

# King Dhatusena And His Two Sons

V. O. de Alwis Gunawardane







2750  
Lace & Buttons





**KING DHATUSENA**

**AND**

**HIS TWO SONS**



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සිංහල අනුවාදයක් ඇත



*Courtesy—Archaeological Department*



**KING DHATUSENA  
AND  
HIS TWO SONS**

By

**V. O. de ALWIS GUNAWARDANE**



**GUNASENA**



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**DEDICATION**

**To**

**My father R. O. de Alwis Gunawardane**

**My mother née Alice Jayatilaka**

**My wife née Sophie Catherine Perera**

**in tribute**



*Kalāvāva*



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## FOREWORD

I have read with great pleasure Mr. V. O. de Alwis Gunawardane's book *Dhatusena and his Two Sons*. It makes fascinating reading both from the point of an interesting story and from the new point of view it places before the reader.

For generations our students have known only the story of Dhatusena and his tragic end from the record in the *Culavamsa*. Many believe that this is the one and only true account. It would naturally come as a shock to read quite another version based on documents found by the late Dr. Senarat Paranavitana on lithic inscriptions.

Whether one likes this version or not, it remains a fact that it gives a documented version of the story of King Dhatusena and his two sons from another source. The account in the *Culavamsa* has to be critically considered especially as its author — as the late Dr. Geiger remarked — makes no account of the most splendid architectural remains of ancient Lanka.

Mr. de Alwis Gunawardane's book will, in my opinion, serve one end: that people should *read, weigh and consider*. This was what the late Dr. Senarat Paranavitana always wanted his readers to do.

S. F. DE SILVA

*Former Director-General of Education,  
Sri Lanka.*

14, Kassapa Road,  
Colombo 5,  
8th July, 1980.



I have read with great interest the  
 After-Gleanings of the late Dr. G. G. P.  
 1870. I have been very much interested  
 the point of an interesting work and  
 part of which is placed before the reader.  
 For generations our students have  
 the many of the authors and his  
 the records in the University. Many  
 this is the one and only the general  
 naturally came in a book to read  
 various parts on documents. It is  
 Dr. G. G. P. has written on this  
 Whether one likes this version or not  
 a fact that it gives a detailed  
 story of the P. P. P. and the  
 number errors. The account in the  
 has to be critically considered  
 author — as the late Dr. G. G. P.  
 makes no account of the most  
 that exists of ancient India.

S. S. S. S.

Large number of  
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 18  
 18

## PREFACE

The youth of Sri Lanka, nearly all of them, complete their secondary education without a comprehensive and informed view of the history of their motherland. We have a whole thesaurus of source books which have provided pasture for doctorates and from which high-priced books on Sri Lanka have been served in ample measure to the tourist. But for our young people there is hardly anything to read because very little has been taken out of the rich sources of our history and made readable to them.

This little book has been extracted from a new source of our history discovered by Professor Senarat Paranavitana fifteen years ago. This new source was duly presented in learned journals published here and abroad. Thereafter the great epigraphist-historian proceeded to publish his findings in *Ceylon and Malaysia*, Colombo 1966; *The Greeks and the Mauryas*, Colombo, 1971; and *The Story of Sigiri*, Colombo, 1972. Part II of this book is a rendering of the story of King Dhatusena and his two sons as found in the new source, translated from the Sanskrit to English by Paranavitana and published with the title: *The Story of Sigiri*.

As a guide and inspiration to our young reader we have quoted *in extenso* Paranavitana's overture to his *magnum opus*, *Sigiri Graffiti*.



His statue stands at the foot of the rock which was so close to his heart. The rock is at the centre of this story.

“The rugged mass of granite forming the rock of Sigiri rises with unscalable, precipitous sides, to a height of 1,193 feet above mean sea-level — nearly 600 feet above the surrounding plain. In the fifth century, in consequence of a series of violent and brutally cruel deeds which disgraced the domestic life of the princes then ruling Ceylon, the rock suddenly became the focal point of the Island’s political life, only to revert to its former obscurity after a brief, though splendid, period of eighteen years. Monumental remains of unusual interest to be seen today on the summit, as well as at the foot of the rock, bear testimony to the royal splendour which was once manifested on or around it.

“Moggallana, the third of that name to hold the sceptre at Anuradhapura, was himself deprived of the sovereignty by Silameghavanna and, while fleeing for his life, was overtaken and slain by the foe in the vicinity of Sigiri. Thereafter Sigiri is never mentioned in the historical writings of Ceylon. An inscription of the tenth century informs us that a territorial division of that period was named after Sigiri. The irrigation reservoir, which adjoins the rock, no doubt continued to function up to the time when these districts began to be depopulated and given up to the jungle and the wild beast, i.e., about the thirteenth century. From that



period up to the nineteenth century, when ancient sites in Ceylon began to attract attention, a long night of five centuries of oblivion descended not only over Sigiri but also over the whole of the ancient Rajarattha.

“The re-discovery of Sigiri in modern times followed close upon those momentous revelations which, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, contributed so much to a proper understanding and appreciation, by the learned men in Europe, of a great culture, its history, languages, religions, philosophies, and art — the decipherment of the Brahmini Script by Prinsep, the discovery and study of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature of Nepal by Hodgson, and of the Pali chronicles and religious texts of Ceylon by Turnour. The honour of having first visited Sigiri in modern times, studying its significance for the history of Ceylon and bringing it to the notice of the learned world, belongs to Major Forbes. In his very informative book, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, he has given us a fascinating account of two visits he paid to Sigiri in 1831 and 1833, from which we can form for ourselves a picture of the place as it was over a century ago.

“Bell’s work in 1898 led to a discovery which, in a remarkable way, testifies to the accuracy of the description of Sigiri in the Chronicle. The earlier writers, including Rhys Davids, were inclined to treat with scorn the explanation of the name Sigiri (Pali: Sihagiri) as given in the

Chronicle, for they could not discover at the place even a single example of a sculptured figure of a lion, so common on other ancient sites in Ceylon. Learned explanations were given of the name, and the gullibility of the natives was duly scoffed at. Bell, however, in that year excavated a mound on the terrace to which the lower section of the gallery leads, and discovered the remains of a gigantic brick-built figure of a lion. Through the body of this was carried a zig-zag staircase which led to the upper sections of the gallery. Here, then, was the Lion Staircase-house which gave Sigiri its name.

“The paintings in the cavity of the western face of the rock received Bell’s earnest attention and care. His native assistant, Muhandiram D. A. L. Perera, working under almost unbelievable difficulties, made faithful and excellent copies in oil, of all the paintings. Bell’s enthusiasm for discovering ancient paintings made him scale the forbidden eastern face of the rock up to a long cavern close to the top — a point of the rock probably untrodden before by human feet. In this hazardous undertaking, as Bell himself has generously admitted, it was an unnamed villager, a brave Sinhalese lad, who had the nerve to lead the way and first set foot in that precarious position for the archaeologist to follow with confidence.”

After this grand overture which we have extracted from *Sigiri Graffiti* by S. Paranavitana, C.B.E., Ph. D. (Lugd.), Hon., Litt. (Ceylon),



Archaeological Commissioner, published by Geoffrey Cumberlege for the Oxford University Press, London, 1956, we think it prudent to advise the reader to take up a copy of the *Culavamsa* (being the more recent part of the *Mahavamsa*) Part I translated by Wilhelm Geiger and from the German into English by Mrs. C. Mabel Rickmers (*nee* Duff), published by the Government Information Department, Colombo, 1953.

For the purpose of reading and understanding this book, the least you should do is to read Chapters XXXVIII, XXXIX and XL (pp. 27-50) of the *Culavamsa*, Part I. It is well for us to remember that the *Mahavamsa* was composed by a Buddhist monk, Mahanama by name, at the beginning of the sixth century after Christ. The *Culavamsa* which was a continuation of the *Mahavamsa* was composed also by a Buddhist monk, Dhammakitti at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.C. This would mean that the events which are the subject of our book, were set down seven hundred years after their occurrence.

Geiger who translated both chronicles says on page XV of the Introduction to the *Mahavamsa*: "The longer the interval between the time of the events and the time when they are related, the greater the possibility of an objective error, and so much the more will the influence of legend be noticeable." With all respect to the great historian, the wide abyss of time between



an act and the recording of that act, is not the only cause of inaccurate narrative. There was a subjective element arising from other causes the most baneful of which was the ingrained prejudice generated by the schism between the Theravada Mahavihara and the Mahayana Abhayagiri-vihara. For example, the chapter on King Mahasena in the *Mahavamsa* ends with the epilogue: "Thus did he gather to himself much merit and much guilt." The guilt was Mahasena's destruction of the Theravada Mahavihara. This piece of recording is the closest in time to an event — one hundred and fifty years after the death of the great hydraulic engineer who showed the way to Dhatusena and Parakramabahu I.

It is evident from his Introduction to Part I of the *Culavamsa* that Geiger discerned a subjective element in Dhammakitti's writings; but he was reluctant to hurt the susceptibilities of the Ceylonese scholars and pundits of half a century ago.

However, his duty as a historian, which he never shirked, prompted him to ask oblique questions without any direct insinuations of prejudice or partisanship against Dhammakitti. It is after making a clear exposition of the function and scope of the chronicles that he asks these questions. He concedes that Dhammakitti had to draw his sources from the writings of the bhikkus who had preceded him and also from the records kept by the kings. He accepts

that apart from a great endeavour to make out a systematic chronology in a book of kings, the dominant concern was to set out the ecclesiastical history of Ceylon — the relation between King and Church.

Notwithstanding all this he is exasperated by the scant treatment given to Sigiri. "Not what is said but what is left unsaid is the besetting difficulty of Sinhalese history", he says, and goes on to ask "How explain the fact that of so mighty a work as the fortress of Sigiri not a single detail is described? Even the name is only mentioned in four places. It is not impossible that the personality of Kasyapa I might appear in a different light if a layman and not a priest had been the author of the chronicle."

Plainly Geiger is giving us a piece of his mind. With the next sentence he tries to assuage us: "I must repeat here that not the least doubt is thrown on Dhammakitti's good faith by such criticisms. They merely point out the range of ideas by which his work was conditioned and restricted."

Geiger would have been spared the pains of making this apologia if the new documents discovered by Paranavitana in 1964 were available to him (Geiger) in 1928. This chance discovery takes its place in the history of Archaeology with the purposeful, single-minded excavation by Heinrich Schliemann which established the reality of Troy on a May morning in 1873.



The origin of these new documents the language of which was Sanskrit, the script being Sinhala or Grantha, how they were brought to Ceylon in the middle of the fifteenth century, and how they were indited on stone pillars already bearing inscriptions, are discussed in Part I of this book. The important thing to remember is that this new-found history was recorded in a country with close religious and political connections with Simhaladvipa before the *Culavamsa* was composed. In fact one of the documents, the *Sihigiri-vitara* appears to date from Aggabodhi II (601-611) while all the other documents date not later than the early decades of the twelfth century. The cold reception given to these documents and the apathy with which they have been looked upon are the result of certain attitudes which generated from the West in the closing years of the last century. The history of S.E. Asia was confined to the activities of the Medieval Wanderers, the Filibusters and the Empire Builders. Even the orientalist who followed, treated the East, in the words of Georges Fradier\*, "as provinces of Empires whose capitals lay in the West".

Oswald Spengler writing his second volume of *The Decline of the West*, 1922 said: "The Western European area is regarded as a fixed pole, a unique patch chosen on the surface of the sphere for no better reason, it seems, than because *we* live on it — and great histories of

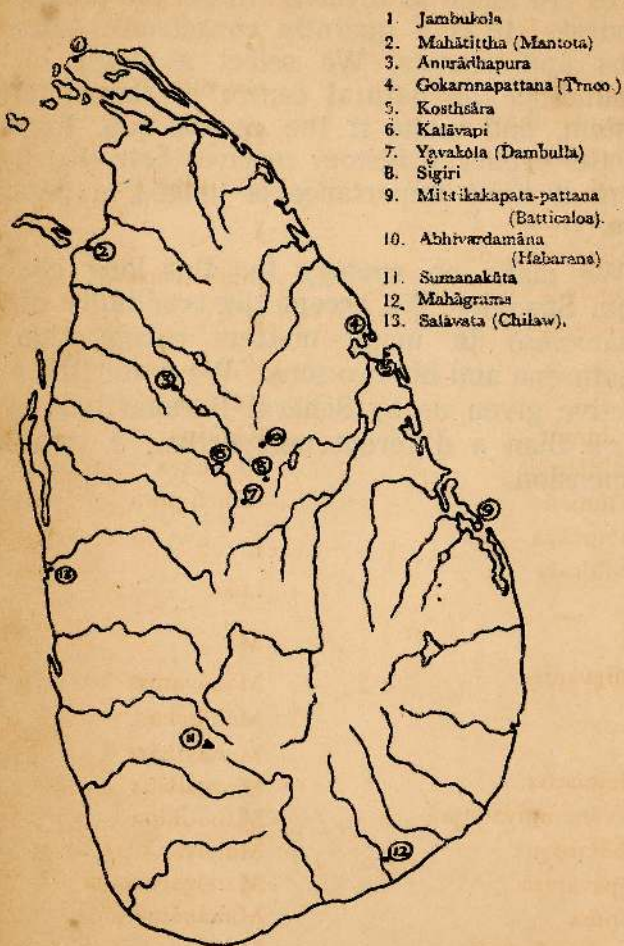
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\* East and West - Georges Fradier, Unesco, 1959.



millennial duration and mighty far-away Cultures are made to revolve around the pole in all modesty. It is a quaintly conceived system of suns and planets. We select a single bit of ground as the natural centre of the historical system, and make it the central sun. From it all the events of history receive their real light, from it their importance is judged in perspective."

We make no apology for this long citation from Spengler. We accept the credibility of the *Culavamsa* in many matters except that of Dhatusena and his two sons. We prefer the perspective given us by Senarat Paranavitana. It is more than a different perspective; it is a new dimension.



1. Jambukola
2. Mahātīttha (Mantota)
3. Anurādhapura
4. Gokarnapattana (Trinco)
5. Kotsāsāra
6. Kalāvapi
7. Yavakōla (Dambulla)
8. Sigiri
9. Mittikakapata-pattana  
(Batticaloa).
10. Abhivardamāna  
(Habarana)
11. Sumanakūta
12. Mahāgrāma
13. Salāvata (Chilaw).

*Map of Sinhala-dvīpa—5th Century A.C.*

## Nouns, with Phonetic Symbols

### A

Angulimāla  
Ānanda-sthavira  
Anurādhapura  
Āryan  
Amarāvathi  
Abhivardamāna  
Appamaññā  
Ambasāmanera

### B

Brāhmini  
Buddharāja  
Brāhmana  
Balaprāya  
Bodhirāja

### C

Cūlavamsa

### D

Dhātusena  
Devānampiyatissa  
Dhātanāma  
Dipavamsa  
Dīpika  
Damastrānāma  
Dāna  
Dasarājadharmā

### G

Gavyūtis

### H

Hīnayāna

### J

Jambudvīpa

### K

Kalāvāva  
Kāssapa  
Kāsyapa  
Kraistāva  
Kānchipura

### L

Lōka

### M

Mahāvamsa  
Mahāsena  
Mahāvihāra  
Moggallāna  
Mahāthūpa  
Mahāyāna  
Maudgalyāyana  
Mahānāma  
Migāra  
Maga Brāhmana  
Mahābalipuram



**M**

Mahāmallapattana  
 Mahātirtha  
 Mārttika-kapata

**N**

Nikāya  
 Nāga

**P**

Panākaduva  
 Parākramabāhu  
 Paramparāpustaka  
 Pārendra  
 Prithā

Parvatarāja

Purōhita

Pāndya

**R**

Rājarata

Rāvana

**S**

Siṃhaladvīpa

Sigiri-vitāra

Sāsana

Stūpa

Samghā

Silākāla

Silātisyabōdhi

Svātisenā

Simhapanjāra

Salāvata

Sridhāra

Sīla

Srīkudya

Stūparāma

**T**

Theravāda

**V**

Vihāra

Vajrācārya

Yuvarāja

## PART I

NOTE: *Cv.* *Culavamsa*, *As.* *Anandasthavira's* documents).

Extracts from these documents are within quotes. The other writing is drawn from the documents.

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2  
3  
4  
There are many unresolved controversies in the historical scene of Sri Lanka. The Standing Buddha in Gal Vihara, the statue of a king in Potgul Vihara, the meaning and significance of the Sigiri paintings and the Dakshina Stupa of Anuradhapura are some of the subjects of controversy in which the dilettante and the antiquarian have been vociferous over the sedate note of the complete archaeologist. In these three instances — there are many others — the judgment of the archaeologist derived from collated evidence continues to be resisted by the traditionalists who have succumbed to erroneous beliefs sanctioned by time.

The subject of Dhatusena and his sons does not fall within the above category. It has had the imprimatur of the *Cv.* for well over seven-hundred years; and to dispute its veracity would amount to blasphemy. The *Cv.* is a continuation of the *Mahavamsa* and the Old Chronicle has had the respect of scholars and historians, ancient and modern. The credibility of the two books has been proved by the excavator and the epigraphist many times in the last hundred years. It will ever be the touchstone of historical



facts that lie buried over the length and breadth of Sri Lanka. One signal example is the corroboration it gives to the amazing artefact, the Panakaduwa Copper Plates. We tarry a little here to pay our respects to the Great Chronicle.

Paranavitana in his Administrative Report (Epigraphy) 1940 says: "The document (the copper plates) confirms the *Cv.* in giving the name of Vijayabahu's father as Mahasamiya Mugalan (Pali: Mahasami Moggallana) and the name of the chieftain who befriended him in his youth as Budal (P: Buddha). It also gives us a graphic word picture of the King delivering his order in the assembly and furnishes us with the interesting information that the King, while delivering the order, held the iron mace in both hands.

"For palaeography as well as for philology, the document has preserved points of great interest. The style of its Sinhalese is majestic, furnishing us with a specimen of the language exhibiting its characteristics of terse lucidity, vigour and expressiveness — characteristics which the language has almost lost due to writers who hanker after respectability, smothering it with Sanskrit and other foreign modes of expression incompatible with its genius. .... The document also throws light on the procedure adopted in drafting legal documents in the chancelleries of Sinhalese kings."



“Panakaduwa is a village hedged in between two ranges of mountains, one of which is the Ranmalakanda, referred to in the *Cv.* (Chap. 37, v. 62) as the site of the armed camp set up by Vijayabahu, when he was only fifteen years of age. He was at the time under the protection of a chieftain named Buddharaja. There is little doubt that the Buddharaja of the chronicle is the same as Lord Budal of our record. As Vijayabahu was then under his protection, it is most probable that his first camp was in the hereditary fief of Lord Budal (Buddharaja). After the campaigning which established Vijayabahu on the throne, Budal, we may assume, returned to his own fief and the copper-plates too must have been brought to his home after he received them at the hands of his grateful sovereign at Anuradhapura. They may have been deposited in the place where they were found when the descendants of Budal, fallen on evil days, had unceremoniously to leave their ancestral home due to some reason or other.”

In the history of archaeology no historical document in its entirety has had unqualified acceptance. And so it was that when Wilhelm Geiger translated the *Cv.* into German after a study of Teutonic thoroughness, he had to say the following with humility and reluctance:—

“The question of the credibility of the *Cv.* cannot be answered with a simple yes or no. It is somewhat more complicated than that of the

more ancient *Mahavamsa* whose author kept more closely and I might say, more naively to his source.

“One thing is certain, the compiler of the first part of the *Cv.* (Chaps. 37-39) with which I am at present dealing, did not consciously relate what was false. What he tells us is drawn from his own knowledge, as derived from his sources and his personal conviction. That much valuable material is contained therein is shown by the way in which various statements are confirmed by inscriptions.

“But two points must be borne in mind. The compiler — let us call him *Dhammakitti*\* — was after all a *bhikkū* and the sources of which he made use were written by *bhikkus*, the records forming the foundation were written down in the spirit and in the interests of the Buddhist Church. They were in the main apparently *punnapotthakani*, that is registers of meritorious works by which the prince had furthered the Church (*sasana*) and the laity (*loka*). About such things therefore we are particularly well informed. We hear of the *viharas* built by the king, of the repairs he had undertaken on the more ancient buildings, of his bounty to the needy, the poor and the sick and above all to the priesthood. Of much however, equally interesting if not more interesting to the historian we hear nothing at all. It is these

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\* See p. 155, *Cv.* ii-1236-1271- *Parakramabahu II.*



gaps of which one has a growing consciousness without being able to lay one's finger with certainty on them, which constitute the chief task in the narrative of the *Cv.* Not what is said but what is left unsaid is the besetting difficulty in Sinhalese history.

“To take but one example — how explain the fact that of so mighty a work as the fortress of Sigiri not a single detail is described? Even the name is only mentioned in four places. And yet perhaps this is the most magnificent building of which Ceylon can boast. It is not impossible that the personality of Kassapa I, might appear in a different light if a layman and not a priest had been the author of the chronicle.

“I must repeat here that not the least doubt is thrown on Dhammakitti's good faith by such criticisms. They merely point out the range of ideas by which his work was conditioned and restricted.

“It is of course clear that it was not solely of such *punnani* that Dhammakitti's sources and traditions had to tell. We hear also of secular proceedings with which often enough the 'meritorious works' of the princes were connected. But it is indisputable that what the *Cv.* had above all in mind was the relation of the king to the church. This relation fills so large a space in the narrative that if we follow it alone the history of Ceylon takes on a hue not quite in keeping with fact. Unfortunately we are not

in a position to fill up satisfactorily the gaps in the historical tradition. Later Sinhalese writings are not essentially different in character and the inscriptions which would undoubtedly be our best source, are unfortunately occupied almost entirely with ecclesiastical matters. Nevertheless certain of these give much desired information of purely secular events mentioned in the *Cv.*"

In the above extracts we note this great scholar's bewilderment and a yearning for information which in his intuition there should be somewhere "to fill up the gaps in the historical tradition." Geiger goes on to say that "it is not impossible that the personality of Kassapa I, might appear in a different light if a layman and not a priest had been the author of the chronicle." The different light which Geiger contemplated is now with us in the new-found documents the author of which was a *Vajracarya* named Buddhamitra of Suvarnapura (Palembang) who came to Ceylon and spent some years in the reign of Parakramabahu VI (1412-1467). He was ordained in Ceylon as a member of the *Theravada Nikaya* with the name of Anandasthavira.

Anandasthavira based his accounts of the reign of Dhatusena on the *Paramparapustaka*. For the reign of Kasyapa his main source of information was the redaction of the *Suvarnnapuravamsa*. The accounts of Maudgalyayana and Silakala (Kasyapa) were drawn from the *Mugalansirita* and the *Ambaherana Salamevan-*



5  
X  
sirita. Anandasthavira had access to all these books in the library of the Maharaja of Suvarnapura. He also used the information in the ancient Sinhalese *Rajavali*, a work quite different from the "very scrappy, incomplete and often partisan account of events which goes by that name in the present day".\*

X  
Copies of Anandasthavira's research written down on palm leaves were kept in the library of the king, but books are destroyed by the ravages of time or the indifference of man; and Parakramabahu VI commanded that these researches be indited on ancient inscriptions in the abandoned Rajarata.

11  
X  
+  
The romantic discovery of these inscriptions is related by Parnavitana in his preface to *The Greeks and the Mauryas*, 1971. He says: "The first of these documents which I casually encountered while I was engaged in examining an estampage of Side A of the Madilla inscription, was that which opens with the words: 'Aristatalacarya (Aristotle) was the pupil of Platavacarya (Plato)'. It was a strange experience, on a quiet night in June 1964, to read the names of these leaders of Greek thought in a Sanskrit passage scribbled on a stone pillar bearing an inscription in the Sinhalese script of the ninth century, and it took some time to convince myself that I was not the victim of some sort of hallucination. The same passage was encountered a few days later in a better pre-

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\* S. Parnavitana *The Story of Sigiri*, P. IV

served condition on the Mayilagastota pillar, now hidden in the Colombo Museum. Other passages containing accounts of the exploits of Alexander the Great and of Greek culture and literature, were read on those two pillars."

For the inscriptions which are the sources for our study we refer the reader to Paranavitana's *The Story of Sigiri*, preface, p. v. et. seq.

As a prelude to our presentation of the As. documents relating to Dhatusena and his two sons we have to look at the land roads and the sea routes of post-Asokan Asia. Caravans of merchandise went Westward from China traversing the many countries over which the Silk Route passed. This route gave access to countries that were inaccessible to the Indian, the Sinhala, the Malayan and the Chinese mariners who were operating an entrepot system with locations in India and Simhaladvipa.

Commerce brought in its train not only gold and silver but thoughts and ideas; and in the last five centuries before the Christian era, religious development and metaphysical speculation culminated in the rise of Buddhism in India. This new philosophy like Brahmanism of an earlier age, used the land routes to reach the countries of continental Asia. Ceylon and South-East Asia were of easier approach by sea from the homeland of Gautama the Buddha. This was made possible through the navigational genius of Indian, Simhala, Malayan and Chinese sailors



who had developed seamanship independently of each other long before the time of Hippalus (circa 50 A.C.). By the time of Mahinda's mission to Simhaladvipa the perils of the journey along the long and sinuous seaboard of the Indian Ocean which the carriers of Hindu culture had to encounter, had been diminished considerably.

No culture is strong enough to completely submerge an earlier culture. Hindu culture which proliferated over the whole of South-East Asia, could not completely eradicate the cults of animism, ancestor-worship and chthonic practices that prevailed in this region, particularly in the areas of thick tropical forest. These countries already had their own civilizations, and Hinduism was merely a new graft on an old stock. Simhaladvipa alone withstood its overpowering influences. She had adopted Buddhism with complete receptivity two centuries before the Christian era and was looked upon as the Buddhist centre of Greater India. Brahmanic practices however, remained as accretions on the periphery of Theravada Buddhism.

It is difficult to place in distance of time the period in which the countries of South-East Asia built their arcana to the Hindu pantheon, but the wide prevalence of the Kaudinya\* legend in Malaya and Cambodia indicates the early Indian

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\* See *The Naga King's Daughter* by Stewart Wavell, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1964.

influence on the region. In the words of Ananda Coomaraswamy: "Although Far-Eastern races developed independently elements of culture no less important than those of India, almost all that belongs to the common spiritual consciousness of Asia, the ambient in which its diversities are reconcilable is of Indian origin"\*.

In the Indian summer of the Maurya Empire under Asoka, the Simhaladvipa and the countries of South-East Asia received the word of the Buddha in a manner that each country could understand and practise it. Whether in the country of its adoption it was the Theravada or the Mahayana that was mingled with the Hindu deities, Buddhism was the dominant credo. So it was that in the early centuries of the Christian era the traffic in thought and behaviour among these countries produced a unity of civilization woven together with the golden thread of Buddhism.

It is against this background of Buddhism mingling with Brahmanic cosmology that we can understand the grand achievements and the tragic events, the authors of which were Dhatusena and his two sons. They are the actors in a drama of the rights to kingship and aspira-

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\* Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Medieval Sinhalese Art*-2nd Ed., New York, 1956.



tions to divinity in Simhaladvipa. From here it moves to Jambudvipa (Greater India) in the Pundra and the Pallava kingdoms. It shifts again to Simhaladvipa and thence to Suvarnapura and Malayapura to have its gruesome denouement in Simhaladvipa.

## PART II

### DHATUSENA AND HIS TWO SONS

*(A rendering of the story as given in Anandasthavira's documents translated from the Sanskrit into English by Senarat Paranavitana).*

*"Affairs of state cannot be managed in the Simhala kingdom as they are done in the Parasika kingdom or in the Sindhu kingdom or in the Pundra kingdom. Everything in the Simhala kingdom has been done according to the Law."*  
*As. documents.*

#### **A Simhala Queen for the Pundra country**

In about the year 417 A.C. the Simhala people who had assembled in great numbers along the road from Anuradhapura to the busy port of Mahatirtha, witnessed a rare scene. It was rare for two reasons. Many times had the Simhala people seen a Queen-designate escorted to Anuradhapura from one or the other of the sea-ports on the west or the east of Simhaladvipa. On this day no one had seen in living memory a Simhala queen taken abroad by a foreign king.

