EARLY HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN CEYLON

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M.A. Ph.D

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(From Earliest Times up to Mahāsena)

by

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Other works by the Author

Kathāmālinī

Vanagata Kumariya

Dhanavatā

Gaṅgārohaṇa Varṇanāwa (*English Translation*)

Lankā Itihāsayē Britānya Yugaya

Adyāpanaya hā Samājaya

Britānyayin Yaṭatē Pävati Lankāva

Rasa Basa Book I

Rasa Basa Book II

Gī Kavē Vagatuga

2—H 13757—2,004 (5/68)

Dedicated to

the Memory of my Father

'Pitu pādaṃ namāmahaṃ'

PREFACE

THE scope of this book has been to examine the field of educational activity in Ceylon from earliest times up to the reign of Mahāsena. Education has often been defined as the whole life of a community viewed from the particular standpoint of learning to live that life. Karl Manheim asserts this same aspect when he says that education should be examined against the background of the social order in which it operates. As has been stated in the body of this study, it is hardly necessary here to stress " the fact that many underlying factors and influences shape the thoughts, ideals, practices and traditions of any nation." Thus, the social, political, religious and cultural background of the Island has been examined here as a pre-requisite, a useful preliminary, to help ascertain how far these factors have been responsible for the pattern of education that prevailed in early Ceylon.

This study may broadly be considered to contain two distinctive sections, the background, and the story proper. Chapters one to six are devoted to examining the 'total life' of the nation, that is, the background ; while the rest, chapters seven to eleven, have been devoted to examining the effect of that background, that is, the story proper. On the whole it may be said that this study has focussed attention on the fact that education in early Ceylon has emanated from the religious teacher, the *bhikkhu*, starting with *thera* Mahinda himself. Even the secular form of education that may have prevailed in this country in earliest times, has been traced to the *vihāras*, *ārāmas* and such other residences of early *theras*, although we have isolated instances of teachers like Paṇḍula who may be considered to have functioned outside the pale of religious life. Thus, although the title of this book is *Early History of Education in Ceylon*, it may really be even spoken of as *Early History of Buddhist Education in Ceylon*, because this study indicates most convincingly, the predominant part played by the *bhikkhu*, the monastery and the Buddhist religion, in shaping and sustaining the early educational pattern in the country. However, the title has been retained, since the present study forms but a part of a major study of the history of education in Ceylon the author is presently working on.

As far as I am aware, no systematic attempt has been made so far to examine comprehensively the educational history of early Ceylon, although the later periods have received sufficient attention from students of education and history from time to time. This book may thus be considered a first attempt in this field. As such, it is possible it may contain many shortcomings and defects, not only because it is a pioneer attempt, but also because this period lacks sufficient source material with which to build a co-ordinated and comprehensive narrative. However, in the absence of any research findings in this field, this work may be considered to offer at least some ray of light to illumine, however ineffectively, this dark gap.

In this study, after the introductory background survey, an account of the early educational institutions of the country has been given in chapter seven. An account of the early scholars and teachers whose name and fame could be recovered from the early sources appears in chapter eight. In the next chapter, an attempt has been made to examine the curriculum, methods of teaching and the education of women in early Ceylon. Chapter ten deals with the subject of arts and crafts. In the last chapter of the book, that is, in chapter eleven, an attempt has been made to examine the general standard of education in the country, and the literary activity during the period under review. A chronological table has been appended at the end of the book so that the reader would be able to observe and understand the various incidents in this story in relation to the political, social and other influences that were operative at the time.

This book embodies the thesis I submitted in November. 1966, to the University of Ceylon, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education. In preparing it for the press, it has however been re-examined in the light of further researches in the field being carried out by the author.

Finally I wish to most sincerely thank my colleagues and friends in the University of Ceylon and elsewhere, who very kindly assisted me in the preparation of this work. Ven. Dr. H. Saddhatissa, M.A., Ph.D., presently chief incumbent of the London Buddhist Vihāra, and one time Professor of the Department of East Asian Studies, University of Toronto, Canada, was responsible for constantly encouraging me to pursue to the end this work, while I was doing certain research studies at the British Museum in London. He was also helpful in getting for me the comments of Prof. Basham and Dr. Miss Horner, appearing elsewhere in this work. Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama, B.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Pali and Buddhist Civilization, University of Ceylon, had been a constant companion in the preparation of this work. He was not only helpful in checking up the many references to Pali works, but had also helped in the laborious task of reading through the entire proofs. Prof. J. Tilakasiri, B.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Ceylon, helped me in the ardous task of checking up the Sanskrit sources. Prof. F. R. Jayasuriya, B.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Economics, Vidyālankāra University, Kelaniya, read through a portion of my manuscript, suggesting certain changes in the style of my English. Mr. Denzil Peiris, Editor of the *Ceylon Observer*, was kind enough, in the midst of his busy engagements and official duties, to wade through the entire manuscript, correcting inaccuracies and suggesting better forms of expression than the ones I had used. Chapter two of this work, *The People*, appeared as an article entitled *The Early Peoples of Ceylon*, in the Journal, *Indo-Asian Culture*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, April 1968. I am very thankful to the Editor of the *Indo-Asian Culture*, Mr. S. L. Ghosh, for granting me permission to include same in this work. Mr. I. G. A. Wijeratne, B.A., Lecturer, Junior University, Polgolla, typed for me the Index to this work ; and Mr. Walter De Silva, Proprietor, National Photographers, Maharagama, was good enough to type for me a very considerable portion of the

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I am greatly thankful to all these friends whose ready co-operation and assistance not only lightened my labours, but also expedited the completion of this work.

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September, 1969

THE AUTHOR

Dr. U. D. Jayasekera is a senior University teacher of wide professional experience, having been in the fore-front of the educational activities in the country for over two decades. At present he is the President of the National Education Society of Ceylon, and Acting Head of the Department of Education of the University of Ceylon. He has been at one time, a member of the Advisory Board on Education set up by the Department of Culture; and a member of the Ceylon Academy of Letters, representing the University of Ceylon. He has been the Editor of the Sinhala organ of the Society of which he is the President. He has attended a number of local and international educational conferences both as a participant and as a Leader. He has often been featuring in the Third Programme over Radio Ceylon (now Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation) on Educational and allied subjects, besides being a regular contributor to the local papers, both English and Sinhala, on subjects of Education, Culture and Eastern History. He is the author of a number of publications, including a set of readers and supplementary readers for schools.

SOME COMMENTS ON THE BOOK

" This book describes the work of education and cultural edification, performed by thousands of devoted *bhikkhus* over the ages, which has, more than anything, made the civilization of Ceylon what it is today. It does not, however, confine its attention to education in the narrower sense. Much of the contents of this work have a bearing on the whole social life of the country and also on its relations with India and other parts of Asia. Its author has approached his task with affectionate sympathy, but also with scholarly understanding and critical acumen. I can wholeheartedly recommend it to all those interested in the beautiful island of Ceylon with its predominantly Buddhist culture. "

Professor of Asian Civilization
Department of Asian Civilization,
The Australian National University,
Canberra.

A. L. Basham,
B.A., Ph.D., D.Lit. (Lond.), Hon. D.Lit. (Kuruk).

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" The theme of early education in Ceylon, whether in the monastery, in a teacher's house, or at one's mother's knee, is truly inexhaustible. This book on various of its aspects and their backgrounds comes at a time when interest in all matters concerning S. E. Asia is constantly increasing."

I. B. Horner,
M.A., Hon. D.Lit.,
President, Pali Text Society, England.

3—H 13757 (5/68)

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	—	*Anguttara-aṭṭhakathā*
A.C.	—	After Christ
A.D.	—	Anno Domino
AIC	—	*Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*
ante	—	before, above
Apast.	—	*Āpasthamba Dharmaśāstra*
ASCAR	—	*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Annual Report
ASIR	—	*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Inscription Register
ASWI	—	*Archaeological Survey of Western India*
B.C.	—	Before Christ
B.E.	—	Buddhist Era
Bk.	—	Book
BSOAS	—	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CALR	—	*Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*
CBJRAS	—	Ceylon Branch of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
CCC	—	*Ceylon Coins and Currency*
ch./Chap.	—	Chapter
Chaps.	—	Chapters
CHI	—	*Cambridge History of India*
CHJ	—	*Ceylon Historical Journal*
CJScG	—	*Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G
CLR	—	*Ceylon Literary Register*
Co.	—	*Company*
CSHI	—	*Cambridge Shorter History of India*
CUP	—	Cambridge University Press
Cv	—	*Cūlavaṃsa*
D	—	*Dīghanikāya*
DA	—	*Dīghanikāya-Aṭṭhakathā ; Sumangalavilāsinī*
DHNI	—	*Dynastic History of Northern India*
DhpA	—	*Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā*, Commentary on the *Dhammapada*
Dhv	—	*Dhātuvaṃsa*
Dip	—	*Dīpavaṃsa*
do.	—	same
DPPN	—	*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*
Dpv	—	*Dīpavaṃsa*
DSL	—	*Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*
edn./ed.	—	edition, editor
edtd.	—	edited
e.g.	—	for example
EHBC	—	*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*
EI	—	*Epigraphia Indica*

ELPAI	—	*Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India*
Eng.	—	English
ERE	—	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*
Etc.	—	*Et cetera*
Ex. Mhv.	—	*Extended Mahāvaṃsa*
EZ	—	*Epigraphia Zeylanica*
f./ff.	—	following
Feb.	—	February
fn.	—	footnote
fns.	—	footnotes
Fr.	—	Father
Ggr.	—	Geiger
GSL	—	*Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*
HBC	—	*History of Buddhism in Ceylon*
HIL	—	*History of Indian Literature*
HPL	—	*History of Pali Literature*
IA	—	*Indian Antiquary*
Ibid.	—	Ibidem
i.e.	—	that is
IHQ	—	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
Infra	—	below
Intro.	—	Introduction
IPSBK	—	*Itā Pāraṇi Sinhala Baṇa Kathā*
J	—	*Jātaka*
Jan.	—	January
JASB	—	*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Bengal
JCBRAS	—	*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JGIS	—	*Journal of the Greater India Society*
JNESC	—	*Journal of the National Education Society of Ceylon*
JPIS	—	*Journal of the Pali Text Society*
JRAS	—	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRASCB	—	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Ceylon Branch
JRASGB	—	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Great Britain
JScG	—	*Journal of Science*, Section G
l.	—	line
Lit.	—	Literature
ll.	—	lines
Lond.	—	London
Ltd.	—	Limited
M	—	*Majjhima-nikāya*
MA	—	*Majjhima-Aṭṭhakathā*
Mah	—	*Mahāvaṃsa*
Maitra Sam	—	*Maitrayaniya Samhita*
Mbv	—	*Mahābodhivaṃsa*
Mhv/Mv	—	*Mahāvaṃsa*

Mhvg	—	*Mahāvagga*
M.R.E.	—	Minor Rock Edict
Mss.	—	Manuscripts
Mṭ/MṬ/Mvṭ	—	*Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā*
NESC	—	National Education Society of Ceylon
No.	—	Number
Ns	—	*Nikāyasangrahaya*
NS	—	New Series
OCC	—	*On the Chronicles of Ceylon*
op. cit.	—	in the work quoted
OUP	—	Oxford University Press
p.	—	page
P.	—	Pali
P.E.	—	Pillar Edict
PLC	—	*Pali Literature of Ceylon*
PLL	—	*Pali Literature and Language*
pp.	—	pages
P.S.	—	Post Script
pt.	—	part
pts.	—	parts
PTS/P.T.S.	—	Pali Text Society
Puj	—	*Pūjāvaliya*
Raj	—	*Rājāvaliya*
RAS	—	Royal Asiatic Society
RASCB	—	Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch
R.E.	—	Rock Edict
Rev.	—	Reverend
Rgv	—	*Rig-Veda, Ṛgveda*
Rsv	—	*Rasavāhinī*
Sahv	—	*Sahassavatthuppakaranam*
Sans.	—	Sanskrit
Satap. Br.	—	*Satapatha Brāhmana*
SBB	—	*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*
SBE	—	*Secred Books of the East*
Sdhl	—	*Saddharmālankāraya*
Sec.	—	Section
Secs.	—	Sections
Sgh.	—	Sinhalese
SHB	—	Simon Hewavitarana Bequest Series (Colombo)
Sihv	—	*Sīhaḷavatthuppakaranam*
Sin./Sinh.	—	Sinhalese
Sk./Skt.	—	Sanskrit
Smp	—	*Samantapāsādikā*
Sn	—	*Suttanipāta*
supra	—	above
Taittir Sam	—	*Taittiriya Samhita*
Tr.	—	translation

UCH	—	*University of Ceylon, Ceylon History*
UCR	—	*University of Ceylon Review*
UVAk	—	*Uttara-vihāra-Aṭṭhakathā*
v	—	verse
VbhA	—	*Vibhanga-Aṭṭhakathā*
Ven.	—	Venerable
vide	—	see
viz.	—	namely
Vol.	—	Volume
Vols.	—	Volumes
Vsm	—	*Visuddhimagga*
Vsp	—	*Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*
vv.	—	verses
Y.M.C.A.	—	Young Men's Christian Association

EARLY HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN CEYLON

CHAPTER 1

SOURCES

A fair number of books[1] and articles[2] dealing with the history of education in ancient India has been published by educationists and scholars. On the other hand, although Ceylon possesses an unbroken recorded history from ancient times up to the present day, which has prompted students of the ancient history of Ceylon to remark that " there is hardly a corner of the Indian continent of whose history we know so much as we do of that of the Island of Ceylon,"[3] no serious attempt has been made by any educationist or scholar to systematically trace the early history of education in Ceylon, except perhaps for one brief and incidental survey confined to a single chapter in a study devoted to a different subject.[4] Thus in the absence of an adequate treatment of this subject an attempt has been made here to examine education in Ceylon from the earliest time up to the 4th century A. D.

It would be hardly necessary here to stress the fact that many underlying factors and influences shape the thoughts, ideals, practices and traditions of any nation. Educational activity in Ceylon must have started at least from the advent of Buddhism, if not earlier ; yet, her early historians and chroniclers were not much concerned with, and devoted little attention to, social or educational aspects of the nation unless they happened to be incidentally related to the main theme of religious history they were principally interested in. A good deal of caution therefore has to be exercised with regard to a number of inferences drawn. The source material is meagre and of a fragmentary nature; it does not always help to give a full and detailed picture. Nevertheless every effort has been made to present as full and as authentic a picture as possible from the material available.

The main sources on which this study has been based may be classified under four groups.

A. Literary— (*a*) Material of Ceylon origin
(*b*) Foreign
B. Epigraphic
C. Numismatic
D. Archaeological

A. Literary.—(*a*) Material of Ceylon origin

1. Dīpavaṃsa[5]–The *Dīpavaṃsa*, the earliest extant Pāli chronicle of Ceylon, of unknown authorship, deals with the history of the Island from earliest times up to the reign of Mahāsena in the 4th century A.D. Malalasekera[6] is of opinion that it is not the work of a single author but of several authors. For this he cites the authority of a verse in the introductory portion of the *Dīpavaṃsa*.[7] Law, on the other hand, basing his argument on the expression, 'suṇātu me' appearing in the

text contends that the *Dīpavaṃsa*, in its extant version is the work of a single author.[8] He adds further that the *Mahāvaṃsa* too starts similarly. Considering the nature of ancient chronicles, it is possible that there is an element of truth in both these seemingly contradictory statements. "The chronicle was particularly calculated to be the vehicle of history in early times, when literary facilities were scanty and, when the work of history had to be done in fraternities by a succession of very unequal hands. We do not look for shape or symmetry in any chronicle, more specially in chronicles which have grown without a plan, by the work of many hands labouring without concert. After a period of accumulation the compiler enters and then for the first time the whole collection is rendered subject to the law of one mind. But his operation turns chiefly on selection or rejection and the new chronicle shows where modern interests have ejected the more ancient."[9] If we accept this view which has today gained much currency in the work of textual, and literary analysis and criticism, even though 'suṇātu me' no doubt refers to a single person, it may not necessarily allude to one single author or even the final compiler, but only to one out of the many hands responsible for the collection. In this case the inference drawn by Malalasekera is as true as that of Law, if in the latter instance we are to consider the single author as the compiler. Malalasekera also draws our attention to another opinion where the authorship of the *Dīpavaṃsa* is ascribed to the final work of two nuns Sīvalā and Mahāruhā from India.[10]

With regard to the date of composition or compilation of the *Dīpavaṃsa* Oldenberg assigns it to some time between the beginning of the fourth century and the first third of the fifth century.[11] Malalasekera is in agreement with this view.[12] In the *Cūlavaṃsa* we are told that Dhātusena ordered the *Dīpavaṃsa* to be publicly recited at the annual Mahinda festival.[13] This indicates that at that time it was available in some coherent form. Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*[14] cites a number of verses from the *Dīpavaṃsa* as traditional authority for his point of view.[15] Geiger too mentions the fact that the *Dīpavaṃsa* was known to Buddhaghosa, and as such assigns its composition to the period between 352-450 A. C.[16] In the *History of Ceylon* compiled by the University of Ceylon, the date of the *Dīpavaṃsa* has been assigned to 'about the middle of the fourth century A. C.'[17] However, the author of the article in the *History of Ceylon* in a different contribution two years later considers the date of the chronicle to be the fifth century A. C.[18]

As the title itself indicates, the *Dīpavaṃsa* contains the history of the *dīpa* or the Island of Ceylon. Oldenberg is of opinion that the *Dīpavaṃsa* borrowed its material as well as the mode of expression, and even whole lines from the *Sīhaḷa-Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa*.[19] Both Geiger[20] and Malalasekera[21] concur with this view. The chronicle embodies the oral tradition of the country handed down from the time of the advent of Buddhism to the Island. With Geiger the *Dīpavaṃsa* represents the first unaided attempt made at creating an epic from the traditional source material available,[22] while Winternitz calls it a feeble attempt.[23] According to Law, *Dīpavaṃsa* contains many stages of development concluding at different important historical events.[24] There is an apparent lack of uniformity, an unevenness of style, incorrectness of language and metre and numerous repetitions, apart from

many other imperfections which indicate it to be the outcome of a series of traditions collected together as a first attempt to record a connected history of the Island. Geiger, refuting Franke who refuses to recognise any historical value in the *Dīpavaṃsa* states that it forms the vehicle of an old historical tradition.[25] Both he[26] and Malalasekera[27] are however prone to credit much literary grace to the *Dīpavaṃsa*. While accepting the weakness apparent in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Law calls it a piece of mosaic on the whole and adds that therein lies its rugged beauty and grandeur.[28]

Law also points out the fact that the *Dīpavaṃsa* alone mentions two consecrations of Aśoka, first under the title of Aśoka and the second, under the title Piyadassi, six years after the first. He draws our attention to the account in the *Divyāvadāna*, where the name of Aśoka is mentioned as a personal name given by his father at the instance of his mother. And he points out that the truth of the *Dīpavaṃsa* account is borne out by Aśoka's own inscription[29] which confirms the *Dīpavaṃsa* tradition.[30] Thus we see, however imperfect or dull the literary style, its presentation or narrative it may be, the value of the *Dīpavaṃsa* as a work of history is great.

Law says that according to the introduction, the contents of the *Dīpavaṃsa* ended with the story of Mahinda,[31] which is also the final stage of the historical introduction in the *Samantapāsādikā*.[32] Geiger is of opinion that the *Samantapāsādikā* account is based on the *Dīpavaṃsa*,[33] although the *Samantapāsādikā* makes it clear that it followed the Sinhalese *aṭṭhakathā*.[34] Turnour thinks that the *Dīpavaṃsa* is the *Mahāvaṃsa* of the Uttaravihāra fraternity.[35] The *Ṭīkā* to the *Mahāvaṃsa* refers to a commentary on the *Dīpavaṃsa*, called *Dīpavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*[36] which is no longer extant. Unlike the *Mahāvaṃsa* the *Dīpavaṃsa* keeps very close to its sources and includes two or even three versions of the same episode taken out of different versions of the source material it followed. Thus with all its drawbacks, both literary and grammatical, the outstanding virtues of the *Dīpavaṃsa* are its narrative which is scarcely adorned with extraneous matter or poetical embellishments, and its faithfulness and closeness in time to its source material. This is therefore, a very useful source of information for our study.

2. **Mahāvaṃsa**[37]–When Sir Alexander Johnston, Chief Justice and first member of His Majesty's Council in Ceylon desired to obtain "the most authentic information that could be obtained relative to the religion, usages, manners, and feelings of the people who professed the Buddhist religion on the island of Ceylon",[38] the *theras* who were called upon to provide him this information presented to him three books which included the *Mahāvaṃsa* as the main authority. These three books, according to their considered opinion contained " the most genuine account which is extant of the origin of the Budhu religion, of its doctrines, of its introduction into Ceylon, and of its effects, moral and political, which those doctrines had, from time to time, produced upon the conduct of the native government, and upon the manners and usages of the native inhabitants of the country."[39] Thus from earliest times, with the displacement of the *Dīpavaṃsa* as a result of the appearance of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the authority and the value of the latter chronicle has always remained outstanding.

