82, 112 ; 32, 78 ; 34, 60, 77.

who was a *Gapati*. Another inscription of the same place refers to yet another dancer and his son who was also a dancer.¹ It is clear from these inscriptions that dancers could belong to the *Gahapati* class (*Vaiśya*), and that this profession also was hereditary.

Other crafts and vocations

Besides, there were many other professions which can be included in the category of crafts and cottage industries which were considered very low, such as the professions of hunters,² fishermen,³ washermen,⁴ barbers,⁵ and labourers.⁶ The lowest of these were the *Caṇḍālas* whom we have discussed earlier.⁷

¹ *JRASC.B.*, NS., Vol. v. p. 76.

² See, *supra*, p. 70.

³ See, *supra*, p. 59.

⁴ See, *supra*, p. 57.

⁵ See, *supra*, p. 58.

⁶ See, *supra*, p. 65.

⁷ See, *supra*, pp. 66 ff.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EFFECT OF BUDDHISM ON SOCIETY

It is clear from what was discussed in the previous chapters that the caste system was deeply rooted in Ceylon, almost in the same pattern as it was in India during this period. Therefore, in order to understand how far Buddhism influenced Ceylon society, it is necessary to examine whether the caste system was in existence during the period prior to the advent of Mahinda.

There is no doubt that the cultural contact between India and Ceylon, which may have started somewhere in the 5th century B. C., strengthened their cordial relations to a remarkable degree. According to the Chronicles it was Vijaya and his band of followers who first brought Indian political, social and religious ideologies to Ceylon.¹ Further, they obtained maidens as their wives from Madurā, the capital of the Pāṇḍya Kingdom of South India.² The king of Madurā is said to have sent suitable girls (*kaññāyo ca yathārahaṃ*) in keeping with the social status of the followers of Vijaya.³ In addition to this he also is reported to have sent one thousand families of eighteen guilds.⁴ Vijaya's nephew, Paṇḍuvāsudeva is said to have married a Sākyan princess from North India.⁵ Later on, her six brothers came to Ceylon and established settlements in various parts of the country.⁶ Dīghāyu, who was one of the six Sākyan princes, was the grand-father of Paṇḍukābhaya, perhaps the greatest king of pre-Buddhist Ceylon.⁷ Paṇḍukābhaya too was careful not to get married to a maiden from a family below his own.⁸ These incidents lead us to infer that the early kings, ministers and others were very particular about their marriage with girls of equal ranks. Vijaya's refusal to be consecrated without a girl from a family equal to his own⁹ alone shows how far he was conscious of his caste. His followers too may have maintained a similar outlook as far as their place in society was concerned. This may have been the reason why the king of Madurā had to select suitable girls from the families of his ministers.¹⁰ Thus we see that Ceylon was influenced by the Hindu way of life especially by the caste system, during this period.

The fact that there were *Brāhmaṇas*¹¹ in Ceylon before the advent of Mahinda, bears testimony to the fact that Brāhmaṇism was the earliest civilised religion in

¹ *Mv.*, Chap., 7 ; *Dv.*, IX, vv. 21 ff.

² *Ibid.*, VII, v. 57.

³ *Ibid.*, VII, v. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, v. 56.

⁵ *Mv.*, VIII, vv. 18-28.

⁶ *Mv.*, IX, vv. 6-11.

⁷ *Mv.*, VI, vv. 13-27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, X, v. 35.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VII, v. 47.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, v. 52.

¹¹ See, *supra*, pp. 14-16.

Ceylon. The epigraphic records assigned to the period immediately after the introduction of Buddhism, too, speak of the presence of *Brāhmaṇas*.¹ It is therefore justifiable to suppose that they were living in pre-Buddhist Ceylon.

Although these records do not reveal whether these *Brāhmaṇas* performed Vedic sacrifices and other religious rites, the word *Yagadata* (giver of sacrifice) which occurs in one of the Vessagiri cave inscriptions suggests that there were sacrificial priests also.²

On the other hand in the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* the Buddha explains that *Yājaka* is the person who maintains himself by the profession of *Purohita*.³ According to the Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon there were several *Purohitas* in pre-Buddhist Ceylon. There is, therefore, no doubt that these *Purohitas* performed Vedic sacrifices in Ceylon during this period.

Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have built here and there (*tahim tahim*) in Anudrāhapura houses named *Sivikāsālā* and *Sothhisālā*.⁴ *Sothhisālā*, according to the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, means either a hall where the *Brāhmaṇas* recite *Sothhivacana* or a hospital.⁵ Geiger has accepted the second interpretation in his *Mahāvamsa* translation.⁶ But the equivalent Skt. word *Svastivacana* according to Monier-Williams⁷ means a kind of religious rite preparatory to a sacrifice or any solemn observance, performed by scattering boiled rice on the ground and invoking blessings by the repetition of certain *Mantras*. As these names are mentioned along with other names of buildings of religious nature it is more likely that *Sothhisālā* was a religious place than a hospital.

The word *Sivikāsālā* is explained by the commentator as either a hall meant for the phallic symbol of Śiva or a lying-in-home.⁸ Geiger has, again, accepted the second interpretation according to his translation.⁹ But Paranavitana says that the first interpretation is more acceptable, because this name is also mentioned in company with other buildings of a religious nature. If so, phallic worship formed part of the religion of the people of Ceylon in the time of Paṇḍukābhaya.¹⁰

But according to the *Petavatthu*¹¹ and the *Vinaya*¹² *Sivikā* means a palanquin, a litter. *Sivikāgabbha*, according to the *Vinaya* means a room in shape like a

¹ See, *supra*, pp. 14-17.

² *JRASC.B.*, Vol. 31, p. 323.

³ *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 119.

⁴ *Mv.*, X, v. 102.

⁵ *MvT.*, p. 296.

⁶ Geiger, *Mv.*, Trs., p. 75.

⁷ Monier-Williams *Skt. Eng. Dic.*, S. V. Svasti.

⁸ *MvT.*, p. 296 " *Sivikāsālā nāma sivaliṅga-pattiṭṭhāpitasālā vijāyanagharaṃ vā*".

⁹ Geiger, *Mv.*, Trs., p. 75.

¹⁰ *JRASC.B.*, Vol. 31, p. 326.

¹¹ *Petavatthu*, I, p. 11

¹² *Vinaya*, I, p. 192.

palanquin.¹ The *Jātaka* speaks of *Sivikā-mañca* in the sense of a throne-palanquin,² and *Sivikā Suvanna* in the sense of a golden litter.³ From all these references it is clear that *Sivikā* means a litter. *Sivikāsālā* may, therefore, be interpreted as a hall in shape like a palanquin (*cf. Sivikā-gabbha*).

On the other hand there is no impossibility of forming a Secondary Derivative form *Sivikā* from the Noun Stem *Siva* which means the god Śiva. When it is used as an adjective to the word *Sālā* which is in the feminine gender, it takes the form of *Sivikā* which means that which belongs to the god Śiva. Hence the word *Sivikā Sālā* may also mean the hall where something which belongs to Śiva is established. The commentator may have thought of this etymological possibility in addition to his acquaintance with the phallic worship which was current in his day, and interpreted *Sivikā Sālā* as the place where the phallic symbol was established, for both in the *Samantapāsādikā*⁴ and in the *Udānaṭṭhakathā*⁵ Buddhaghosa refers to the worship of Śiva. According to the *Mahāvamsa* King Mahāsena is reported to have demolished several shrines of *Devas*.⁶ The *Mahāvamsa Tikā* explains that these *Devālayas* were the shrines where the phallic symbol was established.⁷ One thing is certain that the author of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā* is not confident in his interpretations of this word as he gives two alternative explanations. It is, therefore, quite likely that he gave the first interpretation bearing in his mind the existence of phallic worship during his own day.

Even in India phallic worship was not widespread in Āryan society before the 3rd century B.C., though it had been well known in the Mohenjodaro period. Kauṭilya in enumerating the deities to whom shrines should be dedicated within a king's Capital, mentions *Śiva* also.⁸ The coins of the Arjunāyanas attributed to the second century B.C. show a bull before a *Linga*.⁹ Another coin of Rudra Gupta assigned to the period between 200 and 100 B.C., shows on the reverse a trident between two pillars which may be interpreted as the emblem of Rudra Śiva.¹⁰ These stray references show that Śiva had not yet risen to the position of the Supreme deity as he became to one great section of the Hindus at a later stage. If this was the position of Śaivism in India, it is rather difficult to suppose that Śaivism flourished in Ceylon before 3rd century B.C.

¹ *Vinaya*, II, p. 152.

² *J.*, V, 136, 262.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 52, 89.

⁴ *Samantapāsādikā*, III, p. 626.

⁵ *Udānaṭṭhakathā*, p. 131.

⁶ *Mv.*, XXXVII, v. 40.

⁷ *MvT.*, p. 502.

⁸ *Arthaśāstra*, Samasastrī's Trs. 3rd Edition, p. 59.

⁹ Allen, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. LXXXII.

¹⁰ Allen, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. CXVIII.

On the other hand, frequent references to the word Śiva in epigraphic records of Ceylon from 3rd century B. C. onwards, cannot simply be ignored. A cave named *Manapasudasana* of prince Duhatara, son of prince Śiva is referred to in an inscriptional record at Lenāgala in the Kāgalla District.¹ Another inscription at Yaṭahalena Vihāra in the same District also refers to a prince named Śiva.² The dedication of a cave by three people is recorded in another inscription.³ Of these three, the first two are *Brāhmaṇas* (*Paṭake*).⁴ The other is a village headman named Śiva (*Gamaka Śiva*). It is evident from this that the village headman Śiva had equal social status with the *Brāhmaṇas*. Also a *Upāsaka* called Śiva is referred to in yet another inscription in Kurunāgala District.⁵ It is to be noted here that the names *Sivadatta*, *Sivadāsa* and *Sivapālita* which appear among the names of other donors in the Bhārhut inscriptions⁶ and on coins⁷ suggest that they were named after the faith they originally professed.

The word *Visadeva* is used as a proper name in another inscription.⁸ He may have assumed this name after the highest god (*Viśva Deva*=*Śiva*) whose worship he or his family originally professed.

Reference to the word *Veḷu* in epigraphic records⁹ also shows the acquaintance of the early Sinhalese with Śaivism. *Veḷ* in Tamil means a folked spear and *Murukan*, one of the sons of Śiva is described as carrying this weapon and referred to as *Vāḷasa*. Hence *Veḷusu* in our inscriptions (*Parumaka Veḷusu putaparumakapusa-devaha lene*)¹⁰ may very well be a reference to *Murukan*. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that those who used the words *Veḷu* and *Veḷusu* in their proper names, at least belonged to the families which professed Śaivism, if they were not Śaivites themselves. Further, the name Śiva has been explained by historians as being at least partly of Dravidian origin.¹¹ It is also believed that in the pre-Aryan period the only country beyond the sea known to the people of the Tamil land was Ceylon.¹² It is, therefore, justifiable to suppose that South India had a strong influence on Ceylon both culturally and socially. Thus the people of Ceylon during this period may have easily come to know of their form of worship—Śaivism, side by side with Brāhmaṇism.

¹ *CJSG.*, II, p. 202, No. 615.

² *CJSG.*, II, p. 203, No. 618.

³ *CJSG.*, II, p. 203, No. 619.

⁴ See, *supra*, p. 16.

⁵ *CJSG.*, II, p. 211, No. 653.

⁶ *EI.*, II, pp. 95-96.

⁷ Allen, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. LXXXIX.

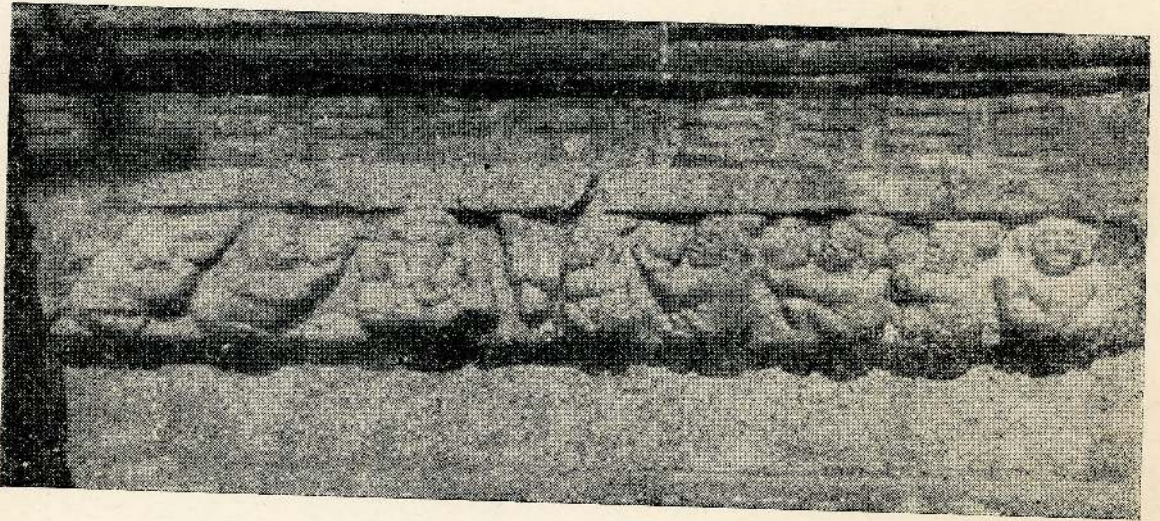
⁸ *JRASC.B.*, New Series, Vol. II, p. 130, No. 12.