The circumstances of this marriage were also rare and strange. Damastrana-maharaja, also Balapraya by name, of the thirteenth generation in lineage to an Indo-Greek dynasty, was the king of the Pundra state in South India. He had invaded Simhaladvipa and was defeated and captured by Mahanama, the Simhala king. King Mahanama was a far-sighted ruler. He saw in



his victory an opportunity of making a political alliance with the Pundra kingdom, and as a bond of friendship he gave his daughter, the beautiful and imperious Samgha in marriage to Damastana - maharaja.

### **Dhatusena, King of Simhaladvipa**

It was a happy marriage. Queen Samgha had little difficulty in getting used to the life and duties of a Buddhist household in a Buddhist country. She had two sons, Dhatusena and Silatisyabodhi, and a daughter whom she named Samgha. In about 432 A.C. when her elder son Dhatusena was seven years old, Queen Samgha hearing that her father, King Mahanama was mortally ill, came to Anuradhapura. Shortly after her arrival her father died, and his son, Svatisena, by his second queen was raised to the throne by Mahanama's ministers. Claiming her place in the line of succession as the daughter of the Mahesi, she had Svatisena murdered on the eve of his annointment. She then placed her seven-year-old son, Dhatusena on the Simhala throne, appointed a general named Kalabhresvara to rule the country in King Dhatusena's name and returned to the Pundra kingdom taking Dhatusena with her.

### **The Parendras**

General Kalabhresvara was defeated in war by a Prince named Purnna who then assumed the sovereignty of the Simhala kingdom and reigned for seven years in Anuradhapura. After

his death his younger brother Ksudra Parendra assumed the sovereignty and was reigning at Anuradhapura while momentous events were taking place in the Pundra kingdom.

### King Balapraya in Exile

At the time of the accession of Ksudra Parendra to the Simhala throne, Dhatusena who was *de jure* King of the Simhala people was twenty-six-years old. His father King Balapraya had fallen on evil days. His Pundra kingdom was conquered by the Kalabhra king of the Pandya kingdom, and the Kalabhra king demanded Balapraya's subjection. Balapraya refused to do so and fled from Pundra country, boarding a vessel in the night and putting out to the open sea with his queen Samgha, his sons Dhatusena and Silatisyabodhi and his daughter, Samgha.

He coasted the Simhaladvipa and not finding a following even on the southern coast of the island, remained for some time at the Ruhunu port of Galavapattana, and sailed north to Mahamallapattana (Mahabalipuram) in the Pallava country. Simhavarman, the Pallava king invited them to Kanchipura. King Balapraya offered his subjection to Simhavarman. This was accepted, and after King Balapraya and his retinue were given suitable residence, Simhavarman enlisted the soldiers of Balapraya's retinue in his own army and appointed Dhatusena as commander-in-chief over them.



At this time Simhavarman had repudiated his subjection to the Kalabhra Emperor of Uragahapura, the same potentate who had driven Balapraya from his Pundra kingdom, and from whose wrath Balapraya had escaped secretly in flight to the open sea. Here was Balapraya's chance to retaliate in collaboration with his Pallava host.

### General Dhatusena

The Kalabhra army advanced on Kancipura, and Simhavarman pitched his camp four *gavyutis* south of Kancipura and awaited the arrival of the enemy. His plan was to lie in ambush and take the Kalabhra army unawares. The Kalabhra general arrived near Kancipura and encamped for the night with the intention of taking the city by storm on the following day. Simhavarman attacked the sleeping enemy in the second watch of the night.

Heavy losses were inflicted on the Kalabhra army which retreated in disorder. Dhatusena leading his troops in the van of the Pallava Army, fought with intrepidity, skill and daring, and brought back a number of prisoners. Simhavarman, pleased with the powers of Dhatusena, now in his twenty-seventh year, gave him his sister Prtha in marriage and appointed him a general of the Pallava kingdom. Dhatusena's sister Samgha was given in marriage to Migara, a general of the Pallava army. Balapraya's fortunes now became closely linked with Simhavarman's.

## Balapraya regains his kingdom

Shortly after the battle of Kancipura, the Pundra kingdom was invaded by the Murunda people from Sindhu. They deposed the Kalabhra King, and looking about for a king acceptable to the people, invited King Balapraya to assume the sovereignty of the Pundra kingdom. Balapraya who had been given refuge by Simhavarman gladly agreed. He realized that one day Simhavarman's sister Prtha would be the Queen of the Pundra kingdom.

The throne from which Balapraya had been deposed by the Kalabhras was now restored to him by the Murundas. Seven months after his restoration Balapraya died and was succeeded by his elder son, Dhatusena. Dhatusena gave his younger brother, Silatisyabodhi the position of Yuvaraja. Dhatusena's first official act was to inform the Pallava king of the death of his father and of his own accession to the Pundra throne. He now sought release from the undertaking given by his father to remain in subjection to Simhavarman. Dhatusena also informed him that his wife (Simhavarman's sister) was the mother of a baby son whom they had named Kasyapa. Simhavarman replied that he was happy at the news of the birth of a son to his sister but he did not accept the repudiation of Dhatusena's subjection to the Pallava kingdom.



## Dhatusena, King of Pundra and Simhaladvipa

Dhatusena was now the annointed king of the Pundra kingdom. He was also the *de jure* king of Simhaladvipa, but the Kalabhras who had plotted against his father in the Pundra kingdom were entrenched in the Simhaladvipa to resist his assumption of sovereignty there. Dhatusena was a boy of seven when he was proclaimed king of Simhaladvipa at the instigation of his mother. He had now been away from his Simhala kingdom for twenty years. He could not with any certainty count on the allegiance and support of the Simhala people over whom Ksudra Parendra exercised power. The Kalabhras were strongly behind this usurper. He had now to devise his own means and alone.

The Murundas were the sworn enemy of the Kalabhras. With the Murundas as the fighting core, Dhatusena raised an army of Pundra levies for campaigning in Simhaladvipa against the Kalabhras and the Simhala adherents of Ksudra Parendra. Dhatusena entrusted his younger brother, Silatisyabodhi with the task of governing the Pundra country in his name. He embarked with his army in seventy-five ships from the port of Mangalapura (Mangalore) and landed in Salavata (Chilaw). Here he fought a decisive battle with Ksudra Parendra, put him to flight, captured power in Anuradhapura and was soon the master of Rajarata.

## **Dhatusena crowned King of Simhaladvipa**

The Simhala ministers at Anuradhapura welcomed Dhatusena as their sovereign. Dhatusena had come with his queen, Prtha, daughter of Simhavarman, the Pallava king and their two-year-old son, Prince Kasyapa. However, in order to strengthen his claim to the Simhala sovereignty, the Simhala ministers advised him to marry a Simhala princess as a second queen. Princess Samgha, the daughter of Svatisena who was deprived of his life and throne by Dhatusena's mother, was a choice most acceptable to the Simhala people. In due course a son was born to Samgha. They named him Maudgalyayana.

Ksudra Parendra had fled to Rohana, the traditional province of refuge for contenders to Simhala sovereignty. Parendra died there in the seventh year of his rule. His son Sridhara succeeded him, but after ruling for seven months, was slain in battle by one of Dhatusena's generals. Sridhara's son, Mahadamstrika-maharaja eluded Dhatusena's generals for a long time and set himself up at Mahagrama for seven years before he was defeated and put to flight by Dhatusena himself. After he "freed Rohana of thorns" Dhatusena was master of Simhaladvipa.

### **Achievements of Dhatusena**

Now followed fifteen years of peace and prosperity. Inspired by the irrigational works of Mahasena, Dhatusena constructed eighteen



new tanks, the greatest of which was Kalavapi (Kalavava) the main dam of which was strung across the Kala Oya. The Jaya Ganga a 54-mile canal conveyed water to the capital city of Anuradhapura.

Dhatusena held the scales even between the Mahavihara and the Abhayagiri-vihara. He founded the Ambatthala-vihara at Mihintale and celebrated religious festivals with great splendour. He sent a religious mission to China. He promoted sea-borne trade between the East and the West, making Simhaladvipa an entrepot for international trade. This was the beginning of a period of prosperity which ran with interruptions into the ninth century. Simhaladvipa had now acquired a status in temporal and spiritual power higher than that of the Pundra and the Pallava kingdoms of India and the Malayan kingdoms of South-East Asia.

### **Dhatusena aspires to be Bodhiraja**

Dhatusena, now at the height of his power, desired to assume the title of Bodhiraja which the sovereigns of Simhaladvipa had held for many centuries as the protectors of Buddhism in Asia. In pursuance of this, Dhatusena sent a message to King Srikudya who was at that time the Bodhiraja of Dharmarajapura (Java) "stating that for the past seven hundred and twenty-four years it was accepted by all that the Simhala monarch was Bodhiraja and that it would be contrary to law for another ruler to assume the name of Bodhiraja".

“To this the Maharaja Srikudya sent a message in reply stating that he had no desire to discuss anything pertaining to law with one who, disregarding the law, had seized the kingdom (of Simhaladvipa) by main force and that, in the event of the Simhala kingdom being again acquired by a scion of the Lambakarna dynasty, it would be possible to acquire the status of Bodhi-rajya as well.”

Dhatusena who was proud of the ancient lineage of his Moriya dynasty was stung to the quick by this rebuff and sought the advice of the Samghasthavira of the Mahavihara. This Abbot who was the head of the *theravada* sect, advised Dhatusena to practise the *dasaraja-dharma* (the ten royal virtues) which the Abbot said would enable him to acquire the status of a *Chakravarti* monarch, a status higher than Bodhirajya.

The ten royal virtues (*raja-dharmas*) were *dana* (liberality), *sila* (good conduct), *parriega* (renunciation), *ajjava* (straightforwardness), *majjava* (mildness), *tapa* (asceticism), *akkodha* (non-hatred), *avihimsa* (not hurting anyone), *khanti* (forbearance), and *avirodhata* (non-animosity). Says Parnavitana: “If kings endeavoured to practise them in earnest, they would not have lasted long on their thrones.” In a country of continual turbulence caused by different contenders to the throne, local and foreign, and at a time when the old structure of *theravada* Buddhism was being eroded by the



Mahayanists of the Abhayagiri-vihara, this self-denying doctrine would have brought about the destruction of kingly power.

### Dhatusena aspires to be Parvataraja

Now appears on the scene the bearer of a spiritual message totally alien to every form of Buddhism and destructive of an ethos set down by the Buddha a thousand years before. A Maga Brahmana, a Magian Christian, called at the court of Dhatusena. He had come from Persia to the Sindhu country, and thence to the Pundra country. After moving about with the Murunda people and getting a grasp of the politico-religious situation in South-Asia he arrived at Anuradhapura. Soon he had his ear to the ground and learned that King Dhatusena was in a state of mental distress.

Dhatusena opened his heart to him. He confided in the Maga Brahmana his aspirations to the spiritual leadership of Buddhist Asia. He told him how he was rebuffed by Sri Kudya, and how difficult it was to practise the *dasarajadharma* on the advice of the Sanghasthavira of the Mahavihara. The Maga Brahmana stated that the ancient kings of Persia had tried without success to practise the *dasarajadharma*, and that they had acquired imperial status by observing the ritual of the Parvataraja (the Mountain King).

The Maga Brahmana went on to explain that if a king administered his kingdom while residing in a palace built on the summit of a rock, he fulfilled the observance of the ritual of a Parvataraja. When Dhatusena questioned how it was possible to remain always in a palace on the summit of a mountain, the Maga Brahmana replied that, having started to rule residing in a palace on the summit of a rock, and proclaimed himself as Parvataraja he could administer his kingdom in another palace built at the foot of the rock.

The Maga Brahmana explained to the king the symbol and significance of 'Parvata'; it was a synonym of 'Megha'. 'Megha' was the Cloud which was the source of all prosperity. The Cloud gave rain; the king himself was the Cloud. The founder of the royal house of Persia was Parvataraja. The name of his descendant was Kuvera (Cyrus), a synonym of Megha. The Brahmana also explained that the status of Parvataraja was equal to that of Bodhiraja. From both these the prosperity of the State flowed from the conduct of the king.

King Dhatusena decided to assume the status of Parvataraja, and the rock then known as Aksasaila, and in ancient times as Visvagiri, was chosen as the site of the heavenly palace. A concept heretical of the tenets of Buddhism sank deep into the king's mind, but he was well aware that a king of the Simhaladvipa could not embark on any unconventional ritual without



the sanction of the Maha Sangha and the approval of the people. The Maga Brahmana who was appointed a *purohita* by King Dhatusena used all his wiles and wisdom to convince first, the Sangasthavira of the Mahavihara and next the Sanghasthavira of the Abhayagiri-vihara that the concepts of Bodhirajya and Parvatarajya were identical, and that King Dhatusena's assumption of the status of Parvatarajya would bring prosperity to Simhaladvipa.

### **Silatisyabodhi abrogates subjection to Dhatusena**

Meanwhile Srikudya, the ruler of Dharmarajapura whose relations with Dhatusena were strained over the Bodhiraja status, made war against the king of Suvarnakudaya, was defeated and retreated to Dharmarajapura. This was a relief to Dhatusena who had expected Srikudya to invade Simhaladvipa. At about the same time Dhatusena's brother, Silatisyabodhi who was administering the Pundra kingdom on behalf of Dhatusena, appealed to Dhatusena for help to beat off an invasion by the Pandya king. Dhatusena was unable to help his brother. Without Dhatusena's help Silatisyabodhi defeated the Pandya king, earned the personal loyalty of the Pundra people and subverted the authority of Dhatusena. He charged Dhatusena of neglect to defend the kingdom of his forefathers in his obsession to acquire the status of Parvataraja. He then repudiated his subjection to Dhatusena.

Dhatusena was now past his prime. As a young warrior he had carved out a kingdom for himself with his own will and genius. He had rid Simhaladvipa of the Indian invaders and raised his kingdom to the status of an Asian power. He had given to the Sangha and the people material wealth and spiritual manifestations in ample measure. But as fate would have it, the demons were about to trip him. Now his own brother wrests his sovereignty over the Pundra kingdom.

### **Dhatusena beset with enemies**

Within the walls of his palace at Anuradhapura, machinations are set on foot by his second queen, the annointed Mahesi, the mother of Maudgalyayana. In different apartments his first queen, Prtha of Pallava looks into the future, ceaselessly keeping her eyes on the noble figure of her son, Kasyapa, the elder son of Dhatusena. Also in the palace is Samgha, daughter of the Pallava queen, now in the full blush of maidenhood and the apple of her father's eye.

Dhatusena with his kingship over the Pundra state and his close connection with Simharman, the Pallava king whose sister he had married, had built up with Srikudya and Suvarnapura a network of commercial relations with Simhaladvipa as the chief entrepot centre. Moreover, with the historical Buddhist connection with India kept inviolate from the days of the great Asoka and Mahinda Maha



Thera, Simhaladvipa with her stupendous works of Buddhist art and her great seats of learning in the Mahavihara, the Abhayagiri-vihara and Jetavana-vihara, was at this time by far the greatest country in Buddhist Asia. Dhatusena conserved this heritage and added to it in abundance.

His brother, Silatisyabodhi's defection affected the whole structure of the politico-religious relations of the whole region. He was contemplating means of retaliation and the restoration of his power in the Pundra kingdom, when he received a message from his brother-in-law Simhavarman that he (Simhavarman), had proclaimed himself as Parvataraja. Simhavarman had not only placed his statue in the image-house on the sea-shore of Mahamallapattana (Mahabalipuram), but had his own likeness sculptured on the rock in the representation of the descent of Ganga. Here was a Buddhist king adopting a vedic ritual.

### **Simhavarman declares war**

Dhatusena was not powerful enough to make a strong protest. He drew a difference between what Simhavarman had achieved and what he was preparing to achieve, adding that it was possible for both to use the appellation of Parvataraja. "There should not be a war between the two of us", Dhatusena replied, "the possibility of war between the two of us should

not even be thought of." Simhavarman was not to be baulked of his claim to be the one and only Parvataraja. He ordered his general, Migara who had married Dhatusena's sister, Samgha, to bring Dhatusena captive to Kanchipura.

### Prince Kasyapa

Dhatusena decided not to go to battle himself. His elder son Kasyapa was now a trained warrior and the Pallava forces were being led by his own brother-in-law, Migara who had fallen into disfavour with Simhavarman because of his (Migara's) Christian leanings. There were also many signs in Dhatusena's court that Kasyapa would trouble him soon for the post of Yuvaraja which the Mahesi was expecting for her son, Maudgalyayana. "Let Kasyapa do or die", so thought Dhatusena. So also wished Simhavarman for his apostate general who had a link of marriage with his Simhala rival.

General Migara with his wife, son and daughter accompanied by army and retinue embarked at Mahamallapattana and arrived at Mahatirtha. Kasyapa defeated Migara with a very small force, brought him captive to Anuradhapura and presented him to his father. After some days in prison, Migara gave a pledge of subjection to Dhatusena and was made a general of the Simhala kingdom. Arrangements were made for Migara's wife, son and daughter to reside in Anuradhapura. In strange circumstances Samgha had come for the first time to



her brother's kingdom. Dhatusena now had two enemies in India: his brother Silatisyabodhi and Simhavarman the Pallava king.

### Magian Christianity

The emergence of Mahayanism and the patronage given to it by the kings and princes, paved the way to the entry of other cults and creeds into Simhaladvipa. The great wave of Buddhist influence generated by Asoka and never restrained by the Gupta kings, could not submerge Vedic Brahmanism which had now adjusted itself to the larger religious milieu of India. Visiting the courts of India among other itinerant preachers, were Magian Christians of the Brahmana caste. They were sycophants encouraging kings to aspire to the attributes of divinity. Some of them were Kraistavos (Christians) who preached that worldly ambitions could be achieved by appeasing Christ.

These mendicants had taken such a hold of the imagination of the Pallava court that King Simhavarman's General, Migara and his wife, Dhatusena's sister, Samgha had become ardent converts, much to the displeasure of the King himself who was the Buddhist head of a Buddhist state. Migara and Samgha who were living with their son in Anuradhapura, were frequent visitors in Dhatusena's court. They had also a daughter whom Migara had planned to give in marriage to Prince Kasyapa. Dhatusena now began to regret that he had not only given refuge to a family of Kraistavos, but

placed Migara in a position of great power as Commander-in-chief of his army. What he feared most was that his beloved daughter, Samgha by his Pallava queen, might fall in love with Migara Jr., a Kraistava.

### Princess Samgha burnt alive

Now occurred an event of a disgraceful and barbarous nature which King Dhatusena justified as an act within the existing laws of the Simhala kingdom. Dhatusena's worst fears had come true. Samgha for whom he had ambitions, had not only fallen in love with the young Migara against the wishes of her father, but was found meeting him in secret.

"One day Dhatusena saw her talking to Migara alone, and chastised her savagely. At the intercession of her mother she was given in marriage to Migara and Samgha went to live with her mother-in-law. Dhatusena's sister who was keen on propagating the new religion that she had adopted, tried her best to convert her daughter-in-law also to that faith, but was not successful. The result was that she developed a dislike to her daughter-in-law. One day, due to some fault of her daughter-in-law, she requested her son to punish her. Not willing to disregard his mother's order the young Migara gave his wife a blow which struck her on an unhealed wound resulting from the chastisement she had received from her father. Blood flowed from the wound, and with her cloth



stained with blood, she went to her father and complained of the treatment she had received from her husband. She was with child at that time, and the King made a complaint to the Court of Justice that his sister, her husband and their son had attempted to destroy the child in her womb. On the orders of the Court Dhatusera's sister was burnt alive". \*

Dhatusera who had such excellent relations with the rulers of foreign states now found himself isolated on the Asian scene. General Migara who had gone into hiding with his son when they too were charged before the Court in the matter of the assault on Dhatusera's daughter, now became Dhatusera's sworn enemy and conspired with every foreign power against Dhatusera.

### Prince Kasyapa breaks with his father

Within the palace itself there was a gathering storm. The Mahesi, the mother of Maudgalyayana looked upon Prtha, the Pallava queen and her son Kasyapa as foreign usurpers. As the Simhala queen, she and not Prtha, was the first lady of the land. Her son Maudgalyayana was therefore in the rightful line of succession, but Dhatusera had been reluctant to appoint a Yuvaraja. In court and country Prince Kasyapa was the popular hero while Maudgalyayana had

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\* A woman with child, particularly a princess, was entitled to privileges known as *gabbna-parihara*.

little to commend him. Prince Kasyapa had endeared himself all the more to the people after his victory over Migara, an Indian general of his father's age.

King Dhatusena himself had sent Prince Kasyapa to his first battle in defence of the motherland. The prince now laid his claims to the office of Yuvaraja. Dhatusena prevaricated. He told the prince that such an appointment had to be made after a discussion with his ministers. Prince Kasyapa concluded that his father had decided to give the office of Yuvaraja to his younger brother Prince Maudgalyayana. "He went to see his mother and told her that there was no purpose in his remaining in the Simhala kingdom, that in a short while it may so happen that he would have to remain subject to his younger brother, that it would be better before such a state of things came to pass to go and remain elsewhere, and that therefore he had decided to do so. This may be the last sight that I would have of my mother, he said crying, fell at her feet and taking hold of her feet begged her to forgive him if by some way or other he had caused her pain of mind. His mother also wept together with him for a long time, and let him go, uttering the benedictory words: "May thy paths be propitious."

Intrigue now began in Dhatusena's court. Prince Kasyapa was informed that a charge of treason would be laid against him on the allegation that he was scheming with Simhavarman



against the Simhala kingdom. Prince Kasyapa sensed the danger and fled the capital that very night. He boarded a ship at Salavata and took refuge with his father's brother in the Pundra kingdom. King Silatisyabodhi gave his nephew permission to reside in Mangalore and helped him to recruit an army. Aften seven months he boarded his troops on a number of vessels and embarking at Mangalore landed at Salavata.

### **Dhatusena commits suicide**

Now ensued one of the saddest episodes in the history of the kings and princes of Simhala-dvipa. Dhatusena now in old age and in low spirits, took the field. Maudgalyayana did not accompany him. By forced marches he reached Sripura, a few miles east of Salavata, and began to encamp there in the night to give battle to Kasyapa at dawn the next day. Kasyapa did not expect his father to lead the Simhala army. He expected Maudgalyayana, and setting aside the customary rules of warfare, attacked the Simhala army while they were pitching their camp. The battle raged through the night, and when day dawned, King Dhatusena saw that his army had been decimated. In the shame of the first defeat of his military career he cut off his head with his own hand and died on the field of battle. That was the sad end to a glorious reign. He died without the imperial title of Parvataraja.

Prince Kasyapa paid the last honours to his father, gave orders to build a stupa at the place where his body was cremated and arrived at Anuradhapura with his army. He took over the government without any opposition from the partisans of Maudgalyayana and his mother, Queen Samgha. His first call as King of Simhaladvipa was on his mother, Queen Prtha. "He bowed down at her feet, sat on the ground in front of her, said that it had been possible for him to come back safely through the power of the benedictory words uttered by his mother, and began to weep. She having realized that it was possible to say that her husband met with his death at the hands of her son, did not even say that she rejoiced at the return of her son, and herself began to weep."

"King Kasyapa then informed his mother that he was not aware that his father had himself come with the army to fight. Had he known that his father had himself come at the head of his army, he would somehow have arrived at a peace settlement with him; that he gave the order to attack thinking that Maudgalyayana had come with the army, and was there as his opponent."

### **Maudgalyayana flees to Suvarnapura**

King Kasyapa now proferred his hand of friendship to his brother Maudgalyayana. He was about to call on Queen Samgha to tell her that her son would succeed to the sovereignty after him, and to ensure this he would forthwith



appoint him Yuvaraja, when he was told that Queen Samgha and her son had gone to Gokarnapattana to board a ship to the Pallava kingdom. The winds being unfavourable to sail from Gokarnapattana, they had sailed from Mrttikakapatapattana (Batticaloa) to Suvarnapura. King Kasyapa himself went with an army to Mrttikakapata to intercept the party but he was late by three days. Maudgalyayana was to spend eighteen years in a wild country among primitive tribes before he returned to Simhaladvipa after the death of Kasyapa.

### Building of Simhagiri

When King Kasyapa was returning from Mrttikakapata he encamped for the night at a place called Abhivardamana (Habarana). Rising at dawn he saw "in the southern direction a solitary mass of rock looming high over the horizon." He was told that the rock was Akasaparovata, and that his father King Dhatusena had begun building a palace on the summit of the rock. King Kasyapa had a hazy recollection that his father had aspired to the status of Parvataraja, and that a mountain palace had to be the abode of a mountain-king. A different and higher concept was born in Kasyapa's mind; he would not be a mere Parvataraja — there was one in the Pallava kingdom already — he would be Kuvera, god of wealth, and he would build a palace, an Alakamanda, and rule his kingdom from an abode among the floating clouds.

Choosing a Simhala architect he laid down his plan: the site of the palace, the terraces, the ornamental features, the paintings, an army cantonment, the surrounding walls and moats, and most important of all, a flight of steps going through the mouth of a lion with his head and paws built in brick and mortar against the sheer rock. Simhagiri was to be the name of this mass of granite. It was to be the new capital of Simhaladvipa. The concept had the approval of the Sanghasthavira of the Abhayagiri-vihara and the approbation of the Maga Brahmana who was his father's *purohita*.

### Consecration of King Kasyapa

Meanwhile arrangements were made for the consecration of King Kasyapa. The people had peace under Dhatusena, but it was a peace marred by ugly scenes in the royal court. Maudgalayana and his mother who were a source of intrigue and discord had fled the country. The Simhala people always loved a warrior king; and a warrior king as great as his father, was now on the throne. "After the consecration the citizens assembled in the courtyard in front of the palace, and shouted at the top of their voices; 'Victory to King Kasyapa, and long live King Kasvapa' and began waving their shawls above their heads."

### The Reign of Kuvera

The monetary system based on the coinage minted by Kasyapa, his fiscal policy and the declaration of many free ports brought great



prosperity to the island. Simhagiri was built with the profits that accrued from the trading enterprises devised and encouraged by the King. The new capital city was completed in seven years. "King Kasyapa started from Anuradhapura with his army and attendants, and having arrived at Simhagiri, ascended the summit of the rock together with his queen (sister of Migara Jr.) and spent the night in her company in the *vimana* that was established there. In the morning of the second day he got up early and having dressed up and adorned himself in the manner of Kuvera, and accompanied by his queen dressed and adorned in the manner of Sri Devi, took their stand in the theatre established in the north-western slope of the rock and presented themselves to the assembly of over a thousand notables who had gathered there."

In these proceedings, all of which were deemed to be for the good of the kingdom, Kasyapa had the advice and support of the Sangasthavira of the Mahayanist Abhayagiri-vihara and his cabinet of ministers. Kasyapa knew that his new imperial status of Kuvera would not find acceptance by the Sangasthavira of the Theravada Sect of the Mahavihara. He also knew that a Simhala king had to rule with the sanction of the Order. Mahasena had recognized both sects as belonging to the Order, and Kasyapa called at the Mahavihara to appease the Sangasthavira, not to ask for his sanction. The Sangasthavira who had not been consulted in the first place, and was therefore pained in mind, could

not with any conscience accept this deviation from the *Theravada* doctrine. "Kuvera," the Sangasthavira said, "was the Chief of the Yaksas, and it would take a long time for a Yaksa to acquire human status again. This interpretation of Kuvera as a benign god was the work of the Vaitulyavadins which had been rejected by the Sthaviras of the Mahavihara." Kasyapa returned to Simhagiri sensing dark premonitions.