Sylvain Levi by comparing the Chinese annals with the Ceylon works has found that beginning at least from the 4th century A.D. the Ceylon chronicles are, as historical sources, "solide, sinon impeccable."[40] It is now unnecessary to dwell on the reliability of the Ceylon chronicles since the scepticism expressed by scholars like R. O. Franke and V. A. Smith has been ably refuted by many scholars.[41]

The *Mahāvaṃsa*, like the *Dīpavaṃsa* is composed in Pāli verse and deals with the history of the Island from its legendary beginnings up to the reign of Mahāsena. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā*, a commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa* called *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*[42] the author is a *thera* named Mahānāma. He is said to have lived in the *Dīghasaṇḍa-senāpati-pariveṇa*[43] which belonged to the Mahāvihāra. According to some scholars[44] Mahānāma is an uncle of Dhātusena, who ruled Ceylon during the 5th century A.D. The Ceylon tradition refers to an uncle of Dhātusena who had entered the monastic life, and also a monk named Mahānāma who lived at the monastic residence called Dīghasaṇḍa.[45] Turnour accepts the tradition that this Mahānāma and the uncle of Dhātusena are identical and that he wrote the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[46] Malalasekera on the other hand, while stating that the evidence available is insufficient to establish the identity, states that the tradition however has not yet been proved false.[47] Paranavitāna also states that Turnour's identification cannot be accepted as proved.[48] Geiger on the other hand rejects the theory completely, and considers the two personages as two different individuals.[49] The name Mahānāma appears twice in a list of Ceylon *theras* in an inscription at Buddhagayā,[50] and the opinion is expressed that the first Mahānāma mentioned therein is the same as the author of our *Mahāvaṃsa*.[51]

The *Mahāvaṃsa*, the first portion of which was written in about the fifth century, now contains portions which were added to it in later times.[52] We are here only concerned with the first part of the chronicle, chapters 1 to 37, which is really the portion known as *Mahāvaṃsa*. The rest is today known as the *Cūlavaṃsa*, especially after Geiger.[53] The *Mahāvaṃsa* portion of the chronicle ends at chapter 37, v. 50 according to both Geiger[54] and Siddhārtha.[54] Law, on the other hand contends with this view and argues that this portion of the *Mahāvaṃsa* concluded with an account of the reign of Dhātusena. In other words, it contained not thirty seven chapters, but thirty eight.[55]

In the introductory portion of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the author speaks of the *Mahāvaṃsa* compiled by the *Porāṇas* mentioning its defects, and asserts that his work is free from such faults.[56] The author of the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* identifies this original work as the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* of the Mahāvihāra written in Sinhalese.[57] It appears various names have been given to this original source, such as, *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā*, *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*, *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa* of the *Aṭṭhakathā*, *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa*, or even as *Aṭṭhakathā* etc.[58] This tradition which was committed to writing in the first century A.D. was no doubt the source for both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* following only his subject matter faithfully, produced his work embellishing it with many a *kāvya* device, handling his language and metre with much dexterity.

There is a great deal of similarity between the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, especially in the section dealing up to the time of Mahinda.[59] This is explained by the fact that the respective authors followed the same original sources and that too, very faithfully. Franke, while rejecting the view that *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Samantapāsādikā* and *Mahāvaṃsa* were based on any ancient *Aṭṭhakathā*, believes that both the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* are based on the *Dīpavaṃsa*.[60] Law also believes that the whole foundation of the *Mahāvaṃsa* is the *Dīpavaṃsa* and that the diction itself was modelled on the concluding chapters of the *Dīpavaṃsa*.[61] Whether the *Mahāvaṃsa* is based on the *Dīpavaṃsa*, or whether both works drew their material from the same earlier tradition, the *Dīpavaṃsa* being the earlier work, it need hardly be doubted that it was available to, and was consulted by the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* in the composition of his work.

Malalasekera does not consider the *Mahāvaṃsa* a 'literary performance of the first order.'[62] On the other hand, Geiger,[63] Barua[64] and Law[65] all seem to accept it as a literary work of high value.

The historical value of the Ceylon chronicles has now been unreservedly accepted.[66] It may also be mentioned that the Ceylon chronicles were the first to give us information about Candragupta, grandfather of Aśoka and with this information, backed by the data provided by the Greek accounts, particularly of Megasthenes, the date of the Buddha's *parinibbāna* has been worked out.[67] This, according to Winternitz is the most important date in the history of Indian literature.[68] Norman too testifies to the value of the information found in the chronicles.[69] A number of synchronisms from the data available in the chronicles has assisted historians in calculating and establishing the chronology of various events.[70] The correct identification of the authorship of the Aśokan inscriptions and consequently all the wealth of information regarding Aśoka gathered from the inscriptions after the deciphering of the script by Princep, was made on the information available from the Ceylon chronicles.[71] Thus we see the importance of the chronicles,[72] the *Mahāvaṃsa* in particular. It is indeed the principal source of information for any history of the Island. Thus it is of prime importance in our study despite many drawbacks and the one-sided nature of its contents.

3. **Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā**[73]—When the *Mahāvaṃsa* appeared after the *Dīpavaṃsa* it assumed such popularity and importance that it not only superseded the earlier work, but also prompted authors to gradually produce supplementary works based on it. A glossary known as *Gaṇṭhipadattha-Vaṇṇanā*[74] was compiled to explain difficult words and phrases in the text. This work is no more extant. Another work is the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* also called *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, a commentary on the original text. Incidentally this commentary refers to a similar commentary on the *Dīpavaṃsa*, called *Dīpavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*[75] which we have already observed, has not

come down to us. According to Geiger, *Māhavaṃsa-Ṭīkā* was written about 1000-1250 A.D.[76] Malalasekera contests this view, and argues the date for it as between 6-9th century A.D.[77] *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā*, as mentioned earlier, is a Pāli commentary of the first 37 chapters of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. It contains very valuable information for the study of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, since it expands, elaborates and adds to the contents of the original text. It has incorporated into it material collected from the Mahāvihāra, Uttaravihāra and popular tradition of the times,[78] apart from giving us some idea of the main sources of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā*.[79] *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* has supplied us with information regarding the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa* itself.[80] The authorship and the date of the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* are not precisely known, although the work has been generally placed between the seventh and the tenth century.[81] Speaking about the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, Malalasekera comments : "Whoever be the author of the MṬ. and whatever be the exact date of its compilation, it must be admitted that, for the age in which it was written, the work has been done with remarkable ability and efficiency. The author displays great critical acumen in the way in which he has handled his task. Variant readings have been noted, possible alternative explanations given, and shades of meanings in words have been distinguished with such meticulous care as any modern exponent of textual criticism may well be proud of...The quotations given from the UVAk.* are evidence of a wide tolerance and a keenness for truth and precision."[82] Some of the sources for the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* are as old as the sources for the *Mahāvaṃsa* itself, hence its usefulness as a source book for this study.

4. **The Pāli Canon**[83]–When Mahinda arrived in Ceylon in the 3rd century B.C.[84] he brought with him the Pāli texts which he later taught orally to the Sinhalese *bhikkhus* who entered the Order as a result of listening to his *dhamma* discourses.[85] These texts were finally committed to writing in 1st century B.C.[86] One of the reasons for such a step being taken was the famine which threatened the life of the *theras* who were the repositories of the *dhamma* at the time.[87] We may however safely presume that the Pāli texts on the whole remained unchanged in their original contents[88] by the time they were written down. Thus the Pāli texts depict mainly the life and times of the Indian sub-continent of the pre-Mahinda period.[89] The social, political and religious conditions that prevailed in India influenced Ceylon from earliest times. It might be surmised that when Mahinda arrived in Ceylon he brought with him a knowledge of the various institutions and customs that prevailed in India during his time, and introduced them to Ceylon. Thus the information that could be gathered from the Pāli texts regarding educational matters has been incorporated into this study wherever relevant.

5. **The Pāli Commentaries**[90]–When Mahinda began the task of teaching the newly ordained Ceylon *bhikkhus* the Pāli *Tipiṭaka*, and the commentaries, there gradually arose round them a collection of explanatory works in Sinhalese. This commentarial literature[90] kept on growing through the centuries from the time of Mahinda at least as far as the 1st century A.D. From internal evidence it appears they ceased to grow by about the middle of the 1st century A.D. : of the *theras*

*e.g. *Uttara-vihāra-aṭṭhakathā*

mentioned in a commentarial work for their views regarding interpretations of particular points in the Pāli canon, the latest belongs to the 1st century A.D.[91] However, it may be surmised that this growth was not fully arrested until the original Sinhalese commentaries were translated into Pāli in the 5th century A.D. The original Sinhalese commentarial literature and canonical texts were made use of by Buddhaghosa in compiling the Pāli commentaries.[92] In the colophon appearing in the *Samantapāsādikā* the commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka, Buddhaghosa tells us he began his work in the twentieth year of a king who had the epithets of ' Sirinivāsa ' and ' Siripāla ', and completed the work in the twenty first year of this king who was his royal patron.[93] The *Cūlavaṃsa* account of Buddhaghosa mentions him as having arrived in Ceylon during the reign of Mahānāma.[94] In an inscription at Monarāgala and another from Tissamahārāma, king Mahānāma is given the epithet *Tiripali*,[95] which, in old Sinhalese is equivalent to the Pāli *Siripāla*. Thus there is both literary and epigraphical evidence for the time and labours of Buddhaghosa in Ceylon.[96] *Sirinivāsa* or *Siripāla*, king of Ceylon has been shown as a contemporary of Accuta Vikkanta, king of Coḷa.[97] The *Samantapāsādikā* introduction[98] details the technique employed by Buddhaghosa in his works.

The Pāli commentaries indicate the presence therein of much material of social and religious interest culled from the Sinhalese *aṭṭhakathās* and included by Buddhaghosa in his works. These are of special significance to us. In this study the main works only of Buddhaghosa have been consulted and the works of other commentarians like Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla have been left out, since they are far less useful than the works of Buddhaghosa as evidence for social and religious history of the times in Ceylon.[99]

6. **Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa**[100]—This is a collection of 82 stories, although the printed edition of the book contains only 77 stories.[101] The book is written in Pāli prose and interspersed with verse although there are some stories exclusively in Pāli verse. *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* has been found in Burma[102] and finally printed in Ceylon in 1959 A.C. From internal evidence we observe that the author of the work is a *thera* named Ācariya Dhammanandi of the Paṭṭakoṭṭivihāra in Kaṇṭakasolapaṭṭana.[103] It is not possible to identify the author or these place names from this meagre evidence. Buddhadatta in the introduction to his edition of the text surmises that this book was written at Suraṭṭhadesa, and if so, he says, it is the only Pāli book written in that country that has come down to us.[104] It is not clearly known whether the author is a native of Ceylon or not.

There is a Prākrit inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa which mentions the dedication of a shrine to " the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kasmīra (Kashmir), Gandhāra, Chīna, Chilāta (=Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaraṁta (=Skt. Aparānta), Vaṁga (i.e., Bengal), Vanavāsī (i.e., North Kanara), Yavana (?), Damila (?), ...lūra and the Isle of Tambapaṁṇi (i.e., Ceylon)."[105] Some of these names are mentioned in the Pāli chronicles[106] and the *Milindapañha*.[107] They are discussed in the *Epigraphia Indica* also.[108] Mention is made in the inscription of a Sīhalavihāra,[109] which, as the name indicates, may have been a *vihāra* founded by the Sinhalese or intended as a residence for the Sinhalese *theras*.[110] There is also mention of a

cetiyaghara dedicated to the *theras* of the Kulaha-vihāra and a shrine for the *bodhi* tree at the Sīhala-vihāra, a stone *maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the great *cetiya* at Kaṇṭakasela (=Skt. Kantakaśaila).[111] "Not only the mention of a Sīhaḷa-vihāra, but also the dedication of a chetiya-ghara to the theriyas or 'fraternities' of Tambapaṁṇi point to relations which must have existed between the Buddhist community of Dhaññakaṭaka and their co-religionists in the Isle of Ceylon. The existence of such relations can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of the Island and the Kaṇṭakasela, the great emporium in the bank of the Kistna river."[112]

Kaṇṭakasolapaṭṭana as found in the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* is given as Kaṇṭakasela in the printed edition of the inscription and it has been equated to the Sanskrit Kaṇṭakaśaila.[113] We need not here discuss the portion *-paṭṭana* which means a sea-port.[114] It seems more plausible to consider the name of the place as Kaṇṭakasola and not as Kaṇṭakasela especially because of the fact that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa where the inscription was found formed a part of the Coḷa country, sola being equivalent to the word Coḷa. From the above evidence it transpires that Kaṇṭakasolapaṭṭana was a Coḷa sea-port in the Kistna river close to Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Warmington[115] tentatively identifies the river Maesolos or the Mais as known to the *Periplus*[116] with the Kistna river.

The inscription at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa mentions that the works dedicated by the donee Bodhisiri " for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world "[117] were " caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, the thera Chaṁdamukha, the thera Dhaṁmanaṁdi and the thera Nāga."[118] Now according to *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa*, *thera* Dhammanandi lived at Paṭṭakoṭṭa-vihāra in the Kaṇṭakasolapaṭṭana. The residence (*vihāra*) of *thera* Dhammanandi is referred to as the Sīhala-vihāra at Kaṇṭakasola in the inscription. This leads us to identify the Paṭṭakoṭṭa-vihāra of the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* with the Sīhala-vihāra of the inscription.

King Mātharīputa in whose reign the inscription was erected has been placed by Burgess to belong to 3rd or 4th century A.D., and perhaps even earlier,[119] and identified by him as King Mādharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata of the Ikhāku dynasty,[120] and placed in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Bühler places king Purisadata in the 3rd century of our era " before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Veṅgi. "[121] If this is tenable we have to place our author in the 3rd century A.D. From the evidence adduced so far, it seems reasonable to conclude, contrary to what Buddhadatta has to say,[122] that the author of *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* was a Ceylon *thera* of the 3rd century A.D. (or 4th century A.D.) residing in the Coḷa country at the place called Sīhala-vihāra situated at the port of Kaṇṭakasola by the bank of the Kistna river close to Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. And the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* was written while he was resident in the Coḷa country, at the place mentioned above.[123]

If the above conclusion is tenable, it leads us to a more interesting information regarding our literary history. The *Dīpavaṃsa* assigned to the 4th century is considered as the earliest extant literary work produced in Ceylon.[124] Then the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* has to be placed anterior to the *Dīpavaṃsa*.

Buddhadatta[125] surmises that the book has been written before the period of the *aṭṭhakathās*, that is, before Buddhaghosa of the 5th century A.D. From internal evidence we observe the latest king to be mentioned in the book is Mahāsena[126] (334–362 A.D. or 274–301 A.D.). This would prompt us to place the work in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.

Of the stories contained in the printed text, as many as 68 relate to Ceylon and the rest to India.[127] Buddhadatta draws our attention to certain grammatical and idiomatic inaccuracies appearing in the text.[128] The author having drawn his material from tradition current in his time has incorporated into his work a fair amount of information regarding social, economic and religious conditions prevailing in the Island during his period. These have been made use of in this study at appropriate places.

7. **Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa**[129]—The *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* is a collection of Pāli stories, 95 in number. There is no specific internal evidence to determine its author or the period of its compilation. The title of the book itself has received comments from different scholars.[130] The earlier view that 'sahassa' meant a thousand has since been given up. It is now considered to mean 'joy' or 'delight' and not 'thousand'. This view receives considerable support when we observe that *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* itself contains only 95 stories, not a thousand ; and that *Rasavāhinī* considered to have been based on the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* has as part of its title, 'rasa' meaning 'sweet', 'joy', 'delight' or 'taste' in agreement with 'sa-hassa'.

Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa has been compiled from the material found in the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* into which has been incorporated stories arisen in various places in Ceylon which were kept alive by *arhants* of old.[131] Geiger says that this book appears to be a collection of legends and folk-tales.[132] As regards the language, the contents and arrangement of stories in the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*, scholars have made comments in their works.[133] The *Mahāvaṃsa*[134] and the opinion expressed by *theras* of the Uttaravihāra in Abhayagiri[135] have been referred to in the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*. Further, there is reference to the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* in the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā*.[136] These would prompt us to date the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* posterior to the *Mahāvaṃsa* and anterior to the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā*. The *Mahāvaṃsa* is placed in the 5th century A.D. and the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* generally between 8–9 century A.D. This would place the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* to a date between 5–9 century A.D.

Though *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* does not shed any light on the authorship of the work, the author of *Rasavāhinī* mentions the fact that his work was based on a Pāli work written by a *thera* Raṭṭhapāla of the Guttavaṃka-pariveṇa attached to the Mahāvihāra.[137] *Thera* Raṭṭhapāla had translated into Pāli, an original work which was in Sinhalese.[138] It was in order to remove many a defect found in Raṭṭhapāla's work that Vedeha *thera* composed the *Rasavāhinī*,[139] which, as the author himself asserts, is only a revision and a re-edition of Raṭṭhapāla's work. Neville in his catalogue suggests the existence of the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* in Burma and holds the view that it formed the basis for the *Rasavāhinī* and that it was the work of the Dhammaruci sect.[140]

The *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* has since been printed in Ceylon, and rightly, as Neville says, it had been recovered from Burma. It may perhaps be possible that the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* as it is at present, is the same as *thera* Raṭṭhapāla's Pāli work mentioned in the *Rasavāhinī*.[141] From internal evidence it can be now shown that *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* is not a work of the Dhammaruci sect.[142]

Unlike in the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa*, *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* is mostly in prose and very often its stories do not contain even a single Pāli verse. The stories deal with incidents both in India and Ceylon. Regarding some of the stories connected with Ceylon, Buddhadatta has listed certain narrations which are represented differently in other books.[143] There is also a fair amount of information of historical and socialogical interest found in this book which is not available from other sources.[144] As has been noted already, the sources of the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* are shrouded in ancient lore and the stories of *arhants*, hence the contents go back to very early times in the history of Ceylon. Thus the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa* is an important source book for our study.

8. **Rasavāhinī**[145]—The *Rasavāhinī* is a collection of 103 stories written in Pāli prose and interspersed with Pāli *gāthās*. The work is divided into two parts, the first containing 40 stories connected with India; and the second, the remaining 63 stories connected with Ceylon. The colophon of the book[146] contains information regarding the author, according to which, Vedeha *thera*, the author is represented as belonging to the family of Vippagāma in Ceylon and as a pupil of *thera* Vanaratana Ānanda. He is also spoken of as being a 'forest dweller' and as having composed the poem *Samantakūṭa-vaṇṇanā* (descriptive poem on the Samantakūṭa), and written a grammar in Sinhalese (*Saddalakkhaṇa*) on the Sinhalese language. It is generally believed by scholars that *Saddalakkhaṇa* mentioned here is identical with the well-known *Sidatsaṅgarā*,[147] although Paranavitāna has pointed out that the two are not identical.[148]

In the introduction to the *Rasavāhinī* it is mentioned that the stories were based on events that had taken place here and there in the country which were narrated by *arhants* and recorded originally in Sinhalese by the *theras* of old.[149] This original Sinhalese version of the stories is said to have been translated into Pāli by *thera* Raṭṭhapāla of the Guttavaṃka-pariveṇa of the Mahāvihāra.[150] And this Pāli

version was revised by *thera* Vedeha, because, as he mentions, it contained too many flaws. Thus emerged the *Rasavāhinī.*

The date of the *Rasavāhinī* is ascribed to the 13th century by Geiger,[151] 10th century by Buddhadatta,[152] 14th century by Malalasekera,[153] Law[154] and Rāhula[155] while Paranavitāna makes out that the author of *Rasavāhinī* could not have lived later than the 12th century.[156] From what has been narrated as prologue to the *Rasavāhinī* in the introductory portion of the book itself we observe without reserve that the sources go back to a very early period in the history of Ceylon, that is, the time of the *arhants.* " The original work had very probably drawn the material from the Aṭṭhakathā. Hence the frequent quotations with ' *tenāhu porāṇā.* ' " [157]

The evidence for the ancient nature of the material contained in the *Rasavāhinī* has been discussed by Rāhula.[158] It is also pointed out there that while the latest Ceylon king referred to in the book is Sirināga (189-209 A.D. or 249-268 A.D.), all the other kings such as Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, Saddhātissa and Lajjitissa go back to the pre-Christian era.[159]

Thus we observe that although the *Rasavāhinī* has been written somewhere round about the 12-14th century A.D., all its material goes back to a very early date, even as early as the days of the *arhants* of old, or the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā.* Hence the work is useful as a source book for the early period of our history.

Sinhalese works—We observe from our early Ceylon literature[160] that the ancient *theras* of Ceylon developed a habit of recording information regarding the institutional and other incidents connected with their life and times. These records were available in the Mahāvihāra, Uttaravihāra and other institutions in the country. The *theras* were interested mainly in the religious institutions to which they were attached and the life and works of their patrons, namely the kings and the nobility who supported and patronised them. At the beginning these records were in Sinhalese, and later translated into Pāli, the learned language of the time. As a result, there existed both Sinhalese and Pāli versions of certain historical incidents. Due to the development of the Sinhalese language through the centuries resulting in its being unintelligible to the later people both in regard to the script and style, the earlier Sinhalese versions were re-edited and re-written with the help of the material contained in the Sinhalese and the Pāli versions. Thus these works contain material of an earlier date. Of these works written in Sinhalese in later times, the most important and useful in our survey are the *Thūpavaṃsaya, Bodhivaṃsaya* and *Nikāyasangrahaya.* There are of course other works like the *Daḷadā-sirita, Rājāvaliya,* and *Rājaratnākaraya* which also contain much valuable information. But for our purpose we shall confine ourselves only to the three works mentioned first.