⁹ *CJSG.*, II, p. 225, No. 745.

¹⁰ *JRASC.B.*, New Series, Vol. II, p. 132, No. 54.

¹¹ *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, p. 162.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 159.



Frieze from a *VĀHALKADA* at *KANṬAKA-CETIYA*, Mihintalē.
(Archaeological Survey; Ceylon)

Another important Dravidian god is Gaṇeśa. Archaeological evidence from Mihintale suggests the existence of this god in Ceylon during the pre-Christian centuries. The friezes of Gaṇas (dwarfs) on the lower cornice of the Kaṇṭhaka Cetiya at Mihintale are full of interest. Many of these dwarfish beings are portrayed in various amusing attitudes—some playing musical instruments, one sporting with a cobra, another standing on his head, and so on. Some are animal headed. We have one with the head of a horse, another with that of a bear, and yet another with that of a monkey. Particularly interesting is an elephant-headed Gaṇa, apparently with one tusk, attended by other Gaṇas holding various objects. It is possible to conjecture that this is a prototype of Gaṇeśa, the various attributes of the deity being held in the hands of the attendants as the figure is provided with only two hands, unlike the later images which have four.¹

Gaṇeśa according to the Brāhmanical Hindus is a benign god who removes obstacles and who typifies wisdom. The very character of the god as having an elephant-head shows his native Indian or non-Āryan origin.² Paranavitana is of opinion that the date of the original Kaṇṭhaka Cetiya where these dwarfish figures are found is earlier than the 1st century B. C. and that it is therefore one of the earliest religious monuments in the Island.³ If this is to be accepted it is reasonable to infer that the people in Ceylon during the early pre-Christian centuries at least had the knowledge of Gaṇapati as a deity of some importance.

This is very surprising, since the god Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati occurs neither in Tamil nor in Sanskrit literary sources until very much later, and images of him are not to be found before the mediaeval period. Nevertheless the figure in question is evidently elephant-headed, and the centre of attention of the human-headed Gaṇas on either side, who are making offerings as to a god. He is clearly Gaṇeśa, Lord of Gaṇas, though of course we cannot be sure that he filled exactly the same place as the Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati of later Hindu mythology.

Though we will not contest Dr. Paranavitana's dating of the Stūpa to the 1st century B. C. we cannot avoid the impression that the Freize in question is linked with the later Sculpture of Amarāvati, where similar Gaṇa figures occur, and we would not maintain that the sculpture, as distinct from the structure of the Cetiya, is earlier than the 2nd century A. D. But in any case this is the earliest known representation of an elephant-headed Gaṇa, which gives evidence of the worship of a prototype of Gaṇeśa in Ceylon before he is known to have been worshipped in India.

One of the pre-Christian inscriptions contains a reference to a person called *Bata Vasudeva*.⁴ On the strength of this and considering the religious significance attached to the word *Vāsudeva* one would ask whether the cult of Vāsudeva also was in existence in Ceylon during the early pre-Christian centuries. There is no

¹ ASCAR., 1935.

² *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, p. 162.

³ ASCAR., 1935.

⁴ *CJSG.*, II, p. 107, No. 427.

doubt that in later periods this cult was known to the people of Ceylon too, for in the *Dhammasaṅgani Aṭṭhakathā* a reference is made to the word *Vāsudevāyatana*, which means a temple erected in honour of Vāsudeva.¹ But it is very difficult to believe in the existence of the Vāsudeva cult in Ceylon before 3rd century B.C., for clear evidence of its existence even in India does not go beyond 100 B.C.² Therefore, the only possible suggestion that can be made in this connection is that if the person who used this word as his name knew the meaning of it, he may have had at least some kind of knowledge about the God *Vāsudeva*.

The fact that the people in Ceylon were accustomed to the Hindu way of life in the pre-Christian centuries, is also evident from the references to the astral names used as proper names. It was the usual custom in India to name a person after the *Nakṣatra* in which he was born. This practice, no doubt, was known in Ceylon society also, for some of the personal names occurring in the inscriptional records, are astral ones, such as *Phussadeva*,³ *Anurādha*,⁴ *Visākha*,⁵ *Āsāḷha*⁶ etc. Soothsayers and astrologers are also frequently referred to in our sources during this period.⁷ The *Mahāvamsa* records soothsayers' predictions about the arrival of both Paṇḍuvāsudeva⁸ and Bhaddakaccānā.⁹ Astrologers also declared that Ummācittā's son would slay his uncles.¹⁰ Paṇḍukābhaya also consulted learned astrologers about the suitability of the site where Anurādhapura was to be built.¹¹

Besides, there were a few local deities belonging to particular trades. The *Mahāvamsa* speaks of the God of hunters (*Vyādha-deva*) to whom Paṇḍukābhaya allowed a site for worship by the *Vyādhas* who lived in Anurādhapura.¹² According to the *Mahābodhi Vamsa*¹³ there was another such deity called *Kammāradeva* or 'the God of blacksmiths'. When Devānampiya Tissa marked out the sacred ground for the *Saṅgha* in Anurādhapura, it is said that he sited the shrine dedicated to this God as a mark of one boundary. In addition to these deities of particular castes there was also a city-God (*Puradeva*) who was considered as the guardian deity of the city of Anurādhapura.¹⁴

¹ *Dhammasaṅgani Aṭṭhakathā*, p. 141.

² *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, pp. 90-91.

³ *JRASC*, Vol. II, New Series, p. 130, No. 24 ; p. 132, No. 55, 56, 61.

⁴ *Mv.*, IX, vv. 9, 11 ; *AC.*, p. 420, 437, No. 50, 444, No. 65 ; 454, No. 82.

⁵ *AC.*, p. 429, No. 25 ; *CJSG.*, II, p. 216, No. 686.

⁶ *AC.*, p. 444, No. 62 ; *CJSG.*, II, p. 192, No. 551.

⁷ See, *supra*, pp. 145.

⁸ *Mv.*, VIII, v. 14.

⁹ *MvT.*, p. 227.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, IX, v. 2.

¹¹ *Mv.*, X, v. 75.

¹² *Ibid.*, X, v. 89.

¹³ *Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 136.

¹⁴ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 87.

From the above discussion it becomes clear that the majority of civilized people in pre-Buddhist Ceylon were followers of Hinduism in one form or another, and there were also representatives of heterodox Indian religions such as Jains and Ājīvikas.¹ It is therefore obvious that the pattern of society which existed in Ceylon was based on the caste system laid down by the Hindu law-givers in India. In other words, the social structure in Ceylon before the advent of Mahinda was much the same as in India during that period.

The Buddhist mission to Ceylon led by Mahinda in the 3rd century B. C. undoubtedly brought with it the Buddha's teachings on caste as expressed by him in the 6th century B. C. in India. It is, therefore, necessary here to examine what was his attitude towards this question, in order to understand the changes, if any, that took place in the social outlook owing to the Buddhist influence.

By the time Buddhism arose the caste system was firmly established as a social institution in India. Moreover, this was developed into a sacred and religious institution by the *Brāhmaṇas*. Consequently certain sections of the society, particularly *Śūdras* and other low-caste people, were deprived of social, economic and religious rights and privileges enjoyed by the members of other castes.² Hence the Buddha who stood both as a religious and a social reformer, had to make the people understand the futility of the caste system at least as far as their spiritual attainments were concerned. He demonstrated the futility of caste distinctions by the following simple arguments.

The *Brāhmaṇas* are represented as saying: "the *Brāhmaṇa* is the best colour (caste), other castes are low; the *Brāhmaṇa* is the white colour, other colour is dark; the *Brāhmaṇas* are purified, not non-*Brāhmaṇas*. The *Brāhmaṇas* are the true sons of Brahma, born from his mouth, Brahma-born, Brahma-created, heirs of Brahma".³

The same description is given by King Avanti Putta of Mathurā to the elder Mahākaccāna. The elder shows that a wealthy *Kṣatriya* can have one of the other castes to minister him. If a *Brāhmaṇa* were a thief or adulterer, he would be punished like any other.⁴ After the king was convinced of the equality of the four *varṇas*, through this discourse, the king says: "O, venerable sir, it is certainly true that the members of all the four *varṇas* are equal in their social ranks".⁵

The *Assalāyana Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* states that the *Brāhmaṇa* is brought forth from the womb of a woman in exactly the same way as any other man.⁶ The *Brāhmaṇa* is a specifically Indian phenomenon. In the neighbouring countries no *Brāhmaṇa* exists. In those countries like Yona and Kambhoja there are only masters (*Ayyo*) and slaves (*Dāso*). Those who are rich are masters, and those who

¹ JRASCB., Vol. 31, pp. 203, ff.

² *Manu.*, IV, 80, 81; 8, 413-414; 10, 96, 139; II, 73-87; 12, 43.

³ *Majjhima*, II, 84; *Digha*, II, 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 88.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, p. 86.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, p. 148.

are poor are slaves. The rich may become poor, and the poor rich.¹ "If a *Brāhmaṇa* commits sin, he suffers for it like every other man. Like every other man the *Brāhmaṇa* also has to abstain from evil deeds, if he desires salvation".² The *Śūdra*, who is despised for his caste, is as much capable of good thoughts and noble deeds as the *Brāhmaṇa*. If a bath can purify a *Brāhmaṇa*, it can equally purify a man of any other caste.³

"Nor does fire show any special regard for differences of caste. The fire produced by the members of the so called highest caste by rubbing costly fragrant sticks, arises just in the same way as that produced by the members of the so called lowest caste by rubbing pieces of wood from a dirty foul-smelling dog-trough (*Sāpāna doni*), a pig-trough (*Sūkara doni*), a washerman's trough (*Rajaka doni*) or castor oil twigs (*Eraṇḍakatṭha*).⁴ When sexual intercourse takes place between the members of different castes, the children in all cases take after the mother as well as the father, and there is no difficulty in assigning them to their proper parents.⁵

In the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* found both in the *Majjhima Nikāya*⁶ and the *Sutta Nipāta*,⁷ the Buddha argues as follows: "All human beings have organs exactly alike; there is not the slightest difference in kind. In plants, insects, fishes, snakes, birds, quadrupeds, the marks that constitute the species are abundant, whereas among men this is not the case. Neither the hair, nor the formation of the skull, nor the colour of the skin, nor the vocal organs, nor any other part of the body exhibits any special differences. By birth and descent all men are alike; they become different only through differences in occupations, and they are designated accordingly. Some are called farmers, some artisans, some merchants, some sacrificers, some kings, some robbers and so on".

Accordingly the Buddha emphasised the ethical standard of an individual alone as the criterion for superiority among mankind. For distributing alms the *Brāhmaṇas* prefer an ethically good natured man, even when he may not have gone through the initiation ceremony (*Anūpanīto*) known as 'second birth'.⁸ Thus the Buddha showed that one's own superiority or purity lies not in one's own birth and descent but in one's conduct only.

The *Esukāri Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* also contains some discussions about the quality of mankind. Here *Esukāri* states that a *Brāhmaṇa* should be served by any of the four castes, a *Kṣatriya* by any of the three lower, a *Vaiśya* by the two lowest and a *Śūdra* only by a *Śūdra*. The Buddha rejects this Brāhmaṇic convention

¹ *Majjhima*, p. 149.

² *Ibid*, II pp. 149-150.

³ *Ibid*, p. 151.

⁴ *Ibid*, II. p. 152.

⁵ *Ibid*, II. p. 153.

⁶ *Ibid*, II pp. 300 ff.

⁷ *Sutta Nipāta*, pp. 115, ff.

⁸ *Majjhima*. II, p. 154.

and says that whatever the service which makes a man better and not worse should be undertaken. He is not better or worse through high birth, high caste or great wealth. He further says that even if of high birth he is rewarded according to his actions, not according to his caste. Again Esukāri maintains that the castes are distinguished by their sources of income, the *Brāhmaṇa* by living on alms, the *Kṣatriya* by his bow and arrows, the *Vaiśya* by farming and cattle-rearing and the *Sūdra* by his sickle and carrying pole. But the Buddha replies that those four classes are mere designations in accordance with their birth, just as a fire that burns logs is a wood-fire, or a fire that burns straw a straw-fire. But the functions of the fire are the same.¹ Thus the Buddha explained the equality of mankind in terms of their functions.

In the *Vasala Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* he further explains this as follows : “ He is a *caṇḍāla* who cherishes hatred ; who torments and kills living beings ; who steals, or commits adultery ; who does not pay his debts ; who maltreats aged parents, or fails to support them ; who gives evil counsel and hides the truth ; who does not return hospitality nor render it ; who exalts himself and debases others ; who ignores the virtues of others and is jealous of their success. He is a *Brāhmaṇa* who is free from sin. Not by birth does one become a *Caṇḍāla*, nor by birth does one become a *Brāhmaṇa* ; by deeds one becomes a *Caṇḍāla*, by deeds one becomes a *Brāhmaṇa* ”.²

The Buddha thus proved that there is no caste as such. He admitted everybody without any distinction of caste or creed into the *Saṅgha*. In the *Pahārāda Sutta* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*³ he says that just as the rivers, differently named, lose their identity when they enter the ocean and are henceforth known as the great ocean, so do the members of the four castes lose their former identity as soon as they enter the Order, and are henceforth known as the *Śramaṇas*, the *Sākya* sons (*Samaṇā Sakyaputtiyā*). Not only the members of all the four castes but also the outcastes were admitted to the *Saṅgha*.⁴

The conclusion that can be arrived at from this is that there is no caste difference whatsoever among the members of the *Saṅgha*. But on the other hand, it is also evident that among the laity the convention of caste was deeply rooted.