The circumstances which caused the downfall of his father originated with the attempted assertion of the status of Parvataraja. Kasyapa's proclamation as Kuvera was pregnant with danger. Kasyapa saw it, but he heeded not. He had the strongest army in Asia, with the sea as his first line of defence. His ships had called at all ports of Jambudvipa (Greater Asia). He had given his people peace and plenty as never before. He had added the wealth of international trade to the heritage of water given by Mahasena and his own father. He had nothing to fear except a sudden erosion of loyalty in his court. Here too he had made peace with his adversaries. He had pardoned Migara and appointed Migara Jr. as a general of the Simhala army. His marriage to Migara's daughter had cemented good relations in court and the allegiance of the army. But other forces were at work, of which Kasyapa knew nothing.

### **Kasyapa defeats Skandavarman**

Kasyapa had reigned eight years when the Kalabhra Emperor at Urakahapura threatened war if Kasyapa would not repudiate at once his



proclamation as Kuvera. Kasyapa indignantly refused. He was an annointed king himself, a king of a longer line than any in Southern Asia and the second in the Simhala Moriya dynasty. The Kalabhra Emperor gave an army to Skandavarman, the Pallava king who was Dhatusera's brother's son and Kasyapa's cross-cousin, to bring Kasyapa captive to Uragahapura. Kasyapa went down with his army and crushed the invaders on the beaches of Mahatirtha where they had landed. Skandavarman was taken prisoner and imprisoned on a rock in the south of Simhagiripura.

### **Kasyapa defeats the Pandya King**

The Kalabhra Emperor enraged by the dismal failure of Skandavarman and his loss of prestige, sent the Pandya king to invade the Simhala kingdom and bring Kasyapa in chains to Uragahapura. Kasyapa went down to Bahallatirtha (probably Vallipuram) and destroyed the enemy in the act of landing. The Pandya king was taken prisoner and kept on the same rock south of Simhagiripura on which Skandavarman was imprisoned. Kasyapa not only repeated the exploits of his father against the invader but gained international recognition of the military power of the Simhala people. The comity of Asian royalty had treated father and son as parvenus; now two kings were prisoners of Kasyapa, the Moriya.

## **Kasyapa's Monetary System**

Kasyapa's coinage and his free-port system had hit the merchants of Suvarnapura to such an extent that direct trade between India and Suvarnapura had ceased. Simhaladvipa became the sole entrepot of Greater India. The coinage of the Maharaja of Suvarnapura was not ready tender in Jambudvipa and as long as Kasyapa lived Simhala currency would continue to have acceptance in this region. The Maharaja waited for a time when Maudgalyayana would succeed Kasyapa. Maudgalyayana and his mother, the self-exiled Mahesi of Simhaladvipa were his guests by sufferance. He now put before Maudgalyayana a tempting proposal of mutual benefit.

## **Maudgalyayana's Pact with Suvarnapura**

Suvarnapura was to furnish Maudgalyayana with an army to wrest the sovereignty of the Simhala kingdom from Kasyapa. In return Maudgalyayana would pledge to stop the gold coinage regulated by Kasyapa, and administer the kingdom from Anuradhapura, abandoning Simhagiri. The King of Suvarnapura, like many other potentates, was convinced that the prosperity of Simhaladvipa flowed from the ethereal influence of Kasyapa's guise as Kuvera.

The mutual pledges were easy enough, but the information that Queen Samgha was receiving from her secret agents in Simhaladvipa pointed to insurmountable difficulties in any attempt to



invade Simhaladvipa in Kasyapa's lifetime. There were already two Asian kings in the prison house near Simhagiri. Migara Jr. whose sister Kasyapa had married was the Commander-in-chief of the field army. Kasyapa had no reason to doubt his loyalty. His most trusted warrior, General Sulaksmāna was in charge of the Simhagiri garrison. There was peace in the country and with the birth of a son in the twelfth year of his reign, Kasyapa had given to the people the security of a rightful succession. Kasyapa named his son Dhatusena.

### Maudgalyayana with the Yaksas

In the eighteen years of his exile Maudgalyayana had to go through many experiences unusual for a Simhala prince. He was humiliated by the King of Suvarnapura who asked him for a pledge of subjection if he was to be given refuge in that kingdom. Next he sought refuge with the King of Malayapura who insisted on the same pledge of subjection, which he had to give. When the funds which he had brought from Simhaladvipa had been spent, leaving his mother in Malayapura, he betook himself and his retinue to a forest and maintained themselves with the income from the sale of produce such as camphor.\*

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\* There is today a forest of camphor extending over 350,000 acres in Malaya, See p. 81, *Naga King's Daughter* Stewart Wavell, London, 1964.

On the borders of the kingdom of Malayapura was the territory of a cannibalistic tribe known as Yaksas. The chief of the tribe, Ravana, made sudden war on Malayapura and captured and abducted the King of Malayapura. Maudgalyayana and his retinue went to his rescue and he himself was taken prisoner by the Yaksa chief. The Yaksa chief set a ransom for the release of the King of Malayapura and Maudgalyayana. The former's ransom was paid by the people of Malayapura but there was none to pay the ransom for Maudgalyayana.

Maudgalyayana's mother and the King of Suvarnapura to whom the Yaksa chief had sent messages for ransom, informed the Yaksa chief that Maudgalyayana was heir to the kingdom of Simhala and to spare his life until his ransom was obtained from Simhaladvipa.

Meanwhile, Maudgalyayana watched the demonic rituals of the Yaksas until one day, his ransom not having been received, he himself was taken up for sacrifice to Yama. Maudgalyayana was smitten with terror and uttered an oath: "If I be saved from this danger, I also will when I have obtained the Simhala kingdom, annually sacrifice to Yama over one thousand ministers." The canker of depravity had taken root in the mind of a prince brought up in a Buddhist royal household.



## Maga Brahmana Jr. plots against Kasyapa

Maudgalyayana was given two months' lease of life, before the end of which the King of Suvarnapura paid his ransom and brought him and his mother under his subjection. Maudgalyayana then repudiated his pledge of subjection to the King of Malayapura who had befriended him when he was in dire straits.

Meanwhile in the seventeenth year of King Kasyapa's reign, the King's most trusted advisers, the Sangasthavira of the Abhayagiri-vihara and the Maga Brahmana passed away.

The Maga Brahmana's son who expected to be appointed *purohita* in succession to his father, was not given that post by King Kasyapa. He left Simhaladvipa, married a Christian woman, became a Christian himself and went to Suvarnapura. He met Maudgalyayana and told him that so long as King Kasyapa lived it would not be possible for Maudgalyayana to capture the kingdom of Simhala by force.

The Maga Brahmana saw that Maudgalyayana had no religious convictions and that his mind had been debauched during his association with the Yaksas. He had suffered humiliation at the hands of kings inferior to Simhala royalty. He now looked for the divine aid promised him by the Maga Brahmana, which was that he could get back his kingdom if he pledged to embrace the Christian religion. Far away in Simhaladvipa the Commander-in-chief of the Simhala

army, General Migara was a Christian, and he had a following of Kraistavos in the army. But nothing could be achieved as long as Kasyapa lived. After this meeting with Maudgalyayana the Maga Brahmana left for Simhaladvipa with murder in his mind.

Back in Simhaladvipa the Maga Brahmana gave Migara a full description of the trials and tribulations of Maudgalyayana in Malayapura and Suvarnnapura. As a close secret he informed Migara that Maudgalyayana had pledged to become a Christian if Migara could bring about the death of King Kasyapa. The Maga Brahmana was making a tool of Maudgalyayana to wreak vengeance on King Kasyapa and to make Simhala a Christian kingdom. The Christian Migara saw more in this plot for himself than for Maudgalyayana. A commoner of Pallava origin, he was King Kasyapa's brother-in-law and close in succession to the Simhala throne. There was nothing to prevent his sister, a female divinity, Sri Devi by name, from becoming Queen of the Simhala people. So it was, that Migara conspired with his sister to end the life of the Great Kasyapa.

### **The Death of Kasyapa**

"When evening arrived on that day, King Kasyapa with his retinue and accompanied by the Queen, arrived at the Plateau of Red Arsenic, \*made the retinue stop there and ascended

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\* The plateau in front of the lion's figure. The ascent was through the lion's mouth.



the summit of the rock. In the night the bell which was close to the Lion's Mouth sounded. When the attendant went to the door of the outer wall, the Queen came in a state of great agitation, said that His Majesty was suddenly taken ill and ordered him to summon a physician and have His Majesty taken down to the Plateau.

"The captain of the royal retinue together with a few companions climbed to the top of the rock, brought King Kasyapa to the Plateau of Red Arsenic, made him lie down there, and stood there expecting the arrival of the physician. The physician arrived and pronounced that His Majesty had expired."

### Dhatusena, the boy King

Migara's proposal to place his sister, Kasyapa's Queen, on the throne and himself to administer the kingdom, was rejected by the Council of Ministers and the generals. Their majority decision was that Maudgalyayana was the rightful king and that Prince Dhatusena, the son of King Kasyapa should be installed as Yuvaraja. This decision was resisted by General Sulakshmana, the commander of the Simhagiri garrison. He overpowered the other generals and installed Dhatusena as the King of Simhaladvipa. The Moriya dynasty gave Simhaladvipa its third king. Migara fled to the Pundra kingdom and waited there for the return of Maudgalyayana.

## **Christianity comes to Simhaladvipa**

The Maga Brahmana hurried back to Suvarnapura for the consummation of the conspiracy he had devised. The ugliest page in the history of Simhaladvipa was now to be written. The greatest crisis in the long and illustrious line of Buddhist sovereignty over Simhaladvipa was now at hand. Mahayanism had given a foothold to Christianity, and the converts were found, as in the days of Constantine (313 A.C.) in the courts of ruling princes. King Dhatusena's sister, Samgha and her husband, Migara had brought it from the Pallava court to Simhaladvipa. Samgha paid a heavy price as an ineffectual missionary. Now after eighteen years of exile a Simhala prince was coming to the land of his Buddhist fathers carrying in his head a medley of spiritual beliefs, Christianity of which he knew very little, being one of the ingredients. Ironically, Maudgalyayana's best friends — but unknown to him — were the Elders of the Mahavihara who had resolutely resisted the heresies of Mahayanism and god-worship in the reigns of Dhatusena and Kasyapa.

## **The Return of Maudgalyayana**

In the year 496 A.C., Maudgalyayana and his mother Queen Samgha sailed from Suvarnapura with a small naval force given by the king of that country. Accompanying them were the Maga Brahmana and twelve of his Kraistavo



followers. They arrived at the port of Kosthsara on the east coast of Simhaladvipa and waited there expecting help from the armed forces of the country, but no help came.

The Simhala people had a king, by no less a name than Dhatusena. General Sulaksmana, the commander of the Simhagiri garrison marched out with his army to wipe out the invader. Nearing Kosthasara, the general saw a large extent of swamp directly in front of him and gave the order to wheel round to march by another road. The captains of the army either misunderstood the order or took the first opportunity to desert with their troops to Maudgalyayana's camp. General Sulaksmana severed his head with his own hands rather than die at the hands of Maudgalyayana.

It was a miracle that had happened, not a battle that was won. The Maga Brahmana was overjoyed. "Had the Almighty God not been with us, how could there have been a miracle of this type?" he asked. Maudgalyayana agreed with all his heart and the Maga Brahmana baptized him in the Christian faith in the presence of his mother and their retinue. The little King Dhatusena deprived of his protector and his army, fled to the Pundra kingdom, where he lived until his death. General Migara emerged from his exile. He took command of Simhagiri and gave it over to Maudgalyayana on two conditions: Migara would be made Commander-in-chief of

the army and Maudgalyayana would marry his sister, the widow of King Kasyapa, It was a triangular deal with Maudgalyayana at the apex and Migara and the Maga Brahmana at the base.

## The Empire of Righteousness

Mudgalyayana dismissed the baptism from his mind as a necessary expedient and called on the three Viharas: The Mahavihara, the Abhayagiri Vihara and the Jetavana Vihara. At each Vihara he proclaimed that he had decided to acquire the Empire of Righteousness (*Dharma maharajya*). The Sanghasthviras thinking that the Bodhirajya was meant by "Empire of Righteousness", replied that it would be well if such an effort was made.

Maudgalyayana lost no time in inaugurating the Empire of Righteousness. He ordered a wide trench of fire to be prepared in the open space between the Swarnamali Stupa and Stuparama Chaitya to prevent the people who had assembled there from leaving the place. He sat on the throne placed to the north of the Great Swarnamali Stupa and placed in his mouth a contrivance simulating four canine teeth. He then summoned each one of the persons assembled there to tell him whose side (his or Kasyapa's) he had taken. Everyone declared for Maudgalyayana remarking: "It appears that everyone had taken my side, in that case how was it possible for Kasyapa to reign for eighteen years?"



Now began the first ritual in the attainment of righteousness. Maudgalyayana ordered his soldiers to hurl the people one by one into the blazing inferno. There was soon a great uproar from those cast into the inferno. When the monks intervened, Maudgalyayana ordered the soldiers to throw in the monks too. The Sinhala soldiers flatly refused and threatened to fight the Murunda soldiers if they laid their hands "on the limbs or the robes of our household gods". Maudgalyayana gave way to resume his path to the Empire of Righteousness on another day. This day's ritual was straight from the forest of Malaya.

On the next day Maudgalyayana consulted a Christian priest who had been a Maga Brahmana. The priest found fault with the Sanghasthviras for obstructing the holocaust of the previous day, and advised the King to destroy the monastery; first the Bodhi tree and next, the residences of the fraternity. Maudgalyayana gave his order, but the soldiers would not obey. They rushed to the Queen Mother. She came out in her home attire and taking her stand between the Bodhi and the soldiery, cried out: "You cannot place your hands on His Lordship the Bodhi Tree unless you kill me first." This was reported to Maudgalyayana who informed the King. The priest insisted that the Bodhi tree should be cut down and admonished Maudgalyayana, quoting the words of Jesus Christ: "Follow me

father and mother." The soldiers were ordered by Maudgalyayana to kill the Queen Mother. Enraged by this they seized the Christian priest and hurled him into the inferno. They then seized Maudgalyayana, but the Queen Mother rescued him. "At this juncture the Sanghas-thavira of the Mahavihara came on the scene, preached a sermon to Maudgalyayana and made him calm."

Migara lost no time in strengthening his position and power. He was now the Commander-in-chief of the Simhala army. His sister was the Queen of Simhaladvipa. He invited the royal couple to reside on Simhagiri and administer the Kingdom from the mountain palace. Maudgalyayana accepted the proposal and gave Migara a free hand to rule the kingdom. Maudgalyayana had lost touch with kingly rights and obligations in the eighteen years he had spent among primitive people. He was an alien to the national culture built up through the centuries by the Great Dynasty.

### **Tomasa, the Christian Missionary**

The country was at peace with her Asian neighbours, but not with herself. The schism between the Mahavihara and the Abhayagiri-vihara was disrupting the unity of the national ethnics. When a formidable fleet entered the coast of Simhagiri coming all the way from Syria to the Pimara country. It was no other than the Christian missionaries. They invited Migara to preach



the Christian doctrine to the Simhala king and bring him back to the Christian faith. "In the northern part of the city of Simhagiri", he (Migara) on the advice of the priest Tomasa, "established a monastery called the Monastery of the Twelve Principal Disciples of Christ, and granted it to the Christian Church".\* In the royal court the Queen Mother resisted all attempts to convert her to Christianity. She died in the seventh year of the reign of her characterless son, not without anxiety for the future of the religion of her forefathers.

### Silakala Kasyapa — Defender of Buddhism

Tomasa fulfilled his mission in Simhaladvipa and returned to the Pundra Country. Migara set up the Christian emblem on the top of Simhagiri which had been hallowed by Tomasa's visit. Mahanama-sthavira who had been kept informed of the strange rituals in Maudgalayana's court, realized the weakness and abnormalities of the King's character. The thera knew that the only way to "minister to a mind diseased, pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow, raze out the written troubles of the brain" was through the *Abhidhamma* formulated by the Buddha". This the thera did, and for a time, as long as he felt secure on his throne, with Migara as the real ruler, Maudgalayana showed tranquillity of mind. This was not for long. Silakala Kasyapa (nir...

\* A Nest... on cross... belonging...  
commu... is in the... Suradhapa...

Ambasamanera) a scion of the Lambakarna dynasty, returned to Simhaladvipa from India, carrying the Hair-relic of the Buddha. Silakala was welcomed as the defender of Buddhism and received popular support to his claim to the throne.

Silakala's offensives were mounted from Rohana which by tradition had supplied a redeemer in times of internal dissension or foreign domination. Maudgalyayana who was never a warrior tried to come to terms with Silakala by offering his sister in marriage and inviting him to Simhagiri to take up the office of Yuvaraja. By arrangement contrived by Maudgalyayana, his sister met Silakala, and they fell in love with each other. Silakala however, did not go to Simhagiripura for his nuptials. Instead he encamped in the village of Yavakola and sent a message to Maudgalyayana to send his sister there. This he did, but he followed it up with an attack on Silakala's camp. Silakala was worsted, but he was able to retreat with his main force to Anuradhapura taking a precious bride in his train.

Maudgalyayana was baulked of his plan to capture Silakala at Yavakola. He now advanced on Anuradhapura with his own army and a strong force which had been sent from the P... Silakala was not strong enough to... combined forces. He concealed the hair-relic and dispersed some of



his forces giving them a plan of guerrilla warfare, and retreated with his main body to Rohana. Maudgalyayana now took charge of a campaign for the first time. On the basis of a strategy laid out by Maudgalyayana, the Pundra general pursued Silakala into Rohana. By a deft manoeuvre, Silakala wheeled round, marched back by another route and taking the Pundra army in the rear, destroyed it completely. The Pundra general sent word to his king that Maudgalyayana was insane.

Maudgalyayana was a disillusioned man. He had lost the loyalty of the common people and also feared intrigue in the court. In his mind there was always the spectre of rebellion set up by Silakala in defence of Buddhism. Neither the power of Christ to whom Migara had built a shrine, nor the Buddhist Order to whom he had expressed regret for his crimes, had helped him to destroy his foes. The time had now arrived to fulfil his pledge to Yama. This he did with demonic thoroughness.

### **Maudgalyayana sacrifices to Yama**

The site of this orgy of human sacrifice was the sacred open space between the Great Stupa of Swarnapura and the City of ... The chief households of the ... pura and the villages with

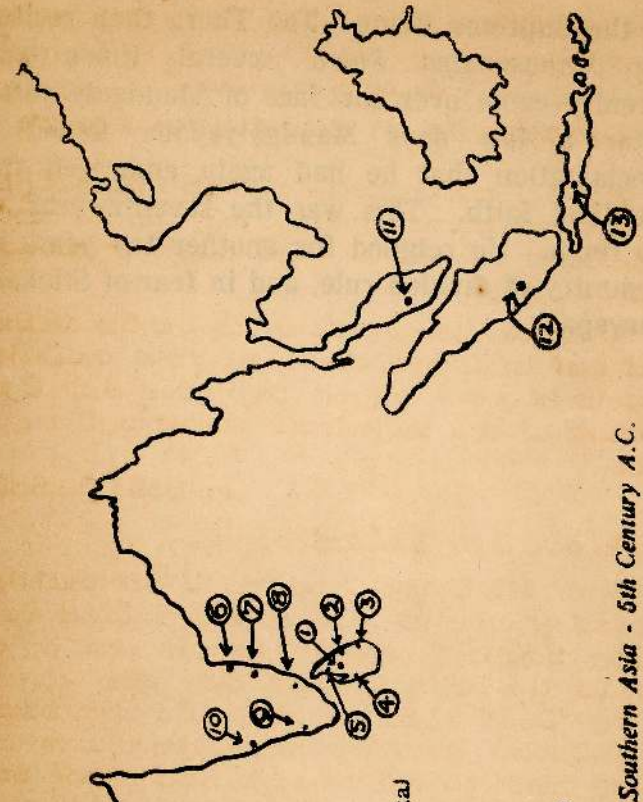
from the city were brought here by the Murunda soldiers. The demented king presided, wearing the guise of Yama. Against the protests of the Mahavihara Order and of the nuns who guarded the Bodhi Tree and reviled the Murundas, all the householders suffered death in a blazing inferno. All that the Sanghasthavira of the Mahavihara could do was to excommunicate Maudgalyayana. The Act of Excommunication (*utksepana*) was sent to Maudgalyayana who acknowledged it and proclaimed that he had decided not to give anything to any *bhiksu*.

Maudgalyayana was not safe in the city of Anuradhapura which he had so grossly defiled. The Pundra army was recalled to their country and Maudgalyayana betook himself with his army to Simhagiripura. The high prelate of the Christian faith who was residing in the Pundra country, having heard of the sacrifice to Yama, wrote to Maudgalyayana excommunicating him from the Christian Church. He now feared the wrath of God.

Mahanama-sthavira who had returned from India called on Maudgalyayana in Simhagiripura, and discerning the mental state of this hard-headed king, preached the doctrine of *Angulimālitaka*. Maudgalyayana came to lucidity of mind and asked the Theravāda to avert the wrath of the Supreme Being. The Theravāda replied: "The Supreme Being cannot get angry, and the King getting enraged cannot



be the Supreme Being. The Thera then recited the *Mahasamaya Sutra* several times and serenity came over the face of Maudgalyayana. After a few days Maudgalyayana issued a proclamation that he had again embraced the Buddhist faith. This was the seventh year of his reign. He reigned for another ten years in a country of divided rule, and in fear of Silakala Kasyapa.



- 1. Puradhapura
- 2. Uru-nnapattana
- 3. Kapata-pattana
- 4. Salavasa (Chilaw)
- 5. Mahatuttha (Mantota)
- 6. Mahamallapattana
- 7. ...ura
- 8. ...-Pandya capital
- 9. Pundi
- 10. Man...apura
- 11. ...a
- 12. ...warnapura
- 13. Dharmarajapura (Java)

*Southern Asia - 5th Century A.C.*



2 වෙනි කාණ්ඩය

ධාතුසේන රජු හා ඔහුගේ පුතුන් දෙදෙනා

(ආනන්ද සථවිරයන්ගේ සංස්කෘත ලියකියවිලිවල ඇතුළත් කරා ප්‍රවෘත්තිය ඉංග්‍රීසියට නැගූ ආචාර්ය (සනරත් පරණවිතාන ගරීන්ගේ ඒ ඉංග්‍රීසි පිටපත අනුසාරයෙන් සකස් කරන ලදී.)

“සිංහල රාජධානියේ රාජ්‍ය කටයුතු පාරාසික රාජධානියේ හෝ සින්ධු රාජධානියේ හෝ පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියේ කරන්නාක් මෙන් පාලනය කළ නොහැකිය. සිංහල රාජධානියේ හැම කටයුත්තක්ම නීත්‍යානුකූලව කළයුතු වේ.

ආ. සථවිර ලියකියවිලි

පුන්ද්‍රා රටට සිංහල බියොවක්

ක්‍රි. ව. 417 දී පමණ අනුරාධපුරයේ සිට කායඞ්ඛපුල වරායක් වූ මහාතිර්ථ පටුන දක්වා ඇති විදියේ විශාල සිංහල ජනකායක් දුර්ලභ ජවනිකාවක් දෙස බැලීමට එක්රැස් වූහ. හේතූන් දෙකක් නිසා මෙය දුර්ලභය. සිංහල දේවියගේ බටහිර හෝ නැගෙනහිර පමුණු ගමකින් අනුරාධපුරයට බියෝ කෙනෙකගේ කැඳවාගෙන යෑම සිංහල ජනයා දුටු වාර බොහෝය. මේ දවසේදී මතක තිබෙන කාලයක් ඇතුළතදී මේ හැර විදේශීය රජ කෙනෙකුත් සිංහල බියොවක් කැඳවාගෙන යෑම දුටු කෙනෙකුත් නැත.

මේ විවාහ මංගලෝත්සවයේ සිදුවීමද විරලය. දේහුත ජනකය. බලප්‍රාය යන නමින්ද හඳුන්වනු ලැබූ මහරජු ඉන්ද්‍ර-වංශයේ දහතුන් වැනි පුත්‍රයාට අයත්වනුයේ පකලානණු ඉ. දියාවේ රජුවිය. මේ විසින් සිංහල දේවියෙකු ලදුව සිංහල රජු මහරජුට රජු

අල්ලා ගත්තේය. මහානාම රජු දුර දර්ශී පාලකයකු විය. තමන්ගේ ජයග්‍රහණයෙන් පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානිය සමග දේශ පාලනාමය සම්බන්ධතාවක් ඇති කරගනු රිසියෙන් සැකිලිය මිත්‍ර සම්බන්ධය තහවුරු කිරීමට සැකිලිය දියණිය වන රූපශ්‍රී සමාන්ත හා තේජාන්විතවූ සංඝා කුමරිය දමස්ත්‍රාණ මහරජුට සරණ පාවා දෙන ලදී.

### ධාතුසේන රජු සිංහල සිහසුනට නැංවෙයි

මෙය ප්‍රීතියක මංගලෝත්සවයක් විය. බෞද්ධ රටක බෞද්ධ පවුලක ජීවිතයකට පුරුදුවීමට සංඝා බිසවට දුෂ්කරතාවක් ඇති නොවුනි. ඇට ධාතුසේන හා සීලානිඝ්‍රා-බෝධි නම් පුතුන් දෙදෙනෙක්ද සංඝා නම් දුවක්ද වූහ. ක්‍රි.ව. 432 දී පමණ ඇගේ වැඩිමහලු පුත් ධාතුසේන සත් හැවිරිදි වූ කල සංඝා බිසවගේ පියාණන්වූ මහානාම රජු මාරාන්තික රෝගයකින් පෙළෙන බව අසා ඒ බිසව අනුරාධපුරයට පැමිණියාය. ඇ මෙහි පැමිණි ටික දවසකින් පියරජු මරුමුවට පත් වූයෙන් ඒ රජහුගේ දෙවන බිසොවගෙන් ලත් ස්වාතීසේන නම් පුත්‍රයා මහානාම රජුගේ ඇමතිවරුන් විසින් සිංහාසනාරූඪ කරනු ලැබීය. අග මෙහෙසියගේ දියණිය\* හැටියට තම උරුමය කියා සිටි සංඝා බිසොව ස්වාතීසේනගේ අභිෂේකයට ආසන්න දිනයකදී ඔහු මැරවීය. ඉක්බිති තම සත් හැවිරිදි පුත් ධාතුසේන සිංහාසනාරූඪ කරවා ක්ලාහෙස්වර නම් සෙනවියකුට ධාතුසේන රජුගේ නමින් රාජ්‍යානුශාසනය පවරා ධාතුසේනයනුත් රැගෙන පෙරළා පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියට ගියාය.

### පාරෙන්දවරු

පු... නම් කුමාරයකු විසින් ක්ලාහෙස්වර සෙනවියා හා... කාට ඔහු පරදවා අනුරා... සත් අදිරුද්දක් ර... දී. ඔහු... ඇවෑ... පාරෙන්දු... ක... ඔහු... ඇවෑමෙන්



ඔහු පුත් ක්ෂුද්‍රපාරෙන්ද්‍ර අනුරාධපුරයේ සේසත් නංවා රජකළේ පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියේ වැදගත් සිදුවීම රාශියක් සිදුවන අතරය.