9. **Thūpavaṃsaya**[161]—The Sinhalese *Thūpavaṃsaya* is a history of the *thūpas* in Ceylon. It has been written by Parākrama-paṇḍita shortly after the appearanc of the Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* of *thera* Vācissara in the time of Parākramabāhu II in th 13th century A.D.[162] The Pāli *Thūpavaṃsa* mentions in its introductory *gāthā* that there were two versions of the history of the Mahāthūpa, one in Sinhalese, an the other in Pāli available at the time.[163] The author says that because of the brevit

of the former and the many defects of the latter he decided on the writing of his work. The Sinhalese *Thūpavaṃsaya* though based on the Pāli work contains new material not found in Vācissara's work. This new material may have been taken from the earlier tradition and other sources not utilized by Vācissara.

10. **Bodhivaṃsaya**[164]—The sacred Bo-tree at Anurādhapura was brought here by *therī* Sanghamittā during the time of Devānampiyatissa in the 3rd century B.C. The history of the Bo-tree was subsequently written. The *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā* mentions the existence of a book called *Mahābodhivaṃsa-kathā*.[165] This book, written in Sinhalese and containing the *aṭṭhakathā* tradition is no more available.[166] This work was later translated into Pāli. The Pāli *Mahābodhivaṃsa* of *thera* Upatissa written in the 10th century A.D. contained besides material found in the original Sinhalese *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, information gathered from other sources like the *Mahāvaṃsa*, *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Jātakanidāna-kathā*.[166] The Pāli work by *thera* Upatissa was translated into Sinhalese under the name of *Sinhala-Bodhivaṃsaya* by Srī Parākrama Mahāsāmi of Vilgammula in the 14th century A.D. during the reign of Parākramabāhu IV.[166] In this work the author has included all the material found in the Pāli work besides adding further details of his own. Thus the *Sinhala-Mahābodhivaṃsaya* should be considered as a continuation of the tradition written down in the original Sinhalese version of the history of the Bo-tree.

11. **Nikāya-sangrahaya**[167]—The *Nikāya-sangrahaya* written in Sinhalese interspersed with Pāli *gāthās* here and there is a brief history of the *Buddha-sāsana* from its early beginning up to the time of the author. *Thera* Devarakkhita Jayabāhu, the author bases his work on the earlier writings of the great elders and what he has himself seen and heard.[168] The book deals with a period of twenty centuries and its main theme is the story of the conflict between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri Fraternities. It is decidedly a favoured account as the author himself belongs to the Theravāda group. He was a descendant of the forest-dwelling fraternity of Palābatgala. It was the intention of the author at the beginning of his work to write the history up to the 15th year of Bhuvanekabāhu V (1360-1391 A.C. or 1372-1408 A.C.), but the story has been brought down a further ten years during which period the author had been elevated to the position of *Sangharāja* after his teacher. Covering a vast period, besides being a very short work, the *Nikāya-sangrahaya* necessarily does not contain information regarding many an important national event. Thus the story of the arrival of the Bodhi-tree and the Tooth-relic is not found in the book, probably because the author had no place for such accounts according to the scope of his work. At the same time the list of works produced by the nine *nikāyas*, the story of the *Nilapaṭadarśana* are some of the information included in the *Nikāya-sangrahaya* not found elsewhere. This work therefore though brief is an important source book regarding the history of Ceylon.

A. **Literary** — (b) Foreign

From very early times Ceylon has been mentioned in foreign literature.[169] Some of these notices are casual references while others are comparatively long. They are very often the tales of travellers and sailors.

As a result of Alexander's invasion of India[170] the Western world came into direct contact with the Eastern countries and active trade was carried on between the East and the West from very early times.[171] The credit for the first mention of Ceylon by a Westerner goes to Onesicritus,[172] a pilot attached to Alexander's navy. Megasthenes, ambassador in the court of the Mauryan king Candragupta has also made references to Ceylon.[173] These are some of the first references made to Ceylon by Westerners, and they appear in the writings of Strabo and Pliny.[174] Strabo was a Greek geographer of the 1st century B.C. and his *Geography* consisting of 17 books is the most important work he has left to posterity. Here he speaks of Taprobane (Ceylon) as being situated out in the sea at a distance of seven days' voyage south of India. This information he has probably gathered from Onesicritus. Of the foreign references made to Ceylon by Westerners from the time of Onesicritus, the *Natural History* by Pliny, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* by an unknown writer, the *Guide to Geography* by Ptolemy and the *Travels of Fa Hieun* are important sources for a study of early Ceylon. These accounts reveal to us the presence of commercial and cultural intercourse between Ceylon and other countries from very early times, and hence useful for this study.

1. **Pliny—Natural History**[175]—Pliny usually called Pliny the Elder to distinguish him from his nephew, was born at Como in the north of Italy in A.C. 23. He died at the age of 56 being killed by the poisonous fumes issuing from the eruption of Visuvius in A.C. 79. Among his works the largest and the most important is the *Natural History* which is the only work that has survived his time. This, completed in A.C. 77, two years before his death is an encyclopaedic work, and as Pliny himself claims in his preface, it " deals with 20,000 matters of importance drawn from 100 selected authors ...."[176] Though there are many drawbacks in this work it is of absorbing interest and value to students and research workers in the field of ancient history and anthropology. The *Natural History* comprising 37 books contains a section dealing with Ceylon.[177] He has gathered this information mainly from the Ceylonese ambassadors,[178] the chief of whom, according to Pliny, was Rachias, who visited the Roman king Claudius (41–54 A.C.), as a result of the adventures of Annius Plocamus, who while sailing around Arabia was carried by adverse winds beyond the coast of Carmania and was forced to land in the harbour of Hippuri in Ceylon.[179] The account of Ceylon given by Pliny, among other things, speaks of the Island as containing five hundred towns and a capital called Palaesimundus[180] with a population of 200,000 and situated at a distance of four days' sail from the nearest cape in India, cape Comorin. The account also contains reference to gold, silver, corn, foreign travel, trade between Ceylon and China[181] and other matters of social and political interest.

2. **Periplus of the Erythrean Sea**[182]—The term Periplus of the Erythrean Sea means the 'circumnavigation of the Erythrean Sea.' By Erythrean Sea is meant the seas that wash the coast of East Africa (as far as were known), South Arabia, and India, besides the Red Sea, down to Ceylon. The *Periplus* was intended

as a guide for merchants and navigators trading around the Erythrean Sea, and contains a wealth of information regarding the trade that passed between Rome and India. Although the authorship of this work is unknown, scholars believe the author to be an Egyptian Greek merchant actively engaged in trading between Egypt and India about the 1st century A.C.[183] The date of this work has been fixed between 39–71 A.C., relying on the reference in the text to one of the native rulers, that of Malichas,[184] king of Nabataeans (39–71 A.C.), the only one whose reign has been fixed with any certainity. Most editors of the text agree that the *Periplus* contains first-hand information derived from personal experience of the author himself as well as information gathered from hearsay. In the first category the author gives detailed and accurate information. The account he gives of the west coast of India from Indus[185] to Barygaza[186] (Broach) may be considered as the most authentic and interesting account of any stretch of coast mentioned in early records (secs. 38–58). In the latter part of this work, e.g. secs. 61–66 there is an account dealing with Ceylon (Taprobane in the text) which speaks of the products of the Island as pearls, transparent stone, muslin and turtle shells. As mentioned earlier, some of the information found in the *Periplus* is gathered from travellers' tales, although most of it, especially the accounts dealing with the Indian continent are authentic and trustworthy, hence the usefulness of the *Periplus*.

3. **Ptolemy—Guide to Geography**[187]—Ptolemy was a celebrated Greek astronomer and geographer who claims a special place among the contributors to the science of geographical knowledge of the classical age. The life and times of Ptolemy have been determined by scholars to extend from 90–168 A.D., during which period his scientific activities had been carried out in the city of Alexandria.[188] Ptolemy has written works on both mathematics and geography. His *Guide to Geography* containing altogether eight books, and based on earlier works and reports of observers, exercised a great influence on the geographical knowledge of the period. It contains the increased knowledge of Asia and Africa obtained since Strabo and Pliny. Book VII, Chapter iv of the *Guide to Geogrpahy* contains an account of Ceylon, and Ptolemy was the first of the Greek geographers to determine the general outline and the position of Ceylon in relation to the mainland. In doing so he has however made many errors. He made the Indian Ocean an enclosed sea and greatly increased the size of the Island of Ceylon.[189] Ptolemy speaks of Ceylon as being called Salike by the natives,[190] and says it was formerly called the Island of Simmundu,[191] better known as Taprobane to the Greeks.[192] Among other things Ptolemy mentions mountains and rivers found in Taprobane and gives a list of islands around Ceylon. He speaks of rice, honey, ginger, beryl, amethyst, gold, silver and other metals, tigers and elephants as being found in Ceylon. Though

the *Guide to Geography* contains many drawbacks and errors due mainly to the time in which Ptolemy wrote and the remoteness from Alexandria of the countries he described, it nevertheless has much merit in that his information is both copious and reasonably accurate.

4. **Travels of Fa Hieun**[193]—Fa Hieun, the well-known Chinese monk travelled up to India in the 5th century A.C. in search of the Vinaya texts.[194] After a sojourn in India he came over to Ceylon on his way back to China. He visited Ceylon during the time of king Buddhadāsa, the famous physician king, about a century after the arrival of the Tooth Relic in the Island.[195] He stayed at Abhayagiri for two years.[196] In his account which has been gathered at first hand, Fa Hieun gives us much valuable information regarding social, religious and political matters. Some of this information cannot be gathered from any other source. He gives us accounts of certain religious customs, festivals and ceremonies that he saw during his stay in Ceylon. This account, confined to two chapters[197] in his work, reflects the condition of Ceylon during the 5th century A.C. However, there is no doubt that these were but a continuation of the customs and practices that prevailed in the earlier centuries. Some of these observations are therefore of use to us in this study.

B. **Epigraphic**[198]—The practice of making inscriptional records on stone was started in Ceylon probably with the advent of Buddhism to Ceylon.[199] Mahinda, when he came over to this Island would have been accustomed to this practice followed extensively in India by his royal father.[200] It may be possible that he may have been the prime mover in the introduction of this practice. Whatever be the source from which the practice arose in Ceylon, we observe the presence of many ancient lithic records dating from the 3rd century B.C. The earliest of these, the cave inscriptions numbering many hundreds[201] and scattered over a large area[202] are written in *Brāhmi* script[203] as used by Aśoka. They are very short records, their main purpose being to record the grant of a cave to the *Sangha* by such and such a person. Rock inscriptions of a longer nature are met with from about the 1st century A.C. and these record the grant of tanks, canals and fields etc. for the maintenance of the *Sangha* and the monasteries.

These inscriptions, though some of them very short, being contemporary records are consequently more trustworthy than other sources. They very often confirm and fill in the gaps left by other sources like the chronicles. On the whole, the inscriptional evidence, though limited in application, is of use to us in this study, especially when it supplements evidence from other sources.

C. **Numismatic**—Both Pāli literature and Ceylon inscriptions mention a coin named *kahāpaṇa* and *kahavaṇa*[204] respectively as a coin used during the time. The later *kahavaṇas* of a circular type circulating at least as late as the 2nd century A.C. have been found in Ceylon. Paranavitāna says that some of these may have come from North India and perhaps some may have originated in Ceylon.[205] These

were followed by the die-struck coins. Swell has divided the connection between the East and Rome into five periods.[206] Codrington while mentioning that this classification may be considered true for Ceylon as well, gives us a list of coins of Roman origin found in Ceylon.[207] Roman coins from the 1st century A.C. dating with the reigns of Nero, Vespasian etc. and coming down to about the 4th century A.C. have been found in Ceylon. The presence of these is evidence of the commercial and other connections that would have existed between Ceylon and the Western countries during early times.

D. **Archaeological**[208]—These comprise the early implements produced by our ancestors, and their achievements in the field of cultural activities such as art and architecture. No art or structural remains dating from before the introduction of Buddhism have yet been revealed in Ceylon.[209] Much of the material in this field has been lost to posterity and what remains may be but a portion of what may have been actually in existence.[210] Thus the data available from archaeological sources would necessarily be limited in scope. Nevertheless it would give added emphasis to the information available from other sources, besides indicating the level of cultural attainment of the people of these early times.

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154. HPL., Vol. ii, p. 625
155. HBC., Intro. p. xxxv.
156. See, *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. i, Intro. p. xlv, fn. 1
157. PLL., p. 43
158. HBC., Intro. pp. xxxvi–xli
159. Ibid., Intro. p. xxxix ; See also, PLC., p. 225
160. See, UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 46 ff.
161. Law, B. C.—ed. *Thūpavaṃsa*, PTS. ; see also, *The Legend of the Topes*, Eng., Tr. of the P. *Thūpavaṃsa* ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 54 ; Saranankara, G.,–*Thūpavaṃsaya*
162. See, UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 54
163. PLC., p. 127 ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 54
164. Paññāsāra, P. K.—ed. *Eḷu Bodhivaṃsaya* ; see also, Dhammaratna B. K.—ed. *Sinhala Bodhivaṃsaya*
165. Mvṭ., Vol. ii, p. 412.
166. See, UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 54
167. Kumaraṇatunga, M.—ed. *Nikāya-Sangrhaya* ; See also, Wickramasinghe, D. M. de Z.—ed. *Nikāya-Sangraha* ; Fernando, C. M., Tr. Eng., *Nikāya-Sangraha*.
168. See, Ns., Introductory passage, p. 1 ; UCH. Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 57
169. See Infra, p. 13 ff. and the following : UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 16, 62–63 ; Griffith, R. T. H.—Tr. *The Rāmāyana of Vālmīki*, pp. 6, 14 ; See however, UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 95 and Infra, pp. 24-25 ; Havell, E. B.—*The History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 42
170. See, Vincent Smith—*Early History of India*. Chaps. iii, iv ; CSHI, Chap. ii ; Basham, A. L.—*The Wonder that was India*, p. 48 ff. ; Stein, M. A.—*On Alexander's Track to the Indus*.
171. Barnett, L. D.—Commercial and Political Connexions of Ancient India with the West BSOAS., Vol. i, pt 1, p. 103 ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 62
172. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 16, 62, 93 ; CHI, Vol. i, p. 424
173. CSHI., p. 33 ff. ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 16, 62
174. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 62
175. Pliny, *Natural History*, Vols. i, and ii ; See also, *Encyclopaedia Brittannica*, under Pliny
176. Pliny, op. cit., Vol. i, Intro. p. ix
177. e.g. Bk. vi, Sec. xxiv, See Pliny, op. cit. Vol. ii, pp. 399–409
178. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 17, 225 ; Pliny, op. cit., Vol. ii, p. 401
179. UCH., Ibid., p. 17 ; Pliny, op. cit., pp. 401, 403
180. Pliny, Ibid., Vol. ii, p. 403
181. Ibid., p. 405
182. See, Schoff, W. H.—*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* ; Mc Crindle, J. W.—*The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea* ; Vincent, W.—*The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, (Part the Second).
183. Schoff, W. H.—op. cit. pp. 15–16, also Ibid., pp. 7–16
184. Ibid., pp. 290–293 ; See also, Kennedy, J.—Eastern Kings Contemporary with the Periplus, JRASGB., 1918, pp. 106–114
185. The Indus plains have revealed a very ancient city culture even prior to the time of the arrival of the Aryans in the Indian soil, See, Mackay, E.—*Early Indus Civilizations*.
186. See *Periplus*, Secs. 38–58. A list of Imports and Exports of Barygaza is given in sec. 49
187. Stevenson, E. L.—ed. and Tr. *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*
188. See Ibid., p. 13
189. Ibid., Preface, p. xv ; See also, *Ptolemy*, Bk. vii, Chap. iv ; JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, No. 82, 1929, p. 272 ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 16
190. See, Stevenson, E. L.—op. cit., p. 158
191. Ibid., p. 158

192. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 16-18, 93 ; *Ptolemy*, Bk. vii, Chap. iv.
193. Beal, S.—Tr. *Buddhist Records of the Western World* ; Giles, H. A.—*The Travels of Fa-Hsien* ; Legge, J.—Tr. *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms.*
194. HBC., p. 97 ; Giles, H. A., op. cit., p. 1
195. UCH. Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 378
196. Ibid., p. 379
197. See, Chaps. xxxviii–xxxix ; Giles, H. A.—op. cit., pp. 66–76
198. See, UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 66 ff.
199. UCR., Vol. vii, No. 1, pp. 142–144 ; No. 4, p. 282 ff.
200. See, Hultzsch, E.—*Inscriptions of Asoka* ; See also, Thapar, R.—*Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, pp. 250–266
201. See, ASCAR., 1905, p. 45 ff.
202. Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 24 ; See also, GSL., Intro. p. 2 ; DSL., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. xxiv
203. See, Bühler, J. G.—The Origin of the Brāhma Alphabet, in Indian Paleography, by Bühler, J. G., appearing as an appendix to IA., Vol. xxxiii, 1904, pp. 9–15 ; Basham, A. L.–*The Wonder that was India*, p. 396 ; UCH., Vol. i. pt. 1, p. 42
204. See, Codrington, H. W.—CCC., p. 16 ; Bhandarkar, D. R.—*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 76 ff. ; UCH., Vol. i. pt. 1, pp. 226–227.
205. See, UCH., Vol. i. pt. 1, p. 227.
206. See, Swell, R.—Roman Coins Found in India, JRASGB., 1904, p. 593, ff.
207. See, Codrington, H. W.— CCC., pp. 31–32 ; See also, UCH., Vol. i. pt. 1, p. 227
208. See, UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 72–73
209. Ibid., p. 256
210. Ibid., p. 256 ff.

CHAPTER 2

THE PEOPLE [1]

Ceylon is an island in the Indian Ocean separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, and centrally situated between the Red Sea and the straits of Malacca, which position has made it from very ancient times, a frequent port of call for merchantmen and other vessels ; and an emporium of the sea-borne trade between East and West. It is surmised that the actual appearance of the island of Ceylon on the face of the earth took place during the Miocene Period.[2] It is not quite certain however who the first peoples of Ceylon had been and when they first inhabited the Island. The traditional account regarding the earliest inhabitants of Ceylon has been developed through the centuries and is mixed up extensively with myth and legend. When it came to be written down in the *Dīpavaṃsa*[3] and later in the *Mahāvaṃsa*[4] the tradition itself would have developed for centuries having first originated probably in the minds of the *theras* of old,[5] and incorporated into the accounts that appeared in the *Aṭṭakathā-Mahāvaṃsa*. Though these accounts may not be taken as serious historical information, they may however convey to us some germ of historical tradition, which in the context of our present knowledge it would be impossible for us to authenticate. It would however be worthwhile to examine the tradition here, before observing the results of scientific investigations into the subject.

According to the account found in the chronicles the earliest period to which reference is made in this direction is to the time of the Buddha Kakusanda. The *Dīpavaṃsa* account[6] here is very brief. The Ceylon chronicles speak of the names by which Ceylon had been known during the dispensations of Buddhas, Kakusanda, Konāgama, Kāsyapa and Gotama. The names are respectively Ojadīpa,[7] Varadīpa,[8] Maṇḍadīpa,[9] Laṅkādipa or Tambapaṇṇi.[10] The capitals of the Island during these times are given as Abhayapura, Vaḍḍhamāna, Visāla and Anurādhapura respectively.[11] Law, commenting on this says that the Ceylon chronicles, in introducing this tradition into their accounts followed the basis of Indian legends of Buddhas in the canonical texts such as *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* and the *Buddhavaṃsa*.[12] In the accounts it is mentioned that at the time of these Buddhas, Kakusanda, Konāgama and Kāsyapa, Ceylon was inhabited by human beings. But during the time of Buddha Gotama, it is said that Ceylon was inhabited by *yakkhas*, *rākṣasas* and *pisācas*, who are spoken of as non-human beings.[13]

During the lifetime of the Buddha Gotama it is said that He visited Ceylon on three occasions,[14] first in the ninth month of His Buddhahood,[15] second in His fifth year[16] and lastly in His eighth year of Buddhahood.[17] The places visited were Mahiyaṅgaṇa, the meeting place of the *yakkhas* of the Island, Nāgadīpa where the two *nāga* chiefs Cūlodara and Mahodara were making ready to fight against each other, and Kalyāṇi, the kingdom of the *nāga* king Maṇiakkhika.

Another interesting account regarding the earliest inhabitants of the island of Ceylon is found in the writings of Fa Hieun, who visited Ceylon in the early years of the 5th century A.C. and remained here for a period of two years. He gives us an account of the traditional story he had heard during his stay in the Island. According to this it is said that Ceylon " was not originally inhabited by human beings, but only devils and dragons, with whom the merchants of the neighbouring countries traded by barter. At the time of the barter the devils did not appear, but set out their valuables with the prices attached. The merchants then gave goods according to the prices marked and took away the goods they wanted. And from the merchants going backwards and forwards and some stopping there, the attractions of the place became widely known, and people went there in great numbers, so that it became a great nation.