As he found there was no other way of dispelling this convention, the Buddha found a solution to this in the interpretation of *Karma*. This was explained in the *Cullakammavibhaṅga Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*.⁵ According to this, the Buddha says that a man is reborn in a high caste (*Uccakulīno*) or in a low-caste (*Nicakulīno*) as a result of his *Karma* in a previous birth just as he is short-lived (*Appāyuka*) or long-lived (*Dīghāyuka*), healthy (*Appābādha*) or sickly (*Bavhābādha*),

¹ *Majjhima* II, p. 154.

² *Sutta Nipāta*, p. 21.

³ *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, p. 737.

⁴ *Theragāthā*, pp. 277 ff.

⁵ *Majjhima*, III, pp. 241 ff.

beautiful (*Vaṇṇavanta*) or ugly (*Dubbhaṇṇa*), powerful (*Mahesakka*) or weak (*Appesakka*), rich (*Mahābhoga*) or poor (*Appabhoga*), wise (*Paññavanta*) or foolish (*Duppañña*) according to his previous *Karma*. Thus all differences whether social, economic, intellectual or physical are explained in terms of the theory of *Karma*.

There is no doubt that after the advent of Mahinda these ideas played an important role in the social life of the people of Ceylon. The caste distinction among the people in Ceylon during this period was purely an economic factor. It had no religious or spiritual bearing whatsoever. It was not a system of caste but a system of class only, for the people of all walks of life enjoyed the freedom of religion irrespective of their social ranks which they achieved purely on occupational grounds. All the people from king to *caṇḍālas* were called *Upāsakas* when they took refuge in the *Tisarāṇa*, the *Buddha*, the *Dhamma* and the *Saṅgha*.

It is also evident from epigraphic records of Ancient India that people of different strata of society bore this title *Upāsaka* from the third century B.C. to about the 3rd century A.D.

Asoka himself confessed in several inscriptions¹ that he became a lay-devotee of the Buddha, a few years after his consecration. This change of his religious outlook took place when he came into close contact with the *Saṅgha* (The Community of monks).² The first Rock Edict itself clearly shows that he started his Righteous war (*Dhammavijaya*) by observing the first Precept of the *Pañcasīla*.³ In the same inscription he admonishes his subjects not to become addicted to social amusements.⁴ According to Rock Edict V, he prohibited the killing of certain animals on *upasatha* days,⁵ thereby emphasising the importance of observing the Eight Precepts on these days.

The Kuṭṭa Buddhist Cave Inscriptions (2nd and 1st centuries B.C.) also refer to donations of cave grants by *Upāsakas* to the *Saṅgha*.⁶ A Kol Buddhist Cave Inscription (2nd and 1st centuries B.C.) too refers to a grant of a cave to the *Saṅgha* by an *Upāsaka*.⁷ In the Amarāvati Buddhist Cave Inscriptions (2nd century B.C.) again, the word *Upāsaka* appears among the names of donors of cave grants to the *Saṅgha*.⁸ The Sue *Vihāra* Inscription (c. 78 A.D.) refers to a gift of *Vihāra* by an *Upāsikā* called Balanandī.⁹ Similarly the Nāsik Buddhist Cave inscriptions,¹⁰ the Junar

¹ *IA*. Vol. VI. p. 155 : *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 49 ff.

“ *Devānam piye hevaṃ āhā sātīlekāni adhitīyāni savacchāni aṃ upāsake sumi. cf. “ budha Sake* ”, in Maski.

² “ *Saṅghe upayite* ”, *Minor Rock Edict I*, Ia, VI, pp. 149 ff.

³ *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 16 ; “ *na kiñci jivaṃ ārabhitpā prajāhūtavyaṃ* ”.

⁴ *Select Inscriptions*, I. p. 16. “ *naca samājo katavyo. cf. “ Samajjābhicarana* ” *Dīgha*. II. p. 182.

⁵ *IA*. Vol. 18, p. 75.

⁶ *ASW I*, Vol. IV, p. No. II ; p. 86, No. 13.

⁷ *ASW I*, Vol. IV, p. 89, No. 4.

⁸ *ASS I*, Vol. I, pp. 82, 90, 106.

⁹ *IA*, Vol. 10. p. 326.

¹⁰ *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 77, No. 9.

Buddhist Cave Inscriptions,¹ the Kānheri Buddhist Cave Inscriptions² and the Ajanta painted Inscriptions,³ contain records of cave grants made to the *Saṅgha* by Buddhist lay-devotees both male and female.

A perusal of these epigraphic records clearly shows that the people both male and female of different strata of society used this title *Upāsaka* or *Upāsikā* as the case may be, irrespective of their castes. Among these *Upāsakas*, there is no doubt that there were at least *Kṣatriyas*,⁴ *Brāhmaṇas*,⁵ and *Vaiśyas*,⁶ if not people from all the four castes. Although it is not quite clear from these records whether the people of the lowest stratum of society (*Śūdra*) were among the other donors, there is no doubt that they enjoyed the right to use the title *Upāsaka* once they had taken refuge in the Triad, for there is a reference in the *Abhijjamāna Petavatthu* to show that there was a barber who was called an *Upāsaka*.⁷ It is also evident from the *Jātakas*⁸ that barbers were considered as low caste people. Thus it is evident from this and from other references,⁹ that the title *Upāsaka* was used by all the Buddhist laity irrespective of the castes to which they belonged.

It is, therefore, justifiable to infer that it was this system and social outlook which was carried to Ceylon along with different streams of cultural influence.

So far as Ceylon is concerned, references are not wanting in the Pāli Chronicles to show that there were Buddhists in Ceylon even before the reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa. Nine months after the Enlightenment, the Buddha is said to have visited Ceylon and preached the Doctrine to the people at Mahiyaṅgana.¹⁰ Having listened to the discourse, many people became *Upāsakas* by taking refuge in the Triad, and the vows of Five Precepts.¹¹ Then on his second visit to Ceylon, five years after his Enlightenment,¹² many people in that part of the Island (*Nāgadīpa*), became *Upāsakas*.¹³ Although the Chronicles do not refer to the conversion of any particular individual on his third visit to Kālaniya, eight years after his Enlightenment,¹⁴ it is evident that he paid this visit at the request of Maniakkhika, the ruler of Kālaniya,

¹ *ASW I.*, Vol. IV, p. 98, No. 34 ; p. 95, No. 15 ; p. 84, No. 7.

² *ASW I.*, Vol. V, p. 78, No. 12 ; p. 85, No. 28 ; p. 79, No. 15.

³ *ASW I.*, Vol. p. 136, No. 2; p. 137, No. 3, 4, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15.

⁴ *IA.*, Vol. VI., p. 155.

⁵ *ASW I.*, Vol. IV, p. 86, No. 13 ; gift of a *brāhmaṇi*, the wife of a *brāhmaṇa* is referred to.

⁶ *ASW I.*, Vol. V, p. 78, No. 12. a gift of a merchant who was an *upāsaka* is referred to here.

⁷ *Petavatthu*, I, " *Abhijjamāna Vatthu* ".

⁸ *Jātaka*, II, p. 5 ; II, p. 452.

⁹ *Samantapāsādikā Commentary*, p. 353.

¹⁰ *Mv.*, I, p. 31

¹¹ *Ibid*, I, p. 32.

¹² *Ibid*, I, p. 47.

¹³ *Ibid*, I, p. 62.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, I, p. 74.

who became an *Upāsaka* three years prior to this visit.¹ It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the followers of this ruler at Kālaniya, too, may have embraced Buddhism on this occasion. After the introduction of Buddhism, almost the entire population of Ceylon practically became Buddhists.²

Although the legends of the Buddha's visit to Ceylon are almost certainly later unreliable traditions, they existed very early, probably in the pre-Asokan centuries of Buddhism. And it is very likely that these traditions evolved in order to give these early Buddhists an even more honourable origin than those converted by Mahinda.

Now there are two questions to be answered so far as the Buddhist laymen in Ceylon are concerned. Whether all the lay Buddhists, irrespective of their different stages of attainment, were called *Upāsakas* or whether all the people of different strata of society who acquired necessary qualifications were called *Upāsakas*, irrespective of their castes, needs examination.

According to the original definition of the term *Upāsaka*, all Buddhist laymen and laywomen, by reason of their taking refuge in the Triad, were entitled to be called *Upāsakas* and *Upāsikās* as a form of address by monks. But for a Buddhist commonly to be called an *Upāsaka* by everybody, he should have acquired certain specific qualities, some of which are referred to in the story of Cūlagalla *Upāsaka* in the *Rasavāhīnī*.³ It is quite evident from this story that to become an *Upāsaka*, in the real sense of the word, one must spend most of his time with the monks,⁴ attending to their needs everyday. Only such a Buddhist is popularly called *Upāsaka* or *Upāsikā* even today in Ceylon society. The evidence of the *Rasavāhīnī* shows that this restricted use of the term is a very old one, but from the frequency of the use of the term in our inscriptions it seems that in the early centuries of Buddhism in Ceylon it had the broader sense of the Pali Scriptures.

Literary and epigraphic records of Ceylon bear ample testimony to show that the Buddhist laity of different social grades were normally called *Upāsakas*. In one inscription both titles *Gapati* and *Upāsaka* were used by one and the same person named Raki.⁵ We have already seen earlier⁷ that the *Gapatis* of Ceylon were identical with the people of the *Vaiśya* caste in India. There is, therefore, no doubt, that the *Vaiśyas* in Ceylon society, too, who were Buddhist, used the title *Upāsaka*.⁸

¹ *Ibid*, I, p. 64.

² There were other religious beliefs, too, before the introduction of Buddhism. Read : *Early History of Buddhism* by Rahula, pp. 34-47.

³ *Rsv.*, I, p. 153.

⁴ *cf.* Asoka's association with the Saṅgha: "Saṅghe upayite", *Minor Rock Edict I*.

⁵ *Rsv.*, II, p. 9 ; p. 144. "Neso upāsako tissa pītā bhātā ca mātulo, na sūāti suhado hoti diṭṭha-samhatthako tava."

⁶ *CJS.*, II, p. 190, No. 543.

⁷ See, *Supra*, pp. 37.

⁸ *CJS.*, II, p. 430, No. 7 ; p. 195, No. 517.

A reference is made to a joint grant by an *Upāsaka* and a *Gapati*.¹ This shows that if they did not enjoy social status of equal rank, they could not have made this grant jointly. Then there is a reference to an *Upāsaka* who was a son of a Brāhmin or of a person of rank equal to that of a Brāhmin.²

It is also evident from the *Rasavāhini* that even *Caṇḍālas* could sometimes be called *Upāsakas*. Once a *Caṇḍāla*, Bahula by name, who knew the art of digging a *Cetiya*, was asked to show how to dig the *Cetiya* by a political aspirant called Sirināga, who was a son of a Brāhmin. But he promptly refused his request saying "how can I, while being an *Upāsaka*, dig a *Cetiya* built in honour of the Buddha?"³ There are a few other references to show that even *Dāsas* who embraced Buddhism were called *Upāsakas*.⁴

Thus it is obvious that, so far as the religious life was concerned, the people of different social grades lost their caste distinctions in the religious life, and were called by a common term *Upāsaka* or *Upāsikā* as the case may be. But in regard to domestic and family matters they no doubt retained their caste distinctions at least to some extent if not in the same form as the Indian caste system.

Thus we see that Buddhist community became an entirely different unit from the rest of the population. They had their own places of worship, their separate ceremonies and priests. Among those who formed themselves into a homogeneous community, with its own ethics and philosophy of life, there were no caste differences.

When the majority of the population embraced Buddhism, the *Brāhmaṇas* had no religious rites and ceremonies to perform, and their place was occupied by *Bhikkhus* as teachers and advisers of the community. It is to be noted that the *Brāhmaṇas* as a class cannot exist apart from Hinduism, nor can they maintain their social status in keeping with their religion, in a society other than Hindu. Consequently the *Brāhmaṇas* also gradually began to embrace Buddhism. There are epigraphic records to show how the *Brāhmaṇas* lost their individuality among other Buddhists after they embraced Buddhism.⁵

There are few references to the *Brāhmaṇas* who acted against Buddhism and Buddhists in Ceylon and to the few *Brāhmaṇas* who failed miserably in their career. One such *Brāhmaṇa* named Sirināga even became a political usurper in Ceylon. The *Rasavāhini* speaks of this *Brāhmaṇa* as a very powerful enemy of Buddhism, who destroyed the *cetiya*s and monasteries wherever possible and captured the throne at Anurādhapura at last. It also adds that soon after he captured Anurādhapura, he was attacked by a disease which was incurable. Hence he reconstructed the *cetiya*s he destroyed as a compensation for his evil deeds. Yet he could not

¹ *CJS.*, II, p. 211, No. 659.

² *Nakatika puta Upāsaka*—See *PARUMAKA* ; *CLJS.*, II, 214, No. 674.

³ *RSV.*, II, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 16 ; p. 32.

⁵ See, *supra*, p. 15.

regain his health.¹ Even though this story is cited as an example to illustrate the evil consequences which one could expect by doing harm to the Buddhist institutions, it also shows the degree of unpopularity one would acquire by doing something which the entire Buddhist population hated.

Another *Brāhmaṇa* called Brāhmaṇa Tissa who raised a revolt in Rohaṇa and spread his disastrous activities all over the country², became so unpopular among the Buddhist community that he was given the most contemptuous designation, Caṇḍāla Tissa.³ These incidents suggest that the political aspirants of early Ceylon should have become at least sympathisers of Buddhism if not genuine Buddhists themselves.