### බලප්‍රාය රජු රටින් පිටුවහල් කිරීම

ක්ෂුද්‍ර පාරෙන්ද්‍ර රජු සිංහාසනාරූඪ වන විට සිංහල ජනයාගේ නීත්‍යානුකූල රජ වූ ධාතුසේන විසිහය හැවිරිදි වූයේය. ඔහුගේ පියාණන්වූ බලප්‍රාය රජු අභාග්‍ය සමයකට මුහුණ පා සිටියේය. ඔහුගේ පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානිය පාණ්ඩිය රාජධානියේ කලාහ්‍ර රජු විසින් යටපත් කරන ලදුව ඒ රජු බලප්‍රායට යටත්වන ලෙස ඉල්ලා සිටියේය. බලප්‍රාය රජු ඊට එකඟනොවී පුන්ද්‍රා රටින් පලාගියේ තම බිසව සංසා දේවියත් පුත්‍රයන් වන ධාතුසේන හා සිලාතිෂා-බෝධිත් දුර්ඤ්ඤියන් වූ සංසාත් රඟෙන මහ රෑ නැව් නැඟී යාමෙනි.

ඔහු සිංහල ද්වීපයට ලංචි යාත්‍රාකොට මෙරට දකුණු මුදුකරයේ පවා තමාට පක්ෂපාත පිරිසක් නොලැබ රුහුණේ ගාලවපට්ටන වරායේ ටික කලක් නැවතී සිට උතුරු දෙසට යාත්‍රාකොට පල්ලවදේශයේ මහා මල්ලපට්ටන (මහබද්‍රිපුරම) ගෙහි ගොඩබැස්සේය. පල්ලව රජවූ සිංහවර්මන් මොවුන් කාංචි පුරයට කැඳවීය. බලප්‍රාය රජු සිංහවර්මන්ට යටත් විය. මෙය පිළිගත් සිංහවර්මන් රජු බලප්‍රාය රජුගේ පිරිවරට සුඤ්ඤ වාසඤාන සපයා ඒ රජුගේ යුද්ධ භටයන් තම යුද හමුදාවට බදවාගෙන ධාතුසේන මේ හමුදාවේ සෙන්පතියකු හැටියට පත් කළේය.

මේ අවස්ථාවේදී සිංහවර්මන් රජු උරගහපුර කාලාහ්‍ර අධිරාජ්‍යයට තමාගේ ඇති පක්ෂපාතභාවය ප්‍රකාශ කළේය. මොහු විකාභි පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියෙන් බලප්‍රාය නොරජු රජතුමාට බලප්‍රාය නැව් නැග මෙරටින් ගියේ මොහුගේ අධිරාජ්‍යයට යටත් වීමටය. පල්ලව රජු මෙරට හාදවී සිය උතුරු රජුගේ පිළිගැනීමට මෙරටින් ගිය කදිම ප්‍රයත්නයක් විය.

## ධාතුසේන සෙනවියා

කාලාහු රජුගේ යුද්ධ හමුදාව කාංචි පුරය ආක්‍රමණය කිරීමට ඉදිරිපත් වූ කළ සිංහවර්මන් සිය කඳවුර කාංචි පුරයෙන් ගවි හතරක් දකුණට ලැහැවේ සතුරන්ගේ පැමිණීම බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් සිටියේය. ඔහුගේ අදහස වූයේ මෙසේ සැඟවී සිට කාලාහු සේනාව නොදැනුවත්ව පරාජය කිරීමටය. කාලාහු සෙනවියා කාංචිපුරය අසලට පැමිණියේ පසු; නගරය ආක්‍රමණය කිරීමේ අදහසිනි. සිංහවර්මන් රාත්‍රියේ දෙවෙනි යාමයේ නිදා සිටි සතුරු සෙනගට පහර දී ඔවුන් පලවා හැරීය.

කාලාහු හමුදාවට බලවත් පීඩා පැමිණියෙන් ඔවුන් සී සී කඩ දුවන්නට වන. ධාතුසේන සෙනවියා පල්ලව සේනා සන්නද්ධව, වීර වික්‍රමාන්විත සටනක යෙදෙමින්, සේනාව ඉදිරියෙන්ම ගමන්කළ අතර සතුරු සෙන් මැඩලා බොහෝ දෙන සිරභාරයට ගත්තේය. දූන් සන් විසි හැවිරිදිව සිටි ධාතුසේනගේ වීර ක්‍රියා ගැන සතුටට පත් සිංහවර්මන් සිය සොහොයුරිය වන පාරා ධාතුසේනට සරණ කර දී ඔහු පල්ලව රාජධානියේ සේනාධිපතිධුරයට පත් කෙළේය. ධාතුසේනගේ සහෝදරිය වන සංසා කුමරිය පල්ලව සේනාංකයේ සෙනෙවියක්වූ මිගාර හට සරණකර දෙන ලදී. බලප්‍රායගේ චේශ්වයාභිය දූන් සිංහවර්මන් රජුගේ යස ඉසුරුත් සමග ඉතා ලංව පැවැත්තේය.

## බලප්‍රායට සිය රාජධානිය නැවත ලැබීම

කාංචි පුර සංග්‍රාමයෙන් ටික කලක් ගතවූ පසු සින්ධු දේශයෙන් මුරුතු ජනයා පුන්ද්‍ර රාජධානිය ආක්‍රමණය කළේය. ඔව්හු කාලාහුරජු තොරපාහැර ජනයාට හිතකාමී වූ රජු සායන්තෝ පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියේ රජවීමට බලප්‍රාය රජුට ආධානා කළහ. බලප්‍රාය රජු තමාට පිහිටවූ සිංහ රජු රජුගෙන් තම රටට අවසර පැතීය. සිංහ රජුගේ සතුරන් ඊට පකාලයයි. යම්කිසි දේශීය රජු පාරා කුමරිය පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියේ අවසර පැතීය.



කාලාභයන් විසින් බලප්‍රායට අහිමිකරන ලද සිහසුන  
 මුරුන්ද ජනයාගේ අනුග්‍රහයෙන් ඔහුට යළිත් ලැබුණි.  
 මෙසේ සිහසුන නැවත ලබාගෙන සත් මාසයක් ගතවත්ම  
 බලප්‍රාය මිඟියෙන් ඔහුගේ වැඩිමහල් පුත් ධාතුසේන  
 එහි අනුප්‍රාප්තිකයා විය. ධාතුසේන රජු විසින් ඔහුගේ  
 බාල පොහොසුරු වන සීලාතිෂ්‍යබෝධි හට යුවරජ තනතුර  
 පවරන ලදී. ධාතුසේන රජුගේ පළමුවන නිලකායභිය  
 වූයේ තම පියාගේ මරණයත් ඔහු ඇවෑමෙන් පුන්ද්‍රා  
 රාජධානියේ සිංහාසනාප්‍රාප්ත වූ බවත් පල්ලව රජුට  
 දැනවීමයි. සිංහවර්මන්ට යටත්ව සිටීමට තම පියා දුන්  
 පොරොන්දුවෙන් නිදහස්වීමට ඔහු ඉල්ලා සිටියේය.  
 එමෙන්ම ධාතුසේන තම බිරිඳ (සිංහවර්මන්ගේ නැඟණිය)  
 දැන් පුතකු ලබා ඇති බවත් ඔහුට කාශ්‍යප යයි නම්කරන  
 ලද බවත් දැන්වීය. මෙසේ පුතකු ලැබීම ගැන තමා  
 සතුටුවන බවත් එසේ නමුදු පල්ලව රාජධානියට යටත්ව  
 සිටීම ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කිරීමට එකඟවිය නොහැකි බවත්  
 ධාතුසේනට සිංහවර්මන් පිළිතුරු දුන්නේය.

**පුන්ද්‍රාවේ හා සිංහල ද්වීපයේ රජවූ ධාතුසේන**

ධාතුසේන දැන් පුන්ද්‍රාවේ අහික්ෂේක ලත් රජු විය.  
 නීත්‍යානුකූලව ඔහු සිංහල ද්වීපයේද රජවූ නමුත්  
 ඔහුගේ පියාට විරුද්ධව පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියේදී උගුල්  
 ඇටවූ කාලාභයෝ මොහු සිංහල ද්වීපයේ රජවීම ගැන  
 විරුද්ධවීමට එරට බල පෑ ගෙන සිටියෝය. ධාතුසේන  
 සිය මෑණියන්ගේ පෙළඹවීමෙන් සිංහල ද්වීපයේ රජ  
 බවට පත්කරන විට වයස අවුරුදු හතක කුමාරයෙක් විය.  
 ඔහු සිංහල රාජධානියෙන් ඉවත්වී සිටි කාලය අවුරුදු  
 විස්සකි. ක්ෂුද්‍ර පාරේන්ද්‍රයන් රාජ්‍යානුශාසනා කරන  
 සිංහල ජනයාගේ ආධාරෝපකාර නිශ්චය වශයෙන් ලබා  
 ගත හැකිවේදැයි ඔහුට සැක සහිත කර ඇති බව පෙනී  
 කාලාභයෝ විසින් තිසේන් සිංහාසනාරූපිණි නමට  
 පක්ෂපාත වූයේය. එදා ත් මෙදා ත් ක්ෂුද්‍ර පාරේන්  
 යෙදීමට විසිණි.

මුරුන්දයෝ කාලාත්‍රයන්ගේ බලවත් සතුරෝ වූහ. මුරුන්දයන් සටනේ ප්‍රමුඛ ස්ථානයේ තබා පුන්ද්‍රා සේනාද එක්කොට ක්ෂුද්‍ර පාරේන්ද්‍රයන්ට පක්ෂ සිංහල ජනයාට හා කාලාත්‍රයන්ට විරුද්ධව සටන් වැදීමට ධාතුසේන රජු සේනාංකයක් යෙදීය. තමන්ගේ නමින් පුන්ද්‍රා රට පාලනය කිරීමට සිය බාල සොහොයුරු සීලාභ්‍යයාබෝධිට ධාතුසේනයෝ පැවරූහ. මංගලපුර (මංගලෝර්) වරායෙන් නැව් හැක්කූපහක නැගී ආ ධාතුසේනගේ සේනා සලාවත ගොඩබටහ. මෙහිදී ධාතුසේනයන් ක්ෂුද්‍රපාරේන්ද්‍ර රජු සමඟ සටන්කොට ඔහු පලවා හැර අනුරාධපුරය අත්පත් කරගෙන වැඩිකල් නොගොස්ම රජරට අධිපතියා විය.

**ධාතුසේන සිංහල දේවයේ ඔටුනු පැළදීම**

අනුරාධපුරයේ සිංහල ඇමතිවරු ධාතුසේන සිය රජු හැටියට සතුටින් පිළිගත්හ. ධාතුසේන පැමිණියේ පල්ලව රජ සිංහවර්මන්ගේ සොහොයුරිය දින පාචා නම් නම් බිසොවත් දුවිට්ටිපුත්‍රයාවන කාශ්‍යපත් කැටුවය. එසේ වුවද සිංහල දේවයේ ආධිපත්‍යය තහවුරුවීමට දෙවෙනි බිසොවත් වශයෙන් සිංහල කුමාරිකාවක් සරණකර ගැනීමට සිංහල ඇමතිවරු අවවාද කළහ. ධාතුසේනගේ මව් විසින් සිංහලයන් ජීවිතයන් අහිමිකර ස්වාතීයේන ගේ දියණිය වූ සංසා කුමරිය සරණකර ගැනීම සිංහල ජනයාට අහිමන වූයෙන් ඇ සරණ කර ගන්නා ලදී. යථා කාලයේදී සංසාට පුතකු ලැබුණෙන් ඔහුට මෞද්ගලායනය යයි නම් කැබිය.

ක්ෂුද්‍රපාරේන්ද්‍ර සිංහල රජකම පතන්නන්ගේ සම්ප්‍රදයික ක්ෂේම හමිය වූ රුහුණට පලාගියේය. පාරේන්ද්‍ර කුමාගේ රාජ්‍යයෙන් හත්වෙනි අවුරුද්දේදී එහිදී ජන්මාන්තර ගතවී ඔහුගේ ඇවෑමෙන් ඔහුගේ ශ්‍රීධාර රජවූයේ සන්ධ්‍යා රජකම කරන විට ධාතුසේන රජුගේ සෙනවිටෙකු වූයේ ඔහුගේ භූමියේ වූයේය. ශ්‍රීධාරහුගේ පුත්‍රයා ධාතුසේනගේ සොහොයන්ගෙන්



සත් අවුරුද්දක් ආරක්ෂිතව සිටි නමුත් ධාතුසේන රජු යුද්ධකොට ඔහු පළවා හැරීය. ධාතුසේන රජු "රාහුණේ කටු කොහොල්" හරවා මුළු සිංහල ද්වීපයට අගරජ විය.

**ධාතුසේනගේ කෘතීහු**

මින්පසු පසළොස් අවුරුද්දක් සාමය හා යසශුසුරෙන් අනුන විය. මහසෙන් රජුගේ වාරි කම්පනතවලින් උදොර්ගිමත්වූ ධාතුසේන වැව් දහ අටක් බැන්ද වූයේය. මෙයින්තුරෙන් විශාලතම වූයේ කලා ඔය හරහා ප්‍රධාන වේල්ල බැඳී කලා වැවයි. සැතැප්ම 54 ක් දිග ඇති ජය ගඟ නම් ඇලෙන් අනුරාධපුරයට ජලය සපයන ලදී.

ධාතුසේන රජ අභයගිරි විහාරය හා මහා විහාරය යන දෙපසටම ඒකාකාරව සැලකීය. මිහින්තලාවේ අඹනලා වෙහෙර තැනවූ මොහු අත්‍යාලංකාරයෙන් ආගමික උත්සව පැවැත්වූයේය. හෙතෙම චීනයට ධර්මදූත පිරිසක් යැවීය. පෙරදිග හා අපරදිග අතර මුදු යාත්‍රා මගින් කරන වෙළඳාම දියුණු කළ හෙතෙම සිංහල ද්වීපය ජාත්‍යන්තර වෙළඟෙළු-දම් සඳහා වෙළඳ මධ්‍යස්ථානයක් කරවීය. මෙය චිනාහි නවවෙනි සියවස දක්වා ඉදහිට යම් යම් බාධා පැමිණියත් භාග්‍ය සම්පන්න යුගයක ආරම්භයයි. දැන් සිංහල ද්වීපය ඉන්දියාවේ පුන්ද්‍රා හා පල්ලව රාජධානි වලටත් අග්නිදිග ආසියාවේ මලයා රාජධානිවලටත් වඩා ලොකික හා ලෝකෝත්තර දියුණුවක් ලබා සිටියේය.

**ධාතුසේන බොධිරාජ ධූරය පතයි**

ආසියාවේ බුද්ධාගමේ ආරක්ෂකයා වශයෙන් අවුරුදු සිය ගණනක් මුළුල්ලේ පැවති බෝධි රාජ පදවිය සිංහල රජවරු දරූහ. දැන් බලයෙන් උසස් ව සිටි ධාතුසේන එම ධූරය පුර්වතා කරයි. මේ අනුව ධර්ම රාජ රජයේ (ජාවා) ශ්‍රී කුඩා සංදේශයක් යවන ධාතුසේන රජ "අවුරුදු සත්" කෙරෙහි තරක් මුළුල්ලේ රජය දැරුවේ සිංහල රජු බවට වෙනස් කරනු ලැබූ බව කී විරෝධය බවත් දැනට යැවීය.

මේ පිළිතුරු එවන ශ්‍රී කුඩා රජු "නීති ගරුක නොවන ලෙස සිංහල දේවියේ රාජ්‍යය බලයෙන් පැහැර ගත් කෙනෙකු සමග නීතිය ගැන කිසිවක් සාකච්ඡා කිරීමට කැමති නොවන බවත් ලම්බකර්ණ වංශයේ රජකු සිංහල දේවිය රාජ්‍යය ලබාගත් පසු බෝධිරාජ දුරයද ඔහුට ලබාගත හැකි බවත්" දන්වා එවීය.

තමාගේ පෞරාණික මෞරිය වංශය ගැන ආඩම්බර වූ ධාතුසේන රජ මේ තර්ජනයෙන් කෝපාවිෂ්ටව මහා විහාරයේ සාස සඨවිරයන් වහන්සේගේ අවවාදය සෙවීය. ඵෙරවාද නිකායේ අධිපතියා වූ මේ නායක සභාවෙන් වහන්සේ දසරාජ ධර්මයෙන් රට පාලනය කරනවිට බෝධිරාජ බරයට වඩා උසස් වූ වක්‍රවර්ති පදවිය ලැබීමට සුදුසුවන බව කීය.

දසරාජ ධර්මයේ නම් දනය, ශීලය, පරිත්‍යාගය, සාප්තත්වය, මාදුභාවය, තපස, අනුකාමය, අවිභිංසාව, ක්ෂාන්තිය, අවිරෝධතාව යන මේවාය. "මේ දශරාජ ධර්මයෙහි රජවරු පිහිටියාහු නම් ඔවුන් වැඩි කළක් සිංහාසනාරූඪව නොසිටිනු"යි පරණවිතාන කියයි. සමදේශීය හා විදේශීය රජ බව අපේක්ෂා කරන්නන් විසින්ද අභයගිරිකයන්ගේ මහායාන ධර්මයෙන් ඵෙරවාදි බුද්ධාගමට පහර වදිමින්ද පැවති ආරවුල් වියවුල් රටක මේ දශරාජ ධර්මය නොපිරිහෙලා පවත්වන ලද නම් සිංහල රාජ බලය අතුරුදහන්වනු නියතය.

**ධාතුසේනයේ පර්වතරාජ වීමට පතයි**

මෙසමයෙහි වනාහි බුද්ධාගමේ හැම ධර්මයකට අත්‍යන්ත-  
 යෙන් පැරදීම් වූ ද මේට අවුරුදු දහසකට කලින් බුදුරජාණන්  
 වහන්සේ විසින් දේශිත ගුණධර්මවලට විනාශකාරීවූ ආගමික  
 පණිවිඩය ගෙනා කෙනෙක් වූහ. ක්‍රිස්තියානිකාර-  
 නයෙහි මෙහෙය මාතුසේන රජ සභාවට  
 පැමිණි විට මෙහෙම පළමුව  
 රජු සැපත් වූ රුන්ද



ජනයා සමග ගැවසෙමින් දකුණු ආසියාවේ දේශපාලනමය ආගමික තත්වයෙහි අවබෝධයක් ලබාගෙන මොහු අනුරාධපුරයට පැමිණියේය. ඉතා සෝදිසියෙන් සිටි මෙතෙම වැඩිකල් යන්ට මත්තෙන් ධාතුසේන රජු මානසික සන්තාපයෙන් පෙළෙන බව දැනගති.

ධාතුසේන ඔහුට සියල්ල අනාවරණය කළේය. බොධ ආසියාවේ ආගමික නායකත්වය ලැබීමට තමා පත්වන බව මේ මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයාට දන්වන ලදී. ශ්‍රී කුඩ්‍ය රජු ඔහුට තර්ජන කළ සැටින් මහවිහාරයේ සංඝ සඨවිරයන්ගේ අනුශාසනාව පරිදි දඟරාජ ධර්මය ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ දුෂ්කරතාවත් ඔහුට කියා සිටියේය. පර්සියාවේ පැරණි රජවරුන් දඟරාජ ධර්මය ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමට නුහුණුව පදනමක් බව ලැබීමට පුදුසු ක්‍රියා මාර්ගයක් අනුගමනය කිරීමෙන් අධිරාජ්‍යභාවයට පත් වූ බවත් මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයා කීය.

මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයා තව දුරටත් කරුණු දක්වමින් යම්කිසි රජකු පර්වතයක් මුදුනේ සිය මාලිගාව තනාගෙන එහි වෙසෙමින් රාජ්‍යානුශාසන කෙරේ නම් ඔහු පර්වත රාජ ක්‍රියා මාර්ගය අනුගමනය කළ කෙනකු වන බවත් කීයේය. නිතරම පවිත්‍ර කුටයක වෙසෙමින් රට පාලනය කරන්නේ කෙසේදැයි ධාතුසේන රජු ඇහූ විට මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයා කීවේ පවිත්‍ර මුදුනේ මාලිගාවේ සිට රාජ්‍ය පාලනය ආරම්භ කළ පසු පවිත්‍රය පාමුල සැදූ තවත් මාලිගාවක සිට රාජ්‍යානුශාසනා කළ හැකි බවයි.

පර්වත යන පදයේ අර්ථ විචරණය කරන මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයා එය "මේස" ශබ්දයේ පයභාය නාමයක් බවත් සියලු යස ඉසුරේ සංකේතය මේසය බවත් කියා සිටියේය. මේසය වැස්ස දෙයි. රජතුමාම මේසය වේ. පර්සියාවේ රාජවංශය පිහිටුවන්නේ පවිත්‍ර රාජයෙකි. ඔහුගේ ආරම්භක පරිකයා මේසය වූයේ දීන් විභා නාමයක් විසිණ රජයා (සයිරස්) ය. පවිත්‍රයේ පදවිය බර්සියා බවට වෙනස් වන බවද බ්‍රාහ්මණයා කීවේය. මේ මෙහෙයුමේ මෙහෙයුමේ සමාධිය රජුගේ හැසිරීමෙන් ගල

ධාතුසේන රජ විසින් පච්ඡ රාජ පදවිය ලබාගැනීමට තීරණය කොට තමාගේ දිව්‍යමය රාජ මන්දිරය තැනීමට එවකට අක්ෂමෙඟල යයිද පුරාණයේ විශ්වගිරි යයිද ප්‍රකට වූ පර්වතය සුදුසු තැනක් හැටියට නිශ්චය කරන ලදී. බුද්ධාගමට ප්‍රතිවිරුද්ධ ආකල්පයක් රජුගේ සිතේ තදින් කා වැදුණු නමුත් සිංහල ද්වීපයේ රජ කෙනෙකුට මහා සංඝයාගේ අනුවනියෙන් හා මහජන සම්මුතියෙන් තොරව මිථ්‍යා පූජා විධියක යෙදිය නොහැකි බව හොඳින්ම දන්නේය. මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයා ධාතුසේන රජුගෙන් පුරෝහිත තනතුර ලබා පච්ඡ රාජ හා බෝධිරාජ තනතුරු සමාන බවත් ධාතුසේන රජුගේ පච්ඡ රාජ පදවියෙන් සිංහල ද්වීපයට සෞභාග්‍ය සම්පන්න කාලයක් උදවන බවත් පළමුව මහවිහාරක සංඝ ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේටත් ඊළඟට අභයගිරික සංඝ ස්ථවිරයන් වහන්සේටත් අවබෝධ කිරීමට ඔහුගේ කුට ප්‍රයෝග හා නුවණ යෙදිය.

**ධාතුසේනට යටත්වීම සිලානිෂ්‍යබොධි අවලංගු කරයි**

මේ අතර බෝධිරාජ පදවිය සම්බන්ධයෙන් ධාතුසේන රජ සමඟ නොමනාප වූ ධම්මරාජපුරයේ ශ්‍රී කුඩ්‍ය රජු සමඟ කුඩ්‍යයේ රජු හා සටන්කොට පැරදී ධම්මරාජ පුරයට පසු බැස්සේය. ශ්‍රී කුඩ්‍ය රජු සිංහල ද්වීපයට විරුද්ධව සටන් කරනු ඇතැයි බලාපොරොත්තුව සිටි ධාතුසේනට මෙය සහනයක් විය. මේ කාලයේදීම පමණ ධාතුසේන රජ වෙනුවෙන් පුන්ද්‍ර රාජධානිය පාලනය කළ ධාතුසේනගේ සොහොයුරු සිලානිෂ්‍යබොධි පාණ්ඩිය රජුගේ ආක්‍රමණයක් වැළැක්වීමට ධාතුසේනගෙන් ආධාර ඉල්ලා සිටියේය. ධාතුසේනට තම සොහොයුරාට උදව්වීමට නොහැකිවුණි. ධාතුසේනගේ උදව් නැතුවම සිලානිෂ්‍යබොධි පඩි රජු පරදවා පුන්ද්‍ර රාජධානියේ පක්ෂපාත භාවය දිනාගෙන ධාතුසේනගේ බලය බිඳ දැමීය. පච්ඡ රාජ පදවියට පැවැත්මේ දැඩිතර රෝගී ධාතුසේන රජුගේ මරණයට පාඨමාර්ගය වූයේ මෙයයි. මෙහිදී ධාතුසේනට මෙහි වෝදනා කෙළේය. ධාතුසේන රජුගේ මෙහි ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළේය.



ධාතුසේන රජුගේ ජීවිතයේ ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ කොටස දැන් නිමාවට පැමිණියේය. තරුණ සෙබලෙකු වශයෙන් ඔහු කමාගේ අධිෂ්ඨානය හා බුද්ධිමහිමයේ බලයෙන් රාජධානියක් හිමිකර ගත්තේය. ඉන්දියානු ආක්‍රමණවලින් සිංහල ද්වීපය නිදහස් කළ මෙතෙම එය ආසියාවේ බලවත් රාජධානියක තත්වයට පත් කළේය. ගිහි පැවිදි ජනයාට ඔහු මහත් ධන සම්පත් දී හා ආගමික අභිවෘද්ධියද සැලැස්වූයේය. එහෙත් ඉරණම වූ පරිදි ඔහු පැකිලවීමට රාක්ෂසයෝ ඔහු අවට සිටියහ. දැන් ඔහුගේ ම සහෝදරයා පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියේ බලය පැහැර ගනී.

**සතුරන් වටකරගත් ධාතුසේන රජු**

අනුරාධපුරයේ තම මාලිගාව ඇතුළතම ඔහු දෙවෙනි මෙහෙසිය වශයෙන් අභිෂේකලත් මෞද්ගලායනයාගේ මැණියෝ ඔහුට විරුද්ධව කුටොපක්‍රම යෙදුන. වෙනම මන්දිරවල වාසය කරන ඔහුගේ අග මෙහෙසිය වන පල්ලව රාජ්‍යයේ පාචා ධාතුසේනගේ වැඩිමහළු පුත් කාශ්‍යපගේ විශිෂ්ඨ රූප සෞන්දර්යය කෙරෙහි නිරන්තර තෙත් හෙළමින් ඔහුගේ අනාගතය ගැන කල්පනාකාරීව සිටින්නීය. තවද දැන් මේ මාලිගාවේම ඒ පල්ලව බීසවගේ දියණිය වූ සංඝා කුමරියද පංච කලාණයෙන් යුත් රූප සෞන්දර්යයෙන් යුක්තව පියාගේ නෙත රසදුනක් මෙන් වැජඹෙන්නීය.

පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියේද ආධිපත්‍ය ඇති ධාතුසේනට පල්ලව රජ වූ සිංහවර්මාගේ සොහොයුරිය සරණකර ගැනීමෙන් ඇතිවූ කිට්ටු ඥාති සම්බන්ධකමක් නිසා සැණ පුරයේ ශ්‍රී කුඩ්‍ය රජු හා සමඟ ඇතිකරගත් වෙළඳ සම්බන්ධතා හේතුකොට ගෙන සිංහල ද්වීපය ප්‍රධාන වෙළඳ මධ්‍යස්ථානයක් බවට පත්විය. ඒ හැරත් ධර්මාශෝක මහ රජු හා ලිහිල්ද මහ රජු විනාන්යෝග් කාලයේ පවුල් අසම-භින්නව පැවත ආ වෙතිහාසික බෞද්ධ ධර්මානුකූල සිංහල ද්වීපයේ දියුණුවූ බෞද්ධ ධර්මය මහා විහාර අභයගිරි විහාර හා ජේතවන විශිෂ්ඨ

ශාස්ත්‍රශාලාන් කරණකොටගෙන ලංකාව මෙවකට බෞද්ධ ආසියාවේ ප්‍රමුඛ ස්ථානයක් ගත්තේය. ධාතුසේන සිය උරුමය ආරක්ෂා කළ අතර එය මහත්සේ සමාධි සම්පන්නද කෙළේය.