"The temperature of this country is very agreeable ; there is no distinction between winter and summer. Plants and trees flourish all the year round, and cultivation of the soil is carried on as men please, without regard to the season. "[18]

From the traditional account regarding the early inhabitants of the Island we see them named as *yakkhas*, *rākṣasas*[19] and *nāgas*[20] and represented as semi-human beings, powerful and man-eating. Paranavitāna commenting on the *yakkhas* and *rākṣasas* says that the " stories might have originated from the presence in the Island of a race of men in prehistoric times who practised cannibalism. It is also not improbable that these stories were made to gain currency by the earliest pioneers who discovered this Island and, having become aware of the existence of precious stones therein, wished to keep them as a monopoly by discouraging others from visiting it."[21]

As against this second theory we have to cite the story as found in the writings of Fa-Hieun where it is mentioned that at the time of his visit there was prevalent the tradition that in early Ceylon, even when it was not inhabited by human beings merchants from the neighbouring countries regularly called here for trade purposes and that very soon Ceylon finally developed into a great nation as a result of people from these neighbouring countries coming and settling down here.[22]

In the *Mahāvaṃsa* story *yakkhas* are also represented as being invisible [23] and even Mahinda was thought at first to be a *yakkha* by Devānampiyatissa because he addressed the king by his personal name.[24] Wijesekera commenting on the racial composition of the supposed earlier inhabitants of Ceylon prior to the advent of the Āryans says that if as is supposed by many that the *yakkhas* and *nāgas* were the inhabitants of the country at the time of the arrival of Vijaya, they could tentatively be equated with the Australoid and the Mediterranean element respectively.[25] Paranavitāna's views on this earlier tradition is as follows : " Nothing has been recorded in the chronicles, or in other writings, of any men whom the Aryan settlers in the Island met when they first came here. The Yakkhas with whom Vijaya and his successors are said to have had dealings, and the Nāgas referred to in the traditional accounts of Buddha's visits to Ceylon, are clearly stated in the chronicles to have been non-human beings. Some of these Yakkhas and Nāgas are mentioned in

Jātaka stories and others in the *Mahābhārata.*[26] They figure in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as a result of folk-tale motives becoming attached to the stories of national heroes. To consider them as races of men with a high culture is not justified by archaeological evidence, nor by any recognised standards of historical criticism. Ancient Sanskrit literature clearly proves that this Island was not the Laṅkā of the *Rāmāyaṇa,* and the story of that epic is a nature myth.[27] The views held by some people today about a highly developed Rākṣasa civilisation in Ceylon are based on nothing but imagination."[28]

As regards *nāgas* it may be observed that they received a certain amount of adoration during the early period. This custom has persisted to the present day. The *nāgas* are spoken of as comprising three distinct types, sea-dwellers, mountain-dwellers, and those of a riverine region at the mouth of the river Kalyāṇi.[29] The traditional Nāgadīpa which was visited by Buddha on his second visit to Ceylon would seem to have derived its name from the *nāgas* who may have been dwelling there in great numbers. Paranavitāna draws an identity between Cūḷodara and Mahodara of the Ceylon legend with the Kuṇḍodara and Mahodara of the *Mahābhārata* tradition.[30]

Geiger mentions that when the Āryans arrived in Ceylon they met here a population of unknown race of neither Āryan nor Dravidian origin.[31] He relates them to the uncultivated tribes of South India. These original people are represented as the *yakkhas* of the traditional story and the *sabaras* preserved in the name Sabaragamuva. Both these tribes are spoken of as barbarous and as living in mountains and forests. The word 'Sabaragamuwa' means a village of 'sabaras', that is, *vâddâs* or hunters. And the natural vegetation around this area is such that it could easily support a hunter population.[32]

Two other interesting observations regarding the early inhabitants of the Island may be noted here. This perhaps is preserved in the two names come down to us, namely *nittāvo* and *mlecchas.* The *nittāvo* is a lost tribe of legendary people and their memory is current in the Pānama-pattuva of the Batticaloa district. These people who were of a small stature are described as ape-like, coarse-featured and pigmy type.[33] It is believed that these people perhaps were the earlier residents of Ceylon at the time the Āryans arrived here and that they emerged as a result of much admixture of the different types of elements prevailing in the country during the times.

The term *mleccha* is preserved in two ancient Brāhmī inscriptions found in Ceylon.[34] In this there are two individuals, Pusa and Tisa, who are described as *milaka.* Paranavitāna equates the term *milaka* with Skt. *mleccha* and Pāli *milakkha,* and mentions the fact that this term is used in literary works to denote foreigners and non-Āryan tribes.[35] He further says it is "possible that the persons called *milaka* were representatives of the autochthonous people whom the Sinhalese found here when they first arrived in the Island."[36] If this interpretation be correct, it is possible that *milakas* were also a race or group that inhabited Ceylon

during the early period, and that they merged themselves with the later arrivals, the Āryans in the course of time. At least they seem to have been so, by the time of the early Brāhmī inscriptions.

Another ancient tribe we have to consider is the so-called *Pulindas*. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*[37] when Kuveṇi was turned away by Vijaya she went along with her two children to Laṅkāpura where she was killed by the *yakkhas* and the two children fled for safety to Sumanakūṭa on the advice of an uncle. Then in the mountain region it is said, they, Jīvahattha and Dipellā by name according to the *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā*,[38] married each other in due course and their progeny are the *pulindas*. The two lived in the hilly country of Malaya with the king's permission. *Pulinda* is, as Geiger mentions,[39] a designation for a barbarous tribe and in ancient literature they are represented as opposed to the Āryans.[40] Geiger identifies the *väddās*[41] as the *pulindas* of the *Māhavaṃsa* tradition.

As has already been observed, according to the account in the chronicles the origin of the *väddās* is traced to the children of Kuveṇi by Vijaya, and the first human beings to have inhabited Ceylon are the Āryans headed by Vijaya and his followers. But recent studies regarding pre-historic and proto-historic period in Ceylon have revealed the presence of pre-historic man in the island of Ceylon.[42] Wijesekera however asserts that human remains belonging to the pre-historic age have not yet been discovered during any scientific investigation.[43] The *Mahāvaṃsa* indicates the presence of early tribes grouped under different totemistic clans. Though the *Ṛgveda* does not mention such groups, the *Mahābhārata* narrates incidents related to groups of people bearing such clan names as mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Mendis seems to think that these tribes of Ceylon are representatives of the racial stocks living prior to the Dravidians in India.[44] The *väddās* themselves have preserved this practice of totemistic clans by their being organised into *varuges*, or totemistic groups.[45] The modern *väddā* is supposed to posess similarities with some of the jungle tribes of southern India.[46]

In Ceylon there is evidence to indicate that in the early days man made use of caves, rock shelters and the jungle for his habitation. This has been ascertained by the work of pioneers in the field like the Seligmans.[47] The *väddās* in Ceylon still seem to follow this practice. Sarasins classify *väddās* into three types ; Jungle *väddās*, village *väddās* and coast *väddās* according to their habitation.[48] An account of the *väddās*, their way of life, physical features, language, beliefs, etc. have been discussed by various scholars who have worked in this field.[49] From all these studies it transpires that it seems reasonable to consider the *väddās* as the earliest known inhabitants of Ceylon as opposed to the statement appearing in the chronicles.[50]

A great deal more evidence on the pre-historic archaeology of Ceylon than is available at present is needed for us to be able to make any definite statement regarding early man in Ceylon. Stone age artifacts have been discovered here by pioneers working in this field.[51] Early man in Ceylon obtained his weapons by making use of the technique of percussion and perhaps thermal action.[52] There is very little information available regarding the early palaeolithic man in Ceylon. It is surmised

that in Ceylon he lived under the same conditions and circumstances as his contemporaries in other parts of the world, particularly India.[53] Stone implements discovered in Ceylon and India possess striking points of similarity and this leads one to conclude that original man perhaps migrated from India. About the early Ceylon man's way of life, the clothing and the ornamentations he used, paintings and engravings he did, and the manner of the disposal of the dead, are discussed by Wijesekera.[54] There is no doubt that if we are to get at least a fair picture of the early man in Ceylon, a good deal more of research is needed in this field. Summing up his essay on the 'Prehistoric Age', Wijesekera makes the following observation regarding this aspect of the early history of Ceylon. " The material at our disposal will not justify any further comments regarding prehistoric men of Ceylon. Attempts have been made to do so but these will remain mere suggestions without a scientific basis. The types of men, their food and clothing, customs and beliefs and in fact their general physical make-up and mental outlook and way of life must for the present remain in doubt and uncertainty until prehistoric excavations and studies are founded on a more scientific basis. The story about pre-historic man will therefore have to be retold from time to time by different scholars, approaching the problems from different scientific angles."[55]

From the foregoing statement it is revealed that whoever may have been the earliest inhabitants of the island of Ceylon, there had definitely been people living here long before the advent of the Āryans. And a fair portion of the country was occupied by men of the stone age.[56] This can be surmised by observing the location of the sites at which stone implements have been discovered.[57] However, according to the traditional account of the colonisation of Ceylon appearing in the chronicles, it is said that the first human beings to set foot on Ceylon were the Āryans headed by Vijaya and his seven hundred companions.[58]

This tradition has been handed down orally for many centuries, probably originating with the *arhants* of old and finally collected together in the *Mahāvaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*. The account of this tradition found in the earlier chronicle, the *Dīpavaṃsa* is somewhat brief.[59] Here no mention is made of the passion of the princess and the prophecy regarding her marriage to a lion, her running away from the palace and finally living with the lion. The *Dīpavaṃsa* account of this legend mentions that the name of the princess is Susīmā,[60] which according to the *Mahāvaṃsa-ṭīkā* is Suppādevi.[61] The *Dīpavaṃsa* account further states that Vijaya stopped at Bhārukaccha for three months[62] before he finally came over to Ceylon.

As has already been mentioned, the people who came over to Ceylon, according to the account found in the chronicles are the Āryans. These Āryans were a people who occupied the northern part of the Punjab in India at the time of the composition of their sacred hymns, the *Ṛg Veda*. There are many theories regarding the original home of the Āryans[63] from where they came to settle down in the northern part of India. We cannot be quite certain as to their earlier habitation, but we are on surer grounds regarding their stay in the Punjab, because we have the evidence of their compositions from this time. Rivers have played an important role in their early life. Reference to the Kābul,[64] Kurrum,[65] Gomati,[66] Indus,[67] etc., are made in the

Ṛg Vedic hymns. It is now accepted that a considerable part of India extending from east Afghanistan to the upper valleys of the Ganges was occupied by the Āryans.[68] The major part of this area came to be called the Sapta Sindhu,[69] and it is no doubt this part was occupied by the early Āryans, although it is difficult to say when the entire region came under their sway. It is generally accepted that Āryan settlements were first established in Punjab about 2500 B.C. and gradually extended to the vast expanse of the country along south-east and east dominating and subjugating the earlier settlers as they advanced along. By about the later Vedic age (900–500 B.C.) at least a part of India had enjoyed an urban culture of at least 2000 years,[70] but the process of Āryan expansion in India from the Punjab where they settled down at the beginning of their march into India is not clearly traced due to lack of material evidence.[71] However by the time of the later Vedic age these Āryans had nearly all the equipment of a civilization of the ancient type.[72]

According to the traditional account it was an Āryan from the northern part of India who first came over and settled down in Ceylon. The circumstances under which this first Āryan, Vijaya by name, happened to come over to Ceylon, are as follows according to the account found in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[73]

In the Vaṅga city of the country of Vaṅga there once ruled the king of Vaṅgas, whose queen was the daughter of the Kālingas. The Vaṅga ruler had a daughter by this queen, and when she was born soothsayers predicted her union with a lion. The daughter was exceedingly beautiful and greatly amorous and both parents looked upon her with shame, as a result. Disguised, she left the palace one day in quest of the joys of independence, and joined a caravan going from the Vaṅga country to Magadha. In a forest tract in the country of Lāḷa the caravan was attacked by a lion. Through fear the merchants fled in all directions, but the princess ran towards the direction of the lion.

When the lion had taken his prey and was returning he saw her from a distance and immediately there arose in him love for her. He then advanced towards her with wagging tail and ears laid back. The princess, seeing him, was reminded of the prophecy, and thereby being without fear, affectionately caressed the lion's limbs. And the lion being aroused to passion as a result of her touch took her on his back with all speed to his cave, where he united with her. As a result of her union with the lion, the princess, in the course of time, gave birth to twins, a son and a daughter.

The son's hands and feet were like that of the lion and therefore he was named Sīhabāhu, and the daughter was named Sīhasīvalī. When Sīhabāhu was sixteen years of age, due to a doubt that arose in him, he questioned the mother as to why she and his father appeared so different. When the mother told him the whole story, the son asked her why she did not leave that place. The mother answered that she could not do so because the father had closed the entry to the cave with a stone. Then Sīhabāhu lifted the stone that covered the cave-mouth on to his shoulders and travelled a distance up and down of fifty *yojanas* in one day.

One day when the lion had gone in search of food, Sīhabāhu carrying his mother on his right shoulder and his sister on his left fled with all speed from the cave. Wearing branches of trees they reached a border-village, where they came across a son of the princess's uncle, a commander in the army of the Vaṅga king, who, seated at the time under a banyan tree, was superintending the work being done. Seeing them the commander inquired who they were. On being told they were forest-folk he gave them clothes to wear. And these were transformed into precious garments. Next he offered them food on leaves, and these, by reason of their merit, were transformed into golden vessels.

Amazed on seeing this, the commander again asked them who they were, at which the princess divulged her family and clan. Then the commander took his cousin the princess to the Vaṅga country and lived with her.

The lion, on returning to the cave, and not seeing the three, was afflicted with grief due to his separation from them. He neither ate nor drank. Soon he entered the border-villages in search of his children and every village he entered was soon deserted by the village folk. The men of the border-villages finally went to the king and informed him, 'Your Majesty, a lion ravages your country, may you be pleased to stop him.'

Not being able to get anyone capable of warding off the lion, the king had a bag containing a thousand pieces of *kahāpaṇas* placed on the back of an elephant and led it about the city proclaiming the money as the reward for getting the lion. Gradually he increased this reward to two thousand and three thousand.

Sīhabāhu's mother restrained her son twice, but on the third occasion, without asking her permission, he took the three thousand, intending to slay his own father. Sīhabāhu was duly presented to the king, who told him, 'if you will take the lion I shall give the country to you.'

Sīhabāhu went to the door of the cave. He saw the lion from afar, coming towards him with paternal affection. Sīhabāhu shot an arrow at him. It struck the lion's forehead but because of his feelings of affection it rebounded and fell at the feet of the prince. This happened three times. The lion was finally roused to anger. The next arrow shot struck the lion and pierced through his body.

Sīhabāhu cut off the lion's head with the mane and returned to the city just seven days after the death of the Vaṅga king.

The king had no son as heir to the throne ; Sīhabāhu had achieved fame by killing the lion ; he was also a grandson of the king ; his mother's real identity was discovered. For all these reasons the assembled ministers, with one accord, offered Sīhabāhu the kingship of the Vaṅga kingdom. He accepted their offer of kingship, but handed it over to his mother's husband, while he himself went with Sīhasīvalī to their place of birth. There he built a city which he named Sīhapura, and founded villages a hundred *yojanas* around it.

In that city in the kingdom of Lāḷa, Sīhabāhu ruled, taking Sīhasīvalī as his queen. She in the course of time gave birth to twin sons, sixteen times. The eldest of these was Vijaya and the second Sumitta. In due course Sīhabāhu appointed Vijaya as prince-regent.

Vijaya was of cruel and unseemly conduct and so were his followers. Many were the intolerable deeds done by them. [74] The people who were enraged informed the king of this. To appease his subjects, the king advised his son to desist from such deeds. A second time, too, the same happened. At the third time the enraged people requested the king to kill his son.

At this Sīhabāhu caused Vijaya and his seven hundred followers to shave off half of their heads. He put them, Vijaya and his followers on board a ship and sent them out into the sea. Their wives and children too were banished. The men, women and children who were sent out separately, landed in different islands which they adopted as their new home. The island where the children landed was called Naggadīpa ; that of the women, Mahilādīpa. Vijaya and his men landed at a port called Suppāraka.[75] Here, Vijaya being frightened of the consequences that might befall them as a result of the violence committed by his men[76] embarked again. They finally landed in Laṅkā or Tambapaṇṇi on the day that the *Tathāgata* lay down between the twin sāla trees to pass into *nibbāna*.

This legend of the Āryan colonisation seems to have been created after the introduction of Buddhism into the country, for it contains certain features which are common to a few *jātaka* stories[77] like the *Padakusalamānava jātaka*,[78] *Valāhassa jātaka*,[79] *Sussondi jātaka*,[80] *Cetiya jātaka*[81], and *Suppāraka jātaka*[82], etc. These common features seem to indicate that the tradition originated from the *jātaka* sources. The *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* account[83] adds further details to the *Mahāvaṃsa* account where names of certain personages in the episode, like Sīhabāhu's mother, the *yakkhinī* who lured the followers of Vijaya etc. are given.[84] Hieun Tsang also gives two versions of the first colonisation of Ceylon.[85] The first is more or less a repetition of the *Mahāvaṃsa* account with a few important omissions and changes.[86] And the second is similar to the account found in the *Divyāvadāna*.[87] In this account the founding of the Sinhala kingdom is ascribed to a merchant named Sinhala from Jambudīpa. He resisted the *rākṣasa* women from Ratnadīpa who tried to entice him, and finally managed to rescue his men, kill the *rākṣasa* women, and people Ratnadīpa with men from Jambudīpa. There thus arose the Sinhala country, the name Sinhala being adopted from the name of Sinhala himself. Hieun Tsang also mentions a Mahā-Ratnadīpa renowned for its jewels and inhabited by spirits. In the story of Sārthavāha in the *Avadāna Śataka* a merchant goes to Ratnadīpa and gathers jewels.[88] As regards Hieun Tsang's accounts of the origin of the Sinhala kingdom it is difficult to ascertain whether he has rightly identified the Ratnadīpa with Ceylon.[89]

Fa Hieun mentions the tradition that Ceylon was first inhabited by men from the neighbouring countries who became aware of the presence of the Island and its attractive climate from the accounts of traders who frequented the Island for

purposes of trade.[90] The account found in the *Rājāvaliya*[91] contains some further details not found in the *Māhavaṃsa* account.

This is how the tradition has been expanded, changed or modified in the different versions. From these accounts it would be possible to draw some common data, as regards the original home of Vijaya and the date of his arrival in Ceylon. At the outset it may be mentioned that it is now accepted beyond dispute that the language that developed in Ceylon from the time of the first colonisation of the country is akin to the Āryan languages spoken in the northern part of India,[92] and that it has no affinity to the Dravidian languages that prevailed in the southern parts of India.[93] This indicates the fact that the early inhabitants came from the northern Āryan-speaking territory, and this migration occurred not along the overland, but along a sea-route.[94] And concerning this original home of Vijaya opinion is sharply divided. The Vijaya legend as appearing in the chronicles has been differently interpreted by different scholars. The main point of controversy is the identification and the location of various place names mentioned in the legend. Scholars have approached this problem mainly from two angles, the geographical approach and the linguistic approach. Examining the Vijayan legend in regard to the place names mentioned they have tried to locate these places in India, and thereby to try to determine the question of the original home of Vijaya. On the other hand linguists have tried to compare the characteristics of the early Sinhalese language with those of the Āryan languages as appearing in the edicts of Aśoka found established in various parts of northern India, and thereby to determine the place in India from which Vijaya came. Scholars like Geiger,[95] Codrington,[96] Chatterji,[97] Mendis,[98] Basham,[99] assert the view that the early settlers came from the north-west part of India. This has been done by identifying Lāḷa with Lāṭa in Gujerat, especially on the authority of Ptolemy,[100] and Sinhapura with Sīhor.[101] On the other hand scholars like Burnouf,[102] Müller,[103] Ray,[104] Majumdar,[105] Siddhārtha,[106] Sahidullah,[107] and Wijeratnes[108] maintain that Vijaya came from the north-east part of India, possibly from the lower Gangetic plain. The eastern group maintains that Lāḷa or Lāṭa is identical with Rādha in west Bengal and Suppāraka with the modern Singur in Serampur subdivision of Hoagly.[109] This region is also considered to belong to Kālinga (Orissa) or Magadha (S. Bihar).[110] Lāṭa has also been once located in the lower Sindh by Hugh Neville.[111]

Basham has approached this problem from a somewhat different angle, where he has taken into account the historical data contained in the legend. Commenting on the frequent occurrence of the word *gamaṇi* in the early Ceylon inscriptions he infers that the original settlers came from the western part of India since it was in western India that the term was widely used in pre-Buddhist times. Basham also draws our attention to the use of the epithet *maharaja* as applied to early kings of Ceylon and the importance of the king's brother in the affairs of the kingdom as striking points of contact between early Ceylon and north-west India. Further he mentions that the brother to brother succession which was a most frequent occurrence, if not a regular feature in the early history of Ceylon, finds no parallel in east India, whereas it was practised by the Śaka rulers of Ujjain. Bringing in linguistic evidence Basham says that the substitution of "ha" for "sa" in Sinhalese

suggests a western origin, and draws our attention to the Iranian dialects where the mutation is regular. As for the nominative termination *-e* and the use of the palatal *ś* for dental *s* found in the Sinhalese language, he attributes such usage to the influence of Māgadhī language on early Sinhalese.[112] From these observations he concludes that the weight of the argument lies more on the western theory than on the eastern.