Eḷāra who reigned Ceylon from 205 to 161 B. C. was a non-Buddhist. According to the *Mahāvamsa*⁴ he was a very righteous king. The most remarkable feature of his administration, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, is the emphasis he laid on the administration of justice. But it is rather difficult to believe that he developed religious tolerance in its true spirit. If that was so Duṭṭhagāmaṇi would not have made the statement that he would fight against Eḷāra in order to protect the *Buddha-sāsana* in Ceylon.⁵ But one thing is certain that he was a very clever political administrator. Before he captured Anurādhapura he had realised the importance of adopting himself to the existing society. Thus he was able to rule for forty years without becoming unpopular among the people. This shows what influence Buddhism had, even in the field of politics.

The early history of Ceylon reveals without any shadow of doubt that some of the Sinhalese kings such as Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Saddhātissa were the very embodiments of faith and piety. King Saddhātissa was so famous for his piety that once he is said to have done labour in a paddy field belonging to a house-holder (*Gahapati*=*Vaiśya*),⁶ in order to give alms to the *Saṅgha*,⁷ lowering himself to the rank of a labourer (*Sūdra*). According to legend he raised a girl of a beggar's family to the rank of his daughter and gave her in marriage to his chief minister, as she gave alms to the community of monks with the little money she earned by selling her hair.⁸ We do not suggest that these stories are literally true, but they are indicative of the social and religious atmosphere of the period.

King Mahācūli Mahātissa too is said to have worked as a labourer in a paddy field and in a sugar mill in order to give alms to the *Saṅgha*, in the hope of acquiring more merit.⁹

¹ *Rsv.*, II, p. 8.

² See, *supra*, pp. 15.

³ *Manorathapūraṇi*, I, p. 92.

⁴ *Mv.*, XXI, vv. 15-33.

⁵ *Mv.*, XXV, v. 2.

⁶ See, *supra*, pp. 61-62.

⁷ *Sihalavatthu*, p. 32.

⁸ *Sihalavatthu*, pp. 94-96.

⁹ *Mv.*, 34. 2-5.

Thus Buddhism became such a strong guiding factor in men's lives that sometimes even a common man whose social status was very much lower than that of the king, stood boldly against the orders of the latter. Once a person named Tissa, who was an *Upāsaka*, disobeyed King Saddhātissa, who with the intention of testing the former's faith ordered him to kill a fowl. The king threatened Tissa with punishment by death for disobeying the order, but Tissa was not to be moved by such threats.¹

According to another tradition a peasant of Uttaravaddhamāna, who took the five precepts at the feet of Piṅgala Buddharakkhita was ready to allow the python that caught him in its coils to swallow him rather than kill the dreadful serpent.² Gakkana, another *Upāsaka*, would not destroy the life of a hare even to save the life of his mother.³ These stories again point to the values which developed in the Sinhalese Buddhist society of the time.

Even the *Caṇḍālas* who became *Upāsakas* disobeyed the *Brāhmaṇas* who sometimes enjoyed the status of kings. A *Caṇḍāla* named Bahula together with his seven sons once refused the orders of a very powerful political aspirant called Sirināga, who was also a *Brāhmaṇa*, to break a *cetiya*.⁴ It is also to be noted here that Sirināga in giving them orders, addressed them with the word 'friend' (*Bhaṇe*)⁴ instead of using the normal form of address 'you wretched fellow' (*Are*).⁵ It is also evident from this that the *Upāsakas* were held in high esteem, irrespective of their rank in society.

Further, even the *Brāhmaṇas* who were in the capacity of officiating priests did not show any displeasure or contempt at the sight of *Caṇḍālas* as the case was in India.⁶ When the prince Sāliya had fallen in love with Asokamālā, the *Caṇḍāla* girl, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi requested his *Brāhmaṇa* chaplains to go and examine the auspicious signs on the body of this girl, before he approved the marriage.⁷ They willingly examined her carefully.⁸ It is also reported that after the marriage was approved, the king along with his ministers participated in the marriage ceremony, solemnised the marriage and partook of the meal prepared by Asokamālā herself.⁹

These incidents no doubt bear testimony to the fact that the caste system in Ceylon during this period was not as rigid as in India. This change in social outlook can be attributed purely to the influence of Buddhism. But on the other hand, it should be borne in mind that even Duṭṭhagāmaṇi himself was at first against this marriage, and persuaded the prince to change his mind, assuring him that he would contact

¹ *Saṃyutta Aṭṭhakathā (Sāratthappakāsinī)*, III, p. 49.

² *Papañcasūdanī* (Sin. Edn.) I, 204.

³ *Rsv.*, II, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, p. 8.

⁵ *J.*, IV, p. 386.

⁶ See, *supra*, p. 67.

⁷ *Rsv.*, II, p. 119.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 119.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

a suitable girl either from a royal family or from a *Brāhmaṇa* family on behalf of Sāliya.¹ This shows that the caste system was not completely done away with in Ceylon society in spite of the fact that it was strongly influenced by Buddhism. But certainly the rigidity with which the caste system was held in India was not to be found in Ceylon. The remarkable change that took place in the social outlook in Ceylon was that whatever differences there might have been between the various strata of society in matters mundane, Buddhism brought them all close together on almost an equal level at the place of worship. This is virtually the situation in Buddhist society in Ceylon at the present time. Although the Ceylon caste-system, as it exists today, has undergone some change, its fundamental nature does not appear to have altered for nearly 2,000 years.

¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 119.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

In the light of what we have discussed in the previous chapters the Social Institutions of Early Ceylon during the period under review can broadly be divided into two stages in the process of their development. The first stage covers the period from the Āryan colonisation up to the advent of Mahinda, and the second stage covers the period from the 3rd century B. C. to the 4th century A. D. The advent of Buddhism sharply divided the social history of Ceylon into pre-Buddhist and post-Buddhist periods.

Pre-Buddhist society in Ceylon was more or less the same as that in India of the same period. When the early Āryan colonists migrated to this country both from the North-Western and the North-Eastern parts of India, they brought with them the recollections of the various institutions of their home country. By far the most important of these was the Caste System.

In whatever society in which the *Brāhmaṇas* had much say, the distinctions of different strata of society were well marked. We have seen in a previous chapter the important role played by the *Brāhmaṇas* in the society of pre-Buddhist Ceylon. They were employed as royal chaplains, administrators, teachers, astrologers, soothsayers and sacrificers. When the rulers of the country were at the mercy of the guidance of these *Brāhmaṇas*, they normally had to abide by the *Brāhmaṇic* rules and regulations which governed the society.

Moreover, while Buddhism was hardly known before the advent of Mahinda, the orthodox Indian religions such as Brāhmaṇism, Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism and some heterodox religions such as those of the Jainas, the Ājīvikas and the Parivrajakas, were better known in Ceylon at this period.

Orthodox Hindus observe the Caste System with its all rigidity in matters both mundane and spiritual. Except the Buddhists, the followers of Jainism and probably other heterodox religions mentioned above are also strict observants of the Hindu Caste System.

Marriage between persons of equal rank was the order of the day. The family organisation was modelled according to the joint family system of the Hindus. The law of succession from brother to brother was preferred to that from father to son. Customs and manners connected with the domestic ceremonies were observed in the same way as they were in the Hindu society. The hereditary character of professions was very conspicuous. This undoubtedly led to the establishment of various settlements on a communal basis. The consecration of kings was conducted according to the Hindu pattern. Even at places of worship class distinction could be seen. Thus the social structure in Ceylon during the pre-Buddhist period was modelled on the same pattern as it was in India during the same period.

But along with the Buddhist mission led by Mahinda in the 3rd century B. C., there is no doubt that the Buddha's attitude towards the caste system was also introduced to Ceylon. We have also seen clearly how Asoka introduced a new type of *Abhiṣeka* where the *Kṣatriyas* were given a more prominent place in society than the *Brāhmaṇas*. This was the first instance where the orthodox *Brāhmanic* convention of society was threatened in Ceylon.

In addition to this when people embraced Buddhism in thousands and began to learn the significance of Buddhism more deeply, they realised the futility of the then existing caste system. When the majority of the population became Buddhists, the services of *Brāhmaṇas* became less and less needed; with the result the *Brāhmaṇas* could not exist as a separate class in society, which was predominantly Buddhist and where the Hindu way of life was not much in force. Therefore some of the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves embraced Buddhism, while others gave up their priestly functions and took to various other professions such as those of traders, physicians, politicians, soothsayers and astrologers, etc. Thus the *Brāhmaṇa* community as a separate class in society began to decline in Ceylon during this period.

The *Kṣatriyas* and the nobles, the *Vaiśyas*, the *Sūdras* and the *Caṇḍālas* were the distinct classes left behind in society. Even among these classes social differences completely disappeared at places of worship. From the *Kṣatriyas* to the *Caṇḍālas*, all those who embraced Buddhism were commonly designated as *Upāsakas*. The religious functions were conducted in such a way that anybody could participate in them irrespective of their rank in society.

But Buddhism was not strong enough in Ceylon to do away with the caste system completely, so far as domestic affairs were concerned.

The convention of marriage between the members of equal rank was still very strong except in the case of love marriage. Even this exception could only be seen among the royal families and possibly among the richer families. But it should be borne in mind that even in such cases the approval of other members of those particular families was not easily obtainable. We have seen how great the reaction of the public was when Sāliya married a *Caṇḍāla* girl; when Anulā married one after the other several men who were below her dignity and rank, she became the most unpopular ruler that Ceylon had ever experienced. Thus the law of marriage was as rigid as in the pre-Buddhist period. There is no doubt that it was equally rigid among the people of other ranks also.

Along with the political advancement of the country, owing to the ever-increasing population, it was necessary to find out new ways and means of production of varied nature to cope with the country's demand. It is therefore natural that new professions came into existence. This undoubtedly led to a new line of development in the evolution of caste system in Ceylon.

On the other hand there was no hard and fast rule that a particular class of people should follow a particular profession. For instance, among the *Kṣatriyas*, there were kings who did agriculture, ivory carving and the practice in medicine side by side with their royal functions. Even kingship was not confined to the *Kṣatriya* class. For example, the royalty of the Lambakanna dynasty may be cited. Thus the gradual decline of the *Kṣatriya* class in Ceylon could also be seen during this period. Even if *Kṣatriyas* did exist, their number may have been very insignificant. Thus the second of the four *Varnas* of the Hindus also disappeared from the social structure in Ceylon during the period. In other words, the caste system in Ceylon was reduced to two *Varnas* only, according to the Hindu classification—the *Vaiśyas* and the *Śūdras*.

Thus we see that the social structure of Ceylon in this period was not the same as that in the pre-Buddhist Ceylon. On the one hand striking reformatory changes took place, in that all the people enjoyed the common privileges at places of worship irrespective of rank, status or sex and the position of women was raised to an equal level with that of men both in the fields of politics and intellectual life ; on the other hand the rigidity of the convention of marriage between persons of equal rank, which is the basic factor of the Indian caste system, remained unchanged. This was the beginning of the present day caste system in Ceylon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
ORIGINAL SOURCES

Pāli

1. *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. I, ed. R. MORRIS, P. T. S., London, 1888, 2nd edn. 1961.
Vol. II, ed. R. MORRIS, P. T. S., London, 1888, revised print, 1956.
Vol. III, ed. E. HARDY, P. T. S., London, 1895, reprint, 1959.
Vol. IV, ed. E. HARDY, P. T. S., London, 1899, reprint, 1959.
Vol. V, ed. E. HARDY, P. T. S., London, 1900, reprint, 1959.
2. *Anguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā (Manorathapūraṇi)*, 2 Vols. SIMON HEVAVITARANA Bequest Series, Colombo, 1923.
3. *Abhidhānappadpikā (Pāli Nighaṇḍu)*, Sinhalese edition, Bentota, 1900.
4. *Cūlavamsa*, ed. W. GEIGER, P. T. S., London, Vol. I, 1925, Vol. II, 1927.
5. *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, ed. H. C. NORMAN, P. T. S., London, Vols. I-IV, 1906-1914.
6. *Dhammasaṅgani Aṭṭhakathā*, Sinhalese edition, Colombo, 1916.
7. *Dhātuvamsa*, Sinhalese edition, Colombo, 1930.
8. *Dāṭhāvamsa*, ed. B. C. LAW, Lahore, 1925.
9. *Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and J. E. CARPENTER, P. T. S., London, 1889, reprint, 1949
Vol. II, P. T. S., London, 1903, reprint, 1947.
Vol. III, ed. J. E. CARPENTER, P. T. S., London, 1910, reprint, 1960.
10. *Dīghā Nikāya Translation (Dialogues of the Buddha)*,
Vol. I, ed. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, P. T. S., London, 1899, reprint 1956.
Vol. II, Mrs. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, P. T. S., London, 1910, 3rd edition, 1952.
Vol. III, Mrs. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, P. T. S., London, 1921, reprint, 1957.
11. *Dīpavamsa*, ed. and translated by B. C. LAW, CHJ, Vol. VII, Colombo, 1959.
12. *Hatthavanagallavihāravamsa*, ed. C. E. GODAKUMBURE, P. T. S., London, 1957.
13. *Itivuttaka Aṭṭhakathā*, HEVAVITARANA Sinhalese edition, Colombo 1928,.
14. *Jātakatṭhakathā*, ed. V. FAUSBOLL, Vols. I-VII, London, 1877-1897.
15. *Kaṅkhāvitarant*, ed. K. INDRAMATANA THERA, Alutgama, 1924.
16. *Mahābodhivamsa*, ed. A. S. STRONG, P. T. S., London, 1891.
17. *Mahāniddesa*, Vol. I, ed. L. DE LA VALLE POUSSIN and E. J. THOMAS, London, 1916, and Vol. II, 1917.
18. *Mahāvamsa*, ed. A. P. BUDDHADATTA THERA, Colombo, 1959.
19. *Mahāvamsa* Eng. Trans. by W. GEIGER, P. T. S., London, 1912.
20. *Mahāvamsa Tikā (Vamsatthappakāsini)*, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, P. T. S., London, Vol. I, 1935; Vol. II, 1936.
21. *Milinda Pañha*, ed. V. TRENCKNER, London, 1928.