ඔහුගේ සහෝදර සීලානිෂ්‍යබොධිගේ වර්ජනය නිසා මුළු ප්‍රදේශයේම දේශපාලනමය හා ආගමික සම්බන්ධතා සියල්ලට පහර වැදුණි. පුත්ලා රාජධානියේ තම බලය යළි හිමිකර ගැනීමට ධාතුසේන රජ සටන් කිරීමට කල්පනා කරන අතර සිංහවම්ප්පව්ව රාජ පදවිය ලබා ඇති බවට ඔහුගෙන් සාදේශයක් ලැබුණේය. මහා මල්ල පට්ටනයේ (මහබලිපුරම) මුදුකරයේ පිහිටි ප්‍රතිමාසරයේ ඔහුගේ ප්‍රතිමාව ඉදිකළ අතර ගංගාවන්ගේ හමි ස්පර්ශය දක්වන අයුරින් තමාගේ පිළිරුවද තනවා එහි තැන්පත් කළේය. මෙය වනාහි බෞද්ධ රජකු වේදික පූජා විධියක් අනුගමනය කිරීමකි.

**සිංහවර්මන් යුද්ධ ප්‍රකාශ කරයි**

තද වීරුද්ධත්වයක් පෑමට ධාතුසේන ප්‍රබලව නොසිටියේය. සිංහවම්ප්පව්ව ලබාගත් ධුරය තමා ලබාගනාට උත්සාහ කරන ධුරයන් අතර වෙනස ඔහු කල්පනා කොට දෙදෙනාම පව්ව රාජ පදවිය ලබාගත හැකි බව පැවසීය. “අප දෙදෙනා අතර යුද්ධයක් ඇති නොවිය යුතුයි. අප දෙදෙනා අතර සටනක් ගැන පවා නොසිතිය යුතුයැයි” ධාතුසේන රජ පිළිතුරු දුන්නේය. තමා එකම අසහාය පව්වරාජයා වීමේ අපේක්ෂාව නැතිකර ගැනීමට සිංහවම්ප්පව්ව නොවීය. ධාතුසේනගේ සහෝදරිය සරණකරගත් මීගර සෙනවියාට ධාතුසේනව අල්ලා ජීවග්‍රාහයෙන් කාංචි පුරයට ගෙන ඒමට නියෝග කෙළේය.

**කාශ්‍යප කුමාරයා**

ධාතුසේන මහාමාත්‍ය සභාවට නොයෑමට තීරණය කර ගත්තේය. ඔහුගේ පුත් කාශ්‍යප දැන් පුපුණු වූ වීර හට ධාතුසේනගේ යුද්ධ හටයන් මෙහෙයවන ලද්දේ



ඔහුගේ මස්සිනාවූ සවකීය ක්‍රිස්තියානි හැඟීම් නිසා සිංහ-  
 වමීන්ට අප්‍රිය වූ මිඟර විසිනි. තවද වැඩි කල්යන්ට  
 පෙරම කාශ්‍යප යුවරජ පදවියට මාන බලන බවට ධාතුසේන  
 ගේ රාජ සභාවේ ලකුණු පහළවිය. ඒ පදවිය තම පුත්  
 මොග්ගල්ලානට ලබාදීම අගමෙහෙසියගේ අදහස විය.  
 “කාශ්‍යප උන්නත් මළත් කමක් නැත”යි ධාතුසේන  
 කල්පනා කළේය. තමාගේ සිංහල සතුරු රජ සමඟ සරණ  
 බන්ධනයක සම්බන්ධයක් ඇතිකරගත් ටීර්‍යදාශ්ටික  
 මිඟර සෙනවියා ගැනද සිංහවමීන් කල්පනා කළේත්  
 එසේමය.

මිඟර සෙනවියා තම බිරිඳත් පුතාත් දුවත් යුදයෙන්  
 සමඟ මහාමල්ලපට්ටනයෙන් නැවී නැග මහාතීර්ත්වයට  
 සම්ප්‍රාප්ත වූයේය. කාශ්‍යපයෝ මිඟර යුදෙහි පරදවා  
 ඔහු සිරභාරයේ අනුරාධපුරයට ගෙනාහ. ටික දවසක්  
 මිඟර සිරභාරයෙහි සිටි පසු ධාතුසේනට යටත් වන බව  
 ඔහු පැවසූයෙන් ඔහු සිංහල රාජධානියේ සෙන්පති පදවිය-  
 කට පත් කරන ලදී. මිඟරගේ බිරිඳට හා පුතාටත්  
 දුවටත් අනුරාධපුරයෙහි සීමිත වාසස්ථාන සපයන  
 ලද්දේය. සංඝා මෙසේ තම සහෝදරයාගේ රාජධානියට  
 පැමිණියේ අදහූත අන්ධමකිනි. ධාතුසේනට දැන්  
 ඉන්දියාවේ සතුරෝ දෙදෙනෙක් වූහ. එනම් සිය සොහො-  
 වුරු සිලානිභ්‍යබෝධි හා පල්ලව රජවූ සිංහවමීන් ය.

**මගියානු ක්‍රිස්තියානි ධර්මය**

මහායාන ධර්මය උද්ගතවීමත් රජවරුන් හා කුමරුන්  
 ගෙන් ඊට ආධාරෝපකාර ලැබීමත් කරණකොට වෙනත්  
 ධර්ම හා ආගම් සිංහල ද්වීපයට ඒමට මග පෑදුණි. ගුප්ත  
 රජවරුන් විසින් බාධා නොපමුණුවන ලද අශෝක චක්‍ර-  
 වර්තීන් ඇති කළ බුද්ධ ශාසනයේ ආනුභාවයට  
 ඉන්දියාවේ අනෙක් ව්‍යාප්ත වූ වේදික බ්‍රාහ්මණ ධර්ම  
 අභිභවනය කළ නොහැකි විය. ඉන්දියානු සභාවලට  
 පැමිණි නොයෙකුත් ගතානුගතික ධර්මයන් අතර  
 බ්‍රාහ්මණ වංශික මගියානු ක්‍රිස්තියානි ධර්මයෝද වූහ.

මොව්හු දිව්‍යමය ආනුභාව ප්‍රාර්ථනා කිරීමට රජවරුන් පොළඹවන ඉවිභාකාරයන් වූහ. මෙයින් සමහරු ක්‍රිස්තුස් වහන්සේ සතුටු කිරීමෙන් ලොකික ප්‍රාර්ථනා මුදුන්පත් කර ගත හැකි වූ බව දේශනාකළ ක්‍රිස්තියානිහු වූවෝය.

මේ පරිත්‍රාජකයෝ පල්ලව රාජ සභාවේ ආකල්පයට කොතරම් බලපෑවාහු ද බෞද්ධ රාජ්‍යයක බෞද්ධ නරපතියකුගේ මහත් චිත්ත සන්තාපයට හේතුවන පරිදි සිංහවම්බන් රජුගේ සෙනෙවි මීගාරත් ඔහු බිරිඳවන ධාතුසේනගේ සහෝදරී වූ සංඝාත් උද්‍යෝගිමත් ක්‍රිස්තියානිහු වූහ. මීගාරත් සිය පුත් මීගාරත් අනුරාධපුරයේ වෙසෙමින් ධාතුසේන රජුගේ මාලිගාවට නිතර යන එන අය වූහ. ඔවුන්ට එක් දියණියක් ද විය. මෑය කාශ්‍යප කුමරුට සරණ පාවාදීමට මීගාර යොදවනට සිටියේය. ඔක්‍රෝස්තව පවුලකට තමා පිහිටවීම ගැන පමණක් නොව තම යුද්ධ-සේනාවේ සෙනෙවි පදවිය වැනි බලවත් තනතුරක් මීගාරට දීම ගැනත් ධාතුසේන කනස්සඵ විය. රජතුමා වඩාත් බියවූයේ පල්ලව බිසොවගෙන් තමාට ලැබුණු සංඝා දියණිය ඔක්‍රෝස්තවයෙක්වූ කණිෂ්ඨ මීගාර සමඟ පෙම් සබඳ කමක් ඇතිකර ගනිත්ද යන කාරණය ගැනයි.

**සංඝා කුමරිය පණපිටින් දවීම**

දැන් ඉතා නිහින වනවර තත්වයක වැඩක් සිදුවුණි. ඒ ක්‍රියාව සිංහල රාජධානියේ වලංගුවන නීතිවල හැටියට ධාතුසේන රජ යුක්ති සහගත කෙළේය. ධාතුසේන බියවූ දේ සත්‍යවිය. තමා බොහෝ බලාපොරොත්තු ඇතිව සිටි සංඝා කුමරිය කණිෂ්ඨ මීගාර සමඟ පෙම් සබඳකමක් ඇතිකරගත්තා පමණක් නොව ඔහු රහසින් හමුවනටද වූවාය. දවසක් ඇ මීගාර සමඟ තනිවම කතා කරනු ධාතුසේන දැක ඒ ගැන ඇට තදින් තරවටු කොට දඬුවම් කළේය. මෑණියන්ගේ ඇවිටිල්ලෙන් සංඝා මීගාරට සරණ පාවා දෙනු ඇතුළු තම දෑ නිදහස සමඟ වාසය කිරීමට ගියාය. තමාගේ දෑගත් අභිනව ආගම ප්‍රචාරය කිරීමට උද්‍යෝගිමත්වූ සංඝා සේනාගේ සහෝදරිය තම ලේලිව



එම ආගමට බඳවා ගැනීමට හැකි තරම් උත්සාහ කළ නමුත් එය සඵල නොවීය. මෙයින් වූයේ ලේලිය හා අමනාප වීමය. දවසක් ලේලියගේ වරදකට ඇට දඬුවම් දෙන මෙන් මැණිගයා සිය පුතණුවන්ට කීහ. තම මැණිගයන්ගේ නියෝගය අනුවෙන් තරුණ මිඟර සියබිරිදට පහරක් දුන්විට එය වැදුනේ ඇගේ පියා දඬුවම් කළ දිනයේ ලැබුණු සුවනොවු තුවාලයකටය. ඉන් ලේ ගලන්නට වන. ලෙයින් තෙත් වූ වස්ත්‍රය පිටින්ම ඇ තම පියාවෙත ගොස් සිය සැමියා තමාට දඬුවම් කළ අන්දම කියා සිටියාය. ඒ අවස්ථාවේදී ඇ ගැබිණිව සිටියාය. රජතුමා අධිකරණ ශාලාව ඉදිරියේ වෝදනා ඉදිරිපත් කරමින් ඔහුගේ සහෝදරියන් ඇගේ සැමියාත් ඔවුන්ගේ පුතාත් ගැබ සිටින දරුවා මරන්ට තැත්කරන ලදැයි කියා සිටියේය. අධිකරණයේ තීරණය අනුව ධාතුසේන ගේ සොහොයුරිය පණපිටින්ම පුළුස්සන ලදී.\*

විදේශීය රජවරුන් සමඟ විශිෂ්ඨ යම්බන්ධතා ඇතිව සිටි ධාතුසේන දැන් ආසියානු ජවනිකාවේ හුදකලාව සිටියේය.

ධාතුසේනගේ දියණියට දඬුවම් කිරීමේ වෝදනාවට ලක්වූ මිඟර සෙනවියා හා පුතුද සැඟවී සිටියේත් ඒ සෙනවියා දැන් ධාතුසේන රජුගේ පරම සතුරා වූයේ හැම විදේශික රජෙකු සමඟ ඔහුට විරුද්ධව කුමන්ත්‍රණය කළේය.

**කාශ්‍යප කුමරු පියාට විරුද්ධ වීම**

රජ මාලිගාව ඇතුළතද අවුල් වියවුල් ඇතිවුණි. මොද්ගලායනගේ මවු වූ අඟ මෙහෙසිය පල්ලව බිසව වන පාචාන් ඇගේ පුත් කාශ්‍යපත් පරදේශිකයන් ලෙස සැලකුවාය. සිංහල බිසොවක් වශයෙන් රටේ අඟ බිසව ඇ මිස පාචා නොවූවාය. එබැවින් රජකම හිමිවිය යුත්තේ

\* ගැබිණියක්, විශේෂයෙන් කුමාරිකාවක්, ඉබහ පරහාරයේ විශේෂ සැලකිල්ලට පුද්ගලිකව ඇත්තියකි.

ඇගේ පුත් මොද්ගලායනටය. නමුත් ධාතුසේන යුවරජ කෙනෙකු පත් කිරීමට කැමැති නොවීය. රාජ සභාවත් රටත් පිළිගත්තේ කාශ්‍යප කුමරුය. මොද්ගලායන එතරම් ජනප්‍රිය වුණේ නැත. තම පියාගේ වයසේ සෙනවියෙක් වන මීගාර පැරදවීම නිසා මහජනයා කාශ්‍යප කුමරුට ලබැඳියාවක් දුක්වීය.

සියරට බේරාගැනීමේ සටනට ධාතුසේන රජුම කාශ්‍යප-යන් යෙදීය. ඒ කුමාරයා දැන් යුවරජ තනතුර පතා සිටියේය. ධාතුසේන ව්‍යාජ උපායක් යෙදීය. එබඳු තනතුරක් පත්කළ යුත්තේ ඇමතිවරුන් සමග සාකච්ඡා කොට බව ධාතුසේනගේ කීහ. පියා තම බාල සොහොවුරු මුගලන්ට යුවරජකම දීමට තැත්කරන බවට කාශ්‍යප කුමරු නිගමනය කළේය. කාශ්‍යප කුමරු තම මෑණියන් වෙත ගොස් සිංහල රාජධානියෙහි සිටීමෙන් තමාට පලක් නොවන බවත් තව ටික දවසකින් තමාගේ බාල සොහොවුරා මුගලන්ට යටත්ව සිටින්නට සිදුවන බවත් එබඳු තත්වයක් වීමට පෙර තමා පිටරට ගොස් සිටීම යෝග්‍ය බවත් කියා තමා එසේ යෑමට තීරණය කරගත් බවත් කීය. “මගේ මවු දකින අන්තිම වතාව මෙය වන්නට පුලුවනැයි” ඔහු අඬමින් කියා මවගේ දෙපතුල ලඟ වැද වැටී ඇගේ සිත රිදීමට යම්කිසි දෙයක් ඔහුගෙන් සිදුවූණි නම් ඊට ක්ෂමා වෙන්නට ද ඉල්ලා සිටියේය. මෑණියාද බොහෝ වේලාවක් පුතා සමග හඬා “ඔබේ කටයුතු සඵල වේවා” යි ඉෂ්වාභංගනය කළහ.

දැන් ධාතුසේන රජුගේ රාජසභාවේ කුමන්ත්‍රණ ඇරඹිණි. සිංහල රාජධානියට විරුද්ධව සිංහවම්භන් සමග කුමන්ත්‍රණ කරණ ලදැයි රාජද්‍රෝහී චෝදනාවක් කාශ්‍යප කුමරුට විරුද්ධව එල්ල කරන ලදී. කාශ්‍යප කුමරු මෙහි නපුරු විපාක දැන එද රැම අගනුවරින් පලාගියේය. සලාවත දී නැව් නැඟ පුන්ද්‍රා රාජධානියේ තම පියාගේ සහෝදරයා වෙතට ආරක්ෂාව පිණිස ගියේය. සිලානිෂ්‍යබෝධි තම



බැණනුවන්ට මංගල පුරයෙහි විසීමට අවසර දී යුද්ධ හමුදාවක් රැස්කිරීමටද ඔහුට උදව් දුනි. මෙයින් සන්-  
මාසයකට පසු මැන්ගලෝරයෙන් සිය බලසෙන් සමග  
නැව් කීපයක නැගී අවුත් සලාවතට ගොඩ බටුයේය.

### ධාතුසේන සිය පණ භානිකර ගනී

දූන් වනාහි සිංහල ද්වීපයේ රජවරුන් හා කුමරවරුන් පුරා වෘත්තයෙහි ඉතාම දුක්මුසු අවසාවක් ඉදිරිපත් වුණි. මහළු වයසේ හා දුබල වූ අධිෂ්ඨානයෙන් යුක්ත ධාතුසේන සටන් බිමට එළඹියේය. මුගලන් ඔහු කැටුව ගියේ නැත. සලාවතට නැගෙනහිරින් සැතැප්ම කීපයක් දුරින් පිහිටි ශ්‍රී පුරයට (අද හිරිපිටිය) ඔහු සිය සේනා මෙහෙයවා පසුදු උදේ කාශ්‍යපට පහර දීමට රැකදවුරු බැන්දවීය. කාශ්‍යප තම පියා සටන මෙහෙයවූයේ බලාපොරොත්තු නොවීය. ඔහු බලාපොරොත්තු වූයේ මෞද්ගලානනය. සුපුරුදු සංග්‍රාම නීති පසෙක ලා සිංහල හටයෝ කදවුරු බද්දන වීට පහර දුන්නේය. රැමුළුලේ සටන පැවතුණෙන් අරුණෝදයේදී තම සේනා බොහොමයක් මරුමුවට පත්වී අඩුවූ බව ධාතුසේන දුටුවේය. තමාගේ රණශූරතාවයට කැලැල්වී යූදෙන් පැරදීමේ ලැජ්ජාවෙන් ඔහු සටන් බිමදී කඩුවෙන් හිස කපාගෙන මළේය. උද්දීප්තිමත් රාජ්‍යයක ගෝවතීය අන්තය මෙය විය. පවිත්‍රාච පදවිය නැතුව ඔහු මළේය.

කාශ්‍යප කුමරු තම පියාට අවසන් ගෞරව පුදකරමින් ඔහුගේ මළ සිරුර දවු නැත ස්ථූපයක් ගොඩනැගීමට නිත්‍යෝගකොට යුද සෙන් සමග අනුරාධපුරයට පැමිණියේය. මෞද්ගලානනයේ පාක්ෂිකයන්ගෙන් හා ඔහුගේ මෑණියන් වූ සංඝා බිසවගේත් විරුද්ධත්වයක් කොහෙන්ම නැතිව කාශ්‍යප රට පාලනය බාර ගත්තේය. සිංහල ද්වීපයේ රජු වශයෙන් ඔහු පළමුවෙන්ම ගියේ සිය මෑණියන්වූ පාරා බිසොව හමුවීමටය. ඔහු සිය මවගේ දෙපතුල වැඳ වැටී තමාට මෙසේ නිරූපදිතව එන්ට හැකි වූයේ

සිය මෑණියන්ගේ ඉෂ්ඨාශංසනය නිසායැයි කියා හඬන්නට වන. තමාගේ සැමියාගේ මරණයට හේතුවූයේ මේ පුතා බට දවබෝධ කරගත් මව පුතණුවන් දකීමේ ප්‍රීතිය ප්‍රකාශ නොකොට ඕ තොමෝ ද හඬන්නට වූවාය.

කාශ්‍යප රජතුමාගේ පියා සටනට පැමිණියේයයි නොසිතූ බවත් ඔහු යුද්ධ සෙන් මෙහෙයවූ බවත් දැන සිටියේ නම් පියා හා සමග සමාදාන ගිවිසුමකට එළඹෙන බවත් මෙසේ සිය සෙනගට පහර දෙන්නට අණකළේ මෞද්ගලායන යුද්ධය මෙහෙයවියයි සිතා බවත් ප්‍රකාශ කළේය.

### මුගලන් සුවණ්ණ පුරයට පලායයි

කාශ්‍යප රජු තමාගේ මිත්‍ර හස්තය මෞද්ගලායනයන්ට දිගු කරන්ට සූරානම් විය. ඔහු සංඝා බිසොව හමුවී ආගේ පුතාට රජකම තමාගේ ඇවෑමෙන් ලැබෙන බවත් දැන් යුවරජ පදවියට ඔහු පත්කරන බවත් දන්වන්නට අදහස් කරන විට සංඝා බිසොව සිය පුතණුවන්ද රඟෙන පල්ලව රාජධානියට යෑම පිණිස ගොකණ්පට්ටාන යෙන් නැව නැගී බවත් ඔහුට දැනගන්ට ලැබුණේය. ගොකණ්පට්ටානයෙන් නැව නැගීමට සුලං සැඩවූයෙන් ඔව්හු සුවණ්ණ පුරයට යෑමට මෘතිකාකපට්ටානයෙන් (මඩකලපුවෙන්) නැව නැංගේය. මේ සෙනග වැටලීමට කාශ්‍යප රජතුමා සේනා සන්නද්ධව ගිය නමුත් ඔහු දවස් තුනකින් පමාවිය. මුගලන්ට කාශ්‍යප රජුගේ ඇවෑමෙන් සිංහල ද්වීපයේ රජකම ලැබීමට පෙර අවුරුදු අටළොස්කක් වනගත පෙදෙසක මිලේච්ඡ ජනයා අතර ගත කරන්ට සිදුවුණි.

### සිංහගිරිය ගොඩනැගීම

කාශ්‍යප රජු මෘතිකාකපට්ටානයෙන් පෙරළා එනවිට අභිවර්ධමාන (හබරණ) නම් පෙදෙසේ රාත්‍රියට රකවල් යොදා සිටියේය. උදයේ අවදි වූ විට දකුණු දිසාවේ ක්ෂිතිජය පසා කරගෙන පැන නැගී ඇති උස් පඵතයක්



දුටුවේය. මෙය අක්ෂපථනයයි ද ධාතුසේන රජ එහි මුදුනේ මාලිගාවක් නැතිම අරඹා ඇතැයි ද ඔහුට දන්වන ලදී. තම පියා පථන රාජ ධුරය පනමින් සිටි බවත් පථන රජතුමාගේ වාසස්ථානය පථන මුදුනක පිහිටිය යුතු බවත් කාශ්‍යප රජුට යන්නමින් මතක් වුණි. ඊට වෙනස්වූ ආකල්පයක් කාශ්‍යප ගේ සිතට පහළවිය. එනම් දැනටමත් පල්ලව රාජ්‍යයේ සිටින පථන රාජයකු විමට නොව ධනයට අධිපතිව ආලකමන්දවේ වෙසෙන කුවේරයා බඳුව මේසාකුලවූ පථන මුදුනේ රාජ මන්දිරය තනවා එහි සිට රාජ්‍යානුශාසන කිරීමය.

සිංහල ගොඩනැගිලි නිමාණ ශිල්පියකු කැඳවා තමාගේ ආකෘතිය දක්වීය. එය සඳලුතල, දිය අගල්, යුද කඳවුරු, බිතු සිතුවම් ආදියෙන් මොනවට අලංකාරකොට සිංහයෙකුගේ මුවින් ඇතුළුවිය හැකිසේ පියගැට පෙළක් ඉදිකරවා සිහිරි නමින් මේ පථනය හඳුන්වන ලදී. සිංහල ද්විපයේ අභිනව අගනුවර මෙය විය. මේ ආකල්පයට අභයගිරි විහාරයේ සංඝ සඨවිරයන්වහන්සේගේ ද තම පියාගේ පුරුරාහිතයා වූ මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයාගේ ද අනුමතිය ලද්දේය.

### කාශ්‍යප රජුගේ අභිෂේකය

මේ අතර කාශ්‍යප රජුගේ අභිෂේකය සඳහා කටයුතු සංවිධානය කරන ලදී. ධාතුසේන රජු යටතේ රටේ ඝාමයක් පැවති නමුත් රාජ වාසලේ කුමන්ත්‍රණ ආදියෙන් එය කැලැල්වූ සමයක් විය. කුමන්ත්‍රණකාරිවූ මෞද්ගලායන හා ඔහුගේ මවු රට හැර ගොස් සිටියෝය. සිංහල ජනයා නිතරම රණ ශූර රජකුට කැමති වූයේය. දැන් සිංහාසනාරූඪ වූයේ තම පියා තරම්ම රණ ශූරවූ රජෙකි. “අභිෂේකයෙන් පසු රජ මාලිගාවේ අංගණයට රැස්වූ පිරිස් කාශ්‍යප රජුට ජයවේවා කාශ්‍යප රජුට දිගාසිරි වේවා යයි හඬ නගමින් කියමින් පිළි හිසවට කරකවන්ට වූහ.”

## කුවේරයාගේ පාලනය

කාශ්‍යප රජු අවිච්චි ගැස්සූ කාසින් ඔහුගේ මුදල් ප්‍රතිපත්තියත් බොහෝ නිදහස් වරායවල් ඇතිකිරීමත් කරණ කොටගෙන රට සමාධිමත් වූයේය. රජු විසින් සකස්කොට දිරිගන්වන ලද වෙළඳ ව්‍යාපාර වලින් ලැබුණු ආදායම සීගිරිය ඉදි කිරීමට යොදා ලදී. අභිනව අගනුවර නිමාණය හත් අවුරුද්දකින් නිමිණයේය. කාශ්‍යප රජු සෙන් පිරිවරාගෙන කණිෂ්ඨ මිහාරගේ සහෝදරිය වන සිය බිසවත් කැටුව අනුරාධපුරයෙන් පිටත්ව එද රැ සීගිරියේ පිහිටුවන ලද අභිනව රාජවිමානායෙහි ලැගුම් ගත්තේය. දෙවෙනි දවසේ උදෑසන පිබිදු කුවේරයා හා සමානලෙස හැඳ පැළඳ ගෙන තම බිසොව ශ්‍රී දේවිය හා සමාන ලෙස ඇඳ පලඳවා සීගිරි පව්වේ වයඹ දිග පිහිටි වේදිකාවට පැමිණ ඔව්හු දහසකට අධික එහි රැස්වූ ප්‍රභූන් හමුවෙහි පෙනී සිටියහ.

තම රාජධානියේ යහපත සඳහා වූ මේ සියලු ක්‍රියාමාර්ගවලට අහයගිරි විහාරවාසී මහායානික සංඝ සඨවිරයන් වහන්සේගේද සවිකිය ඇමති මඩුල්ලේද සම්මුතිය ලද්දේය. තමාගේ කුවේරයා පරයන අධිරාජ තත්වයට මහාවිහාරවාසී ථෙරවාදී සංඝ සඨවිරයන් වහන්සේගේ අනුමතිය නොලබන බව කාශ්‍යප රජ දන්තේය. සිංහල රජතුරාජ්‍යානුශාසනා කළයුත්තේ මහා සංඝයාගේ අනුමතිය ඇතිව බවද ඔහු සැලකීය. අහයගිරික හා මහා විහාරික දෙපක්ෂයම සංඝගණයට ඇතුළත් බව මහාසේන රජු සැලකීය. කාශ්‍යප මහවිහාරයට පැමිණියේ එහි සංඝ සඨවිරයන් සතුටු කරවනට මිස උන්වහන්සේගේ අනුමතිය ලබනට නොවේ.

මේ සංඝ සඨවිරයන් වහන්සේගෙන් පළමුව අවවාද අනුශාසනා නොලත් බැවින් ථෙරවාදී ගැන නොතකා හැරීම උන්වහන්සේ තොරිස්සු හ. ඇරත් කුවේරයා යක්ෂාධිපතියකු බැවින් යකකුට මිනිස් බව ලැබීමට දිරිස කාලයක් ගතවිය යුතු බවත් සංඝ සඨවිරයන් වහන්සේ



පැවසුවේය. කුවේර භූභවලදයක දෙවියකු බවට පත්කළේ මහවිහාර වංශිකයන් හෙලාදුටු වෛතුලයවාදීන් බව උන් වහන්සේ කියා සිටියහ. කාශ්‍යප අඟහ පෙර නිමිති ගැන කල්පනා කරමින් සිහිරියට පෙරලා ආවේය.