Hettiaracchi has indicated that the behaviour of the echo-compounds in Sinhalese to be similar to the echo-forms of the western region of north India, and adduces this feature as a further argument in favour of the western theory.[113]

One may be able to consider this problem from the angle of the trade routes and ocean navigation that may have been prevalent during these early times. By the time of the Buddha or even prior to it there were important trade routes covering the length and breadth of India and passing through important towns and trade centres. From various important towns roads led to different quarters of the country. Pāvā, Kusinārā, Vesāli, Pāṭalīputra, Rājagaha, Vārānasī, Ujjenī, Taxilā, etc. were served by these many roads.[114] Among the chief of the trade routes was one which ran from Tāmralipti up to Campā and from there through Pāṭalīputra to Banaras and Kausambī from where a branch went to the part of Bhṛgukaccha by way of Vidisā and Ujjainī.[115]

Regarding sea travel it is now surmised that ocean navigation in the Indian Ocean had its beginning in the coastal region of the Arabian sea.[116] It is also presumed that from very early times the western coast line of India and the island of Ceylon were known to these early sea-farers. As a result of these sea-faring nations meeting in the Indian continent due to the volume of trade coming into India from China and its own commodities of trade, the Āryan people themselves would have taken to sea-faring in the course of time, having learnt the art from these foreign navigators. Evidence for such an activity on the part of the Āryans may be gathered from such *jātaka* tales as those mentioning voyages of sea travel.[117] The story of the colonisation of Ceylon as given by Fa Hieun may even be taken as possible evidence in this direction.[118] Once the art of navigation was mastered by the Āryans there is no doubt they would have taken to it with enthusiasm. It may be that one such journey was the trip made by Vijaya and his men, who embarked on this trip probably as a colonisation venture or as a trade trip from the western coast.

According to the account in the chronicle Vijaya first touched at Suppāraka.[119] This is the Supara of Ptolemy.[120] It is identified with the modern Sopāra, six miles to the north of Vasai (north of Bombay). McCrindle states that it seems to have been an important trading centre from earliest times, and among the ruins found in this place was a fragment of a block of basalt inscribed with the edicts of Aśoka.[121] According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*[122] Vijaya next stopped at Bhārukaccha for three months before he re-embarked on his journey which finally brought him to Tambapaṇṇi. This is the same as the Barygaza of the *Periplus*,[123] the modern Broach situated on the north bank of the Narbadā. The *Periplus* indicates that

this is by far the most important port on the western coast of India engaged in trade with Rome and the west. Barygaza is referred to a number of times in the *Periplus*,[124] and it also occurs in Ptolemy.[125] There is mention of a merchant from Bhārukaccha arriving in Ceylon in the court of a king named Candragupta.[126] Many a *jātaka* tale mentions traders travelling across the seas from Bhārukaccha to Suvaṇṇabhūmi,[127] touching at a port in Ceylon on the way. These incidents indicate that the western sea-route was well-known and often used during these early times. It is therefore probable that Vijaya too used this route on his way to Ceylon. It may further be observed that the time the Āryan colonisation took place, the eastern portion of India was not fully Āryanised.[128] Thus, as it is now accepted without dispute that the early Sinhalese language is akin to Āryan languages of the mainland, and that therefore the early settlers were Āryan in origin, it would be wrong for us to assume that the original settlers came from a non-Āryanised part of India, that is the north–east. However, due to the conflicting nature of the evidence regarding the Vijayan tradition found in the sources, an attempt has been made to explain it by suggesting the arrival of two waves of immigrants,[129] one from the west and the other from the east of Āryāvarta. This suggestion has however prompted the following comment from a scholar in recent times : " This is what the tradition categorically states, and does not require any profound critical analysis for its enunciation. But such a conclusion leaves us exactly where we started. The two streams of immigration did not possibly reach the Island simultaneously, and the name 'Siṁhala' was not bestowed on the Island jointly by those who came from the east and the west."[130]

Recently Paranavitāna has made an attempt to examine this subject from a different angle,[131] and the conclusion he has drawn " differs widely from the views held on the subject by most writers."[132] He observes that the geographical evidence is indecisive ; that both literary and linguistic evidence brought in to settle this question has led to contradictory results, and the theory that there were two streams of immigrations,[133] one from the north-east and the other from the north-west of the mainland has led us nowhere as regards the original home. Paranavitāna has attempted to examine this problem on the evidence of certain information found mentioned in the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon.

In four short Brāhmī inscriptions found at Koravakgala,[134] Kaduruvāva[135] in Kuruṇāgala district, and at Bovattegala,[136] Paranavitāna has observed the name Kabojha, which he equates with the Kāmbojas. Citing various instances where Kāmbojas are mentioned along with Yavanas and Gandhāras, Paranavitāna argues that Yavanas and Kāmbojas must have occupied contiguous territory in north-west Āryāvarta since the Gandhāra people mentioned along with them occupied the extreme north-west area of the Indo-Āryan world.[137] Yavanas are also mentioned as having lived in Ceylon in the pre-Christian centuries.[138] Paranavitāna cites the mention of Kāmboja in the *Mahābhārata* as a people coming after the mention of Siṁhapura, the original home of the Sinhalese. This reference to Siṁhapura, Paranavitāna says, indicates that the Kāmbojas probably came to Ceylon along with the early Sinhalese from Siṁhapura and that Siṁhapura was situated in the north-

west region of Āryāvarta. In the same source the mention of Siṁhapura is followed by other names among which is Vaṅka or Vaṅga, which indicates that Vaṅga was in the proximity of Siṁhapura.[139] The location of Siṁhapura is given by Hieun Tsang as being situated to the south-east of Taxila.[140] Paranavitāna further shows that the country of Lāṭa in which Siṁhapura was situated was described by Ptolemy (Larike) as adjoining Indo-Scythia at the mouth of the Indus.[141] While recalling the tradition that Vijaya and his men were sent out with half-shaven head as a form of punishment, Paranavitāna argues that it would have meant 'short-cropped' and says it was the normal custom of Yavanas, Śakas and Kāmbojas ; and the early Sinhalese being associated with the Kāmbojas would have themselves followed this practice.[142] Paranavitāna further mentions that the tradition of early Sinhalese referring to ten brothers in the ruling family,[143] the name of Tonigala being mentioned as Tavarakkha (=Dvāraka mentioned in connection with Kāmbojas), and the Indus valley people to have informed Onesicritus of Taprobane,[144] the Greek name for Ceylon, all tend to indicate that the original Sinhalese came from the western region of Āryāvarta. Thus Paranavitāna draws the conclusion that Vijaya and his people arrived from the north-west of India, though of course from a much higher location in north-west India than has so far been considered.

Next the question of the date on which Vijaya and his men arrived in Ceylon According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* account Vijaya is said to have set foot on Laṅkā on the very day of the passing away into *nibbāna* of the Buddha.[145] But in the *Dīpavaṃsa* it is said that the event occurred at the time of the death of the Buddha, not precisely on the very day of his passing away.[146] The year of the Buddha's death has been discussed at length by Geiger.[147] His thesis has been worked out on the information available regarding the *abhiṣeka* of Aśoka,[148] the length of the reigns of Bindusāra and Candragupta,[149] and the mention of Candragupta[150] by Greek and Roman historians. On this evidence Geiger has worked the date of the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha to be 483 B.C. He however makes the following comment regarding his conclusion : " But we must emphatically state that this calculation too is hypothetical, that we are only able to give an approximate and not a perfectly exact result."[151] Oldenberg suggests 480 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death,[152] while Smith tentatively accepts the date as 543 B.C.[153] Gopala Aiyar considering Aśoka's coronation date to be 269 B.C. works out that the Buddha-parinirvāna occured in 487 B.C.[154] Agreeing with Fleet,[155] Geiger,[156] Wickrama-singhe,[157] Sylvain Levi,[158] Senaveratne[159] considers the date to be 483 B.C. Law mentions the fact that the date of the Buddha's *parinirvāna* is known to be 543 B.C. in Ceylon, Siam and Burma, and adds that up till the 15th century A.C. the Buddha era current in Ceylon had been 483 B.C.[160] Fleet[161] and Chatterji[162] have arrived at the date 483 B.C., working on the basis of the Sarvāstivāda and the Theravāda traditions respectively.[163] Basham shows somewhat of an uncertainty regarding the date of the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha, for he fixes it somewhere between the years 486–473 B.C.; but adds that the date is probably near the former than the latter.[164]

Tradition says that the Buddha died in the eighth year of Ajātasattu's reign.[165] This information has been used as a working data. As mentioned earlier, one Ceylon tradition is that the *parinibbāna* occurred in the year 543 B.C. The *Mahāvaṃsa* also mentions that the coronation of Aśoka took place 218 years after the death of the Buddha. Then there is a list of Greek kings in an Aśokan inscription where they are stated to be contemporaries of Aśoka.[166] From this evidence scholars have worked out that Aśoka's coronation took place within a few years of 269 B.C.[167] Working on this data the date of the *parinibbāna* has been worked out as 487 B.C. (e.g. 269+218). And this date finds near agreement with the so-called 'dotted record' maintained at Canton where a dot was recorded for each year from the death of the Buddha up to 489 A.D. With the total number of such dots being 975 the date on this reckoning has been worked out to 486 B.C. Geiger however does not attach much importance to this 'dotted record.'[168] And it seems that the *parinibbāna* date " still remains a vexed problem."[169] However, on the face of the evidence available, the date seems to fall roughly round about 483–487 B.C. And the majority of scholars now seem to accept the earlier date as the more probable one. If this be so, and if we accept the tradition that the date of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon synchronised with the date of the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha, then we may surmise that Vijaya and his men arrived in Ceylon somewhere round about 483 B.C. and settled down in this country as the original inhabitants of the Sinhalese race.

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1. See, UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 28-33
2. Ibid., p. 2 ; See also, JRASCB., NS., Vol. iii, 1954, p. 114
3. Dpv., Chap. ix ; See also, Supra, Chaps. 1 and 2.
4. See, Mhv., Chap. vi ; See also, Supra, p. 1, ff.
5. They themselves would have been influenced by earlier patterns appearing in the *Jātakas*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Mahābhārata* etc. See, UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 98
6. Chap. i, vv. 18, (here the reference is to earlier Buddhas, not to Buddha Kakusanda by name.) 72 ; Chap. xv, vv. 33–42
7. Mhv., Chap. xv, vv. 57–59
8. Ibid., v. 93
9. Ibid., vv. 125–127
10. See, OCC., pp. 43–44
11. Ibid., p. 44
12. Ibid., p. 44
13. See, Dpv., Chap. i, vv. 20–21, 46–47 ; OCC., p. 45 ; Raj., p. 17
14. See, Mhv., Chap. xv, vv. 160–165
15. See, Dpv., Chap. i, v. 49. Here the month is not specifically stated, although it is mentioned, as in the Mhv., that the Buddha was at the time living with Uruvela-Kassapa. See also, Mhv., Chap. i, v. 19 ; Raj., p. 17
16. See. Dpv., Chap. ii, vv. 2–3 ; Mhv., Chap. i, vv. 44–70 ; Raj., p. 18 ; here the visit is said to have taken place in the 6th year of Buddhahood.
17. See, Dpv., Chap., ii, vv. 52–53 ; Mhv., Chap. i, vv. 71–83; Raj., p. 18. Here the visit is said to have taken place in the 9th year of Buddhahood.
18. See, Giles, H. A.-*The Travels of Fa Hsien*, pp. 66–67 ; see also, Legge, J.-ed. *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, pp. 101–102.
19. *Dāsas* and *Rākṣasas* mentioned in the Ṛg Veda, are described as the original inhabitants of India before the advent of the Āryans. They are described as being godless, lawless noseless, of hostile speech, possessing metal forts and cattle etc.—See, *Vedic Index of names and Subjects*, Vol. i, pp. 356–358 ; See also, Griffith, R. T. H.-*Hymns of the Rigveda*, Vol. i, pp. 33, 60, 61, 91, 92, 114, 131, 133, 134, 169, 171, ff. ; Raj., p. 17
20. UCH., Ibid, p. 95
21. Ibid, p. 84
22. See, Supra, p. 24
23. See, Mhv., Chap. vii, vv. 35–36
24. Mhv., Chap. xiv, v. 7 ; see also, Dpv., Chap. i, v. 51, where the Buddha was considered to have been thought of as a *yakkha* by the *yakkhas* in Ceylon when he made his appearance in the sky before the *yakkhas* on his first visit to the Island.
25. See, UCH., Ibid., p. 30
26. " JCBRAS, XXXI (No. 82), pp. 303 ff ; *Mahābhārata*, *op. cit.*, *Ādiparva*, Chap. 31, v. 15. "
27. " Jacobi ; *Das Ramayana*, pp. 126 ff. See also, IHQ, II, pp. 345–350 and IV, pp. 339–346. "
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29. See, OCC., p. 46
30. UCH., Ibid., p. 136
31. JGIS., Vol. v, No. 2, p. 94
32. Wijesekera, N. D.–*People of Ceylon*, p. 44
33. UCH., Ibid., p. 30, fn. 13 ; Neville, Hugh–*Taprobanian*, Vol. i, 1886, pp. 66–68 ; JRASCB., Vol. xxiii, No. 67, pp. 289–290 ; Spittel, R. L.–*Loris*, 1936, Vol. i, pp. 37–46
34. " JCBRAS., (New series), II, p. 131 (No. 31) and JCBRAS XXXVI, p. 60. "; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 238
35. UCH., Ibid., p. 238

36. Ibid., p. 238
37. Mhv., Chap. vii, vv. 62–68
38. Mvṭ., Vol. i, Intro. p. LXXXVIII ; see also p. 264 ; Vol. ii, pp. 21–22
39. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 60, fn. 5 ; see also, JGIS., Vol. v, No. 2, pp. 94–95
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47. Seligman, C. G. and B. Z.–op. cit., Chaps. i and ii ; see also, Wijesekera, N. D.–op. cit., p. 20
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52. Ibid., p. 78
53. Ibid., p. 79
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57. See map facing p. 72 of UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1
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59. See, Chap. ix ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 102
60. Chap. ix, v. 3
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CHAPTER 3

THE LANGUAGE[1]

It has been shown in the preceding chapter that Ceylon had been inhabited from a very early date, even as far back as pre-historic times, although we do not know exactly who these inhabitants were.[2] In like manner we also do not know the form of language that they used. In the absence of any material evidence so far discovered, it is impossible for us to say anything regarding these early language or languages that may have been used by the earliest inhabitants of Ceylon. Geiger believes that the *väddās* were the original inhabitants of the Island at the time the Āryans arrived. It is stated that the language of the *väddās* is a non-Āryan language. The *väddā* dialect is fast disappearing today due to the inroads of modern civilisation into their midst, and " the last remnant of this language is a small number of words which survive up to the present day."[3] Nothing has however been recorded in the chronicles or any other source regarding the earlier human settlers of this Island whom the Āryans may have met when they first set foot on this island.[4] And no discovery has been made so far of any specimen of language that may have been prevalent in the pre-Āryan period.[5]

The earliest extant records we have in Ceylon are the cave or rock inscriptions which are all posterior to the introduction of Buddhism into the Island. These are inscribed in *Brāhmī* characters, and "the language of the *Brāhmī* inscriptions is of the same type as the Middle Indian Prakritic dialects both in phonology and in morphology."[6] Geiger calls this phase of the early language as Sinhalese Prākrit and dates it from about 200 B.C. to the 4th or 5th century A.C.[7] To form any notion regarding the character of our early language, we have to rely on these earliest specimens of the language used in Ceylon. This language may perhaps be a modified form of the language that may have emerged gradually as a result of the intermixture between the early immigrants and the original settlers who may have been inhabiting the Island prior to the arrival of Vijaya and his men. Commenting on the nature of this early language, Geiger makes the following statement : " It is an indisputable fact that the Sinhalese Language is one of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars and stands in a line with Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Bengālī, Hindostānī etc. The fact is sufficiently proved by Sinhalese phonology and morphology and it is acknowledged without reservation in the Linguistic Survey of India I. 1, p. 145, though Sinhalese is not dealt with in the Survey, as it is not a language of India proper, but confined to the Island of Ceylon. But although the general character of the Sinhalese language is beyond a doubt, it is nevertheless very difficult to answer the question as to which group of the Indian vernaculars it must be assigned."[8]

The question of the nature of the language is linked with the question of the original home of the early immigrants to Ceylon. This subject has been discussed in the preceding chapter, and hence need not be recounted here. Though it is now accepted without question that the Sinhalese language is an Indo-Āryan language, this acceptance has been achieved only after a considerable length of time.

Tennent in his *History of Ceylon* assigns to Sinhalese a place among the Dravidian languages. He says : " Singhalese, as it is spoken at the present day, and, still more strikingly, as it exists as a written language in the literature of the island, presents unequivocal proofs of an affinity with the group of languages still in use in the Dekkan ; Tamil, Telingu, and Malayalim." [9] Scholars like Rask, Müller and Haas have asserted that Sinhalese either belonged to the Dravidian family of languages or its base was Dravidian.[10] In the introductory portion of his *Sidathsangarāwa*, James De Alwis himself seems to be rather uncertain as to the nature and the origin of the Sinhalese language. He says : " The Singhalese is unquestionably an Indian dialect ; and looking merely to the geographical position of Ceylon, it is but natural to conclude that the Singhalese owe their origin to the inhabitants of Southern India, and that their language belongs to the Southern family of languages. To trace therefore the Singhalese to one of the Northern family of languages, and to call it a *dialect* of Sanscrit, is apparently far more difficult than to assign it an origin common with the Telingu, Tamil, and Malayalim, the *Southern* family.

" But in view of all the arguments *pro* and *con*, the Singhalese appears to us to be either a kindred language of the Sanscrit, or one of those tongues (as indeed the Singhalese Alphabet, as old as the language itself, testifies, *vide infra*), which falls under the head of the Southern class. Yet upon the whole, we incline to the opinion, that it is the former."[11] At a subsequent date however, James De Alwis not only asserts categorically that Sinhalese is an Indo-Āryan language as opposed to Dravidian, but also adduces evidence in support of his proposition.[12] And he says : " (1) whether we compare the *phonetic system* of the Sinhalese with that of the Dravidians ; or (2) resort to *lexical analogies* of the same languages ; or (3) compare their *grammatical relations* ; or (4) examine the *syntactical arrangement* of their words, we arrive at but one conclusion viz., that the Sinhalese is as independent of the Dravidian as the latter is of the Sanskrit." [13]

The view expressed by James De Alwis has further been accepted and confirmed by the labours of scholars like Childers,[14] Rhys Davids,[15] Goldschmidt,[16] Müller[17] and Geiger.[18] As a result of the labours of these scholars it has now been finally accepted that the Sinhalese language is an Indo-Āryan language, though there have been dissentient views expressed even amidst such consensus of opinion. Rev. Fr. Gnānapragasar has attempted to make out that the Sinhalese originated from the Tamil.[19] When his view was expressed before a general meeting of the Ceylon branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held in December 1934, both D. M. de Z. Wickramasinghe and Julius de Lanerolle apart from the chairman himself expressed doubts as to the accuracy of the theory propounded by him.[20] Soon afterwards, Geiger himself commenting on this theory has dismissed it as being not worthy of any serious consideration,[21] since his methods, as he says, "are simply a relapse into the old practice of comparing two or more words of the most distant languages merely on the basis of similar sounds, without any consideration for chronology, for phonological principles, or for the historical development of words and forms."[22]

There is however no more difference of opinion today regarding the nature of the Sinhalese language, the fact of it being an Indo-Āryan language. But the difficulty has arisen in the attempt of scholars in trying to assign to the Sinhalese language a

definite place among the modern Indo-Āryan dialects. Scholars are generally divided into two groups in this controversy, one considering the Sinhalese to be a western dialect and the other an eastern dialect of India. These two theories have been put forward on the basis of the original home of the immigrant Āryans who came and settled down in the Island. This subject has already been discussed in the preceding chapter, and therefore need not be repeated here.