22. *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, ed. V. TRENCKNER, London, 1887, reprint, 1947.
Vol. II, ed. R. CHARMERS, London, 1896-98, reprint, 1960.
Vol. III, ed. R. CHARMERS, London, 1899-1902, reprint, 1960.
23. *Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā*, (*Papañcasūdanā*), Vol. I, ed. J. H. WOODS, London, 1922.
Vol. II, ed. J. H. WOODS, London, 1928.
Vol. III, ed. I. B. HORNER, London, 1933.
Vol. IV, ed. I. B. HORNER, London, 1937.
Vol. V, ed. I. B. HORNER, London, 1938.
24. *Paṭisambhidhā Aṭṭhakathā* (*Saddhammappakāsini*), HEVAVITARANA edition, Colombo, 1927.
25. *Petavatthu*, ed. J. MINAYEFF, P. T. S., London, 1889.
26. *Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. E. HARDY, P. T. S., London, 1894.
27. *Rasavāhini*, ed. SARANATISSA THERA, Colombo, Part I, 1901, Part II, 1899.
28. *Samyutta Nikāya*, Vol. I, ed. L. FEER, P. T. S., London, 1884, reprint 1960.
Vol. II, ed. L. FEER, P. T. S., London, 1888, reprint 1960.
Vol. III, ed. L. FEER, P. T. S., London, 1890, reprint 1960.
Vol. IV, ed. L. FEER, P. T. S., London, 1893, reprint 1960.
29. *Samyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā*, 3 Vols. HEVAVITARANA edition, Colombo, 1924-1930.
30. *Samantapāsādikā*, ed. U. P. EKANAYAKA, Historical Introduction, Vol. I, Colombo, 1915.
31. *Sammohavinodanī*, ed. A. P. BUDDHADATTA THERA, P. T. S., London, 1923.
32. *Suhassavatthupparāṇa*, ed. A. P. BUDDHADATTA THERA, Colombo, 1959.
33. *Sāratthadīpanī*, ed. B. DEVARAKKHITA THERA, Colombo, 1914.
34. *Sīhalavatthupparāṇa*, ed. A. P. BUDDHADATTA THERA, Colombo, 1959.
35. *Sutta Nipāta*, ed. A. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH, P. T. S., London, 1913, reprint, 1948.
36. *Suttasaṅgahaṭṭhakathā*, HEVAVITARANA edition, Colombo, 1929.
37. *Suttavibhaṅga* (Commentary on Pārājikā, Saṅghādisesa, Aniyata and Nissaggiya), Sinhalese edition, Colombo.
38. *Theragāthā*, ed. H. OLDENBERG and R. PISCHEL, P. T. S., London 1883.
39. *Therīgāthā Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. E. Muller, P. T. S., London, 1892.
40. *Udānaṭṭhakathā*, ed. F. L. WOODWARDS, P. T. S., London, 1926.
41. *Vinaya*, Vol. I, (*Mahāvagga*), ed. H. OLDENBERG, P. T. S., London, reprint, 1929.
Vol. II, (*Cullavagga*), ed. H. OLDENBERG, P. T. S., London, 1880, reprint, 1930.
42. *Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. E. HARDY, P. T. S., London, 1901.
43. *Visuddhimagga*, Vol. I, MRS. RHYS DAVIDS, P. T. S., London, 1920.
Vol. II, ed. MRS. RHYS DAVIDS, P. T. S., London, 1921.

Sanskrit and Prakrit

1. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, ed. K. S. AGASHE, Poona, 1896, translated by A. Keith Harward Oriental Series, Vol. XXV, Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
2. *Atharva Veda*, ed. S. P. PANDIT, Vols. I-IV, Bombay, 1895-98.
3. *Atharva Veda*, translated by R. H. T. GRIFFITH, Benares, 1896-1917.
4. *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, ed. G. BUHLER, Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1892-94.
5. *Arthaśāstra*, ed. R. SHAMASASTRY, Mysore, 1919, translated by SHAMASASTRY, Mysore, 1921.
6. *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, translated by G. BUHLER, SBE, Vol. XIV.
7. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, ed. with trans, by O. BOHTLINGK, 1889.
8. *Divyāvadāna*, ed. COWELL and NEILL, Cambridge, 1886.
9. *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, ed. Srinivasacarya, Mysore, 1917.
10. *Mahābhārata*, Critical edition, Poona, 1927-1947.
11. *Mahābhārata* translation by K. M. GANGULY, Calcutta, 1926-1932.
12. *Manusmṛti*, ed. P. H. Pandya, Bombay, 1913.
13. *Manusmṛti*, translation by G. BUHLER, SBE. Vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886.
14. *Manusmṛti Commentary (Medhātithi)*, ed. G. JHA BL, Calcutta, 1932-39.
15. *Manusmṛti Commentary (Nārada)*, ed. K. SAMBASIVA SASTRI, Trivandram Sanskrit Series, 1929
16. *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā*, ed. VON SCHROEDER, Leipzig, 1881-6.
17. *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, ANANDAŚRAMA, Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1911.
18. *Panini's Grammar*, Vols. 1-2, ed. Viraraghavācarya, Madras, 1954-55.
19. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, ed. DURGA PRASAD, Bombay, 1892.
20. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, ed. A. WEBER, Berlin and London, 1855.
21. *Smṛti Candrikā*, ed. DEVANNA BHATTA, Bombay, 1918.
22. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, ed. N. Gobole, Parts I-III, Poona, 1898.
23. *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, Anandaśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, translated A. B. KEITH, HOS., 1914.
24. *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, SBE. Vol. VII, translated by Julius Jolly.
25. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, Anandaśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, 1904.
26. *Uvāsagadasāo*, ed. text with trans., by A. F. RUDOLF HEERNLE, Calcutta, 1885.

Sinhalese

1. *Attanagalu-vaṃsaya*, ed. M. KUMARANATUNGA, Colombo, B. E. 2466.
2. *Dampīyā Aṭuvā Gūṭapadaya*.
3. *Daladā Pūjāvaliya*, ed. K. M. Perera, Colombo, 1893.
4. *Daladā Siritā*, ed. S. A. RAJASEKARA, Colombo, 1920.
5. *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, ed. D. M. de Z. WICKRAMASINHA, Colombo, 1890.
6. *Pūjāvaliya*, ed. M. MEDHANKARA THERA, Colombo, 1932.

7. *Pārakumbā Sirita*, ed. Charles de Silva, Colombo, 1954.
8. *Rājaratnākaraya*, ed. P. N. Tisera, Colombo, 1929.
9. *Rājāvaliya*, ed. B. GUNASEKARA, Colombo, 1911.
10. *Saddharmālaṅkārdya*,
11. *Saddharma-Ratnākaraya*,*ed. K. NĀNAWIMALA THERA, Colombo, 1948.
12. *Nīti-Nighaṇḍuva*, translated by LEMESURIER, Colombo, 1879.

Inscriptions and Archaeological Sources

1. *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, MULLER, Text and Plates, London, 1885.
2. *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Reports*, 1890-1957.
3. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports*.
4. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*.
5. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vols. 1-13.
6. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. 1-31.
7. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vols. I-V.
8. *Inscriptions of Asoka*, D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta, 1920.
9. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Vol. I, ed. E. R. AYRTON, Colombo, 1924.
Vol. II, A. M. HOCART, Colombo, 1926.
Vol. II, S. PARANAVITANA, Colombo, 1936.
Vol. IV, S. PARANAVITANA, Colombo, 1946.
10. *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, Vol. I, B. C. SIRCAR, Calcutta, 1942.
11. *Silālekhana Saṅgrahya*, ed. M. WIMLAKITTI THERA, 5 Vols., Colombo.

Translations of Classical and Chinese Sources

1. COSMAS, *Christian Topography*, Cambridge, 1909.
2. MC. CRINDLE, J. W. *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, Westminster, 1901.
3. MC. CRINDLE, J. W., *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenese and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1887.
4. *Geography of Ptolemy*, STEVENSON, New York, 1932.
5. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, S. BEAL, London, 1884.
6. *Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, J. Legge, Oxford, 1886.
7. *Procopius, Persian Wars*, Loeb Classical Library edition, Vols. 1-8, 1914-1940.
8. SHOFF, W. H., *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Calcutta, 1877.
9. *Strabo, Geography*. Loeb Classical Library edition, Vols. 1-8, London and New York, 1917-1932.
10. *The Travels of Fa Hien*, H. A. GILES, London, 1953.

Modern Works

1. ADIKARAM, E. W., *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1949
2. ALTEKAR, A. S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, Banaras, 1949.
3. Ariyapala, M. B., *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956.
4. BALLARD, B. J., *The Rulers of the Indian Ocean*, London, 1927.
5. BOSE, A., *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1945.
6. BEVERIDGE, H., *Comprehensive History of India*, London, 1867.
7. BHANDARKAR, D. R., *Asoka*, Calcutta, 1925.
8. Codrington, H. W., *A Short History of Ceylon*, London, 1939.
9. DAS, A. K., *Economic History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1944.
10. DE BARY, W. THEODORE, ed. *Sources of Indian Tradition*, New York, 1958.
11. EGGLEING and RAU, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden, 1957.
12. FICK, R., *The Social Organisation in North East India*, Calcutta, 1920.
13. GEIGER, W., *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval times*, Wiesbaden, 1960.
14. HAVELL, E. W., *History of Āryan Rule in India*, London, 1928.
15. HUGH NEVILLE, *Taprobanean*, Vol. I, 1887.
16. IYAR, V. S., *Silappadikāram*, Madras, 1920.
17. JAYATILAKA, D. B., *Siṃhala Sāhityalipi*, Colombo, 1959.
18. KRIṢNASWĀMI AYYANGAR, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, Calcutta, 1927
19. LAW, B. C., *History of Pāli Literature*, London, 1933.
20. LAW, N. N., *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, Oxford, 1921.
21. MALALASEKERA, G. P., *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, London, 1928.
22. MAJUMDAR, R. C., *The History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca, 1943.
23. MAJUMDAR, R. C., and PUSALKER, A. D., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 5 Vols
24. MENDIS, G. C., *Early History of Ceylon*, Calcutta, 1940.
26. MORTIMER WHEELER SIR, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London, 1954.
27. MOOKERJI, R. K., *Hindu Civilisation*, London, 1936.
28. MOOKERJI, R. K., *Ancient Indian Education*, London, 1947.
29. MOOKERJI, R. K., *Local Government in Ancient India*, Oxford, 1919.
30. PARKER, H., *Ancient Ceylon*, London, 1909.
31. PARKER, H., *Village Folk Tales of Ceylon*, 3 Vols., London, 1910-14.
32. PANIKKAR, K. M., *India and the Indian Ocean*, London, 1945.
33. PARANAVITANA, S., (ed), *History of Ceylon*, Vol I, Parts I & II, 1959-60.
34. PRABHU P. H., *Hindu Social Organisation*, Bombay, 1958.
35. RAPSON, E. J., (ed), *Cambridge History of India*, Vols. I, II, Cambridge, 1922.
36. RAHULA, W., *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956.

37. SHARMA R. S., *Śūdras in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1958.
38. SMITH, V. A., *Early History of India*, 4th edition, Oxford, 1924.
39. SWAMINATH AYYANGAR, *Commentary on the Manimekhalai, Manimekhalai in its Historical setting*, Madras, 1895.
40. RHYS DAVIDS, T. W., " *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon* " in the *International Numismata Orientalia*, London, 1877.
41. WIMALAKITTI, M., *Sinhala Aṅḍuva*, Colombo, 1958.

Dictionaries and Reference works

1. *Ardhamāgadhī Dictionary*, ed. RATNACANDRAJI, Vols., I-V, AJMIR & AGRA, 1923-1938.
2. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Ancient India*, in the British Museum, ed. JOHN ALLEN, London, 1938.
3. *Catalogue of Sinhalese Mss.*, in the British Museum, ed. D. M. DE Z. WIKRAMASINHA, London, 1900.
4. *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, 2. Vols., ed., G.P. MALALASEKERA, P.T.S., London 1960.
5. *Madras Tamil Lexicon*, Vols. I-VI, Madras University 1926-1932.
6. *Pāli Dictionary*, ed. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and W. STEED, P.T.S., London, 1921-25.
7. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Monier Williams, Oxford, 1899.
8. *Sinhalese Dictionary*, CLOUGH, Colombo, 1892.
9. *Sinhalese English Dictionary*, C. GARTER, Colombo, 1924.
10. *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, A. A. MACDONELL and A. B. KEITH, London, 1912.