ඔහුගේ පියාගේ පරිහානියට මූලික හේතුව වූයේ පච්ඡ රාජ තනතුර පැතීමය. කාශ්‍යප තමා කුවේරයෙහි ප්‍රකාශ කිරීම භයානක ප්‍රතිඵල වලට තුඩුදෙන බව දනගත් නමුත් ඒ ගැන ඔහු සැලකුවේ නැත. ආසියාවේ බලවත්ම යුද්ධ හමුදාව ඔහුට හිමි වූයේය. සාගරය ඔහුගේ ආරක්ෂාවේ මුල්ම සීමාව වූයේය. ඔහුගේ නැව් දඹදිව හැම වරායකටම යාත්‍රා කළේ ය. ඔහුගේ ජනයාට පෙර නොවූ විරූ තරම් යස ඉසුරු සම්පත් දෙන ලදී. මහාසේන හා ඔහුගේ පියා වන ධාතුසේන රජු විසින් උරුම කර දෙන ලද වැව් කම්පාන්තයට අමතරව ජාත්‍යන්තර වෙළු-හෙළඳාම් මොහු ලබාදුන්නේය. ඔහුගේ රාජ සභාවේ පක්ෂපාත භාවය හදිසියේ නැතුව ගියොත් මිස වෙන කිසි බියවිය යුතු කරුණක් නොවුණි. මේ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ඔහුගේ විරුද්ධවාදීන් සමග සාමය ඇති කරගෙන තිබුණේය. ඔහු මිඟාරට ක්ෂමාව දී කණිෂ්ඨ මිඟාර සිංහල හමුදාවේ සෙනවියෙකු වශයෙන් පත් කරනු ලැබීය. තමා මිඟාරගේ දුව ආවාහ කර ගැනීම නිසා රාජ්‍ය සභාවේ සම්බන්ධතා හා යුද්ධ හමුදාවේ පක්ෂපාත භාවයත් තහවුරු වුණි. නමුත් වෙනත් බියකරු දේ ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙමින් පැවතිබව කාශ්‍යප කිසිවක් නොදන්නේය.

**කාශ්‍යප ස්කන්ධවර්මන් පරදවයි**

කාශ්‍යප අට අවුරුද්දක් රජකම් කළපසු ඔහු කුවේර බව පැවසීම වහාම ප්‍රතික්ෂේප නොකොළොත් සටන් කරන බව උරගහපුර කාලාහු අධිරාජ්‍යයා දැන් වූයේය. කාශ්‍යප කෝපාසම්ප්‍රව ඵය කළ නොහැකියයි කිය. දකුණු ආසියාවේ වෙන නැති තරම් දීර්ඝ පරපුරක හා සිංහල මෞර්‍ය වංශයේ දෙවැන්නා හැටියට ඔහුද අභිෂේකලත් රජෙක් විය. ධාතුසේනගේ සහෝදරයාගේ පුතණුවන්

වූද කාශ්‍යපගේ ඇවෑමට මස්සිනා කෙනෙකු වූද ස්කන්ධ-  
 වම් නම් පල්ලව රජුට කාලාහු අධිරාජ්‍යයා කාශ්‍යප  
 ජීවග්‍රහණයෙන් උරගහ පුරයට ගෙන එන ලෙසට යුද  
 සෙනගක් දුන්නේය. සතුරු සෙනග මහානිර්ථ මුදු  
 කරයට ගොඩ බට කල්හි කාශ්‍යප එහි ගොස් සතුරන්  
 මැඩීය. ස්කන්ධවම් නම් සිරභාරයට ගෙන සිහිරි පුරයට  
 දකුණු දෙසින් පිහිටි පඵතයක සිරකර තබන ලදී.

### කාශ්‍යප පාණ්ඩ්‍ය රජු පරදවයි

ස්කන්ධවම් නම්ගේ පරාජයත් තමාගේ ගවීයට වූ හානියත්  
 ගැන කෝපාවිෂ්ටවූ කාලාහු අධිරාජ්‍යයා සිංහල රාජධානිය  
 ආක්‍රමණය කොට කාශ්‍යප සිරකරුවකු වශයෙන් උරගහ  
 පුරයට ගෙනෙන ලෙස පාණ්ඩ්‍ය රජු යෙදවීය. කාශ්‍යප  
 රජු බහල්ලකීර්තියට (සමහර විට වල්ලිපුරම් වෙන්ට  
 ඇත) ගොස් සතුරන් ගොඩ බසිත්ම ඔවුන් ලුහුබැන්නේය.  
 පාණ්ඩ්‍ය රජු සිරභාරයට ගෙන ඔහුද සිහිරි ගලට දකුණු  
 දෙසින් වූ පඵතයේ ස්කන්ධවම් නම් සිරකර තැබූ සභානායක  
 සිරකර තබනු ලැබීය. කාශ්‍යප සතුරන් විෂයෙහි සිය  
 පියාණන් දක්වූ වීර වික්‍රම ක්‍රියාව අනුගමනය කළා පමණක්  
 නොව සිංහල ජනයාගේ යුද බලයට ජාත්‍යන්තර කීර්තියක්  
 ලබා දුන්නේය. ආසියාතික රාජකීය මණ්ඩලය අනුව  
 පියා හා පුතා උරුමයක් නැතුව රාජ බලයට පත් වූවන්  
 හැටියට සලකන ලදී. නමුත් දන් රජවරු දෙදෙනෙක්  
 මොයර් විංශික කාශ්‍යපයන්ගේ සිරකරුවෝ වූහ.

### කාශ්‍යපගේ මුදල් ක්‍රමය

කාශ්‍යපගේ මුදල් හා නිදහස් වරාය ක්‍රමය නිසා සුවණ්ණ  
 පුරයේ වෙළඳුන්ට කොතරම් පහර වැදුනේද යත් ඉන්දියාව  
 හා සුවණ්ණ පුරය අතර කෙලින්ම කරන වෙළඳාම නැවතී  
 තිබුණි. මහා ඉන්දියාවේ ප්‍රධාන වෙළඳ මධ්‍යස්ථානය  
 සිංහල ද්වීපය වූයේය. සුවණ්ණ පුර මහරජුගේ මුදල්  
 දම්දිව වලංගු නොවූයේ, කාශ්‍යප ජීවත් වූ තාක් ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ  
 වලංගු වූයේ සිංහල මුදල්ය. කාශ්‍යපගේ ඇවෑමෙන්



මුගලන් පැමිණෙන තුරු සුවිශේෂ පුර මහරජු බලා සිටියේය. මුගලන් හා විදේශගතව සිටින ඔහුගේ මෑණියන් වූ සිංහල ද්වීපයේ මෙහෙසියන් ඔහුගේ ආගන්තුකයෝ වූහ. දැන් ඔහු අන්‍යෝන්‍ය ලාභ අත්වන සුළු යෝජනාවක් මුගලන් ඉදිරියේ තැබීය.

**සුවිශේෂ පුරය හා මුගලන්ගේ ගිවිසුම**

කාශ්‍යපගෙන් සිංහල රාජ්‍යය පැහැරගැනීමට මුගලන්ට සුවිශේෂ පුරයෙන් යුද හමුදාවක් සපයා දෙනට පොරොන්දු විය. එහි ප්‍රතික්‍රියා වශයෙන් කාශ්‍යපයන් වලංගු කළ රන්කාසි අවලංගු කොට සිගිරිය අත්හැර අනුරාධපුරයේ සිට රට පාලනය කිරීමට මුගලන් ගිවිස ගත්තේය. සිංහල ද්වීපයේ සෞභාග්‍ය පැතිරුණේ කුවේරයන් වශයෙන් කාශ්‍යපයන් දැක්වූ සවිභීතිය ආනුභාවය ලෙස අනික් රජවරුන්ට මෙන් සුවිශේෂ පුරයේ රජුටද අවබෝධ විය. අන්‍යෝන්‍ය ගිවිසුම් පහසු වුවද සංසාඛිසවට සිංහල ද්වීපයේ ඇගේ රහසිගත නියෝජිතයන් සපයන ආරංචි නම් කාශ්‍යප රජුගේ ජීවන කාලය තුළදී සිංහල ද්වීපය ආක්‍රමණය කිරීමේ ප්‍රයත්නයකදී ඇතිවන මැඩලිය නොහෙන දුෂ්කරතාවලට තුඩු දෙන බවයි. සිගිරිය අසල හිරගෙයි ආසියානු රජවරු දැනටම දෙදෙනෙක් වූහ. කාශ්‍යපගේ මස්සිනාවූ කණිෂ්ඨ මීඟාර යුද්ධ හමුදාවේ සෙන්පති වූයේය. ඔහුගේ රාජපාක්ෂිකභාවය ගැන සැක කිරීමට කාශ්‍යපට හේතුවක් නොවීය. ඔහුගේ ඉතාමත් විශ්වාසදයක වීර හටයා වූ සුලක්ෂ්මණ සිගිරි කඳවුර භාරව සිටියේය. රටේ සාමය ඇතිවිය. තම රාජ්‍යාදායෙන් දෙළොස්වෙනි අවුරුද්දේදී පුතකු ලැබීමෙන් රාජ්‍යයට නීත්‍යානුකූල අනුප්‍රාප්තිකයෙක් ඇති කෙළේය. කාශ්‍යප සිය පුතණුවන්ට ධාතුසේන යයි නම් තැබූහ.

**මුගලන් යක්ෂයන් මග විසීම**

මුගලන් අටලොස් අවුරුද්දක් විදේශගතව සිටියදී සිංහල කුමාරයකුට සවිභාවික නොවන අන්දකිම් රාශියකට මුහුණ පෑවේය. ඔහුට සිය රාජ්‍යයේ රැකවරණය දීමට නම්

තමාට යටත් වන්නට යයි කී සුවණ්ණපුරයේ රජු මුගලන්-  
ගේ මානභංග කළේය. මීලඟට ඔහු මලයාපුර රජුගේ  
රැකවරණය බලාගියෙන් ඒ රජුද එසේ නම් තමාට යටත්වන  
ලෙස ඉල්ලා සිටියෙන් එසේ ඔහුට යටත් වන්නට සිදුවිය.  
සිංහල ද්වීපයෙන් ඔහු ගෙනා මුදල් අවසන්වූ පසු මෑණියන්  
මලයා පුරයේ සිටුවා ඔහු සපිරිවරින් වනාන්තරයකට වැද  
කපුරු ආදී ද්‍රව්‍ය විකිණීමෙන් ඒ සෑම දෙනා නඩත්තු වූහ.\*

මලයාපුර රාජධානි සීමාව මිනිකන යක්ෂවරියක ගේ  
ප්‍රදේශයක් විය. මෙහි අධිපති වූ රාවණ මලයාපුරයට  
පහරදී මලයාපුර රජ අල්ලාගෙන ගියේය. ඒ රජුට සහාය  
වීමට මුගලන් සිය පිරිස් රැගෙන ගියෙන් යක්ෂාධිපතියා  
විසින් ඔහුද සිර භාරයට ගන්නා ලදී. මලයා පුරේ රජුත්  
මුගලනුත් නිදහස් කිරීමට යක්ෂාධිපතියා වනදී මුදලක්  
නියම කළේය. මලයාපුර රජු වෙනුවෙන් වූ නිදහස්  
කිරීමේ වන්දි මුදල ඵරට වාසින් ගෙවූ අතර මුගලන්ගේ  
වන්දි මුදල ගෙවීමට කවුරුන්වත් ඉදිරිපත් වුනේ නැත.

ඒ නිදහස් කිරීමේ වන්දි මුදල ගෙවන මෙන් යක්ෂාධි-  
පතියා මුගලන්ගේ මෑණියන්ටත් සුවණ්ණපුර රජුටත් පණි-  
වුඩ යවා තිබුණෙන් මුගලන් සිංහල ද්වීපයේ රජකමට  
උරුමක්කාරයා වූ බැවින් සිංහල ද්වීපයෙන් ඒ මුදල  
ලබා ගන්නාතුරු ඔහුගේ ජීවිතය බේරීමට ඉල්ලීමක්  
කෙළේය.

මේ අතර යක්ෂයන්ගේ පුජාවිධි බලමින් සිටින මුගලන්ව  
එක් දවසක යම රජුට බිලිදීමට කැඳවාගෙන යන ලදී.  
බියෙන් මීරිකුණු මුගලන් මෙසේ පොරොන්දු වූයේය.  
"මේ නපුරෙන් මා නිදහස් කරනු ලැබුවොත් මට සිංහල  
ද්වීපයේ රජකම ලැබුණු විට අවුරුදුපනා දහසකට අධික  
ඇමති වරුන් යම රජුට බිලිදෙන්නෙමි" යනුයි. බොද්ධ  
රජ පවුලක හැදුණු වැඩුණු මේ කුමරාගේ සිත තරක්වීම  
පිලිකාවක් මෙන් කා වැදී තිබුණි.

\* අද මලයාරව අක්කර 350,000 කට අදික කපුරු වනාන්තරයක් තිබේ.



## කණිෂ්ඨ මාග බමුණු කාශ්‍යපට උගුල් අටවයි

මුගලන්ගේ ජීවිතය බේරාගැනීමට දෙමසක් කල්දෙන ලදුව ඒ කාලය ඉකුත් වීමට මත්තෙන් සුවණ්ණ පුරයේ රජු ඔහුගේ මිදීමේ දඩමුදල ගෙවා ඔහු සහ ඔහුගේ මෑණියෝ තමා යටතට පත්කරන ලදහ. ඉතා දුෂ්කර අවස්ථාවලට මුහුණ පා සිටි අවධියේ ඔහුට පිහිට වූ මලයාපුර රජුට යටත්වීම මුගලන් ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළේය.

මේ අතර කාශ්‍යප රජුගේ දහත්වෙනි රාජ්‍ය වර්ෂයේදී ඔහුගේ ඉතා විශ්වාසජනක වූ අභයගිරික සංඝ සභාවිරයන් වහන්සේන් මාග බමුණන් ජනමාන්තර ගතවූහ. තම පියාගේ ඇවෑමෙන් රජුගේ පුරෝහිත තනතුරට පත්වීමට අපේක්ෂා කරගෙන සිටි මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයාගේ පුතාට කාශ්‍යප රජු ඒ තනතුර දුන්නේ නැත. ඔහු සිංහල ද්වීපය අත්හැර ක්‍රිස්තියානිකාර ස්ත්‍රියක් ආවාහ කරගෙන තමාද ක්‍රෙස්ත-වයකු වී සුවණ්ණ පුරයට ගියේය. ඔහු මුගලන් හමුවී කාශ්‍යප රජු ජීවත්ව සිටින තාක් මුගලන්ට බලහත්කාර-යෙන් සිංහල රාජධානිය ලබාගන්ට නුපුළුවනැයි කීය.

මුගලන්ට ආගමික හැඟීම් නැති බවත් ඔහු යක්ෂයන් සමඟ විසූ කාලයේදී සිත දුෂණය වී කිබෙන බවත් මාග බමුණු දිවිය. සිංහල රාජවංශයට නිහිත වූ රජුන්ගේ අවඤාවටද ඔහු පාත්‍රව සිටියේය. දැන් ඔහු බලා සිටියේ ක්‍රිස්තියානි ආගම වැළඳගත්තොත් ඔහුගේ රාජධානිය දේව පිහිටෙන් ලබාදෙන බවට මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයා වූ පොරොඤාව ගැනය. ඇත පිහිටි සිංහල ද්වීපයේ සිංහල යුද්ධ හමුදාවේ සෙනෙියා වූ මිගාර ක්‍රිස්තියානි කාරයකු වුනේ ඔහුගේ හමුදාවේ සිටි ක්‍රෙස්තවයෝ ඔහුට පක්ෂපාත වූහ. නමුත් කාශ්‍යප ජීවත්ව සිටිනතාක් කිසිවක් සපල කරගත නුහුණු විය. මුගලන්ගේ හමුවීමෙන් පසු මාග බමුණු සිංහල ද්වීපයට ආවේ මිනීමරු වේතනා ඇතුළුවය.

සිංහල දේවපයට පෙරලා පැමිණ මාග බ්‍රාහ්මණයා මලයා පුරයේ හා සුවණ්ණපුරයේ වෙසෙන මුගලන්ගේ දුක් හා විපත් ගැන සම්පූර්ණ විස්තරයක් මිඟාරට දන්නේය. මිඟාරට කාශ්‍යප රජු මැරවිය හැකි නම් මුගලන් ක්‍රිස්තියානි හක්තිකයෙකු වීමට පොරොන්දුවී ඇතිබව ඔහු මිඟාරට රහසිගතව දන්වූයේය. මාග බමුණු කාශ්‍යප රජුගෙන් පළිගැනීමට හා සිංහලය ක්‍රිස්තියානි රාජධානියකට පෙරලීමට මුගලන් ආයුධයක් සේ යොදගත්තේය. ක්‍රිස්තු-හක්තික මිඟාර මේ උගුලෙන් මුගලන්ට වඩා තමාට ප්‍රයෝජන අත්වන බව දුටුවේය. සාමාන්‍ය පල්ලව වැසියෙකු වූ මොහු කාශ්‍යපගේ මස්සිනා දියේ සිංහල සිංහාසනයට අනුප්‍රාප්තිකයා වශයෙන් ලංව සිටියේය. ශ්‍රී දේවි නම් දිව්‍යමය කාන්තාවක් වූ ඔහුගේ සොහොයුරිය සිංහල ජනයාගේ අගබියොව බවට පත්වීම වැළැක්වීමට කිසි කරුණක් තිබුණේ නැත. එබැවින් ශ්‍රේෂ්ඨ කාශ්‍යප-ගේ ජීවිතය සුන් කිරීමට ඔහු සිය සොහොයුරිය සමඟ කුමන්ත්‍රණය කළේය.

**කාශ්‍යපගේ මරණය**

එද සවස් කාලය පැමිණි වේලේ අගබියොවද කැටුව සපිරිවරින් රතු සිමෙන්ති තලාවට\* පැමිණ එහි සිය පිරිවර නවත්වා ගල මුදුනට නැංගේය. රාත්‍රී කාලයේ සිංහ මුඛය ළඟ තිබුණු සණ්ඨාව ගබද විය. බැහැර බිත්තියේ දෙර ළඟට සේවකයා පැමිණි කල්හි බියොව මහත් ආන්දෝලනයකින් අවුත් රජු හදිසියේම අසනීප වූ බවත් වහාම වෛද්‍යවරයකු කැඳවා ආ යුතු බවත් එතෙක් රජතුමා තලාවට ගෙනගිය යුතු බවත් කීයේය. රාජ පිරිසේ ප්‍රධානියා ගල මුදුනට නැග රතු සිමෙන්ති තලාවට කාශ්‍යප රජු ගෙනවිත් වෛද්‍යවරයා එතෙක් රජුට එහි වැතිරී සිටීමට සලස්වන ලදී. වෛද්‍යවරයා රජු මැරී ඇති බැව් ප්‍රකාශ කළේය.

\* සිංහ මුඛය ඉදිරියේ ඇති තලාවයි. මීට නැගිය යුත්තේ සිංහ මුඛයෙනි.



**ලමා රජවූ ධාතුසේන**

මීගාර තම සොහොයුරි වන කාශ්‍යප රජුගේ අග බියොව සිංහාසනාරූඪ කරවා තමා රාජ්‍යානුශාසනා කිරීමට කළ යෝජනාව ඇමති මඩුල්ලන් සේනාධිපති වරුන් පිළි-  
නොගත්හ. ඔවුන් වැඩිදෙනාගේ තීරණය වූයේ නියම රජකම ලැබිය යුත්තේ මුගලන්ටත්, කාශ්‍යප රජුගේ පුත් ධාතුසේන කුමාරයා යුවරජ පදවියටත් පත්කිරීමය. මේ තීරණයට සිගිරි බල ඇණියේ සෙනවියා වූ සුලක්ෂමණ විරුද්ධ වූණි. ඔහු අනෙක් සෙනවියන් අභිබවා ධාතුසේන කුමරා සිංහල ද්වීපයේ රජු හැටියට පත් කළේය. මොහු සිංහල ද්වීපයේ තුන්වන මෞය්‍ය වංශික රජය. මීගාර පුත්රා රාජධානියට පලාගොස් මුගලන් පෙරලා එනතුරු එහි පොරොත්තුව සිටියේය.

**සිංහල ද්වීපයට ක්‍රිස්තියානිය එයි**

තමා කළ කුමන්ත්‍රණය මුදුන්පත්වීමට තබා මාග බමුණා සුවණ්ණපුරයට ලඟිලහියේම ගියේය. සිංහල ද්වීප ඉතිහාසයේ ඉතාමත් කැලැල් සහිත පිටුව ලිවීමට දැන් ආසන්න විය. සිංහල ද්වීපයේ දීර්ඝ හා උද්දීප්තිමත් බෞද්ධ රාජාවලිය මුහුණ පෑ යුතු බලතරම දුෂ්කරතාව දැන් ඉතා ලංවූයේය. මහායාන ධර්මය ක්‍රිස්තියානියට රුකුලක් දුන්නේය. රෝම ඉතිහාසයේ කොන්ස්ටන්ටයින්ගේ කාලයේ (ක්‍රි. ව. 313) මෙන් රාජ්‍යානුශාසනා කරන කුමාරවරුන්ගේ රාජ සභාවල අළුත් ආගම වැළඳ ගත්තෝ වූහ. ධාතුසේනගේ සහෝදරී වන සංඝා හා ඇගේ සෑමියා වූ මීගාරන් පල්ලව රාජ සභාවේ සිට සිංහල ද්වීපයට ක්‍රිස්තියානිය ගෙනාවෝය. සඵල නොවූ දුකිකාවක් වශයෙන් සංඝාට විඳින්නට සිදු වූයේ මහත් විපතකි. අවුරුදු අටලොස්සක් විදේශ ගතව සිටි සිංහල කුමාරයෙක් තමාගේ බෞද්ධ මුතුන් මිත්තන්ගේ රාජ්‍යයට ආගමික විශ්වාස කීපයක් සිත දරාගෙන පැමිණියේ එයින් එකක් නම් තමා වැඩිය නොදන්නා ක්‍රිස්තියානි ධර්මයයි.

වීරෝධාර්ථ සහිතව මුගලන්ගේ හොඳම මිත්‍රයෝ-නමුත් ඔහුට දැනීමක් නැතිව - මහායානික මිථ්‍යා මත වලටත් දේව වන්දනාවටත් ධාතුසේන හා කාශ්‍යපගේ කාලවලදී දැඩිතර ලෙස පහරදුන් මහාවිහාරික සඨවිරවරුය.

### මුගලන් පෙරළා පැමිණීම

ක්‍රිස්තු වර්ෂ 496 දී මුගලන් සිය මැණියන් වන සංසා බියවද කැවූව සුවණ්ණපුරයේ රජ දුන් නාවුක කණ්ඩායමක් ද ගෙන මෙහි ආයේය. ඔවුන් සමග මාග බමුණුද ඔහුගේ සහවර ක්‍රෝස්තවයෝ දෙළොස් දෙනෙක්ද පැමිණියහ. මේ නාවුක සේනාව සිංහල ද්වීපයේ නැගෙනහිර වෙරළේ කොස්පාර නම් තොටුවලට ගොඩ බැස මෙරට භටයන්ගේ උදවු බලාගෙන සිටියේය. එහෙත් කිසිම උදවුවක් නොලැබුණි. ධාතුසේන යන ශේෂය නාමය ඇති රජෙක් සිංහලන්ට සිටියේය. සීගිරි බල ඇණියේ සෙනෙවි සුලක්ෂමණ ආක්‍රමණකයින් මුලසුන් කර දැමීමට සිය සේනා ගෙන ආවේය. කොස්පාරයට ලංවනවිට විශාල වගුරු බිමක් හමුවීමෙන් වෙන මහකින් යෑමට සැරසෙන ලෙස සෙනවියා නියෝග කළේය. බලඇණිවල සෙනෙවිවරු ඒ අණ වරදවා තේරුම් ගත්තාහු සිය සෙන් හැරදමා මුගලන්ගේ කඳවුරට පැමිණියාහුය. මුගලන්ගෙන් මැරුම් නොකා සුලක්ෂමණ සෙනෙවියා තම අනින්ම හිස පුන්කරගෙන මළේය.

මෙය යුද්ධ ජයග්‍රහණයක් නොව අද්භූත ජනක සිද්ධියකි. සතුටින් ඉල්ලී ගිය මාග බමුණු “සර්වබලධාරී දෙවියන්-වහන්සේ අපට පක්ෂව නොසිටියාහු නම් මෙබඳු අද්භූත ජනක දෙයක් සිදුවේ ද?”යි ඇසීය. මුගලන් මුළුසිතින්ම මීට එකඟ වූයේ, මාග බමුණු ඔහුගේ මවත් පිරිවරත් ඉදිරියේ මුගලන් ක්‍රිස්තියානි භක්තිකයකු නැටියට බෞතීස්ම කළේය. කුඩා ධාතුසේන රජ සිය ආරක්ෂකයාගෙනුත් යුද්ධ හමුදාවෙහුත් වියෝව පුන්දා රාජධානියට පලාගියේ ජන්මාන්තර ගතවනතුරු එහි සිටියේය. මිගාර විදේශගත



භාවයෙන් මිදී ඉදිරිපත් වුණි. ඔහු සිහිරියේ බල ඇණිය භාරයාගන එය මුගලන්ට පැවරුයේ කොන්දේසි දෙකක් පිටිය. එනම් මිඟාර යුද්ධ හමුදාවේ සෙනවියා වීමත් ඔහුගේ සොහොයුරිය වන කාශ්‍යප ගේ වැන්දඹු බිසොව සරණකර ගැනීමත්ය.

### ධර්මිෂ්ඨ අධිරාජ්‍යය

අවශ්‍ය වූ උපායක් වශයෙන් මුගලන් බොතීස්මවීම අවිනිත කොට මහවිහාරය, අභයගිරිය හා ජේතවනාරාමය යන මේ විහාර තුනට පැමිණියේය. ඒ හැම විහාරයක දීම ඔහු ධර්මභාරාජ්‍යයක් පිහිටුවන බවට ප්‍රකාශ කළේය. ධර්ම භාරාජ්‍යය යනුවෙන් අදහස් කරන ලද්දේ බෝධි-රාජ්‍ය වන්ට ඇතැයි සිතූ සංඝ සංවිච්චරු එසේ උත්සාහයක් කළොත් යහපතැයි කීහ.

මුගලන් ධර්මිෂ්ඨ අධිරාජ්‍ය පිහිටුවීමට පමානොවීය. සඹරණමාලි ස්ථූපයටත් උපාරාම චෛත්‍යයටත් අතර පෙදෙසට පැමිණ පිරිසට එතැන හැර යා නොහැකිවනසේ විශාල ගිනි අගලක් තැනීමට ඔහු විසින් නියෝග කරන ලදී. සඹරණමාලි ස්ථූපයට උතුරු දෙසින් තම සිංහාසනය පිහිටුවා ඉවදත් ආකාර දත් ඇත්දත් වැනි දෙයක් කටෙ සවිකරගෙන එහි වාඩි ගත්තේය. ඊට පසු එහි රැස්ව සිටි පිරිස ගෙන් හැම පුද්ගලයෙකුම කැඳවා ඔහු පක්ෂව සිටියේ තමාටද කාශ්‍යපට දැයි විචාළේය. හැමදෙනම මුගලන්ට පක්ෂ බව කීහ. ඔහු මෙසේ ප්‍රකාශ කළේය. “මේ හැම දෙනම මට පක්ෂපාත වී සිටි බව පෙනේ. එසේනම් කාශ්‍යප රජුට අටළොස් අවුරුද්දක් රජ්‍යානු-ශාසනය කළහැකි වූයේ කෙසේද?”

ධර්මිෂ්ඨභාවය හිමිකර ගැනීමේ පළමුවන පූජා විධිය දැන් ඇරඹුණි. අභයයක් බඳු වූ ගිනිගොඩට එක් එක්කෙනා ඇද දමන ලෙස මුගලන් සිය සෙබළුන්ට නියම කළේය. ගිනි ගොඩට ලැවූවන්ගේ මුවින් මහත් උද්ඝෝෂණයක් පැණ නැගුණි. හික්මුන් මීට මැදිහත් වූ විට උන්වහන්සේද

ගින්නට දැමීමට මුගලන් අණ කළේය. සිංහල හට යන්  
 ඊට සම්පූර්ණයෙන් විරුද්ධව අපේ ගෘහස්ථ දෙවිවරුන්ගේ  
 ගරීරාභවයව වලට හෝ සිවුරු වලට අත තබන මුල්කන්ද  
 යුද හටයන් හා සටන් කිරීමට සිංහල යුද්ධ හටයන්  
 සැරසුණහ. මුගලන් ධර්මිෂ්ඨභාවයට ඇති මාවන (ඒක  
 දවසක ගන්නා රිසියෙන් පසෙකට වුණි. මෙදී පුජා  
 විධිය කෙලින්ම මලයා වනාන්තර වලින් ලැබුණු එකැයි.