Geiger and Jayatilaka mention the fact that the Sinhalese language is composite in character, and as such it is perhaps impossible to assign it a definite place among the modern Indo-Āryan dialects.[23] They have however affirmed the base of the Sinhalese language to be a western dialect which finally incorporated into it various characteristics of eastern dialects too as a result of subsequent immigrants arriving and settling down in the country, mainly from the eastern part of the mainland.[24] Siddhārtha has tried to examine the nature of the Sinhalese language by observing Aśokan inscriptions, and comparing them with Sinhalese and other Āryan languages like Pāli and Sanskrit.[25] From this survey he surmises that these dialects resemble one another, and as such concludes that the Sinhalese language is Āryan in character.[26] But of course when it comes to deciding whether it is eastern or western, Siddhārtha has taken the side of the western theorists. Sahidullah, comparing the Sinhalese language with the language of "the inscriptions of Aśoka at Girnar as representing the western dialect and those of Dhauli as representing the eastern dialect ;"[27] and examining the legend of the Vijayan immigration, has concluded that Sinhalese has originated from the language of Bengal.[28] Thus basing his arguments on philology and ethnology Sahidullah asserts the eastern origin of the Sinhalese language, and finds fault with the western theory of Geiger in the following terms : " Dr. W. Geiger is certainly wrong in his method to compare Sinhalese with the western Indian languages, Marathi, Gujrati and Sindhi as to the preservation of *y* and *v* and come to the conclusion that Sinhalese belongs to the western Group. These two sounds were preserved in the eastern as well as the western dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka and we may presume that they were also found in the old Rāḍha dialect, though changed later on. It is only scientific to hold that Sinhalese is to be derived from an old Rāḍha dialect of the sixth century B.C., the characteristics of which we can gather by the help of linguistic methods. I do not deny, however, that Sinhalese was influenced later on by Pāli, the sacred language of the people, and by Gujrati, the language of the later immigrants. The early relationship of Ceylon with the Tamil people has also something to do with the development of the Sinhalese language." [29]

Geiger subsequently meets some of the arguments adduced by Sahidullah[30] and says his arguments are not sufficient,[31] whereas Wijeratne asserts they are convincing from the standpoint of philology,[32] and Paranavitāna maintains that they cannot easily be ruled out.[33] Wijeratne too examined the subject mainly from the angle of philology and concludes that Sinhalese has an eastern origin.[34] Regarding the suggestion made by western theorists of a second stream of immigrants from eastern India in order to explain the marriage of Panduvasdev to Bhaddakaccānā, daughter of the Sākyan prince who founded a kingdom in the eastern region of the

mainland, Wijeratne thinks that such a marriage alliance would not be possible so soon after the colonisation of the country if Vijaya and his men came from the western region of India.[35] He further considers as fanciful Geiger's theory that immediately after the arrival in the Island of Vijaya and his men from the western part of India there began a lively intercourse between these new arrivals in Ceylon and the people of the eastern part of the mainland.[36] Some of the observations presented by Wijeratne to establish his view of the eastern origin of the Sinhalese language may be noted in his own words. "Some facts which may be adduced in order to connect Sgh. with Eastern Modern Indian rather than the Western are as follows (here inter-dialectal borrowings must be set aside) : In the cerebral treatment of the Sk. group *r*+ dental, Sgh. is in accordance with the Eastern group, where it is generally cerebral, as against the Western where it is generally dental. In the confusion of Sk. —*n*—, —*ṇ*— as —*n*—, Sgh. agrees with the Eastern (also Central) group, whereas the Western (also North-Western) have confused them as —*ṇ*—. Again, as regards the non-elision of the Sk. intervocalic palatals —*c*—, —*j*—, Sgh. is in conformity with the descendants of Māgadhī. As shown for Bengali by Chatterji, words which retain the intervocal —*c*—, —*j*— are genuine Bengali words, whereas those with elided palatal are borrowings from the West. Also, the second century B.C. *jhita* "daughter", which is cognate with Bengali *jhī*, Oṛiya *jhia*, is noteworthy. Then in the treatment of Sk. *kṣ*, Sgh. cannot be connected with Marāṭhī, as suggested by Bloch and Chatterji ; Marāṭhī is a *ch*- language, whereas Sgh. is a *k* language and agrees with the Eastern group and also with Gujarātī, Sindhī, Lahndā, Pañjābī and Hindī ; contrary examples with *ch* (<Sk. *kṣ*) >*s* in Sgh. are borrowed words and appear as additions to the language. Finally, the fact that initial Sk. *v*— is conserved in Sgh. — in seeming opposition to the otherwise close resemblance to the Eastern languages, since they have changed *v*— to *b*— — is certainly no argument for connecting Sgh. with the Western group, although Geiger and Bloch have made this a basis of their classification. There is no evidence that at the time of the first colonization of Ceylon initial *v*— had passed to *b*– in Eastern Indo-Āryan.

"I do not deny, however, that Sgh. contains many words of Western origin, but these are to be regarded as words borrowed from some Western dialect of India, and in reality they do not represent the basic stratum of Sgh. It is probable that these borrowings, which have greatly enriched the Sgh. vocabulary, were imported into the language at various times by later immigrants from the West. It is equally probable that many of the Western forms were introduced into the language through the medium of Pali, in which itself the Western forms were impositions. The dominant influence of Pali, the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, is unquestionable."[37]

One might finally say that the attempt to fix conclusively the original home of the Āryan language has continued to be a vexed problem, although there is now no question as to the Sinhalese being an Indo-Āryan language. If it be accepted that Vijaya was the original Āryan immigrant, and that he arrived in Ceylon in the 5th century B.C., it has to be accepted that he brought along with him the language of his native land prevalent during his time.

One hardly knows anything about the pre-Āryan inhabitants of the Island, nor about their language. It may be surmised that Vijaya was a very dominant and assertive character. This fact is revealed in the account of Vijaya appearing in the chronicles.[38] Deeds of violence were done by Vijaya and his men both in their native Lāḷa as well as outside.[39] The traditional account of his dealings with Kuveṇi and the *yakkha* inhabitants too display his dominant and impetuous personality. One could therefore presume that Vijaya not only maintained his own native tongue in his new found territory, but also imposed it on the possible inhabitants of the Island at the time of his arrival. It may also be possible that the native language of the Island may have had some influence on the language of Vijaya too,[40] considering such situations as Vijaya having Kuveṇi for wife even though only for a short time. With the arrival of subsequent immigrants from both the north-western and the north-eastern part of the mainland it has no doubt, to be accepted that characteristics of these varied languages would have merged into the language pattern of Vijaya and his men. If it is accepted that Vijaya got down brides for himself and his men from south India,[41] the south Indian language pattern too would have had its influence on the language of Vijaya. This language which gradually developed merging into it various elements that came on its way from time to time would also have been markedly influenced by the introduction of Buddhism into the country by Mahinda and the establishment of religious and educational institutions that appeared on its wake. The earliest form of the Sinhalese language as revealed by the earliest extant records contain characteristics of Prākrit,[42] and as mentioned earlier, this phase is termed Sinhalese Prākrit by Geiger.[43] It was during the subsequent period, the 'Proto-Sinhalese era' (4th or 5th century A.C.—8th century A.C.), according to Geiger, during which " a radical linguistic revolution "[44] took place, which led to the evolution of the Mediaeval Sinhalese pattern of the 8–13th century A.C.

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CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The traditional account of the arrival of Vijaya in Ceylon[1] mentions that he landed at a place named Tambapaṇṇi. Here he founded a settlement, also named Tambapaṇṇi, while his ministers founded other settlements under their own names. Vijaya having vanquished the *yakkhas* with the help of the *yakkhinī* Kuveṇi ruled from his settlement Tambapaṇṇi.[2] This first capital of Ceylon, has been taken by Geiger to be located somewhere south of the Malvatu Oya between Anurādhapura and the sea coast.[3]

Having arrived at his new-found home and established himself in his new surroundings, it would be justifiable for us to assume that Vijaya set about his task of building up a new colony for himself and his men in accordance with the social and political institutions he had been accustomed to, before he set out from his own native land. If we accept the position that Vijaya arrived in Ceylon in the 5th century B.C., we would be justifiable in examining the social and political pattern that prevailed in India round about this period, in order to visualize the pattern that would have been set in Ceylon by Vijaya and his men.

The sixth century B.C. seems to have been a period in which accepted traditions were being questioned in various parts of the world. Greece and China produced their own pioneers in this field in the persons of Pythagoras and Confucius respectively. In India it was a period of reaction against Brāhmanical practices and their religious and sacrificial ceremonies. There was a " wave of dissatisfaction with the system of orthodox Brāhmaṇism which seems to have swept over the Ganges valley in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C."[4] Thus during this period we observe in India many types of ascetic professing different views regarding life and its problems, and advocating different remedies for their solution. Two outstanding religions that emerged during this period are Jainism and Buddhism, both of which rejected the sacrificial ceremonies of the Brāhamaṇas and the speculations of the Upanishads.

Apart from these religious quests that pervaded the religious atmosphere of the Indian continent, there were also at this time other social and political changes as well. At the time of the Buddha there were two great kingdoms in India, Kosala and Magadha. Both were in the process of expansion, Kosala having annexed the territory of Kāsi situated on its borders ; and Magadha, the territory of Aṅga, which was in its eastern borders.[5] To the north of these two great kingdoms were some tribal states precariously maintaining their individual existence in the face of such territorial expansion. The most famous of these states were the Śākyas, already a tributory to the Kosala kingdom and the confederacy of the Vajjis which fell later to Ajātasattu, son of the Magadhan king Bimbisāra. It was in Magadha that both Buddhism, Jainism and other religious doctrines which appeared as a form of reaction against the prevailing Brāhmanism, found their largest number of adherents when they were first preached. The republic of the Licchavis and the kingdom of Kosala too were annexed to the Magadhan kingdom soon after the time of the Buddha. This was the main political condition of India during the lifetime of the Buddha.

At this time there were also recognised trade routes which covered most of the northern part of India. Buddhist literature indicates the existence of an extensive system of caravan routes linking the important trade centres throughout the country.[6] Some of these important routes in India may be noted. A road started from Vesāli and connected up important cities in north-west India such as Pāvā, Kusīnagara, Kapilavatthu, Setavya, Śrāvasti, Sāketa etc.[7] Another route from Vesāli traversed towards the south reaching important towns on its way such as Nādika, Koṭigāma, Pāṭalīgāma, Nālandā, Ambalaṭṭhikā and Rājagaha.[8] There were other numerous important roads which linked up the many trade and other centres of the country. These already existing routes were improved during the Mauryan period, so much so that the important cities in their vast territory were accessible through these roads. Thus during the time of the Buddha there was a flourishing trade between India and the eastern countries like China, and the western countries like Greece and Rome.[9] India also had a flourishing sea trade during this time, which was carried on in ships constructed by the Indians themselves. Ships are mentioned even in the *Ṛg Veda* and constantly in later literature, especially in the *Jātakas*; there are also Śilpaśāstras in which their forms and purposes are described in detail.[10]

At the time of the death of the Buddha almost all the important states of northern India had been influenced by the religion preached by the Buddha, as is warranted by the fact that claimants from eight different regions in India claimed a portion of the remains of the Buddha after he was cremated.[11] One of the pressing social problems of India during the time of the Buddha was the question of caste. The attitude of the Buddha to the question of caste is found expressed in many a text in the Pāli canon.[12] The Indian caste system had however not yet assumed its great rigidity during this period although the third caste, the Vaiśyas, as a result of their emergence into importance through their opening up extensive trade during this period, took exception to the social pattern advocated and practised by the priestly Brāhmins. Their hostility however did not take the form of open revolt at the time, but one of social tension and political opposition. Though the Vaiśyas were technically included in the favoured group according to the Brāhmanical caste system, they were more or less excluded from the privileged postion enjoyed by the two higher castes in practical matters of daily life. The Buddha expressed in no uncertain terms his opposition to the caste system prevailing during his time ; however he never condemned it outright. The Buddha only opposed a privileged position of caste by the mere fact of birth, but insisted on Brāhmanhood by moral virtue. During the time of the Buddha the institution of caste was not so obnoxious as to provoke men to fight for its eradication. Buddha's main mission was towards a religious and spiritual life. And his Order was open without distinction to anyone irrespective of caste or creed.[13] Caste however, was one of the main social institutions that was brought over to Ceylon by the pioneer immigrants.

As has already been mentioned Vijaya founded the settlement named Tambapaṇṇi, while his ministers founded different villages. Anurādha founded the place named Anurādhagāma near the Kadamba river, Upatissa built Upatissagāma on the banks of the Gambhīra river to the north of Anurādhagāma, while three others built settlements which they named as Ujjenī, Uruvelā and Vijita.[14] All these settlements have been founded close to rivers where water was easily accessible.[15] Apart from the above settlements, there seems to have been other settlements started perhaps subsequently by other immigrants to the country shortly after the arrival of the pioneers headed by Vijaya, also by the banks of rivers, namely Dīghāyu or Dīghavāpi on the Gal Oya and Mahāgāma on the Kirindi Oya in the eastern and the southern regions of the Island respectively.

The actual extent of the settlements cannot be ascertained from the available sources. It is possible that different groups of immigrants founded settlements along various rivers close to their places of landing. Thus Vijaya and his band of men having landed in the north–western region of the Island advanced into the interior of the country along the Kadamba river or the Malvatu Oya, finally advancing beyond the Mahaväli Gaňga in the course of time. There were also settlements in the south-eastern part of the Island which were situated mainly along the four rivers, Valave Gaňga, Kirindi Oya, Mänik Gaňga, and Kumbukkan Oya.[16]

These settlements may have been opened up by the *kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma and Candanagāma.[17] The *kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma and Candanagāma were invited to Anurādhapura by Devānampiyatissa at the planting of the sacred Bodhi tree.[18] There was also another centre of settlement in the upper banks of the Kälaṇi Gaňga, opened up perhaps by another stream of immigrants from India. This region does not seem to have come under the authority of the Anurādhapura or Māgama settlements. Of the settlements at Kalyāṇi and at Rohaṇa, Paranavitāna makes the following comments : "There were rulers of inferior status, who had the title of *raja*, in various parts of the Island. The *Mahāvaṁsa* mentions the *rāja* of Kalyāṇi (Kälaṇi) and the *Dhātuvaṁsa* has reference to such kinglets at two places within Rohaṇa.[19] Inscriptions of the early period found at Ämbulaṁbē in the Mātalē District, Periyapuḷiyankuḷam in the Vavuniyā District, Yaṭahaleṇa and Leṇagala in the Kägalla District, Baṁbaragala in the Kandy District, and an ancient site in the forest beyond Mahiyaṅgana in the Uva Province, contain the names of local rulers, bearing the title *raja*, who do not seem to have been connected with the royal family at Anurādhapura. The sons of these *rajas*, like the princes of the Anurādhapura royal family, had the title of *aya*. Members of a local ruling family, with titles of *gamaṇi*, *raja* and *aya* borne by the males, and *abi* by females, are known from a number of inscriptions in the south-eastern part of Ceylon; it has been suggested that they were the *kṣatriyas* of Kataragama."[20]

Thus it may be surmised there had been several streams of immigrants coming from India at the beginning, which process would have continued for a considerable extent of time. These different groups at the particular locations enumerated above may not have had any mutual connections at the beginning, though gradually each group may have come to be aware of the existence of the other. At the same time, it may be possible for us to surmise, in the light of the accounts in the *Siṁhalāvadāna* and other similar Buddhist Sanskrit writings, that even before permanent settlements had been established in the Island by the Āryans in the person of Vijaya and similar immigrants, inhabitants of the neighbouring country would have been attracted towards the Island for commercial gain.[21] Pearls in the north-western region and precious stones found in the upper regions of the Kālaṇi river would have perhaps attracted people to frequent the Island even before a permanent settlement was established in the country. Most of these early settlements[22] opened up by the early inhabitants of the Island are named as *gāmas*, such as Anurādhagāma, Upatissagāma and Mahāgāma, etc.

The idea and the institution of the *gāma* or village was brought to Ceylon by the first Āryan settlers, who having migrated from their homeland in India made Ceylon their permanent settlement.[23] Since the earliest times the village or *gāma* had been the main territorial unit of administration in India. Its importance was naturally very great when each settlement unit had to be self-sufficient in the absence of industrialisation and satisfactory modes of communication during those very early days. Even in modern times India is often described as a country of villages. It is in recognition of this fact that Gandhi, when he wanted to reorganise the pattern of education in India, planned his Wardha scheme of education whereby he desired to take education into the country side, namely the villages.[24] The town played somewhat of an insignificant role in ancient Indian polity. In Vedic times prayers were made for the prosperity and welfare of villages but rarely for cities or towns.[25] King Bimbisāra of Magadha is spoken of as having convened a meeting of the headmen of the villages,[26] and the *Jātakas* speaking about the prosperity of a kingdom speak proudly of the existence of a large number of prosperous villages included in it rather than towns and cities that may have been attached to it during the time.[27]

Various views have been put forward regarding the origin and evolution of the village. According to some it consisted of a group of the several houses which belonged to the different members of the family,[28] while others derive its name from the sense of 'horde' as describing the armed forces of the tribe, which in war was divided into smaller units as being composed of the various divisions of the family.[29] Barnett describes the village in the following terms : The village " was based upon the bond of the family or the clan consolidated by territorial ownership. The original tie of real or assumed kinship between the various households constituting the village gradually gave way to the idea of ownership in the same territory, and thus arose the conception of the village as a political unit in the social organism, composed of a limited number of full-blooded Āryan agricultural families with their native serfs and a considerable admixture of persons of various degrees of racial purity, whose social status or caste was regulated by their blood or occupations, or by both factors."[30]

Gāma or village has been described in Pāli works as containing a minimum of one house.[31] The number of inhabitants in a *gāma* varied from 30-1000 families according to the *Jātaka* tales.[32] *Gāma* is also defined as any place where caravan traders lived at least for four months without departure.[33]

The picture of a village community in India in 6th century B.C. could be gathered from the accounts found in the *Jātakas* describing such institutions.

A village was sometimes surrounded by a brick wall or a fence of thorny branches[34] though sometimes such a feature is not found. The village included both the group of houses and the surrounding lands which were cultivated. The houses were usually clustered together and were built on an elevation at some convenient point within the village area, very often at the centre. Such a village was often surrounded by walls having at least two gateways[35] leading out of it. The wall or fence was intended as a means of protection against common dangers such as enemies, animals and robbers. Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* says that around every village an enclosure with timber posts shall be constructed.[36] Usually the land situated within the *gāma* boundry was divided into three parts, one is set apart for habitation, one for cultivation, and the other for pasture.[37] The portion set apart for habitation was usually surrounded by the common or individually owned cultivated land, the *gāmakhetta.*[38] These holdings were generally small enough to be able to be cultivated and maintained by each family, sometimes even with the help of hired labour.[39] Each plot of field was usually separated from the other by the water channel[40] which also provided the necessary water for cultivation. Around the *gāmakhettas* was a belt of common and undivided pasture land on which the cattle in the village grazed.[41] According to Manu[42] the extent of this grazing land is about 400 cubits or 600 feet for a small village. Kauṭilya too makes reference to grazing lands.[43] The *Ṛgveda* mentions *gavya* or *gavyuti* to denote the pasture land.[44] This pasture land was the furthest constituent of the village, beyond which were the uncleared jungle lands which provided the village with its requirements of timber and fire wood apart from it providing a suitable dumping ground. Very often some part of the open forest was available for clearing up as further cultivated land as the community increased in the village, or as the necessity arose for such activity. Usually the village was situated by the banks of a river[45] which provided the water needed for agricultural pursuits. The village also consisted of its common tank or pond or its public well and the village temple,[46] perhaps situated at the outskirts.

The typical village was mainly agricultural in its pursuits. The inhabitants of the villages individually or collectively tilled their fields and subsisted on the harvest that was thus obtained. The various requirements such as field labour, implements, etc., would have been provided at the beginning by the residents themselves. Thus there was mutual help forthcoming among the members of the village. And at the beginning it is possible that the Ceylon village was heterogenous in character where men of all castes and professions lived together. It was perhaps a later development that provided exclusive occupation of a village to members of a particular

caste or a profession. Thus in the course of time there appeared villages of a particular type. There were thus *gāmas* of Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmaṇa farmers,[47] carpenters,[48] smiths,[49] potters,[50] hunters,[51] robbers,[52] weavers,[53] caṇḍālas,[54] etc.

The process of immigration which had begun in the 5th century B.C. had gone on apace with fresh bands of immigrants coming from time to time and settling down permanently in the Island and devising various methods of adapting themselves to the conditions of the country in accordance with the practices they have been accustomed to in their own native land. Thus by about the beginning of the second century B.C. if not earlier, the entire so-called dry zone of the country was populated, most thickly in the north central region. With these new developments the settlers had seen the necessity for the conservation of water, and consequently the construction of tanks and irrigation works had begun.[55] Beacuse the dry zone receives rain only during October and April, the main problem of this area was that of water. The early people of Ceylon took advantage of the contour of the region, and by closing the gaps between ridges of hills with dams they constructed small reservoirs. By daming rivers at higher levels water was diverted along channels for farming needs etc.[56]

By the end of the first century B.C. lower montane zone in the Mahaväli Gaňga valley around Teldeṇi, Kandy and Gampola, the lesser hills to the north-west of Badulla and the northern and western slopes of the Matale hills were populated.[57] " The evidence of the distribution of the early Brāhmī inscriptions indicates that, by the third or second century B.C., the ancient Sinhalese had occupied practically the whole of the Island. "[58] And one of the main features of the establishment of a village settlement was the availability of water. For this they depended on the river close by or the possibility of building tanks. This can be seen by the location of the early settlements and the names of some of the villages themselves. There are a number of ' tank-villages ' such as Sumanavāpi-Gāma,[59] Peḷivāpika-Gāma,[60] Vihāravāpi-Gāma,[61] Hundarīvāpi-Gāma,[62] Kadahavāpi-Gāma,[63] and the like.

The earlier settlements built by Vijaya and his ministers would have had an administration of the type that prevailed in India during the time. In fact it is mentioned in the chronicles that Vijaya ruled from his settlement Tambapaṇṇi. During ancient times in India though we find the king often mentioned in the Vedas his powers or dominion was not extensive.[64] The *grāmaṇī* or the leader of the village was practically the sole ruler. He led the village against its enemies in warfare and took the leading part in the religious rites and peace time activities of the village. He was also responsible for the *dakṣiṇā* to be distributed to the priests who undertook to perform religious rites on their behalf. Each village had its own controlling body of elders, the *sabhā* which dealt with matters of public importance and private disputes. Gradually this seemingly autonomous institution became a constituent part of a larger political unit during the later Vedic period when we begin to read about the king and his *samiti*.[65] The *jātaka* stories, though compiled during the Maurya period, undoubtedly portray life in the earlier centuries. During this period the village was not an independant institution but was a subordinate unit of a principality or a state.