Journals and other Publications

1. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Colombo, 1921-1933.
2. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vols. I-VIII, Colombo, 1951-1960.
3. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sec. G., Part I, Colombo, 1924-28.
4. *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sec. G., Part II, Colombo, 1928-33.
5. *Indian Antiquary*, Calcutta, 1872-1933.
6. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* Colombo, 1845-1945. New Series, 1945-1960.
7. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Great Britain and Ireland)*, London, 1827-1960.
8. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bengal)*, New Series, Calcutta, 1905-1934.
9. *Records of the Department of Mineralogy in Ceylon*, Professional Papers, 1944 and 1945.
10. *Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume*, Colombo, 1956.
11. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vols. I-XIX, Colombo, 1943-1961.

INDEX

- Abhaya, King 85
 Abhaya 49, 91
 Abhaya of Mahindadoni 48
 Abhayagiri 7, 33, 87, 124
 Abhayagiri Vihāra 146
 Abhayanāga 84
 Abhayavāpi 121
 Abi Anurādī 80
 Abhijjamāna Petavatthu 165
 Abhidhānappadīpikā 58
 Abhiṣeka 4, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 172
 Ācariyabhāga 147
 Ācariya Dhammanandi 4, 6
 Aitereya Brāhmaṇa 11, 69
 Aiyangar, Krishnaswami 34, 35
 Aiyar, Swaminatha 43
 Ajantā Painted Inscriptions 165
 Ajātasattu 73, 107
 Ājivakas 122, 161
 Akalahasa 130
 Akkhakkhāyika (Sāya) 50, 133
 Āloka Vihāra 87
 Altekar, Dr. 52., 54
 Āmakasusāna 99
 Amanagama 109
 Āmandagāmaṇi Abhaya 53, 83, 131
 Amarāvati 159
 Amarāvati Bud. Cave (Inscription) 164
 Ambatthala Mahāthūpa 140
 Ānanda (Thera) 73
 Ānāthapiṇḍika 44
 Āndāgala Vihāra 120
 Aṅgavijjā Pāṭhaka 16
 Aṅguttara Nikāya 9, 59
 Aṅguttara Commentary 90
 Anikaṭa Sona 81
 Annus Plocamus 136
 Antarāpana 144
 Antas 69
 Antojāta 59, 60
 Antopura 123
 Anudiya 38
 Anulā 15, 20, 39, 41, 76, 82, 83, 84, 153
 Anulā Dēvi (queen of V'gāmani) 81, 88
 Anulā Dēvi (Mahānāga's queen) 81, 82
 Anurādha 65, 110, 114
 Anurādhagāma 104
 Anurādhapura 4, 7, 8, 10, 14, 15, 19, 20, 30, 35, 39, 50, 58, 59, 68, 76, 79, 80, 81, 86, 89, 90, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 112, 113, 116, 119, 121, 125, 126
 Anurādhapura 123
 (Plan of the city of)
 Anuradhi 46
 Āpana (shops) 144
 Aparānta 5
 Arabia 136
 Arabian Sea 103
 Ārāmika 62
 Arindama 19
 Ariṭa Mahagama 108
 Ariṭṭha 14, 30, 38, 119, 148
 Ariṭṭha pabbata 30, 31
 Arrian 111
 Ārsa (a system of marriage) 74
 Arthaśāstra 69
 Āryans 11, 135
 Ariyapāla M. B. 95
 Asōka 4, 6, 14, 17, 23, 31, 32, 33, 36, 46, 119, 138, 139, 149, 163, 172
 Asōka's Rock Edict 46
 Asōkamālā 113, 169
 Asela 92
 Asibandhaka putta 53
 Asilakkhaṇa Jātaka 13
 Assālayana Sutta 161
 Āsura (a system of marriage) 74
 Atharva Veda 34
 Aṭṭālas 125
 Attanagaluvamaṇsa 20, 34
 Aṭṭhakathās 4
 Atthasālini 123
 Augustus 136
 Avanti 32
 Ayyo (masters) 161
 Ayya Uttika 84
 Babbu Jātaka 75
 Badagarika (Treasurer) 55
 Bahinagara (Bahipura), outer city 123
 Bahula 67, 72, 16 (Candala)
 Bālisikā 59
 Bambaragastalāva (inscription) 142
 Bamaṇa 15
 Bandhanāgāra Jātaka 123
 Bārāṇasi 59
 Barbers 154
 Barua B. M. 46
 Basham, A. L. 63, 101, 102
 Bata 29, 36, 37, 40, 41, 77, 95, 109, 153, 159
 Batasa nagara 120

- Bedsa (Cave Inscriptions) 40
Bedsa (inscription) 45
Beaf-eaters (gomamsa-khādake)¹ 134
Bellavagala (inscription) 153
Bengal 103, 104
Betel 32
Bhadanta 40, 41
Bhaddakaccānā 79
Bhagavanlal Indrajī 40
Bhāja (Inscription) 40
Bhākta 40
Bhaktadāsa 59
Bhalluka (Elara's nephew) 116
Bhaṇḍuka 32
Bharhut (inscription) 158
Bhārukaccha 101, 141
Bhāta 40
Bhātiya 67, 87, 134
Bhātika Abhaya 136, 140
Bhaṭṭa 40
Bhayata 40, 41
Bhayanta 40, 41
Bhinna karṇa 34
Bhr̥ta 40
Bhr̥tr̥ 40
Bhūtapāla 45
Bhuvaneka Bāhu V 36
Bimbisāra 52, 76
Bindusāra
Black pepper (marica) 132
Blacksmiths 57
Bodhi 31, 32, 34, 49, 51
Bodhisatta 48
Bodhi siri 5
Bose 70
Bovattegala (inscription) 53
Bovattegala 120
Bowl Relic 35
Brahma (marriage) 74
Brāhmaṇa 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 24, 25,
27, 31, 37, 39, 42, 56, 60, 71, 73, 85, 87, 92,
106, 122, 133, 137, 143, 144, 145, 155,
156, 158, 161, 162, 163, 165, 167, 169,
170, 171, 172
Brahmadatta 59
Brāhmaṇa Tissa 14, 15, 50, 68 168
Brāhmaṇa Tiya corabhaya 6, 8, 133
Brāhmaṇa Tissa famine 50, 119
Brāhmaṇa Tissa Sāyo 128
Brahmin 44, 43
Brahmi Script 9
Bṛhaspati 21
Buddhadāsa 146
Buddhaghosa 2, 4, 42, 71, 113, 157
Bühler, Dr. 6, 40
Burges, Dr. 6
Butter 134
Byzantines 142
Caesar 136
Canda 22, 53
Canda 85 (Pandula's son)
Caṇḍāla 15, 36, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 79, 89,
100, 106, 107, 121, 134, 145, 154, 163, 164,
169, 172
Caṇḍāla Gāma 67, 115
Caṇḍāla Tissa 168 (See also Brah. Tissa)
Candamukha 5
Candamukha Siva 113
Candanagāma 20, 112
Candragupta 103
Cammakāra 58, 71
Campū 7
Carpenters 152, 153
Caste System 155
Cattle 133
Cena Gama 109
Cetarigāma 114
Cetiya 15, 98, 99, 100
Cetiyaḡiri 30, 31, 86
Cetiyaḡaha 45
Cetiya Pabbata 112
Chagāma 78
Chagāma Kula 78
Chavaka Jātaka 122
Chidra Karṇyah 34
China 5, 137
Chinna Karṇa 34
Citakara 58
Citakara Data 153
Cittagutta 46, 58
Cittala Pabbata 50, 111, 128
Cittala Pabbata Monastery 110
Cittarāja 122
Cittasālā 58
Claudius (41–54 A.D.) 111, 136
Clothes 142
Consecration Ceremony 51
Copper 411
Coppersmith 57, 152
Coral 136, 141
Cōra Nāga 82
Corpse burner (Charadāhaka) 67
Cosmas 142
Cottage Industries and Crafts 149, 151
Cudā 46
Cūlābhaya 83

- Cūlagalla Upāsaka 166
 Cūla Sihanāda Sutta 23
 Cūlavamsa 35
 Cullakammavibhaṅga 163
 Cullakammāsa 107 (A town, in Jayaddisa Jātaka)
 Cūlūpaṭṭhāka Tissa 77
 Curd 134

 Dame 46
 Daiva (marriage) 74
 Damila 5
 Dāmodara Setṭhi 138
 Dandadasa 59, 60
 Danta 65
 Dantakāra 153
 Dantakāra gāma 140
 Dantakāra Kutumbika 140
 Dantavīthi 108 (Ivory worker's street)
 Danu Acariya 145 (teacher of Archery)
 Danuacariya 149
 Dārukammika 44
 Dākkhiṇa Cetiya 112
 Dāsa (slaves) 56, 59, 61, 64, 161
 Dasabhātikarāja 120 (a ruling family of ten brothers)
 Daśaratha 46
 Dasyu 68
 Dāṭhāsena 77, 125
 Dāṭhāvamsa 118
 Dāṭrima 59
 Datta 48
 Deva 32, 33
 Devakula 32
 Devas (Devakulāni) 31
 Devānampiyatissa 4, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 38, 47, 48, 53, 63, 81, 82, 84, 86, 88, 91, 92, 112, 113, 119, 123, 124, 125, 138, 139, 148, 160, 165
 Devānampiya 46
 Devānapiya kula 76
 Devanampriya 46
 Devanampriya Priyadarsi 46
 Devānupiya 83
 Devayāni 18
 Dhajāhṛta 59
 Dhamma 46
 Dhammāndi 5
 Dhammapada (Commentary) 73, 75, 76
 Dhammasaṅgani Atthakata 160
 Dhammasoka 24, 26, 27
 Dhanakkita 59, 60
 Dharmaruci 6 (Abhayagiri Sect)
 Dharmasūtras 56
 Dhātu sena 38

 Dhātuvamsa 49
 Dighābhaya 77
 Digha Gāmaṇi 53, 80
 Dighakārāyana 87
 Digha nikāya 18, 56, 63, 90, 91, 107, 146
 Digasaṇḍa-Senapathi Pariveṇa 2
 Dighāvāpi 65, 125, 129
 Dighāyu 104, 108
 Dikshitar, V.V.R. 43
 Dimbulāgala Māhākāsyapa 4, 26
 Dīpavamsa 1, 2, 6, 7, 20, 33, 83, 101, 144
 Divyavadāna 136
 Diyavāsa 14
 Dusatara (gama) 109
 Duṭṭha Gāmaṇi 8, 14, 20, 48, 49, 50, 53, 65, 67, 77, 79, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 92, 95, 98, 99, 109, 112, 124, 125, 129, 132, 133, 134, 139, 140, 141, 142, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152
 Dvāramaṇḍala 14, 31, 86, 113, 114, 137
 Dvāramaṇḍala Gāma 112

 Ekanālika 133
 Elāra 3, 61, 83, 98, 99, 116, 124, 125, 168
 Elephants 140
 Entertainers 153
 Epigraphia Zeylanica 10
 Erakāpilla Vihāra (built by Mahasena) 112
 Eraṇḍakaṭṭha (castoroil twigs) 162
 Esukāri Sutta 162, 163
 Eṭṭhi 43
 Exports 138

 Fa-Hien 137, 139
 Fick 60, 71
 Fishermen 154

 Gāhavi 36
 Gahapati 11, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 56, 76, 78, 83, 137, 148, 154
 Gahapati Putto 44
 Gahapati Rupadaka 46
 Gahapati Setṭhi 45
 Gahapati Vasali puta Mahasumanasa 46
 Gajabāhu I 110
 Gajabāhuka Gāmaṇi 47, 53
 Gakkapa 169
 Gallakapiṭha Gāma 114
 Gāma 101, 105
 Gāmaḥojaka 60, 115
 Gāmadvāra 105
 Gāmakkheta 105, 106
 Gāmaṇi 51, 52, 53, 54, 102, 109, 114
 Gāmaṇi Abhaya 53, 120
 Gāmaṇi Jātaka 54
 Gāmaṇigāma 107

- Gāmaṇi Tisa 95
 Gambhira Nadi 104, 111
 Gamika 29, 37, 42, 46, 51, 52, 54, 55, 67, 78,
 83, 109, 114, 115
 Gamiya 54
 Gampola (inscription) 36
 Gaha 159
 Ganavāsi 36
 Gandhāra 5, 6
 Gāndharva 74, 75, 80
 Ganeśa 159
 Gapati 29, 40, 42, 77, 109, 150, 154, 166, 167
 Gapati Siva 76
 Garlic (lasun) 133
 Gautama 56
 Geiger 2, 3, 25, 95, 101, 156
 Ghee 134
 Ginger 132
 Giribhaṇḍa Pūjā 39
 Girikaṇḍa Siva 65, 110, 128, 129
 Giri Nigantha 122
 Giri Nagara 126
 Giri Nuvara 49
 Glass 141
 Goḍapavata 120
 Goḍavāya 120, 137
 Goghātaka 134
 Gokaṇṇa Vihāra, 112
 Gold 141
 Goldsmiths 57
 Gōnogāma paṭṭana 123
 Gopaka 57
 Gopālakas 113
 Gopālagāma 113
 Gopuras 125
 Goṭhābhaya 20, 34, 49, 58, 95
 Goṭhayimbara 131, 141, 148
 Govi 36, 37
 Grāma 52, 105
 Grāmika 52
 Grāmaṇi 51, 52
 Greeks 9
 Gr̥haja 59
 Gujarat 102
 Guttavaṃka Pariveṇa 7
 Guttika 3, 141
- Haṇḍagala (inscriptions) 149
 Haruma 37
 Haruma, Maha 37
 Hattārodha 53
 Hattavanagalla Vihāra Vaṃsa 112 (acc. to)
 Helloliḡāma 67
 Hēna 133
 Hena Lands 132
- Hēna Cultivation 130, 131
 Hina Jāti 66
 Hina-Sippa 149 (Low occupations)
 Hippalus 139
 Hittaragama, Hinna 150 (inscriptions)
 Hiuen Tsiang 133, 138
 Horāpāṭhaka 16
 Horses 141
 Hundari vāpi 48
 Hundarivāpigāma 109
 Hunters 154
- Ilanāga 20, 33, 36, 67, 113
 Import-Trade 141
 Indian caste system 11
 Indra 21
 Internal Trade 142
 Isibhūmaṅgana 100,
 Isidāsī 75, 76
 Issara 30, 48, 61
 Issara Samaṇaka (monastery) 31, 113
 Iṭṭhakavahḍḍakī Gāma 1, 113
 Ivory 140
- Jaggery 150, 151
 Jains 161
 Jambukola 119
 Jambukola Paṭṭana 14, 111, 123
 Jambukola Vihāra 119
 Jātaka 16, 19, 29, 43, 44, 47, 48, 52, 57, 62, 66,
 74, 91
 Jātakapāli 54
 Jātakatṭhakathā 115
 Jayaddisa Jātaka 102
 Jayamahalena 34
 Jetavana Monastery 118
 Jetavanārāma 124
 Jetavanārāma (inscription) 110, 115
 Jeṭṭhaka 38
 Jeṭṭha Tissa 88, 99, 140
 Jewellers 57
 Jivaka 44
 Jothiya Nigaṇṭha 122
 Julius de Lanarolle 25
 Junar Bud. Cave (inscriptions) 165
- Kaḍahavāpi Gāma 109
 Kadalīsāla Village 131
 Kadamba Nadi 104
 Kaduruvāva (inscription) 150
 Kahāpaṇa 61
 Kājaragāma 19, 95, 96, 112