පසුද මුගලන් මාග බමුණකු වූ ක්‍රිස්තියානි පූජකයෙකු  
 ගෙන් කරුණු විචාලේය. පසුගිය ද පැමිණි සියල්ල දැවී(ඒ)  
 ක්‍රියාවට බාධා පැමිණවීම ගැන ඒ පූජකතැන සංගස්(ඒ)  
 වීරයන්ට දෙස් නගා විහාරස්ථාන විනාශ කිරීමට රජුට  
 අවවාද කළේය. පළමුව ශ්‍රී මහා බෝධියත් ඊලඟ(ඒ)  
 විහාර ස්ථානත් ගිනිලැවිය යුතු යයි රජුට අවවාද කළේය.  
 මුගලන් මෙසේ කිරීමට හටයන්ට කී නමුත් ඔවුහු ඊට  
 අකීකරු වී මවු බියොව වෙතට දිවුහ. ඔහුන්ගේ ගෙදර  
 සිටි වස්ත්‍ර වලින්ම සැරසී ශ්‍රී මහා බෝධියත් යුද්ධ හමුදාවත්  
 අතරට පැන මෙසේ කෑ ගැසුවාය. “තොප පළමුව මා  
 මරණු මිස සිරිමා බෝ වහන්සේට අත නොතබව” යනු-  
 වෙති. මෙය මුගලන්ට දන්වන ලදුව පූජක තැනට යළිත්  
 ඒ කාරණය දැන්වීය. බෝගස කැපිය යුතුම යයි  
 නොවළඟා කී පූජක තැන යේසුස් ක්‍රිස්තුස් වහන්සේගේ  
 “මවුපිය දෙදෙනා අත්හැර වුවත් මා අනුගමනය කරව”  
 යන වචනද උපුටා දැක්වීය. මවු බියොව මරණයට පත්-  
 කරන්ට යයි මුගලන් සෙබළුන්ට අණ කෙළේය. මෙයින්  
 කුපිත වූ යුද්ධ හටයෝ පූජක තැන අල්ලා ගින්නට දැමූහ.  
 ඔවුන් ඊට පසු මුගලන් ද අල්ලාගත් නමුත් මවු බියොව  
 ඔහු බේරා ගත්තාය. මේ අවස්ථාවේදී මහාවිහාරික සංඝ  
 සභාවීරයන් වහන්සේ එතැනට පැමිණ ධර්මදේශනාවක්  
 පවත්වා මුගලන් ශාන්ත කළහ.

මීගාර තමාගේ බලය තවත් සවිමන් කර ගැනීමට පමා  
 නොවීය. සිංහල සේනාවේ සෙනවියා ඔහු විය. ඔහුගේ  
 සහෝදරිය සිංහල ද්වීපයේ අග බියොවයි. රාජකීය යුවලට  
 සිහිරි මුදුනක පිහිටි රජ මැදුරේ වෙසෙමින් රජානුශාසනා



කිරීමට ඔහු ඇරඹූ කෙළේය. මුගලන් මේ යෝජනාව පිළිගෙන රාජ්‍ය පාලනය කිරීමට ඔහුට නිදහස දුන්නේය. මුගලන් විශ්ලේෂ ජනයා අතර අවුරුදු අටලොසක් ගතකළ බැවින් ඔහුට රාජකීය යුතුකම් හා අයිතිවාසිකම් අමතකව තිබුණි. විවාහික රජවරුන් ගත වර්ෂ ගණනක් මුළුල්ලේ රාජ්‍යය කළ ජාතික සංස්කෘතියට ඔහු අමුත්තෙක් විය.

**ක්‍රිස්තියානි ධර්මදූත තොමසා**

අසල්වැසි ආසියාතික රටවල් සමඟ මෙරට සාමයෙන් ගත කළ පවුලක් අභ්‍යන්තර සාමයක් තිබුණේ නැත. මහවිහාරය (නා) අභ්‍යගිරිය අතර ඇති හේදය ජාතික ලක්ෂණයන්ගෙන් ඒකාබද්ධ භාවය බිඳ හෙලන්නට වන. ඒ අතර ඇත සිරියාව හා පුන්ද්‍රා රටේ සිට බල සම්පන්න කෙනෙක් සිංහල රජුට නගරයට පැමිණියහ. ඔහු අතිකෙක් නොව සිංහල රජුට ක්‍රිස්තියානි ධර්මය කියාදී ඔහු නැවතත් ක්‍රිස්තියානිය දැනුණු ගැනීමට සලස්වන මෙන් මිගාරගේ ඇරඹූ ලක්ෂණය. (තෝමස්) තොමසා නම් මේ පූජකයාගේ අවවාද පරිදි සිගිරි නගරයේ උතුරු දෙස ක්‍රිස්තුස් වහන්සේගේ ශ්‍රාවකයන් දෙලොස් දෙනාගේ නමින් ආරාමයක් කැපවූ එය ක්‍රිස්තියානි සභාවට පුජා කෙළේය.\* රාජ සභාවේ මවු බිසොව ක්‍රිස්තියානි ලබ්ධියට හැරවීමට ගත් සියලු උත්සාහයන්ට මී තොමෝ පටහැනි වූවය. එරිත ලක්ෂණයක් නැති ස්වකීය පුතණුවන්ගේ රාජ්‍යාදායෙන් සන්වෙනි වර්ෂයේදී මවු බිසොව ජන්මාන්තර ගත වූවය. ඊට පෙර ඇගේ මුතුන් මිත්තන්ගේ ආගමේ අනා ගත අවදනම් තත්ව ගැන ඇ තැවුණි.

**බුද්ධාගමේ ආරක්ෂක සිලාකාල කාශ්‍යප**

තොමසා සිංහල ද්වීපයේ ධර්මදූත මෙහෙය නිමවීමෙන් පසුව පුන්ද්‍රා රටේ පෙරලා පැමිණියේය. තොමසාගේ පැමිණීමෙන් පවුලු තුනවු සිගිරි පර්වත මස්තකයේ මිගාර

\* පර්සියානු ක්‍රිස්තියානි සභාවට අයිති තෙස්වාරිය තුරුසයක් අනුරාධපුර කටුගස් තිබේ.

ක්‍රිස්තියානි සංකේතය පිහිටෙව්වේය. මුගලන්ගේ රාජ  
 සභාවෙහි අමුතු පූජා වීඩි ගැන මහානාම සභවීරයන්  
 වහන්සේට මොනවට දැනුම් දී ඇත්තේ රජදරුවන්ගේ  
 දුබලතා හා අසාමාන්‍ය ගති ලක්ෂණ ගැන උන් වහන්සේට  
 අවබෝධ විය. රෝගාතුර මනසකට මුල් බැසගත්  
 කනස්සලක් හා මොළයේ ඇති අවුල් ජාලය මුලිනුපුටා  
 දූමීමට ඇති එකම ක්‍රමය බුද්ධ දේශිත අභිධර්මය මගින්  
 බව සභවීරයන් වහන්සේ දැනගත්හ. මෙය දැන්වහන්සේ  
 දේශනා කළෙන් මීගාර නියම පාලකයා වශයෙන් සිටියදී  
 තමාගේ සිංහාසනය සුරක්ෂිත බව දැනගත්තාක් මුගලන්  
 සිතේ ශාන්ත භාවය දැක්වීය. මේ තත්වය වැඩිකල්  
 නොපැවතුණි. ලම්බකර්ණ වංශිකයෙක් වූ සීලාකාල  
 කාශ්‍යප (අඹ සාමනේර යයි විකට නාමයක් ඇති)  
 බුදුරජාණන් වහන්සේගේ කේශධාතුව ගෙන දැමූවි  
 සිට සිංහල ද්වීපයට පැමිණියේය. බුද්ධාගම ආරක්ෂකයා  
 වශයෙන් සීලාකාල සමාදරයෙන් පිදිගන්නා ලදුව  
 සිංහාසනයට ඔහුගේ ඇති අයිතියට ලොව ප්‍රභව සහාය  
 ලැබුණි.

පුරාණයේ සිට ලංකාවේ වියවුල් ඇති අවසථාවල හෝ  
 විදේශීය ආක්‍රමණයෙන් රට මුදු ගැන්වීමට හෝ සහය  
 ලැබුණේ රෝහනයෙන්ය. එම ජනපදයේ සිට සීලාකාල  
 කුමරු සටන් ඇරඹුවේය. විරහියකු නොවූ මුගලන්  
 සීලාකාල හා මිත්‍ර ගිවිසුමකට බැඳෙනු කැමැත්තෙන් තම  
 සොහොයුරිය ආවාහ කරගන්නා ලෙසත් සිගිරියට අවුත්  
 සුවරජ තනතුර පිළිගන්නා ලෙසත් ඉල්ලා සිටියේය.  
 මුගලන්ගේ පිළියෙල කිරීමක් අනුව ඔහුගේ සහෝදරිය  
 සීලාකාලට හමුවූයෙන් ඒ දෙදෙන ඔවුන් නොවුන් හා පෙම්-  
 පසින් බැඳුණහ. සීලාකාල ආවාහ වීම පිණිස සිගිරි  
 පුරයට නොගියේය. ඒ වෙනුවට ඔහු යවකොල නම්  
 ගමේ කඳවුරු බැඳගෙන ඒ කුමරිය එතැනට එවනමෙන්  
 මුගලන්ට පණිවුඩ යැවීය. මුගලන් එසේ සොහොයුරිය



යවා සිලාකාලගේ කදවුර ආක්‍රමණය කෙළේය. සිලා-  
කාලගේ සෙනහ මදක් විසිරී ගියෙන් සිය ප්‍රධාන හමුද  
කොටස හා වටිනා මනමාලිය ද පිරිවරා ගෙන අනුරාධ-  
පුරයට පසු බැස්සේය.

යවකොලයේදී සිලාකාල අල්ලා ගැනීමට මුගලන් යෙදු  
උපාය ව්‍යාර්ථ වුණි. මුගලන් සිය සෙනගත් පුන්ද්‍රා රටින්  
ලැබුණු සේනාත් සමගින් අනුරාධපුරය ආක්‍රමණය කළේය.  
සිලාකාල මේ සේනා හා සටන් කිරීමට ප්‍රබල නොවීය.  
ඔහු කේශද කරඬුව සහවා තබා හට කණ්ඩායම් කීපයකට  
සැඟවී මුගලන්ට පහරදීමට අණකොට සවකීය ප්‍රධාන  
සේනාව ගෙන රුහුණට පලා ගියේය. දැන් පළමුවෙනි  
වරට මුගලන් සටනට යෙදුණේය. මුගලන් ඇටවූ උපාය  
මාර්ගයක් අනුව පුන්ද්‍ර සෙනවියා රුහුණට සිලාකාල  
ලුහුබැඳ ගියේය. සිලාකාල වෙන මගකින් ආපසු හැරී  
ගොස් පුන්ද්‍රා සේනාවට පිටුපසින් පහර දී සතුරු සෙනග  
සමුල සාතනයෙන් වැනසීය. පුන්ද්‍ර සෙනවියා මුගලන්  
උමතුවෙන් සිටිතැයි සිය රජුට පණවූඩ යැවීය.

මුගලන් කලකිරුණු වූවෙකි. සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවගේ  
රාජපාක්ෂික භාවය ඔහුට නැතිවීය. තවත් තම රාජ්‍ය  
සභාව තුළ කුමන්ත්‍රණ ඇතිවීම ගැනද බියෙන් පෙළෙන්නට  
වන. බුද්ධාගමේ ආරක්ෂාව පිණිස සිලාකාල කැරැල්ලක්  
ඇතිකිරීමේ භූත රූපය ද නිතර ඔහුගේ මනස ඉදිරියේ  
රහ පෑය. මිගාර තැනවූ ආරාමයෙන් ඇතිවන ක්‍රියාත්මක  
වහන්සේගේ බලයවත් තමා කළ අපරාධවලට ක්ෂමාව  
අයදී භික්ෂු සංඝයාවත් ඔහුගේ සතුරන් මැඩලීමට ඉදිරිපත්  
වූණේ නැත. යමරජුට වූ පොරොන්දුව ඉටු කිරීමේ  
කාලය පැමිණියේය. ඔහු එය යක්ෂාවිෂ්ට විලාසයකින්  
ඉටු කෙළේය.

### මුගලන් යම රජුන්ට බිලිපුද දෙයි

මිනිසුන් බිලි පුද දීමේ මේ ඩුර්ත ස්ථානය පැවැත්තේ  
රුවන්වැලි මහා සෑයටත් උපාරාමයටත් අතරය. මුරුන්ද  
යුද්ධ භටයෝ අනුරාධපුරයේ හා ගවි හතක් ඇතුළත

ඒ අවට ගම්වල ගෘහ මූලිකයන් මෙහි කැඳවාගෙන ආහ. වියරු වැටුණු රජ යමයා මෙන් ඇඳ පැළඳගෙන මුලසුනේ සිටියේය. මහාවිහාරික භික්ෂූන්ගේත් මුරුන්ද සෙබළුන්ට පරිභව කළ සිරිමහ බෝධිය රැක සිටි භික්ෂූනීන්ගේත් විරුද්ධතා මධ්‍යයේ ගෘහ මූලිකයෝ ගින්නෙහි ලා දවනු ලැබූහ. මහාවිහාරික සංඝ සඨවිරයන් වහන්සේට කළ හැකිවූ එකම දේ නම් මුගලන්ට උත්කෂේපනීය කර්මය කරවීමයි. උත්කෂේපන අක්ත පත්‍රය තමාට ලැබුණු බව පිළිගත් මුගලන් කිසිම භික්ෂුවකට කිසිවක් නොදීමට තමා තීරණය කරගෙන තිබෙන බවද දැන්වීය.

තමා එතරම් දූෂණයකළ අනුරාධපුරයේ විසීම මුගලන්ට ආරක්ෂා සහිත නොවීය. පුන්ද්‍රා බලසෙනග ඔවුන්ගේ රටට කැඳවා ගන්නා ලදුව මුගලන් සිය සෙනග ගෙන සිගිරි පුරයට පසු බැස්සේය. පුන්ද්‍රා රට වැසි ක්‍රිස්තු හක්තික නායක පූජක කුමා යම රජුට මුගලන් දුන් බිලි පූජා ගැන අසා ඔහු ක්‍රිස්තියානි ආගමෙන්ද අස්කරන ලදී. දුන් ඔහු දේව කෝපයට බියෙන් සිටියේය.

දඹදිවින් පැමිණි මහානාම සඨවිරයන් වහන්සේ මුගලන් හමුවීමට සිගිරි පුරට ගොස් මේ අවාසනාවන්ත රජුගේ මානසික තත්වය දැනගෙන අංගුලිමාල සූත්‍රය දේශනා කළසේක. මුගලන් ශාන්ත වූ මනස් ඇතිව උත්තම ආත්මනයන්ගේ කෝපය මැඩපවත්වන්නේ කෙසේ දැයි ඇසීය. ආත්මනයකු කෝපාවිෂ්ට නොවන බවත් යමකු කෝපාවිෂ්ට වෙතොත් ඔහු ආත්මනයකු නොවන බවත් සඨවිරයන් වහන්සේ වදාළහ. මීට පසු උන්වහන්සේ මහා සමය සූත්‍රය කීපවරක් දේශනා කළෙන් මුගලන්ගේ මුහුණේ ශාන්ත භාවය පැතිර ගියේය. දවස් කීපයක් ගතවූ පසු තමා නැවතත් බුද්ධාගම වැළඳගත් බව මුගලන් රජු ප්‍රකාශ කළේය. මෙය ඔහුගේ රාජ්‍යාදයෙන් හත්-වෙනි අවුරුද්ද වූයේය. හේද හින්නවූ රටක සීලාකාල කාශ්‍යපට බියෙන් ඔහු තව දස අවුරුද්දක් රජකම් කළේය.



### PART III

*The Story in the Culavamsa (Cv.) compared with that in Ananda-sthavira's Documents (As.)*

In our introduction we have commented on the credibility of the *Cv.* giving just one example of the hundreds of historical finds which confirm the accuracy of this chronicle. We have now to examine Geiger's statement "Not what is said but what is left unsaid is the besetting difficulty of Sinhalese history". We proceed to examine this lacuna with detailed references to the *Cv.*, comparing each such reference with its treatment in the *As.* We cannot do this *pari passu* because many persons, events and situations given in the *As.* comprehensively with all the attendant details, find no mention at all in the *Cv.* On the other hand every cardinal fact given in the *Cv.* is found in the correct place and perspective in the *As.*

The *As.* documents compel us to challenge the credibility of the *Cv.* in its presentation of the persons and events in what we may call the Dhatusena period. Before we discuss the domestic and the foreign affairs of Simhaladvipa in the regnal years (460-513 A.C.) of Dhatusena and his two sons as given in the *Cv.*, we have to take a close look at the working of kingship beginning with the formative years of Devanampiyatissa and attaining complete maturity with Mahasena.

The Simhaladvipa was, if not the first, one of the first constitutional monarchies of the world. In its development it did not encounter any

serious political grievances to be redressed with violence. In Mother India were tremendous upheavals and bloody conquests in the building of the Maurya Empire. In a memorable passage relating to a time antecedent to the Mauryas, Paranavitana describes two contemporary events with their consequences in sharp contrast: "While the horsemen led by Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire, were carrying everything before them on the plains of Western Asia, Gautama Buddha with a band of medicant monks, was going from place to place in the Gangetic valley, proclaiming the doctrine of No-soul and exhorting the people to conquer without the aid of weapons of any sort".\* Two centuries later Asoka abjured war and became the royal missionary of a religion with the greatest number of adherents in Asia today. His mission to Simhaladvipa converted a king and a kingdom into a Buddhist monarchy.

The crowning and the annointment (*abhiseka*) of Devanampiyatissa, the regalia for which was sent by Emperor Asoka, marks the foundation of a kingship based on the precepts of the Buddha. The Sangha or the Order who were always close to the people, were the guardians of the king's conscience. In the centuries following the reign of Devanampiyatissa, kingship in Simhaladvipa was guided and chastened by the Order of the Mahavihara.

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\* S. Paranavitana, *The Greeks and The Mauryas*, Colombo, 1971.



There was however, not a semblance of theocracy in this relation between King and Church. This kingly virtue is constantly reflected in the epilogue to every chapter of the *Mahavamsa* and the *Culavamsa*. As an example we quote the last line of the Chapter on King Mahasena: "Thus did he gather to himself much merit and much guilt". The guilt was Mahasena's destruction of the Mahavihara through his infatuation with the Mahayana doctrine of the Abhayagiri fraternity.

In a period of two centuries after the founding of the township of Anuradhapura, the Aryan settlers, now domiciled through ten or twelve generations, had arrived at a way of life with features quite distinct from those of the land of their origin. The centuries from Dutugemunu to Mahasena mark the consolidation of all the attributes of a sovereign power. There grew a vast complex of an administration supervised by the king and the *yuvaraja* to create and maintain an agricultural economy of high sophistication. A department of hydraulics\* and irrigation; a ministry of finance to control coinage, revenue, customs duties and fiscal matters; courts of justice, guilds for the fine arts, corporations for merchandise and shipping,

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\* Arthur C. Clarke, *Treasure of the Great Reef*, London, 1974, p. 199 of Ed.2. "The dry zone of Ceylon is dotted with such lakes, part of an irrigation system two thousand years old, yet still fulfilling the plans of its designers—the finest hydraulic engineers that the ancient world ever produced."

a secretariat for foreign relations and the regulation of the king's household, a land registry, were all of them impliedly in the national establishment, though not specifically mentioned except in the As. documents.

For five hundred years before the advent of Dhatusena, Anuradhapura was one of the great capitals of the world. Evidence of this status is seen in the records of embassies sent by the kings of Simhaladvipa to Samudragupta and Asoka in India, to the Chinese Court and to the Roman Emperors, Augustus, Claudius, Nero and Honorius. This traffic, diplomatic and commercial, is evocatively recalled by John Still:\* "So the Roman ships followed the monsoons like migrant birds, and for about four hundred years Ceylon was in this manner known to the sailors of Europe. Every harbour on the West Coast of the Island has yielded evidence of their commerce in the shape of Roman coins, the earliest dating from Nero's reign in the first century A.C., and the last from Honorius's in the fifth."

Side by side with material prosperity the spiritual consciousness of the people was given expression in the stupas that were built to the glory of their religion. The Thuparama a beautiful creation of modest dimensions was

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\* Ceylon Tea Propaganda Booklet, 1934.



followed by the Mahathupa (Ruvanveli), an inspiring structure of colossal proportions. A still larger stupa, the Abhayagiri, was followed by the Jetavana the tallest of them all.

In the decorations of these stupas and the fashioning of their *vahalkadas* (frontispieces) and entrances, the Sinhala sculptors and masons achieved a high degree of beauty with studied Theravadic restraint.

The Buddha image of this period owed its stylistic inspiration to the Amaravathi (Vengi) region of India. "In time", says Paranavitana, "the Buddha images made in Ceylon developed certain characteristics which are distinctive of the Sinhalese school. Buddha images in bronze, characteristic of Ceylon workmanship, have been found in Western Java, Celebes, Vietnam and Siam".\*

In the first two centuries of this era there were disputations in India on what the Master preached for the attainment of Nibbana. All disputations are beset with many nuances of opinion but there was a well-defined cleavage between the Hinayana (Theravada) doctrine and the Mahayana doctrine. The Mahavihara Order condemned the latter as a heresy while the Abhayagiri Order adopted it. This schism was aggravated by the royal patronage given to the Mahayana sect by King Mahasena who took the unwise step of destroying the Mahavihara

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\* S. Paranavitana, *Sinhalayo*, Colombo 1967, 1970, p. 23.

and endowing its wealth and revenue to the Abhayagiri fraternity. Mahasena's partisan conduct was to have disastrous results in the court and country of Dhatusena and his two sons. The Mahayanist doctrine by its very nature provided a tenuous foothold to Magian Christianity, covertly in the court of Kasyapa, and overtly in the court of Maudgalyayana.

We have attempted to give a picture of a kingdom and its people in what the historians call *The Early Anuradhapura period*. Between the end of this period and the coming of Dhatusena were twenty-seven years of disruption of the establishment at the hands of foreign invaders who wrested the sovereignty of the Island from the hands of her princes. The *Cv.* unceremoniously introduces Dhatusena, the redeemer, as one of two grandsons of a house-owner named Dhatusena of the Moriya clan. We now proceed to impugn the credibility of the *Cv.* with the help of the *As.*

Credibility can be shaken, diminished or even nullified in many ways. Glaring lacunas in an expected sequence of events erode the whole basis of a story. The lacunas of the *Cv.* can all be filled with the material of the *As.* documents. Credibility also suffers from any suppression of facts. What is suppressed in the *Cv.* is clearly expressed in the *As.* Silence over certain events is as reprehensible as suppression. Briefly, lacunas, suppression and silence all amount to constructive distortion.



Let us analyse the treatment of this subject in the *Cv.* in its different phases and then proceed to compare this treatment with that of the *As.* documents.

The *Cv.* has fourteen persons in its narrative of events relating to Dhatusena and his two sons (Vide Appendix A).

In the *As.* there are thirty-four persons, and every one of these has by some action, some participation of an event or even by the mere fact of living at that time, a bearing on and a connection with the story of the *Cv.* (Vide Appendix B).

In the *Cv.* Dhatusena is one of the "Ten Kings" to whom a part of the thirty-eighth chapter is devoted. His fortunes and misfortunes, good deeds and bad, are narrated in about 1,900 words.

In the *As.* Dhatusena is given five chapters of 47 pp. of 16,800 words in a Crown 4to book of today. The chapters are titled: 1. The Descent of Dhatusena, 2. Early Career of Dhatusena, 3. Dhatusena Decides to be a Parvata-*raja*, 4. Raising of Funds for Building the Palace, 5. Prince Kasyapa and the End of Dhatusena.

Let us now look at the contents of the two books. In the *Cv.* Dhatusena's genealogy is traced to his grandfather, also Dhatusena by name, but of no known origin, a *novus homo* of

the Moriya clan. Dhatusena's father was Dathanama whose wife was of the same caste. Dhatusena had a younger brother, Silatissabodhi by name. There is no mention of a sister.

In the *As.*, Dhatusena's ancestry is traced and named to thirteen generations, going back through the Kalabhra, Murunda, Mayura and Pundra dynasties to an Indo-Greek dynasty. Dhatusena's father was Damstranama-maharaja of Pundra. He also had the name Balapraya. Dhatusena's mother was Samgha, daughter of Mahanama, king of Simhala-dvipa. Dhatusena had a brother, Silatisyabodhi and a sister, Samgha.

### Comment

Dathanama of the *Cv.* is Damstranama-maharaja of the Pundra kingdom. The unnamed wife of Dathanama of *Cv.* is Samgha, daughter of Mahanama, King of Simhaladvipa in the *As.* There is no conflict in the identity of Dhatusena's father in the two documents.

Let us now turn to Dhatusena's career in the *Cv.* In the *Cv.* Dhatusena renounces the world and is befriended by his maternal uncle who sees supernal premonitions of Dhatusena's greatness. Dhatusena with his brother fights out from Rohana and clears the land of the invaders. He builds Kalavapi and other irrigation works. He supports the Order and the Mahavihara. He restores the festival of the



Bodhi Tree. He rebuilds the Temple of the Tooth and orders the writing of a commentary (*dipika*) on the *Dipavamsa*.

### Comment

There is no reference in the *Cv.* to Dhatusena's career in the Pundra and the Pallava kingdoms. The inevitable inference is that Dhatusena had never at any time left the shores of Simhaladvipa. We set down here what the *As.* says about his early career:

*As.*: Samgha, Dhatusena's mother who was the queen of the Maharaja of Pundra, hearing that her father, Mahanama, King of Simhaladvipa was suffering from a mortal illness, came to Simhaladvipa with her seven-year-old son, Dhatusena. Svatisena, son of Mahanama's second queen was chosen as King of Simhaladvipa. On the day before his appointment Samgha had him assassinated. She placed Dhatusena on the throne, appointed a General named Kalabhresvara to administer the kingdom on behalf of Dhatusena and returned to the Pundra kingdom with Dhatusena. Prince Purna killed Kalabhresvara, but the kingship passed from Purna to Parendra and Ksudra Parendra.

The *Cv.* says: "Mahanama's son Svathisena was sprung from the womb of a Damila woman, but his daughter Samgha was the (daughter) of the Mahesi. Now after Svatisena had begun to reign, he was killed by Samgha. The self-

same day she had the drum beaten and ceded (the sovereignty) to her husband, the umbrella bearer (of the king)".

### Comment

The fact of the murder of Svatisena is in both documents.

Returning to the As.: Meanwhile in India Dhatusena on the threshold of manhood fights for Simhavarman, the Pallava king and distinguishes himself in battle. As a reward Simhavarman gives his sister Prtha in marriage to Dhatusena and makes him a General of the Pallava kingdom. Dhatusena's mother Samgha, Queen of the Pundra king, dies. His sister Samgha marries Migara, General of the Pallava kingdom. In course of time Dhatusena's father, King of Pundra dies, and Dhatusena succeeds to the throne of the Pundra kingdom. Dhatusena is now *de facto* King of the Pundra country and *de jure* King of Simhaladvipa. He now removes himself from subjection to Simhavarman, the Pallava king who helped him to his feet to become a renowned warrior.

Dhatusena's Queen Prtha, sister of Simhavarman gives him a son whom he names Kasyapa. He now decides to wrest the sovereignty of Simhaladvipa from the hands of the usurpers. Making his brother Silatisyabodhi the care-taker King of Pundra he enlists an army of Pundra troops to overcome the Kalabhras, his enemies in Simhaladvipa.