There was a *grāmaṇī* or the chief of the village. He was called the *grāmika* in the Sanskrit books.[66] This post of *grāmaṇī* was perhaps hereditary at this time and he was responsible for the collection of revenue and the defence of the village. He had an informal council of village elders which he would occassionally consult on matters of the village. The various public works that became necessary in the village were attended to by the villagers themselves contributing labour, kind or money. The everyday economic needs of the village too were met by hereditary artisans resident in the village who were paid usually in grain share. The entire community was mainly agricultural and whatever payments were made were often paid in the form of grain share.[67]

The regular administrative officer of the time of the *jātakas* was the *gāmabhojaka*, who corresponded to the chief of the homogeneous *brāhmaṇa* and other villages.[68] The function of the *gāmabhojaka* was to collect revenue and defend the village with the help of the local men.[69] During the time of the Buddha and both prior and subsequent to him the *gāmabhojaka* was an accepted institution. Just as in Vedic times *grāmaṇī* was indispensable to lead the village against all possible attack, similarly in later times, the *gāmaṇī* was the most important individual in the village.

From Pāli writings we observe that the words *gāmika* and *gāmaṇī* were both used side by side. In the Vedic *grāmaṇī* who was the military leader of the village and in the post-Vedic period he was more the head of the village administration attending to the economic and social requirements of the village.[70] The word *gāmaṇī* had been used as an honorific title too.[71] The use of the term in Indian sources does not indicate any instance of the term being used to indicate royalty. In Ceylon too the village administration was "under the control of an officer called *gamika*, to whom a number of early inscriptions make reference. He appears to have been of the same status as the *gāma-bhojaka* mentioned in Pāli literature, and the office very often seems to have been hereditary. Persons holding this office seem to have had, in the early days, a status far superior to what one would assume in the case of a village-headman. Some of them were of such consequence, and were possessed of such material resources as to employ a treasurer (baḍakarika) under them.[72] Their social status seems also to have been considerably high, for there was a *gamika* who was the maternal grandfather of a prince. A daughter of a *gamika* married a *parumaka* whose position in society, as would be shown later, was very high.[73] A *gamika* was a minister of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya, and another of this class held the position of treasurer. In general, the *gamikas* of Ceylon during the two or three centuries preceding the Christian era appear to have had the same position as the *gāmaṇīs* in India at a slightly earlier date."[74] This term *gāmaṇī* was borne by members of the early Ceylon royal family as is warranted in the early Ceylon inscriptions as well as in literary works.[75] Paranavitāna says these early Ceylon royals had mercantile associations,[76] and hence they would have belonged to the *Vaiśya* caste.

While the term *gāmaṇī* was never used in India in the case of kings, it has been shown above that the *gāmaṇī* of early Ceylon were men of high standing in society who were included among the royalty. This word was used to denote a royal personage for the first time in regard to the son of prince Dīghāyu, one of the brothers of

Bhaddakaccānā, the queen of Paṇḍuvāsudeva. He is spoken of as Dīghagāmaṇi.[77] It may be observed that he must have hailed from the settlement named Dīghāyu, established by his father Dīghāyu on the banks of the Gal Oya after he came over to Ceylon. The next historical person we observe named *gāmaṇī* was the brother of Devānampiyatissa, Uttiya.[78] After this we see both the sons of Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, the ruler of Rohaṇa kingdom having *gāmaṇī* as a portion of their name. The elder son is named Gāmaṇī Abhaya[79] (Duṭṭhagāmaṇī) and the younger Gāmaṇī Tisa.[80] (Saddhā Tissa). The term forms part of the name of other rulers as well, such as Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya,[81] Amaṇḍagāmaṇī Abahya,[82] Gajabāhuka Gāmaṇī,[83] after whom the term appears to have gone out of use, at least judging from the list of names of the ruling kings.[84]

After Vijaya and his ministers had founded villages in Ceylon it is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* that his ministers approached Vijaya and requested him to assume rulership of the Island by formal consecration as king.[85] We have observed earlier that the early inscriptions of Ceylon indicate the fact that the early rulers of the Island were of a type of chieftain of the village with the designation *gāmaṇī*.[86] In India we also observed the appearance of kingship in the person of Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu during the lifetime of the Buddha. From Vedic times downwards the king had been regarded as the supporter and upholder of the law, the 'dharma.'[87] It was believed that any unhappiness, misery and pestilence among the subjects were attributed to the failure of the king to conform to the duties (*rājadharma*) of the king. It is said that even sugar and salt lose their flavour during the rule of an unjust king.[88]

In regard to kingship, early Buddhism preached the theory of *Mahāsammata* based on an agreement between the population and the person they elect as king. The king so elected was a servant of the state and his payment for the part he played was that of the land tax which was paid to him.[89] The necessity for the election of a king seems to have arisen in order to preserve certain social institutions such as family, property, justice, etc., and the king so elected remained in office so long as these needs were satisfied. Vedic literature in respect of speculation regarding the origin of kingship seems to indicate that the ancient Indians found in the institution of the king a capable and strong military leader who was capable enough to defend their rights against any aggressor.[90] During the Aśokan times we observe from Aśoka's own inscriptions that he considered himself a sort of father to his subjects,[91] than as a sort of *Mahāsammata* (a popular elect) according to the Buddhistic theory.

From earliest times we observe that the governmental pattern in Ceylon was monarchial. Even if we may discount the tradition that Vijaya was a prince of a ruling monarch, we may surmise that after he and his men established themselves in Ceylon, his men were naturally anxious to see that their newly earned territory was safe against any local aggression, which they would certainly have had to face. The traditional story regarding the destruction of the *yakkhas* at their wedding festival[92] was perhaps a recounting of the developments that may have arisen between the earlier inhabitants of the Island and the newly arrived Āryans who would naturally have been considered as aggressors by the earlier local inhabitants. It may perhaps be that it was this desire on their part that prompted

them to request Vijaya to assume rulership in the Island. "The prosperity of both agriculturists and traders depended on good government, and we may turn our attention to the manner in which this was ensured in ancient Ceylon. From the earliest times to which our available records, literary as well as monumental, go back, the government of the Island has been of the monarchial type, though the titles *gamaṇi* and *maparumaka* which were borne by early kings, and certain references in the *Mahāvaṁsa* commentary....seem to hark back to a time when the government was of a more popular nature.[93] The king was the focus of the entire administrative machinery, and good government very often depended on the character of the person who occupied the throne. Kingship was hereditary in a family which, by common consent, was considered to be of *kṣatriya* lineage, and the term *khattiya* is often synonymous with *rāja* in the chronicles." [94]

Vijaya was however reluctant to be consecrated ruler of the Island, his objection being that it would not be fitting that consecration should take place without at the same time consecrating a queen of equal rank.[95] This difficulty was surmounted by his ministers, as according to the chronicles, they managed to get down a queen and her retinue from Madhurā, and finally Vijaya is said to have been consecrated king.[96] It is however doubted whether Vijaya went through the rite of consecration at all. When the envoys of Devānampiyatissa reached the court of the Mauryan king Aśoka, he is said to have enquired from the ambassadors the coronation practice that was prevalent in Ceylon at the time.[97] He is said to have been told that the ruler exercises his power by the assumption of a new staff, a *yaṣṭi*, which seems to indicate his emblem of regal authority. Thus it appears that the early rulers seem to have held office without the ceremony of unction. This situation seems to be supported by the fact that the early Ceylon rulers were known by the title of *gāmaṇī*. Commenting on this form of rule mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā*, Paranavitāna makes the following observation : "In ancient times, there was no kingship without *abhiṣeka*, and the inevitable conculsion that one can draw from the statement in this early source is that, at the time when Tissa's envoys went to Pāṭalīputra, the ruler of Ceylon did not, in fact, enjoy the status of a king.

"This conclusion is supported by one of the titles borne by the early kings of Ceylon, i.e. *gāmaṇī* (Skt. *grāmaṇī*) which means 'leader of the community', and was in ancient India the designation of the chief of the Vaiśyas. The title *gāmaṇī* was borne by the chiefs of mercantile and other corporations also. In addition to the kings of Anurādhapura, there were other provincial rulers in ancient Ceylon who had the title of *gāmaṇī*. Another title of Sinhalese kings was *ma-parumaka* (Skt. *mahā-pramukha*), and there were numerous *parumakas* (*pramukhas*) all over the Island in the centuries preceding and immediately following the beginning of the Christian era. It is therefore clear that when Tissa began his rule, he only had the title of *gāmaṇī*, and that the real purpose of the mission that he sent to Asoka was to obtain the support of the great Indian emperor for his assumption of royal honours, so that he may be acknowledged as such by the other *gāmaṇīs* and *parumakas* in Ceylon. The adoption by Tissa of the title of *Devānaṁpiya*, which is not known to have been used by members of dynasties other than Asoka's, would also indicate that kingship was an institution introduced to Ceylon under the influence of the Mauryan emperor."[98]

It is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* that Vijaya refused consecration without the presence of a *khattiya* queen.[99] The men who accompanied Vijaya are also designated as *khattiyas*.[100] In India though the Brāhmaṇic circles had assigned to the *kṣatriyas* a place inferior to themselves, the *kṣatriyas* gradually claimed for themselves a position equal if not even superior to the *Brāhmaṇas*.[101] This *khattiya* movement finds its culmination in the persons of Mahāvīra and Buddha, who were both *khattiyas*.[101] There were other settlements probably opened up later, in which we find the presence of other *khattiyas*. There were the *khattiyas* of Kājaragāma[102] and Candanagāma.[103] When the Bodhi tree was brought to Ceylon it is said that eight brothers of the mother of Sanghamittā accompanied her and they are mentioned as *khattiyas* and are said to have been given various offices of the state by Devānampiyatissa and provided with places of residence in the country.[104] The mother of Sanghamittā was Vedisadevi, a daughter of a *seṭṭhi* at Vidisā, thus a *vaiśya*, and as such, it is not very clear how such a claim could be made by them. In mediaeval times some of the royafamilies of Ceylon have claimed descent from Sumitta, one of the brothers of Vedisal devi.[105] There were also other *kṣatriyas* at Kālaṇiya[106] and Māgama.[107] Though Vijaya is not specifically mentioned as a *khattiya* in the chronicles we could surmise according to the same source that he was a *khattiya* too, on the grounds that his men are spoken of as being *khattiyas* ; that he expressed the view that for his consecration a *khattiya* queen was necessary, and that his successor Paṇḍuvāsudeva is mentioned as being a *khattiya*,[108] if we are to ignore the suggestion that he formed the spearhead of a different wave of immigrants. According to Brāhmanical texts the consecration of the king was termed *rājasūya*,[109] and it is divided into three parts, the preliminary rituals, the actual *abhiṣeka* and the post-*abhiṣeka* ceremonies. For the *abhiṣeka*, the *purohita* was one of the most important figures.[110] Another important person who participated in the *abhiṣeka* at least during the epic period was an unmarried girl. In a *kanyā* the goddess of Fortune is considered to be resident,[111] and she is therefore most essential in the coronation ceremony. *Kanyās* were the first to receive Rāmā on his return to Ayoḍhyā from exile and offer him the *abhiṣeka* and after them his trusted generals and ministers.[112] During Buddhistic times, with the emergence and the establishment of the importance of the *ksatriyas*, the Brāhmin *purohita* would have been supplanted by the *kṣatriya*. Regarding early form of *abhiṣeka* the following account may be noted : " The inauguration of a new king was effected by the ceremony of anointment which, according to details furnished by the commentary to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, on the authority of writings going back to a very early date, differed considerably from the *abhiṣeka* of Indian kings as prescribed in the Brahmanical texts. It was essential that the king should be consecrated together with the queen, who must be of Kṣatriya lineage like himself. The actual ceremony of anointing was performed at first by a Kṣatriya virgin with holy water from the Ganges in a right-spiralled chank, then by the Brāhmaṇa chaplain, to be followed by the *seṭṭhi* as the leader of the Vaiśyas. After each of the three anointings, the king was reminded that he has been chosen by the Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas and Vaiśyas, respectively, to rule over and protect them according to law and custom, and was admonished that, should he fail in his duty, his head would split into seven pieces. These details are

reminiscent of a time when the king was elected by the three main divisions of the Aryan social order, a conclusion which is also supported by the titles like *gamaṇi* and *maparumaka*, borne by the early kings." [113]

Whatever may be the arguments adduced in regard to the suggestion of the absence of royal *abhiṣeka* prior to the time of Devānampiyatissa, the indication, according to the accounts found in the chronicles is that Vijaya's consecration seems to have followed the Indian pattern. There was the *kṣatriya* queen,[114] the formal *abhiṣeka*,[115] and the post-*abhiṣeka* festivities.[116] The *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā* says that the details found therein regarding the *abhiṣeka* of the ruler is taken from the commentary to the Cūlasīhanāda Sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya in the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā*. The *Sāratthadīpanī** mentions that the tradition is given in the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* in the Mahāsīhanāda Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya. The *abhiṣeka* of Vijaya may have been performed by his minister *purohita* Upatissa,[117] for it is said, the ministers consecrated Vijaya, and Upatissa was the chief minister. The *purohita* was a very important institution from Vedic times.[118] He stood as a spiritual preceptor to the king and was responsible for ensuring the prosperity of the king and his people. He was expected to be well-versed in military art, religious rituals and political science. The *purohita* often deputises for the king in his absence.[119] The *Rāmāyana* indicates that when the monarchy was in abeyance owing to the absence of a suitable heir to ascend the throne it was the *purohita* Vasiṣṭha who carried on the administration.[120] Though the importance of the *purohita* must have declined with the rise of the Upanishadic, Jain and Buddhist movements in India, yet he figured as an important person even in the *Jātaka* period.[121] In Ceylon too, possibly the *purohita* Upatissa administered the kingdom after the death of Vijaya, till the arrival of his successor Paṇḍuvāsudeva.[122] After his arrival in Ceylon he reached Upatissagāma from where Upatissa may have administered the kingdom.[123] Bhaddakaccānā, the daughter of the Sakka Paṇḍu too, after landing at the place called Goṇagāmaka wended her way to Upatissagāma, the centre of administartion of the *purohita*, Upatissa.

All these observations seem to indicate that consecration had been followed from earliest times in Ceylon although the early rulers, according to the later inscriptions found in the Island seem to have been considered to be village leaders in their locality, and thus were elected to the post of chief or ruler. This form of early *abhiṣeka* may have followed the traditional Vedic and later pattern, perhaps modified due to various requirements that the immigrants may have lacked in their newly found kingdom in a strange land away from their own motherland. Paranavitāna however maintains that there was no proper *abhiṣeka* ceremony in Ceylon prior to the time of Devānampiyatissa, who for the first time went through it at the instance of the emperor Aśoka who sent him all the wherewithal required for a proper *abhiṣeka* ceremony.[124] With a *purohita* of the type of Upatissa who seems to have been capable and strong enough to administer the kingdom after the death of Vijaya, and considering the dominant character of Vijaya himslelf, we might surmise that he would certainly have gone through some sort of consecration even though in a limited form if not conforming entirely to all the formalities connected with it. He and the *purohita* would have been aware of the ceremony in all its details.

*See, Devarakhita edn., p. 140

The opening up of new settlements would have gone apace from the time of Vijaya and his men. The accounts as found in the chronicles indicate that there had been many traditions relating to this. There was the north–western settlement region, the north–eastern region round Gal Oya and the southern regions which seem to have been occupied either before or after the time of Vijaya. As the village expanded it is but natural for it to assume the form of a bigger territorial unit. We find some *grāmas* and also *nigamas* which are described as traders' settlements gradually developing into towns.[125] The usual territorial divisions in an ascending order during the early period were the *gāmas*, *nigamas* and *nagaras*, (or cities). As more and more people came in, the *gāma* naturally had to expand and it gave place to the *nigama* and the final *nagara*.

This situation first appears to have occurred during the period of Paṇḍukābhaya, who is credited to have built the city of Anurādhapura, according to the chronicles. The account of Paṇḍukābhaya is confined to only a few verses in the *Dīpavaṃsa*. He is also spoken of as Pakundaka in the same source, and is mentioned as having ruled at Anurādhapura.[126] In the *Samantapāsādikā*,[127] he is merely mentioned in a list of kings without any details. The *Mahāvaṃsa* however gives a long account.[128] According to this we observe that Paṇḍukābhaya is responsible for fixing up village boundaries and building the city of Anurādhapura on the site of the earlier Anurādhagāma. In this we observe him having followed the Indian pattern of town planning and town administration. From this we may surmise that there were *purohitas* and Brāhmaṇas still having an important say in the matters of the country. In fact the Brāhman Paṇḍula was responsible for the education of Paṇḍukābhaya himself. It is perhaps no wonder therefore that Paṇḍukābhaya seemed to have followed the Indian pattern of city building. The city contained two sections, the inner city and the outer city, the *antonagara* and the *bahinagara* respectively.[129] The inner city contained the important buildings such as the king's palace, the residential quarters of the officers, the chief monastic buildings and the *dāgobas*. " Beyond these limits was the outer city set apart for the lower orders, wherein the business life of the capital was transacted. It consisted, mainly, of one long, wide street, composed of shops, for the sale of every description of goods, and these were divided — as usual in eastern cities — into quarters for the various callings of provision-dealers, drapers, goldsmiths, artisans and even to the retailers of children's toys, some of which have been found buried beneath the ruins of dwellings."[130] The future greatness of Anurādhapura was laid by the initial work of Paṇḍukābhaya, for it was he who built the city. It is possible that in following the pattern of the Indian city, Paṇḍukābhaya constructed it to contain four gates in the four cardinal directions.[131] These opened out into the *dvāragāmas* or the suburbs.[132] Though the four gates were no doubt fixed in accordance with the requirements of town planning current and accepted at the time in the sub-continent, they also provided exits to the important seaports as well as the fast developing settlements that were being opened in different parts of the Island, through the various main highways,[133] that functioned from earliest times. Paṇḍukābhaya built various shrines in honour of the *yakkhas* and the slave woman who helped him and was born subsequently as a *yakkhinī*. To these he offered annual sacrificial offerings, while on festive days he sat besides Cittarāja enjoying dance and music displayed on such occasions.

He laid out four suburbs, the Abhaya tank, the public cemetery, the place of execution, built the chapel of Paccima-rājinī,[134] planted the Banyan tree of Vessavaṇa, the Palm tree of the Vyādhadeva, fixed the *yona* quarters and the house of the Great Sacrifice.[135]

He also set apart a section as the *candāla* village, fixed duties for them, besides assigning a cemetery for their use. He built huts for the huntsmen and dwellings for the adherents of various religious sects.[136] We are not quite certain whether all these details enumerated in the *Mahāvaṃsa* were actually completed by Paṇḍukābhaya when he first built the new city, or whether they have been attributed to him in the course of time. We observe certain features in the Paṇḍukābhaya narrative which are common in certain Jātaka, epic and Purāṇa stories.[137] However that may be, the tradition that Paṇḍukābhaya built the city of Anurādhapura is strong enough not to reject it altogether. Thus we might perhaps surmise that at least some of the features of the Anurādhapura town planning should be credited to Paṇḍukābhaya, while it may be perhaps doubtful that he was responsible for all of them.[138] Both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* attribute the establishment of the village boundaries to Paṇḍukābhaya.[139]

Paṇḍukābhaya is also credited with the institution of a particular post in the kingdom for the first time. Paṇḍukābhaya's father-in-law Girikaṇḍasiva and his eldest uncle Abhaya, did not join the other uncles against Paṇḍukābhaya.[140] And because of this Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have handed over to Girikaṇḍasiva, the district of Girikaṇḍa ; and to Abhaya, the post of *nagaraguttika*[141] after hostilities were over. From this time onwards the post of *nagaraguttika* is said to have continued in the country. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, this post carries with it the administration of the city in the night. This office, it may be observed, must be a very important one, not only because it was given to his own eldest uncle who was the ruling king at Upatissagāma for twenty years before he was deposed by his brothers for planning to come to terms with Paṇḍukābhaya, but also because it carried with it the administration of a newly founded and planned out city to warrant a person to get the best available individual to ensure its future stability as well. Hence not only the novelty, but also the importance of the office, which is also spoken of as *ratti-rāja* 'night-king'. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* the post carried with it the duty of administration of the city in the night.[142] The *nagaraguttika* is entrusted with the task of the arrest and execution of robbers,[143] and he is in jest, called 'king of the night'. Some *jātaka* stories mention this particular office where it is held by a *caṇḍāla*.[144] The *coraghātaka* came close to a *nagaraguttika* who sometimes also represented him.[145] Fick says that considering the task entrusted to the *nagaraguttika*, and judging from the dangers that may have prevailed from robbers during the early period of the *jātakas*, and other folk literature, the *nagaraguttika* would have been an important personage.[146] Arresting of robbers is done by the *nagaraguttika*,[147] and he acts as a town sentinel too.[148] In the *Milindapañha* a monk is expected to keep watch over himself like a *nagaraguttika*.[149] The *Atthasālinī* speaks of the *citta* (mind) in terms of the *nagaraguttika*.[150] According to Paraṇavitāna this officer corresponded to the *nāgaraka* of the time of *Arthaśāstra*.[151] Rāhula on the other hand opines that the *nagaraguttika* was the prototype of the later mayor of a town.[152]

The term *nagaraguttika* has been used in the sense of the plural as well, indicating that there were more than one officer.[153] The *nagaraguttika* of the time of Paṇḍukābhaya seems to have developed into the title of *nuvaraladdā* of the ninth and tenth centuries,[154] which indicates that the institution, as the *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions, continued up to later times once it was started by Paṇḍukābhaya. "The administration of the capital city and its environs was entrusted to an officer called the *nuvara-laddā*, corresponding to the *nagara-guttika* of the earlier period. This officer figures in edicts of the ninth and tenth centuries found in the vicinity of Anurādhapura, and it appears that he was responsible for any misdemeanour which was undetected in his jurisdiction. For instance, he had to pay a stipulated sum of money to the royal treasury in the event of fishing in the Abhaya tank, which was prohibited."[155] An inscription of the third year of Abhā Salamevan (Udaya I) prohibits the entry of the *nuvara-laddā* to the land to which immunities were granted by the authority of that edict.[156]

From all these observations one might not be far wrong in considering a *nagaraguttika* as an important officer of high rank comparable to perhaps of the type of a high police dignitary of modern times.