- Kākavaṇṇa Tissa 8, 14, 48, 49, 50, 61, 77, 81, 88, 89, 90, 95, 125, 126, 132, 133, 148, 151
 Kalahamuna (a market town) 124
 Kālamāsa (Black beans) 131
 Kalaṇḍa Brāhmaṇa Gāma
 Kālaniya 20, 48, 49, 50, 165
 Kālani Gaṅga 96, 105
 Kāvela 61, 122
 Kāliṅga 31, 37, 101, 102, 140
 Kāliṅga Vaṃsa 36
 Kalyāṇi 84, 88, 125, 126, 136
 Kalyaṇabhaddiko Gahapati 45
 Kammahāratthaka 82
 Kammakāra (Blacksmiths) 151
 Kammāra deva 160
 Kammāssa Dhamma 107
 Kammantagāma (Industrial Village) 113
 Kana 75
 Kanatisa (a village headman) 115
 Kanavera Jātaka 122
 Kaṇha 75
 Kangu (millet) 131
 Kānheri Bud. Cave (inscription) 165
 Kaṅkhā Vitarāṇi 105
 Kannikāragāma (Village of smiths) 113
 Kaṇṭaka Cetiya 159
 Kaṇṭakacōla 5
 Kaṇṭakasōla 5
 Kaṇṭakasōla paṭṭana 4
 Kapila (minister of Voharika Tissa) 87
 Kappakandara Vihāra 132
 Kappiyakāra 62
 Karamarāṇita 59, 60
 Kārava 137
 Karle (inscription) 45, 62
 Kashmir 5
 Kasikammakāraka 129
 Kasikammakārakagāma 113
 Kassaka 44
 Kassapa I 30
 Kataragama 19, 49, 118
 Kataragama Kṣatriya 49
 Katasaraka 151
 Kautilya 13, 28, 56, 69, 139, 157
 Kāvyaśekaraya 33
 Kēvaṭṭagāma (a fishing village) 114
 Khallāṭanāga 39, 82
 Khaṇḍaka Vithi 48
 Khattiya 24, 25, 43
 Khetta (Paddy field) 110
 Kiṅchanda Jātaka 12
 Kirāta 5
 Kirindi Oya 105
 Kīstṇa 5
 Kol (inscription) 164
 Kolambahālaka Village 116
 Koravakgala (inscription) 135
 Kosika, 15
 Koṭagarika 147
 Kōṭapabbata Vihāra 84
 Kriṣṇa River 5
 Kṛita 59
 Kṣatṛ (chamberlain) 51
 Kṣatriya 11, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 26, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 49, 52, 56, 60, 71, 73, 79, 92, 95, 96, 161, 162, 163, 165, 172, 173
 Kṣatriyas of Candanagāma 105
 Kṣatriyas of Kājaragāma 54, 105
 Kumbala 58
 Kubalagāma 58
 Kubara (see also keta and Viya) 110
 Kuba Vehera 58
 Kubira 137
 Kubira Sujata 137
 Kūdā (cave inscription) 40, 164
 Kudā Situlpahuwa (inscription) 78
 Kuḍḍanāga 133
 Kula 1, 73, 76
 Kuladhītarāṇ 43
 Kulageha 77, 78
 Kulālatissa Vihāra 58
 Kulaputta 43
 Kulāvaka Jātaka 60
 Kumāra of Kappakandara 48
 Kumbhakāra (the potters) 57
 Kumbhakāra gāma 112, 113, 150
 Kumbalatissa pabbata 58
 Kumbhaṇḍa Niḡaṇṭha 122
 Kumbhasēla Vihāra 58
 Kumbukkan Oya 105
 Kuṇāla Jātaka 75
 Kuṇḍala (Brāhmaṇa) 14, 86
 Kuṇḍala 112, 114, 137, 142, 143, 144
 Kuṇḍala Kēsī 73
 Kurundi 4
 Kusalāna Kanda 95
 Kusāvati (a city) 108
 Kusinārā 107
 Kuṭukaṇṇa tissa 76
 Kuṭumbika 29, 30, 47, 48, 49, 50, 61, 90, 126, 129, 130
 Kuṭumbika putta 51
 Kuveṇi 68, 69, 80, 82, 149
 Labuātābāṇḍigala 124
 Lābuja (Pumpkin) 131
 Labujakhetta 131
 Lajjitissa 8, 47
 Lakkhaṇa Pāṭhakā 16

- Lāla 101
 Lāmani 34, 35, 36
 Lāmanipaksaya 34
 Lambakaṇṇa 20, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 64, 67, 148, 173
 Lambakaṇṇadhuraṃ 35
 Lāta 102
 Lekhaka 34, 147
 Lekhakadhītikā 147
 Laksman 34, 35
 Lenagala (cave inscription) 158
 Lenagala Vihāra 120
 Lohapāsāda 57, 140
 Lovāpāsāda 124
- Madehasa 130
 Madras Tamil Lexicon 43
 Madurā 28, 29, 79, 138, 139, 155
 Māgama 20, 35, 125
 Magadha 52, 73, 76, 101
 Māgha 73
 Magulmaha Vihāra (inscription) 146
 Maha (Harvesting season) 130
 Maha Alagamuva (inscription) 147
 Mahā Ariṭṭha 119, 30
 Mahā Aṭṭhakathā 4
 Mahābhārata 21, 28, 138
 Mahā Bōdhivaṃsa 14, 32, 34, 112, 160
 Mahācetiya 5
 Mahācūli Mahātissa 39, 41, 42, 76, 81, 82, 136, 150, 168
 Māhad (cave inscription) 45
 Mahādāṭṭika Mahānāga 49, 59, 63, 140
 Mahāgāma 49, 50, 53, 95, 126
 Mahākandara River 123
 Mahākula 77, 78, 148
 Mahallakanāga 47
 Mahāmatta 38
 Mahamata Bamadata 108
 Mahāmeghavana 114
 Mahānāga 20, 49, 80, 81, 84, 88, 92, 95, 96, 125, 126
 Mahānāma 2, 3
 Mahānela 129
 Mahāniddeśa 16
 Mahāpaccarī 4
 Mahapaduma 146, 147
 Mahāpāli 118
 Mahapuṭu Laddan 117
 Mahāparinibbāna Sutta 107
 Mahāsena 2, 6, 20, 87, 88, 112, 124, 128, 146, 147, 157
 Mahāseṭṭhi 44
 Mahāsihanāda Sutta 23
- Mahasitulpavva Rock inscription 110
 Mahā Siva 92
 Mahāsupina Jātaka 13
 Mahāsusāna 121
 Mahāsutasōma Jātaka 59
 Mahāthūpa 36, 67, 131, 136, 140, 141
 Mahātissa, Bata 41
 Mahātitttha 83, 116, 117, 118, 123, 136, 137
 Mahātittthapaṭṭana 80, 143
 Mahātittthapaṭṭanagāma 117
 Mahātitttha Susāna 117
 Mahatubaka (a market town) 124
 Mahāvagga 42
 Mahāvāliganga 48, 50, 77, 85, 96, 104, 124, 130
 Mahāvāluka 81
 Mahāvihāra 2, 4, 6, 7, 30, 31, 87, 98, 99, 124, 126, 134
 Mahavoṭi 118
 Mahavūtu 118
 Mahāvāṃsa 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 33, 35, 42, 43, 48, 49, 50, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 65, 67, 69, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 95, 99, 100, 101, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 160, 168
 Mahāvāṃsa Tikā 3, 4, 7, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 65, 86, 104, 110, 112, 113, 117, 119, 122, 133, 136, 139, 142, 153, 156, 157
 Mahiyangana 35, 112, 165
 Mahela 48
 Mahela Nagara 125, 129
 Mahesi (Queen) 51
 Mahinda 4, 11, 14, 17, 30, 32, 36, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 98, 114, 135, 155, 161, 163, 171, 172
 Mahiyangana
 Maisolos 5
 Maitrayana Samhitā 34
 Majjhima Commentary 62, 87
 Majjhima Nikāya 23, 56, 59, 161
 Malaya, Malayaraṭa 35, 61, 69, 132, 134, 143
 Malalasekara, Dr. 3, 25, 134
 Maṇḍapa 35
 Maṇḍagutta 77
 Mangalavīthi (Auspicious street) 126
 Maṇikara (Jeweller) 57, 138, 153
 Maṇiakkhika 165
 Maṇikāragāma 113, 138
 Mānikgaṅga 105
 Maṇimekhalai 43, 138
 Mannar kaccari Pillar inscription 117

Manōrathapūrāni 35, 61, 70
Manu 28
Manusmṛti 59, 76
Maricavaṭṭi 132
Māsa (beans) 130, 131
Māsakhetta 131 (beansfield)
Mātoṭa 99
Mathurā 62
Matta of Vāpi 48
Mattābhaya 30, 114
Matulaniya 78
Maurya 32, 139
Meat 135
Medhātithi 28
Megasthenes 140
Mehenavara 36
Metal work 151
Migagāma Vihāra 112
Mihintale 14, 53, 113
Milaka 69, 70
Milakkha 69
Milaka Pusa 69, 70
Milaka Tisa 69, 70
Milinda 67
Milinda (Panha) 70, 123
Military Occupations 147
Milk-rice (Pāyāsa) 133, 134
Minneriya Vāva 128
Mitra 21
Mitta 113, 148
Mleccha 69, 70
Moggallāna 58, 98
Mookerji R. K. 167
Muddhagutta 90
Mugga (greenpeas) 131
Müller 9
Muḷu Tisa 110
Murutāṅge (stupa) 65
Musicians 153
Muslins 141
Muṭasiva 19, 91, 95
Mysore 138

Nāga 5, 54
Nāga of Niṭhilaveṭhika 48
Nāgadīpa 61, 90, 119, 130, 165
Nagara (Pura) 115
Nagaraka 107
Nagara guttika 122, 123
Nagaraja, Bata 41
Nāgarjuni koṇḍa 5, 6, 46
Nagatera-Parumaka 39
Nahāpita 58, 59
Nākatika 16, 39, 145, 146, 160
Nakkhatta Jātaka 75

Nakkattapātaka
Nakṣatra 160
Nakula 90
Nalakāra 151
Nandi (a merchant) 117
Nandimitta 77, 148
Nārada 28
Narmdā 103
Naseta 137
Nāsik (inscription) 62, 164
Naṭa (Dances) 153*
Navika (ship-captain) 137
Nāyakkār 37
Nesāda 66, 70
Nesādagāma 70
Nica Susāna 67, 68, 69, 100, 121
(despised cemetery)
Nicholas C. W. 136, 143, 145
Nigama 107
Nikāya Sangraha 80
Nilaya (gama) 15, 109
Nilaya Nagara 120
Nissanka Malla 36, 37
Nīti Nighaṇḍu 60, 97
Niyama = Nigama 144
Numismatics 10
Nuvarakalāviya District 15
Nuvarakanda (inscription) 114, 149

Okkāka 76
Ordika 81

Padaviya Vāva 127
Pahārāda Sutta 163
Paiśāca (marriage) 74
Pāitrika 59
Pāli Commentaries 4
Palikada 37
Pallavas 6
Pallūra 5
Paṇḍara Jātaka 108
Paṇḍu 57, 79
King Paṇḍu (of Madura) 116
Paṇḍukabhaya 13, 14, 19, 22, 53, 65, 68, 80,
85, 95, 110, 112, 113, 121, 124, 144, 145,
155, 156, 160
Paṇḍula 13, 14, 85, 144, 145
Paṇḍula gāma 111
Paṇḍuvas 60
Paṇḍuvāsudēva 11, 19, 21, 60, 79, 80, 91, 95, 155
Pāṇḍya 35
Pañhamaba-Mālaka 99
Pāṇini 34
Parakramabāhu the Great 4, 23, 26, 35, 58
Pārakumbā Sīrita 33