He sails out of Mangalapura (Mangalore) with his Pundra army taking with him his queen Prtha and his two-year-old son Kasyapa. His force lands at Salavata (Chilaw) and defeats the army of Ksudra Parendra who was ruling at Anuradhapura. He is soon master of Rajarattha and Rohana.

On the advice of the Simhala ministers he weds Princess Samgha, daughter of Svatisena who was murdered at the instance of his mother Samgha. In due course a son is born to Samgha. He is named Maudgalyayana (Moggallana in Cv.).

We return to the Cv. which says: "Dhatusera had two sons. Kasyapa by a mother of unequal birth and the mighty Moggallana by a mother of equal caste, also a charming daughter who was dear to him as his life. On his sister's son he bestowed the dignity of Senapati and gave him his daughter (to wife)."

### Comment

There is no conflict of facts between the Cv. and the As. except that the Migara mentioned in the Cv. is not the Migara of the As. Dhatusena's sister Samgha was given in marriage to Migara, a general of the Pallava kingdom and it was Migara Jr. who married Samgha, Dhatusena's daughter. The identity of the two Migaras and the part of each in relation to Dhatusena have to await a time after Dhatusena had done many meritorius works for the religion, and

immense public amenities for the people. These services would have taken Dhatusena many years to accomplish. By then Dhatusena the warrior would have passed his prime. The peace and prosperity which he had brought to the country were soon to be shattered by unexpected events.

### The As.

On the basis of regnal years, it was after the nineteenth year from his original installation as King of Simhaladvipa that Dhatusena began to rule at Anuradhapura after defeating Ksudra Parendra. In the thirty-seventh year of his reign a dispute arose over a politico-religious concept relating to the status of Bodhi-*raja*. This imperial status in Buddhist Asia which was held by Simhala monarchs from ancient times (Vide Mahavamsa) was denied the Simhala king by the kings of Malaya and Sumatra. When Dhatusena protested, the reply was that Dhatusena the Moriya had usurped the Simhala throne, and that only a scion of the Lambakarna dynasty could regain the title.

The Abbot of the Mahavihara advised Dhatusena that he could acquire *Chakravarthi* status — a status higher than that of Bodhi-*raja* — if he practised the *Dasarajadharma*. Dhatusena was not satisfied, and was in distress when a certain Maga Brahmana (Magian priest) arrived in his Court of Anuradhapura. He had come from Persia by way of Sind and the Pundra



kingdom. He advised Dhatusena to aspire to the status of *Parvataraja* (*Mountain-King*)\*, a status acquired by Persian kings. This idea was not made known to the Abbot of Mahavihara. Dhatusena had accepted a concept inconsistent with a religious status, and with the Magian as his mentor he looked round for a suitable location.

Ancient Vessagiri, then known as Aksasaila was chosen as a site for a palace. The Brahmana gave the king an Indian architect so that the project would not be known by the people and the Order. The Magian was appointed a *Purohita* in the royal household and also made the Secretary of Finance. When he demanded financial support for the project from the Corporation of Merchants, the merchants appealed to the Order. The Mahavihara rejected the project, but the Maga Brahmana sought approval from the Abhayagiri Order and obtained it.

The concept of *Parvata-rajā* was deemed inconsistent with the tenets of Buddhism and the power of the Sangha. It caused such dissension in the Court that Dhatusena's queen, Samgha, the mother of Maudgalyayana warned him of possible conspiracy against their lives.

Meanwhile in India as well as in Malaya and Sumatra, Dhatusena was looked upon as a parvenu among Eastern royalty. Even his brother

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\* The concept of a Mountain King or God-King was a belief in ancient Persia, Antioch, Pagan and Cambodia.

Silatisyabodhi repudiated Dhatusena's overlordship of the Pundra Kingdom. Simhavarman the Pallava king proclaimed himself Parvata-rajā and threatened war if Dhatusena assumed that status. When Dhatusena retorted that two Parvata-rajās could exist, Simhavarman ordered Migara the brother-in-law of Dhatusena to bring Dhatusena captive to Kanchipura in the Pallava kingdom.

Migara with his wife, son and daughter came with an army from Mahamallapattana (Mahabalipuram). He landed at Mahatirtha and was defeated and taken prisoner by young Kasyapa. Migara was imprisoned, but gave a pledge of loyalty to Dhatusena who made him a General of the Simhala kingdom.

Kasyapa after his baptism of fire against General Migara, asked his father for the position of Yuvaraja. Dhatusena prevaricated, saying that it was a matter to be discussed with the Ministers of State. Kasyapa decided for himself that the post of Yuvaraja was reserved for Moggallana. He also suspected that his father had expected him to be defeated and slain by Migara. Simhavarman who had despatched Migara expected the same fate for Migara. Migara had turned Christian, and Simhavarman could not tolerate a General professing an alien faith.

So it was that Kasyapa departed from Simhaldvipa in secret, fortified by his mother's benediction: "May thy paths be propitious." Dhatusena,



on the information of his spies tried to intercept him and bring him to trial on a trumped-up charge of treason, but Kasyapa had boarded a ship at Salavata and gone to the Pundra country, the king of which was his paternal uncle, Silatisyabodhi who had shaken off his tutelage under Dhatusena.

### Comment

Kasyapa saw hostility all around him. His only refuge was his mother, but she was powerless against the machinations of the First Queen who was naturally interested in Maudgalyayana's succession to the throne. He had offended his father by his importunate request to be Yuvaraja. He now decided to save himself for a future day. He had now to strike before he was struck; and India was his supply base for the offensive.

### The As.

Kasyapa's uncle Silatisyabodhi helped him to recruit an army, and in seven months' time he landed at Salavata to invade the Simhala kingdom. Dhatusena went out with his army and encamped at Sripura (near Hiripitiya in the Kurunegala District) to meet the invader on the following day. Sohrab and Rustum was to be enacted in a different clime with the roles in reverse. Dhatusena's army was taken unawares and destroyed. Dhatusena killed himself. Kasyapa did not know that his father was leading the Simhala army.

## The Cv.

We return to the Cv. where we left off Dhatusena near the end of his reign. At the height of a successful kingship he had his sister burnt naked in the affair of the whipping of his daughter by his son-in-law Migara, son of General Migara.

## Comment

Before we give the As. version of this episode, certain questions arise in our mind. How old was Dhatusena at the time of this episode? At what stage of Dhatusena's life did Kasyapa demand the hoarded riches? How old were Migara (of the Cv.) and his wife? Incidents such as these have had their household scenes in human history, but the participants were young and aggressive. We are now not being genteel with questioning credibility; we now give the lie direct. As Geiger has suggested: Dhammakitti wrote this from the sources that were available to him, and it will require a miraculous discovery to know what Dhammakitti's sources were. The whole episode lacks plausibility, and in our bewilderment we turn to the As.

## The As.

Dhatusena's daughter Samgha from his Pallava Queen Prtha, lived with her mother in the palace. Dhatusena's sister Samgha and her son Migara, son of General Migara who came from Pallava, would have been frequent visitors in Dhatusena's court, Dhatusena's daughter fell



in love with the young Migara. Dhatusena did not like this union, but they married after the intercession of Samgha's mother. Samgha had been beaten by Dhatusena before her marriage for improper behaviour with the young Migara, and she carried an unhealed wound on her thigh.

The mother-in-law had tried unsuccessfully to convert Samgha to Christianity, and had developed a dislike to the daughter-in-law. One day the mother-in-law asked Migara to punish his wife, which he did. A single blow opened up the old wound, and Samgha who was with child reported the matter to Dhatusena. Dhatusena promptly reported it to the Court of Justice, By the judgment of the Court, Dhatusena's sister was burnt alive for attempting to destroy Samgha's child in her womb. The husband Migara went into hiding and escaped death. *This episode took place when Kasyapa was away in the Pundra country collecting an army to invade the Sinhala kingdom.*

**As.:** Resumed from the death of Dhatusena:

Prince Kasyapa paid his last honours to his father, arrived at Anuradhapura and met his mother Prtha, the Pallava Queen. Both were in sorrow over Dhatusena's death. Kasyapa's mother recounted in detail the machinations of Moggallana's mother to kill Kasyapa. Even so, Kasyapa decided to offer Moggallana the post of Yuvaraja, but Moggallana's mother had other ideas. We resume the narrative in the *Cv.*

## Cv.

"Thereupon Kasyapa raised the umbrella of dominion and destroyed the people who sided with his father, having every scoundrel as his comrade. Moggallana whose intention it was to fight him, betook himself, as he could raise no forces, to Jambudvipa to find troops there."

## Comment

It is clear that the people were unitedly behind the new king, Kasyapa, even though he had "every scoundrel as his comrade". It is ironical that "the mighty Moggallana" — as he was called when the author of the *Cv.* introduced him to the reader — "could raise no forces". This prince who had nothing in his antecedents to commend him, is called "mighty".

## The As.

Samgha, the mother of Maudgalyayana set sail for Suvarnapura with her son and her partisans, among whom were the Admiral of the Fleet and his forces.

## Comment

The *Cv.* makes no mention of any connection that Samgha, the Simhala Queen had in Jambudvipa. Are we to take Jambudvipa as the Greater India including the countries of South-East Asia which had come under the Hindu-Buddhist influence? Anyway the *Cv.* says nothing



of a place in Jambudvipa where Moggallana could raise forces or of any foreign potentate who would help him.

### The Cv. on the activities of Kassapa :

But as he (Kassapa) was unable to slay his brother, he betook himself through fear to Simhagiri which is difficult of ascent for human beings. He cleared (the land) round about, surrounded it with a wall and built a staircase in the form of a lion. Thence it took its name (of Simhagiri). He collected treasures and kept them there well protected and for the (riches) kept by him he set guards in different places. Then he built there a fine palace, worthy to behold, like another Alakamanda and dwelt there like (the God) Kuvera. He kept the *Uposatha* festival and cultivated the *Appamanna*, he took on himself the pious duties and had books copied. He made images, built alms-halls and the like in great numbers: always he lived in fear of the other world and of Moggallana."

### Comment

The munificence of Kasyapa to the people and the Order, and his own religious devotion are given in detail in both documents. The whole point of the significance of Simhagiri and the Alakamanda thereon which the *Cv.* has described so faithfully and brilliantly, is emasculated by the assertion that the rock was a fortress with which a king could keep Simhaladvipa for himself. The science and strategy of war ranging

from offensives to retreats had developed over the years from Dutugemunu to Mahasena. In those times, as in the last days of the Kandyan kingdom, wars were won on the ground, not in or behind fortresses.

**The As.** on Kasyapa's activities after the flight of Moggallana:

King Kasyapa went to the port of Mrttika-kapata to intercept Samgha and Moggallana, but failed to do so.

On his return journey he stopped at the village of Abhivardamana, and through a clear sky he saw "in the southern direction a solitary mass of rock looming high over the horizon". He inquired what it was; and was told that it was the Aksapavata, and that his father had begun to build a palace on its summit. He visited the rock and conceived in his mind the whole complex of construction which his engineers were to achieve in a few years.

Kasyapa wanted peace in his dominion; he released from punishment the partisans of Moggallana.

Kasyapa-maharaja was consecrated King in the year 1017 *Bud.* 473 A.C. The Sanghasthavira of the Abhayagiri Vihara, the Maga Brahmana and all the notables of the National Assembly attended the coronation ceremony. "A short while after this", says the As. "the citizens assembled in the courtyard in front of the palace, and shouted at



the top of their voices 'Victory to King Kasyapa' and began waving their shawls above their heads. King Kasyapa rejoiced greatly that the citizens were hailing him with victory, mounted to the 'Lion Cage' of the palace (*Simhapanjara*), and showed himself to the assembled multitude, raised his right hand and signalled that he had acknowledged their greetings."

### Comment

Both the *Cv.* and the *As.* agree on Kasyapa's munificence to the Order and to the people. Kasyapa led a deeply religious life. Keeping the *Upositha* festival and cultivating the *Appamanna* are spiritual exercises, and not merely duties incumbent on a Buddhist. They are the seekings of a man with calmness of mind and deep religious insight. We are reminded of Mathew Arnold's poetic reference to the words of the Imperial sage, Marcus Aurelius: "Even in a palace life may be led well."

We now hark back to what Wilhelm Geiger said about the scant notice of Sigiri by the author of the *Cv.*: "How explain the fact that of so mighty a work as the fortress of Sigiri not a single detail is described? Even the name is only mentioned in four places."

### The *As.*

In contrast to the *Cv.* the *As.* has a whole chapter titled: *The Building of Simhagiri as an Alaka on Earth.* This chapter is part of the narrative

of the reign of Kasyapa. In addition to this there is a longer chapter titled: *An Ancient Description of Simhagiri*. It would be interesting to compare this description with Paronavitana's records on Sigiri and its environs as excavated and conserved by him.

It was Dhatusena who first conceived the idea of a symbolic site for a Parvata-rajā. Now his son exalted that conception to suit the Imperial status of Kuvera, which he assumed by proclamation.

Kasyapa's instructions for the work preliminary to the placement of the forepart of a massive lion are as follows: "At present there is a ridge of earth of some size on the northern side of Aksaparvata, along which access is had to its summit. After the work of building the palace and the laying out of the pleasure garden has been completed, that ridge of earth should be removed, the site levelled, and there should be made the forepart of the body of a lion, as if coming out of the interior of the rock. A flight of steps entering through the mouth of the lion and coming out of the back, and a path leading to the summit should be constructed above that, along the side of the rock. If this be done, the people of the future will be amazed at the achievement of an impossibility".

Kasyapa ruled Simhaladvīpa from the new capital city of Simhagiri calling himself Kuvera and his Queen, Sri Devi, sister of Migara Jr. The Abhayagiri Fraternity with their accommodating



Mahayana outlook accepted the God-King; the Mahavihara ridiculed him. The Kalabhra Emperor in India objected to this assumption of the status of Kuvera, saying he was Parvataraja. When Kasyapa rejected the protest, Skandavarman of Pallava invaded the Island and was defeated and taken prisoner. The Pandyan king too invaded Simhaladvipa and was defeated by Kasyapa.

To finance this colossal undertaking of Simhagiri, Kasyapa introduced a new monetary and fiscal system. He minted his own money and declared a number of free ports. These measures enriched the royal coffers but they angered the kings of India, Malaya and Sumatra who had already looked upon Kasyapa as an upstart as Dhatusena was considered in his time.

**The Cv. Moggallana returns to Simhaladvipa:**

“Now in the eighteenth year the royal hero Moggallana came hither at the information of the Niganthas with twelve distinguished friends from Jambudvipa and collected troops at Kuthari-vihara in the Ambatthakola District.”

Now follows the meeting of the two armies on a ground with a swamp in it, the desertion of Kasyapa's troops and Kasyapa's suicide on the field of battle.

### **Comment**

Evidently, Moggallana had failed to collect forces in Jambudvipa. There is not a word of explanation in the Cv. who the Niganthas were,

who the twelve distinguished friends were, and what distinctive qualities they had. This evasion is exposed in the *As*.

### The *As*.

The *As*. reveals the "twelve distinguished friends" as the twelve disciples in the second coming of Christ with Moggallana as the god-head of the visitation. The visitation is described naively and vividly in the *C*.

### The *As*.

Let us now with the *As*. follow the trials and tribulations of Moggallana through a period of eighteen years, living sometimes under the eye of Eastern royalty, but most of the time among savage tribes given to totemic and demoniac practices. In the process, Moggallana's mind was attuned to the belief that he could get back his kingdom through the help of "whatever gods there be".

In the Yaksa country where he was taken prisoner, Moggallana had seen hundreds of humans sacrificed to Yama. He believed that a vow to this god to do the same thing in Simhaladvipa would get him his kingdom.

The king of Suvarnapura in return for a pledge that Moggallana would be his vassal, provided him with troops and ships to invade Simhaladvipa. The time of embarkation however, depended on a condition precedent: the death of Kasyapa. To this end a conspiracy was



hatched with the Maga Brahmana Jr. as the chief instigator. Kasyapa's Queen, General Migara Jr's sister and Migara himself were the other participants. Moggallana had to give a pledge that he would be a Kraistava (Christian) if he became the King of Simhaladvipa. This he did; he was not meticulous about the source of divine help. Mother and son now awaited news from Simhaladvipa.

Meanwhile Kasyapa held court on Simhagiri. We quote a few lines from the dust-jacket of Christopher Trehearne's *The Golden River* which was written before the As. documents were discovered: "The rock has loomed large in snatches of poetry and fiction for nearly fifteen centuries, but it has never been peopled, never been impregnated with the spirit and the character of the indomitable Kasyapa and the Sinhalese race."

We give below five extracts from the As. because they are relevant to the circumstances in which the God-King met with his death.

### **The As.**

"In the time of Kasyapa, there was no permission for anyone except King Kasyapa and his Queen to ascend to the top of the rock of Simhagiri. The members of the Bodyguard together with serving men, first ascend the rock and cause all necessary arrangements to be made satisfactorily. When they return with all the serving men who had gone to the top of the rock and announce that it is safe to ascend the

rock, King Kasyapa, together with the Queen and attended by his retinue, arrives at the Plateau of Red Arsenic, and having halted the retinue and the members of the Bodyguard there, and himself unarmed, enters the Lion's mouth together with the Queen, issues out from the back of the Lion, and from there goes to the top of the rock. The King and Queen should go to the top on foot. Therefore it is not possible for an old king or queen to remain reigning on the rock of Simhagiri.

“When King Kasyapa together with the Queen, had ascended to the top of the rock, the retinue and members of the bodyguard remain guarding the place. If anything becomes necessary in the night to King Kasyapa, he sounds a bell kept near the Lion's mouth with a cord that is attached to it.”

“When the day had dawned, King Kasyapa attired in royal robes and adorned with royal ornaments, in company with the Queen similarly attired and adorned, arrives on the Stage of the Theatre and presents himself to those who are assembled in the Theatre.

“‘If King Kasyapa be killed at a time when you would be spending the night with him on the summit of the rock, no guilt can be proved against you’ General Migara told his sister. He then came back and saw the Maga Brahmana and informed him that it appeared as if it would be possible to have Kasyapa slain by his sister.



“From that date, the senior Queen of Kasyapa began to conduct herself in an extremely affectionate manner towards him, and when the day on which he should go to the top of the rock arrived, she remarked: ‘I cannot remember the day on which I climbed to the summit of the rock with you.’ King Kasyapa told her to be in readiness to go to the summit of the rock. In the night, the bell which was close to the Lion’s mouth sounded. When an attendant went to the door of the outer wall, the Queen came in a state of great agitation, said that His Majesty was suddenly taken ill, and ordered him to summon a physician and to have His Majesty taken down (to the Plateau). The captain of the royal retinue together with a few companions climbed to the top of the rock, brought King Kasyapa to the Plateau of Red Arsenic, made him lie down there, and stood there expecting the arrival of the physician. The physician arrived and pronounced that His Majesty had expired.”

## The Cv.

We now come to the return of Moggallana in the *Cv*. “Moggallana carried out the ceremonies of burning, glad at his brother’s death. He took the whole of the (royal) treasure and came to the capital. When the bhikkus heard of this event, decently clad in their upper and nether robes, and having cleansed the vihara, they

ranged themselves according to rank. When Moggallana came to the Mahameghavana\*, as the King of the Gods to the Nandana (grove), he made his great army turn back outside the elephant wall. He approached the community, greeted it respectfully and pleased with this community, he as a mark of distinction, presented it with his umbrella. The community returned it to him. After he had entered the city he visited the two other viharas (Jetavana and Abhayagiri) honoured also the community there and having attained to the great kingdom, he protected the world in justice”.

“But at the thought: high dignitaries have attached themselves to my father’s murderer, he gnashed his teeth with rage — therefore he received the name Rakkhasa — and had more than a thousand of these dignitaries put to death. He cut off their ears and their noses and sent many into banishment. When he heard the (sermon about) the pious doctrine he became peaceful in spirit and well-minded and instituted an alms-giving as a rain-cloud (pours a shower of rain) over the earth.”

“And the Senapati Migara who had sent him reports in a fitting manner, instituted a dedication festival for the Abhiseka-Buddha according to his desire”.

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\* The part in the south of Anuradhapura where the Mahavihara lay.



“After Moggallana had carried out meritorious works he went to his death in the eighteenth year (of his reign).”

### Comment

The cardinal points of the return of Moggallana—except the battle episode and the suicide of Kasyapa in the *Cv.* — are the same in both documents. In the *Cv.* though the same ground is covered as in the *As.*, there is wary non-disclosure; there are enigmatic statements and a studious effort to pull the wool over the eyes of the reader with regard to the enormous guilt of Moggallana. This is laid bare in a stark and awesome manner in the *As.*:

Maudgalyayana, now a demented prince and his mother Samgha landed in Simhaladvipa after eighteen years of exile, General Sulaksmāna, Commander of the Simhagiri garrison went out to battle on behalf of Dhatuseṇa, Kasyapa's son whom Sulaksmāna had placed on the throne. Sulaksmāna was defeated through a misunderstanding by his troops in circumstances which were similar to those under which Kasyapa is reported in the *Cv.* to have been deserted by his troops. Sulaksmāna killed himself. Prince Dhatuseṇa fled to the Pundra Kingdom. The Maga Brahmana ascribed this unexpected turn of events to the intervention of the Almighty, and proceeded to baptize Maudgalyayana but not his mother. Migara meanwhile had taken possession of Simhagiri which

was still the capital city. From this position of power he came to terms with Maudgalyayana who promised to marry Migara's sister, the widow of Kasyapa in return for Migara's support of his claims to the throne.

Maudgalyayana now called on the Mahavihara, the Abhayagiri Vihara and the Jetavana Vihara and informed the three Sanghasthviras that he had decided to acquire the Empire of Righteousness.

The Abbots thought that he meant Bodhirajya. They were soon to be disillusioned.

A large concourse of people including many dignitaries had assembled to meet the new king. Maudgalyayana assumed the guise of Yama by placing in his mouth a contrivance to show four canine teeth and seated himself on the throne which was placed to the north of the Great Svarnamali Stupa. A ditch of fire had been prepared to prevent the assembly from dispersing at their own will. After a drum-head inquiry as to who remained loyal to him and who had been loyal to Kasyapa, he ordered that the condemned people should be cast into the inferno, heedless of their protestations. After the first few were cast into the fire, the monks interceded, and the soldiers refused to carry out Maudgalyayana's orders.

But he was not to be balked in his demoniac mission. On the next day, at the instigation of a Christian priest who had been a Maga Brahmana, Maudgalyayana decided to destroy the



Mahavihara including the Bodhi Tree and the residences of the Fraternity. Maudgalyayana's mother rushed to the Bodhi Tree in her home garments, took her stand at the entrance of the Bodhigara and cried out: "You cannot place your hands on His Lordship the Bodhi Tree unless you kill me first'." Maudgalyayana persisted and gave the order: 'Cut down the Bodhi Tree even if it is necessary to kill my mother, do so.' This infuriated the soldiers. They seized Maudgalyayana and the Christian priest, went to the inferno and first cast the priest into it. His mother saved Maudgalyayana from the same fate. He was plainly demented, and the Sanghasthavira of the Mahavihara calmed him with a sermon. (Vide Cv.: "When he heard the sermon about the pure doctrine he became peaceful in spirit and well-minded.")

General Migara came down from Simhagiri with his sister, Kasyapa's widow, and after giving her in marriage to Maudgalyayana, invited them to live in the palaces on Simhagiri until a suitable palace was built for them in Anuradhapura. After four months on Simhagiri, Maudgalyayana received a priest, Tomasa (Thomas) who had come from the Suriya (Syria)\* kingdom via the Pundra country. He preached the Christian doctrine to Maudgalyayana and made him a *Kraistava* again.

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\* There are Syrian Christians in Kerala today.

Maudgalyayana was now secure in kingly power with the Christian Migara stoutly behind him, but his writ did not run far from Anuradhapura. In the words of Paranavitana: "A new and important character now comes into the story of Simhagiri. He is none other than the prince referred to in the *Culavamsa* by the epithet of Silakala and the nickname of Ambasamanera. Our document (*As.*) which draws its material from an ancient biography of that prince, introduces him by the personal name of Kasyapa. It was this Kasyapa, the second king by that name, who dismantled the fortress of Simhagiri."

Kasyapa (Silakala) however, was not strong enough to defeat Maudgalyayana's forces, and after he was worsted in an encounter at Yavakola (Dambulla) he betook himself to Rohana beyond the reach of Maudgalyayana.

Maudgalyayana was now free to perform his human sacrifice to Yama. This he did with ruthless competence. Paranavitana drawing from the *As.* documents says: "The superstitious beliefs which made a prince brought up in a humane and civilized court consciously imitate the practice of savages owing to a mistaken conviction that such practice was necessary to avert disaster for himself, the deliberate planning of this ceremony of savages, its carrying out in the midst of an assembled multitude, personally supervised by the king in an attire and a guise calculated to strike terror into their



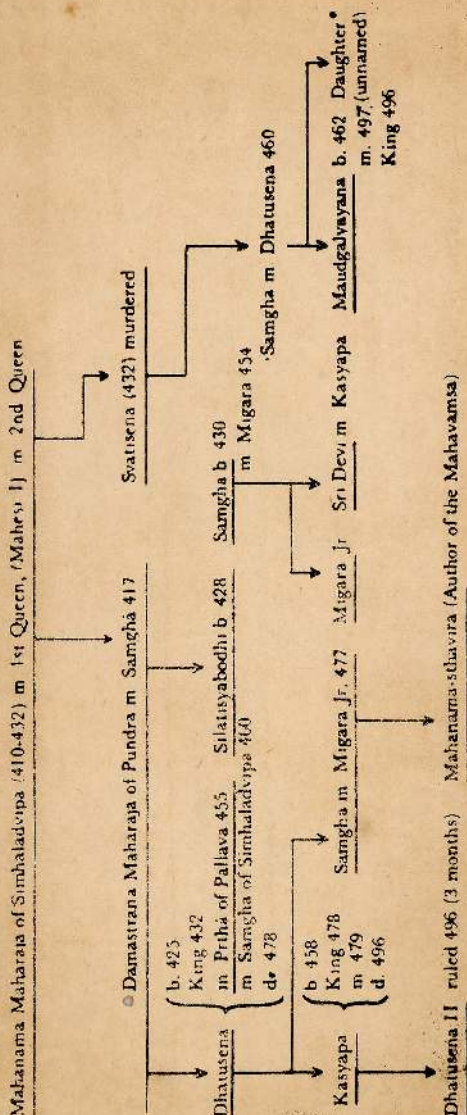
hearts, the utter callousness to the shrieks of the human beings on whom bodily pain was inflicted as well as those of the bystanders who were forced to witness it, and the fact that this savagery was enacted between two sanctuaries built to the memory of a teacher whose creed, followed by the vast majority of the people, enjoined on the votaries to refrain from taking the life, not only of human beings, but even of the smallest animal, make this scene too horrid even to think of. We can therefore appreciate the attitude of the chroniclers who have drawn a curtain of silence across this episode, and have consigned it to oblivion. Thereby they have not only spared the modern student of history much disgust of mind, but also whitewashed the character of Maudgalyayana, and made that monarch appear in a favourable light to the people of this age."

Maudgalyayana now found that his sacrifices to Yama had offended the Christian church. He also realised that his kingship was in danger with a Buddhist contender commanding allegiance from a large body of the people. He had fallen between two stools. He went to Mahanama-sthavira who with the sermon from the *Angulimala Pitaka* brought him back to his senses and to the religion he had so grossly defiled. He died in the seventeenth year of his reign.





APPENDIX B — Genealogical Table drawn from Ananda-Sibavira's document



Notes: (1) Samgha, daughter of Mahanama.  
 Samgha, Dhatusena's Simhala Queen.  
 Samgha, Dhatusena's daughter by the Pallava Queen.  
 (2) The years are reckoned from the Cv





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