- Parasatisa Acariya 145
 Paranavitana 16, 37, 40, 95, 124, 130, 137, 156, 159
 Paribbājakas 122
 Parker 40, 42
 Parumaka 15, 16, 29, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 46, 50, 51, 54, 55, 77, 78, 83, 109, 142, 143, 145, 146, 148, 158
 Parumaka Veļu 79
 Pāsāṇa chātaka 133
 Patahamalla 150
 Paṭake 16, 17, 109, 145, 158
 Pāṭalīputra 32, 108
 Pāṭhaka 16
 Paṭṭana-Paṭṭanaṃ 5, 118
 Paṭṭasāṇī 142
 Paṭṭakoṭṭi Vihāra 4, 5
 Pearls 139, 140
 Pehera Vāpi 57
 Pehekara 57
 Pehekara vavi 150
 Peliyāpikagāma 109
 Periplus of the Erythrean sea 9
 Periyakaḍu Vihāra (inscription) 146
 Perumakam 37
 Perumakkāi 55
 Pesakāra (the weavers) 57
 Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā 71
 Phussadēva 50, 88
 Phussadēva Thera 8
 Pussadeva 145, 148
 Physicians (Veja) 146
 Piccadeniya (inscription) 146
 Piṅgala Buddharakkhita 169
 Piṅadada (*see also māha*) 130
 Piṅadaḍahasa 130
 Pliny 111, 116, 136
 Ports 136
 Pottery 150
 Prajāpatya 74
 Pramukha 38
 Precious Stones 138, 139, 140
 Procopius 142
 Ptolemy 5, 9, 102, 116
 Pūjāvaliya 20, 32, 34, 86, 127, 128
 Puka (Pūga) 143
 Pukkusa 66, 70
 Pulinda 68, 69
 Puñṇapotthaka 86
 Puppachāḍḍaka 70, 71
 Puppavati 70
 Pura dēva 160
 Purisadatta 6
 Purohita 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27, 51, 84, 144, 148, 156
 Rādha 102
 Rāḍ Yajña 51
 Rāhula, Dr. 46, 113, 122, 132
 Rāja Abhaya 95
 Rājagaha 73, 126
 Rajaka 58
 Rajakadoni (Washerman's trough), 162
 Rajakavithi (Street for washermen) 108
 Rājamāsa (white beans) 131
 Rājamālaka 100
 Rājāngane (inscription) 146
 Rājaraṭnākaraya 128
 Rājasūya 21, 51
 Rājatarangani 141
 Rājāvaliya 20, 127, 128
 Rākṣasa (marriage) 74
 Rāmagāma 104
 Rāmāyana 12
 Rasavāhini 6, 7, 8, 30, 48, 50, 61, 65, 67, 70, 72, 77, 79, 80, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 92, 99, 110
 Rasavāhini (Acc. to) 112, 113, 115, 116, 117, 119, 124, 125, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 142, 143, 144, 146, 148, 151, 166, 167
 Rāsiya 53
 Ratavahanaka (a city, appears in an ins. found at Andagala Vihāra) 120
 Rathakāra 66, 70, 71
 Ratnadvīpa 138
 Ratnin 11, 21, 51
 Raṭṭhapala 7, 8
 Ratti Dāsa 61
 Rhys Davies 65
 Riṭṭigala 39, 110
 Rocinagaraja 120
 Rock Edict I of Asoka 164
 Rohaṇa 14, 20, 35, 48, 49, 50, 65, 68, 78, 80, 95, 104, 110, 113, 128, 132
 Rohaṇa Gahapati of Kittigāma 48
 Romans 9
 Rome 136
 Roṭṭakulam 149
 Rupadaka (sculptors) 58, 153
 Ruvanveli Dāgāba 47, 124 (inscription)
 Sabara 69
 Sacrificial Sword 51
 Saddharma Raṭnākaraya 33, 36
 Saddhātissa 8, 47, 61, 83, 90, 92, 96, 113, 127, 129, 130, 141, 150, 152, 153, 168, 169
 Saga 37
 Sagama (inscription) 36

- Sahassavatthu 6, 7, 8, 69, 77, 81, 83, 85, 91,
 100, 112, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 132
 Saindhava Horse 142
 Śaka 102, 103
 Sākya 45
 Sāketa 75
 Sāli 67, 68, 79, 89, 92, 113, 134
 Salivaya (gama) 109
 Sāliya 169, 176
 Sāmamdāsavayopagata 60
 Samantakūṭa Vaṇṇanā 8
 Sammōhaviōndanī 15, 50, 67, 68, 119, 128 134
 Samantapāsādikā 2, 4, 63, 30, 31, 49, 60, 62,
 63, 71, 87, 112, 119, 137, 144, 146, 147
 Samuda or hamuda 136
 Samyutta 44, 53
 Sācñhi Stūpa (inscription) 45
 Saṅgha 48
 Saṅghabodhi 33, 34, 112
 Saṅgamittā 19, 32, 33, 98
 Saṅgha Tissa 34
 Saṅgrāhit (Collector General) 51
 Sāpānadoni (dog trough) 162
 Sapphire (indunila) 138
 Sarabhanga Jātaka 12
 Sārattah dīpanī 4, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 111
 Sāriputta 4, 98
 Sarmisṭhā 18
 Sāssēruva 15, 153
 Sāurāṣṭra 6
 Sāvatti 75, 108
 Savitṛ 21
 Scavenger 67
 Selābhaya 112
 Sēna 3, 141
 Senāpati 12, 17, 38, 75, 147, 148
 Seṇī-śreṇī 28, 29, 31
 Senipamuka 38
 Seru 49, 50
 Seru Nuvara 126
 Seṭṭhi 32, 43, 45, 56, 66, 73, 75
 Seṭṭhi gahapati 43, 44
 Seṭṭhitā 43
 Seṭṭhiṭṭhāna 44
 Sigālovāda Sutta 63, 90, 91
 Sihala Sadda Lakkhaṇa 8
 Sihalaṭṭhakathā 7
 Sihalaṭṭhakathā Mahāwamsa 2
 Sihalaṭṭhakathā Mr, 86
 Sihalavatthu 5, 6, 7, 8, 61, 69, 89, 90, 113, 126,
 131, 129/130, 150, 151, 152
 Sihalavattupparāṇa 4, 35, 57
 Sihala Vihāra 5
 Sihapura 101
 Sihor 102
 Silawimansa Jātaka 67
 Silk 141, 142
 Silver 141
 Simhapura 19
 Sinhalese Aṭṭha Kathās 3
 Singers 153
 Singur 102
 Sirināga 8, 15, 16, 112
 Sirinanāga (Abrahmana) 169
 Siri Saṅgabōdhi 133
 Sirisavatthu 82, 135
 Siva 49, 60
 Siva (Prince) 81, 135
 Śiva 157, 158
 Siva 120
 (a Local ruler of Mahiyangana)
 Sivali 83
 Sivikā 156
 Sivika
 Sivikāsālā 122
 Sivikāsāla 156, 157
 Sihabāhu 91
 Slaves 63, 66
 Slave 64
 Smṛti Candrikā 29, 57
 Society (Pre-Buddhist Ceylon) 11
 Soma 50
 Somadeva 15
 Somā Devī 81
 Sona 70
 Sonaka 19
 Sonutara 77
 Sothisālā 122, 156
 Sothivacana 156
 South India 5
 Śreṇī 143
 Sri Meghavarna 118, 124
 Sthapati 51
 Strabo 141
 Suba 153, 35
 Sudarśavā 103
 Sudinna 43
 Śudra 11, 21, 37, 56, 57, 65, 66, 71, 76 145,
 161, 162, 163, 165, 172, 173
 Sue Vihāra (inscription) 164
 Sugar Mill 132, 150, 151
 Sujāta 73
 Sujāta of Banaras 47
 Sūkara Doni (Pig trough) 162
 Sulasā Jātaka 122
 Suṃanatera Parumaka 39
 Suṃnavāpi gāma 109
 Sumaṅgalavilāsini 149, 151
 Sumitta 19, 32, 33, 34, 91

Suppāraka 101, 102, 103
 Sūpasattha 88
 Suranimala 30, 144
 Sūratissa 92, 141
 Susīma Jātaka 12, 13²
 Sūta (Herald) 51
 Sutta Nipāta 156
 Sutta Saṅgahaṭṭhakathā 63
 Suvaṇṇabūmi 103, 137, 140 (Burma)
 Suvannaṇapāli 80, 128
 Svayamvara (marriage) 74, 75, 80

Tacchikā (Carpenter's wife) 71
 Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa 54
 Taittiriya Saṁhitā 52
 Taladhara (Tulādhāra) 57
 Tāmalitti 119
 Tambapaṇṇi 5, 104, 121
 Tambapiṭṭhigāma 152
 Tantavāya 58
 Taraccha 31, 57, 58
 Teraputtābhaya 30, 138
 Textiles 141
 Therigāthā 75, 76
 Theriya sect 5, 6
 Theravāda Buddhism 9
 Thūpārāma (a monk of the) 113
 Thūpārāma (inscription) 110
 Tila (gingelly) 130
 Tirtha Kalpa 103
 Tiruketisvaram 118
 Tisa 137
 Tisa parumaka 39, 41
 Tissa 20, 65, 150
 Tissa of Lankā 46
 Tissadatta Thero 119
 Tissamahārāma 50
 Tissamahā Vihāra 84, 128
 Tissa Nāgā 47
 Tissa Vāpi 36, 67, 112
 Tivakka 14, 111
 Tiya 133
 Tonigala Rock inscription 124, 130
 Tortoise-shel 141
 Tosālī 5
 Trade 135
 Tunnavāya (Tailor) 150
 Turmeric (haliddi) 132
 Udumbara 22
 Ujjayini 32
 Ujjain 102, 103, 104
 Ummāda cittā 13, 61, 80
 Upali Gāma 109
 Upaniṣad 18

Uparāja 17, 91, 92, 134
 Uparaja naga 95
 Upāsakas 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 163
 Upatissa 11, 12, 13, 31, 104
 Upatissa gāma 11, 100, 111, 114, 144
 Upatissa nagara 121
 Uppala of Kapiṭṭha 48
 Uppala 50
 Uppala vaṇṇa 74
 Uppala viṭhi 108 (Florist's quarter)
 Uruvela 104, 139
 Uta viya (paddy field)
 Uttiya, Parumaka 39, 41
 Uttara passa 43
 Uttaravaddha māna 169
 Uttara vihāra 7, 124,
 Uttiya 92, 88, 53, 86
 King Uttiya 80, 98

Vaddhakī 153
 Vaddhakī 152
 Vaddhakī gāma 113
 Vagurika (Aboriginal Tribe)
 Vaiśya 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 42, 43, 47, 51, 52, 54,
 55, 56, 135, 143, 149, 154, 162, 163, 165,
 166, 172, 173
 Vaitulya 87
 Vajirā 73
 Vajjis 108
 Valāhassa Jātaka 82, 135
 Valavāmukhī 122
 Valave ganga 105
 Vamsatthappakāsini 2, 3
 Vanavāsī 5
 Vaṇṇa 5, 101
 Vāṅgala 15
 Vaṇṇija 142
 Vankaṇāsika Tissa 47
 Vappamangala 129
 Varṇa 18, 56, 66, 161
 Varuṇa 21
 Vasabha 20, 35, 36, 38, 42, 80, 117, 127, 134,
 144, 146, 147, 148, 153
 Vashaba (one of the palandins of Duṭṭha-
 gāmaṇī 109
 Vashaba of Kuṭumbiyangāṇa
 Vāsakani 15
 Vasala Sutta 162
 Vasistha 12
 Vasudeva 160
 Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya 6, 8, 14, 39, 41, 42, 47,
 50, 53, 68, 81, 82, 86, 87, 90, 116, 124, 128,
 133
 Vēdeha 7, 8
 Vejayanti 45

- Velusumana 51, 61, 79, 112, 115, 142
Velu 158
Veṇa 66, 70, 71
Veni in Rājaraṭṭha 48
Vengi 6
Vessa 28, 29, 31, 37, 42, 57
Vessagiri 29, 30, 31, 33, 37, 57, 77, 78, 81, 113,
156
Vidisā 4, 36
Vidisā Vethisā 32
Vihāramahādevi 20, 83, 84
Vihāravāpigāma 109
Vihirabija gāma 114
Vijaya 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28, 60, 68, 69, 79,
80, 82, 85, 91, 103, 104, 116, 120, 136, 138,
139, 149, 152, 155
Vijita 104
Vijitapura 124, 125
Vilbā Vihāra 142
Vimānavatthu 75
Vinaya 43, 44, 52, 105
Vinayattha Mañjūsā 107
Virapāṇḍu 35
Virapurisa Datta 5
Viras 51
Viritasana 15
Visadeva 158
Viṣṇumṛti 67
Visuddimagga 58, 68, 112, 153
Vohāraḥatissa 84, 87, 152
Vyādha 68, 69
Vyādha Deva 68, 121, 160
Washermen 154
Watch man 67
Wearing 149
Wheeler. m. 136
Wickramasinha 16, 37, 39, 40, 41
Wine 141
Yājñavalkya Smṛti 76
Yakkhas 31
Yakkhiṇi 135, 136
Yala (Season) 130
Yasa gahapati 42
Yasalālaka Tissa 38, 148
Yaṭṭhalena 109, 120, 158
Yatālatissa 20
Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa 95
Yavana 5, 6
Yodhājīva 53
Yonas 121
Yonaraṭṭha 119
Yudhiṣṭhira 21
Yuvarāja 92