One of the prime requirements for a settlement is the availability of water. In the earliest times in Ceylon this was met by the rivers along the banks of which the earliest habitations were started, and the village tank or the well. But the dry zone being denied rain during a major part of the year and consequent also on the increasing number of inhabitants, the early settlers would have soon realized the inadequacy of their source of water supply. This situation may have arisen perhaps a century or two after the first colonisation. The Indo-Āryan settlers possessed a knowledge of both paddy cultivation and irrigation.[157] Rice was the staple food of the northern Indians as well as the south Indian people who would have come and settled down in the Island in early times. It is also mentioned by some that the technical skill regarding irrigation was brought to Ceylon perhaps by the south Indians.[158] "The Vedic texts contain references to irrigation, practised at first by the method of raising water from wells by water-wheels, and later by means of artificially excavated canals which conveyed water to the fields from natural sources of supply."[159] It is believed that the construction of reservoirs in Ceylon probably started during this period. Whatever may be the original source of the practice, the ancient Sinhalese being fortunate in the type of land region they were inhabiting and with the impending necessity for augmenting their supply of water, and the necessary know how which they possessed, soon started with modest works which finally were responsible for building up a complex and intricate system of irrigation engineering, unparalleled even in contemporary India. " The most remarkable achievement of the Sinhalese is certainly their irrigation system."[160]

The earliest settlements in the Island were established near regions where water was readily available.[161] According to the chronicle, Anurādha is said to have built a tank in his settlement called Anurādha.[162] The next in point of time is Paṇḍukābhaya, who is said to have deepened a pond already existing at the time and this was named Jayavāpi, since the water for his consecration was

obtained from it.[163] His name is associated with two other tanks, the Abhaya tank[164] and the Gāmaṇī tank.[165] According to tradition these were the earliest tanks built in Ceylon. It is possible that these became necessary with the increasing population and the political awakening of the people, where joint enterprise of a major nature was harnessed in order to provide public amenities. It is also significant that these appear to have been constructed along with the consolidation and the establishment of a well-planned city structure for the Island. It is possible these three tanks met the immediate needs of the population, although very soon, even during the time of Devānampiyatissa, grandson of Paṇḍukābhaya, we observe the Tisāvāva being constructed,[166] perhaps due to the inadequacy of the already existing water supply.

From an episode in the annals of Ceylon history we observe the *uparāja* Mahānāga, the brother of Devānampiyatissa supervising the construction of a tank called Taraccha in the third century B.C.[167] As a result of a particular incident Mahānāga is said to have fled from Anurādhapura and gone to Rohaṇa where he is said to have become the ruler. Mahānāga is conjectured to be identical with Aya Duhatara mentioned in some Brāhmī inscriptions.[168] If Aya Duhatara is identical with Mahānāga it is quite possible that he may have been instrumental in building tanks in the Rohaṇa country too after he became its ruler, for, we find, in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, his brother Tissa going to Dīghavāpi in Rohaṇa to attend to the direction of harvesting in that region,[169] which implies the presence of satisfactory irrigation facilities. " A few tanks of this period (2nd century B.C.) are mentioned by name : Hundarīvāpi in Kuḷumbari-kaṇṇikā in Rohaṇa ; Vihāravāpi, now the small, breached tank below the Veherakema ruins near the coastal village of Kirinda ; Sumanavāpi or Samanvāva 30 to 40 miles south-east of Anurādhapura; Peḷivāpi, 55 to 70 miles north of Anurādhapura, spuriously identified as the present Vavunik-kulam, a large reservoir of nearly 2,000 acres ; Dubbalavāpi ; Dūratissakavāpi, in the neighbourhood of Dambulla-Sīgiriya; and Kulatthavāpi or Kalatāvāva, a few miles south-east of Anurādhapura.[170] Only one (Dūratissakavāpi) of these early tanks is mentioned again. The inscriptions dateable, though not without some doubt, to the 2nd century B.C. which contain references to irrigation works are two in number; the first, ascribed to the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya (B.C. 161-137), is at Tōnigala in the Puttalam district and records the donation of *ima vapi* (' this tank ', that is, the very small tank still in existence below the site of the inscription) to the monastery now called Paramākanda Vihāra ; while the second, at Nāccērimalai in the Trincomalee district, is the record of a grant of an irrigation channel (*aḍi*) at a place named Abagamiya.[171] The Sinhalese *Pūjāvaliya* names twelve tanks built by king Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119), while the *Rājāvaliya* says that he built eighteen tanks : the former Chronicle credits this king with the construction of the immense reservoir Padi (now Padaviya), a work entirely beyond the skill and resources of the people of the 2nd century B.C.[172] The other tanks ascribed to Saddhātissa are—Kaṭunnaru: this tank was in Dakkhiṇadesa and was restored by both Vijayabāhu I and Parakkamabāhu I ; Divaguṇa, Nāpiyoba, Sōdigamuva, Leṇa, Mahamāla, Kāndala, Rūdala and Mahagurunalē, all of which are not mentioned again ; and Māladeniya, which may be identical with later Mālāgāma, identified by Codrington as the breached Mālagamuva tank in Vāsagamuva. It may safely be assumed that all these were small reservoirs."[173]

Only four irrigation works are mentioned by name in the chronicles as having been built in the first century B.C. These are the three tanks, Maṇḍavāpi, Ambadugga and Bhayoluppala, and a canal named Vaṇṇaka.[174] While the irrigation works mentioned in the chronicle are thus confined to only four, the inscriptions of the period give more information regarding them.[175] It has been observed that by this time "two methods of irrigation had begun to be practised, (1) small, stone-dams across streams and rivulets, and, temporary timber-dams at suitable sites across rivers, to divert their waters into channels (*aḍi* or *aḷi*) which carried water to the irrigable area, and (2) village tanks directly irrigating the fields below their embankments. As time passed both methods were greatly elaborated to attain vast dimensions. Many of the early tanks were privately owned, and the term *vapi-hamika* or *vavi-hamika*, 'the owner of the tank', occurs in several of the donative inscriptions : some of these owners were women."[176]

By the first century of the present era the population in the country seems to have been large enough, and their engineering ability experienced and developed enough to undertake major irrigation works. Iḷanāga (33-43 A.C.) is credited with having constructed two tanks in Rohaṇa, Tissavāpi and the Dūravāpi.[177] Vasabha (67-111 A.C.) is mentioned as having constructed eleven tanks and twelve canals.[178] Six of his tanks have been identified,[179] and of the canals the Ākusāra canal is mentioned by name and this formed the feeder for the great Minneriya tank two centuries later.[180] A share of the revenue of this canal has been donated by Vasabha to a monastery in the Tissavaḍḍhamānaka district.[181] Underground piping to a bathing tank at Anurādhapura was also laid successfully by Vasabha's engineers, instead of the surface channels which existed earlier.[182] From the first century downwards we find shares and revenues of various kinds derived from tanks and canals being recorded in the inscriptions of the times.[183]

Tank building which probably started during the reign of Paṇḍukābhaya, if not earlier, on most probably, a modest scale at the beginning, gradually increased in number and complexity in the course of the succeeding centuries until in the third century it reached remarkable achievement in this direction. Jeṭṭhatissa I (263-273 A.C.) is credited with having built a tank called Ālambagāma tank, according to the chronicles,[184] although both Codrington and Mendis state that he built six tanks.[185] The king whose name stands pre-eminent in the history of irrigation in the Island is that of Mahāsena. His great achievements in the field of architecture and irrigation engineering have been deliberately overlooked by the ancient chroniclers, most probably because he had antagonised the Mahāvihāra fraternity. The *Dīpavaṃsa* while not even mentioning a single of his irrigation works, merely states that he passed away from this existence in accordance with his own deeds, after having acquired both merits and demerits as a result of his association with the wicked.[186] The *Mahāvaṃsa* too while stating that he gathered to himself both much merit and much guilt, mentions, in contrast with the *Dīpavaṃsa*, the fact that he constructed sixteen tanks in order to make the land more fertile and the names of

the sixteen tanks are enumerated.[187] The most famous of his irrigation works is the Maṇihīravāpi (Minneriya) which has a bund of nearly 1¼ miles long and 44 feet high. The tank, which was fed by a channel (Āḷahāra canal) bringing in water from the Ambangaṅga, submerged an area of 4,670 acres, and irrigates 4,000 acres.[188]

"The Āḷahāra-Miṇṇēriya-Kavuḍulla scheme inaugurated by Mahāsena was an epoch-making event in the history of irrigation in Ceylon. It was the success of this project, in all probability, which encouraged a bigger venture in the same king's reign, the damming of the Mahaväli Gaṅga, the largest river in Ceylon, in order to construct what the *Mahāvaṃsa* calls 'the great Pabbatanta canal'. These vast strides forward in irrigation engineering, in the immensity of the works accomplished and their subsequent, successful operation, evoked in the popular imagination a special reverence for the king which led to his deification as Hatrajjuru, the god of Miṇṇeriya."[189]

It had already been observed that the Āryans were an agricultural people, and as such, we see the early Āryan inhabitants of Ceylon too depending on agriculture for their sustenance.[190] We have also observed that to further facilities for agriculture, the early inhabitants gradually began their irrigation works. One of the major calamities that can befall an agricultural country where the people depend on the produce of the land for their sustenance is the scarcity of food. One of the national disasters that can befall a country, as listed by Kauṭilya, is famine,[191] which he includes among providential calamities.[192] There are many instances of famine which occurred in ancient India mentioned in the early books. One of the interesting records of such a famine is that which occurred as a result of a curse, in Kāñci (Conjeveram) and lasted for twelve years. The *Maṇimekhalai* in which this is recorded[193] is ascribed by some scholars to the second century A.C.[194] while others are of opinion that it is of a later date.[195]

Inspite of the many irrigation works that had been constructed and maintained for the furtherence of agricultural pursuits in the country, during the period under review, we observe the occurrence of four severe famines in Ceylon in early times. The first famine to be observed in Ceylon occurred during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[196] This famine is spoken of as Akkha-kkhāyika famine, because during the time the people had to live on a kind of nuts called *akkha*, which in normal times were used as dice. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā*, this famine had been termed as Pāsāṇachātaka in the *Aṭṭhakathā*.[197]

The second famine lasting twelve years is said to have occurred during the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (89-77 B.C.). The *Mahāvaṃsa* dealing with this period of Ceylon history, does not mention a famine as having occurred during this time. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* account,[198] in the fifth month after Vaṭṭagāmaṇī ascended the throne, a Brāhmaṇa in Rohaṇa named Tissa, encouraged by a prophecy of another Brāhmaṇa, that he was destined to be the ruler of the country, revolted against the king. At the same time seven Tamils from the Tamil country landed at

Mahātittha and marched against the king. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī then sent a message to Tissa saying that the kingdom could be his if only he vanquished the invaders. This was accepted, and Tissa gave battle to the invading Tamils, but was defeated by them. Thereupon the Tamil forces converged on the king, who finally managed to escape with barely his life. After the war two of the Tamils returned to India, one with Somadevi, one of the queens of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, the other with the Bowl Relic of the Buddha. The remaining five Tamils ruled at Anurādhapura, one after the other, for fourteen years and seven months, at the end of which period Vaṭṭagāmaṇī returned to Anurādhapura, put to death the last of the five Tamil chiefs, Dāṭhika, and regained his throne.

Geiger in his text[199] and translation[200] of the *Mahāvaṃsa* gives the name of this Brāhmaṇa who revolted against Vaṭṭagāmiṇī Abhaya as Tissa. So do the PTS editions of the Pāli commentaries.[201] But the Sinhalese edition of the Pāli *Mahāvaṃsa* contains the name as Tīya in the text although the Sinhalese *sannaya* for the text has it as Tissa.[202] The *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa* too contains the name as Tīya.[203] So does the *Rasavāhinī*[204] while the *Sahassavatthuppakaraṇa*[205] has it as Tissa. It has however been observed on the evidence of the Sinhalese form of the name, as well as the appearance of the same in several manuscripts of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the correct form of the name is Tīya and not Tissa.[206]

According to the *Sammohavinodanī*[207] it is said that the accession of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī was preceded by the rule of Tīya lasting fourteen years. This period is represented as being tormented with a severe famine called the Brāhmaṇa Tīya famine, lasting for twelve years. Many were the hardships undergone by both the citizens and the *bhikkhus* during this period. Some of the *bhikkhus*, unable to endure the famine, are said to have gone over to India, while others went to Malayaraṭa, and returned only after the famine had ended. People had to live on roots and leaves, and many died of starvation. While giving many detailed accounts regarding the sorrowful state of Ceylon during the period of the famine, these sources nevertheless make no mention of the Tamils, who according to the *Mahāvaṃsa* are said to have ruled the Island before Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya. The *Mahāvaṃsa* on the other hand, makes no mention of the famine while it speaks about the Tamils who invaded Ceylon, and ruled it after having vanquished Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya.

Commenting on this situation Paranavitāna makes the following observation. " As the commentaries were written before the time of the author of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, he, a prominent dignitary of the Church, must have been aware of these accounts of Tīya. Why he made no reference to them, and why the commentaries on their part have no reference to the Tamil rulers, are questions to which no satisfactory reply can be given. Perhaps there is no irreconcilable divergence between these two accounts. The *Mahāvaṃsa* itself does not state that Tīya lost his life in his encounter with the Tamil invaders. It is quite conceivable that, after being worsted in military conflict with them, he realised the advantage of acting in concert with them, and came to some sort of mutual understanding. The invaders themselves perhaps thought that it was more advisable to maintain a local leader with a considerable following as nominal head of the government, while they themselves exercised effective authority.

If such was the situation, some writers of olden days who gave an account of these disastrous years might have designated the era after the person who was the titular ruler, while others gave importance to those who actually wielded authority. The commentators, in that case, were of the former view, while the chroniclers were of the latter."[208]

A third famine appeared during the reign of Kuñcanāga (187–189A.C.), the son of Kaniṭṭhatissa. The *Dīpavaṃsa* makes no mention[209] of a famine during this king's reign, while the *Mahāvaṃsa* asserts there was one, when it makes reference to the fact that during the famine which is named as Ekanālika, in the chronicle, Kuñcanāga maintained without a break the Mahāpāli alms hall and provided food for five hundred *bhikkhūs*.[210] A fourth famine is recorded to have taken place during the reign of Siri Saṅgabodhi (247–249A.C.).[211] This seems to have been due to a drought, and is averted by the king, who is said to have thrown himself on the ground in the courtyard of the Mahācetiya with the resolve that he would not get up from there until it rained and raised him up from where he lay prone. As a result of his act it is said that the rain poured forth and finally the king got up from where he lay. The *Rājāvaliya* records another famine which is said to have occurred during the reign of Coranāga,[212] son of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya. According to the *Rājāvaliya* this famine coincided with a twelve-year famine which occurred in India during the reign of king Milinda, while the Ceylon one lasted only three years. The cause of the famine in Ceylon is mentioned as being due to the fact that the king had destroyed many a *vihāra* in the country. This famine is not recorded in the other chronicles. It is possible that the tradition has been mistakenly represented by the *Rājāvaliya* author, more so because the name given to this famine in the book is 'bämiṇiyage sāya.'[213] And the Bämiṇitiyā famine, as we have seen, is the well-known famine that occurred in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. It is however interesting to note that this famine mentioned in the *Rājāvaliya*, named as 'bämiṇiyage sāya' is said to have occurred due to the curse of a Brāhmin woman whose husband was unjustifiably killed on the orders of king Milinda because he coveted his wife.

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37. Altekar, A. S.—*A History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 76
38. See, J., iv, p. 167, (No. 467)
39. See, J., i, p. 277 ; iii, p. 162 ; iv, p. 167
40. See, J., v, p. 412
41. See, J., i, p. 388 ; iii, p. 149
42. See, *Laws of Manu*, SBE., Vol. xxv, p. 296
43. See, Shamasastry, op. cit., p. 194 ff. ; Altekar, A. S.—*A History of Village Communities in Western India*, pp. 86–87

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44. See, Bk. i, 25. 16
45. See, Altekar, Ibid., p. 77
46. Baden-Powell, *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*, p. 9 ; see also Altekar, Ibid., pp. 117–118
47. J.. ii, p. 368 ; iii, p. 293 ; iv, p. 276
48. J., ii, pp. 18, 405 ; iv, pp. 159, 208, 344
49. J., iii, p. 281 ff., ; EZ., Vol. iv, p. 222
50. J., iii, pp. 376, 508
51. J., ii, p. 36 ; v, p. 337
52. J., ii, p. 388 ; iv, p. 430
53. J., i, p. 356
54. J., iv, pp. 200, 376, 390
55. UCH., Ibid , p. 11
56. Ibid., p 11
57. Ibid p. 9
58. Ibid., p. 83 ; ' See Map facing p. 17 ' ; see also, Archaeological Summary, CJScG., 1924-1928, Map facing p. 14
59. Mhv., Chap. xxviii, v. 18
60. Ibid., v. 39
61. Ibid., Chap. xxiii, v. 90
62. Ibid., v. 45 ; Rsv., p. 190
63. EZ., Vol. iii, p. 215
64. Altekar, *A History of Village Communities in Western India*, Intro. p. x
65. *Atarva*, xv, 9
66. *Manu*, vii, 115-116
67. *A History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 89 ff.
68. Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 146 ; J. i, p. 199
69. See, Kharassara Jātaka, (No. 79) ; Kulāvaka Jātaka, (No. 31)
70. See, Altekar, *A History of Village Communities in Western India*, p. 2 ff., *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, iv, p. 305 ff.
71. *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 305 ff.
72. ' UCR., Vol. viii, p. 125. '
73. " Ibid., p. 123 "
74. UCH., Ibid., p. 235
75. Ibid., pp. 84, 91, 134 ; ASCAR., 1933, p. 14
76. Ibid., p. 84
77. Mhv., Chap. ix, v. 13 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 106
78. See, Infra, p. 190, fn. 18
79. Mhv., Chap. xxii, v. 71 ; Dpv., Chap. xix, vv. 11 (ed. Law), 24
80. EZ., Vol. iii, p. 5
81. Mhv., Chap. xxxiii, v. 34 ; EZ., Vol. iii, p. 6
82. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 1 ; EZ., Vol. iii, p. 8
83. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 115 ; EZ., iii, p. 9
84. EZ., iii, Chronological Table ; UCH., Ibid., p. 364
85. Mhv., Chap. vii, vv. 46-47
86. See, Supra, p. 52
87. Mookerji, R. K.,—op. cit., pp. 327-328 ; Altekar, A. S.—*State and Government in Ancient India*, 4th. edn., pp. 90-91 ; see also, J., iii, p. 111
88. See, J., iii, p. 111 ; Vol. v, pp. 101-107 ; Altekar, Ibid., p. 96
89. See, Altekar, Ibid., p. 97
90. See, Altekar, Ibid., p. 70 ; see also, Altekar, The Theory of the Divinity of the King in Hindu Polity, *Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, p. 3 ff.

91. See, Second Separate Edict, Thapar, op. cit., pp. 258-259 ; see also, 6th Major Rock Edict Thapar, op. cit., pp. 252-253
92. Mhv., Chap. vii, vv. 30-37
93. ' JRAS., 1936, pp. 443 ff. '
94. UCH., Ibid., pp. 227-228
95. Mhv., Chap. vii, v. 47
96. Ibid., v. 48 ff.
97. Mvṭ., p. 306 ; see also, Codrington, H. W.—*A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 11 ff. ; UCH., Ibid., p. 134
98. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 134-135
99. Chap. vii, v. 47
100. Dpv., Chap. ix, vv. 33-34
101. UCH., Ibid., p. 118
102. Mhv., Chap. xix, vv. 54, 62 ; CJScG., ii, 176 ; UCH., Ibid., pp. 141, 146, 236
103. Mhv., xix, vv. 54, 62 ; UCH., Ibid., pp. 141, 236
104. Mbv., p. 154 ff., UCH., Ibid., p. 141
105. EZ., Vol. iii, p. 67
106. UCH., Ibid., p. 147
107. Mhv., Chap. xxii, vv. 2–8, 12, 13 ; Puj., pp. 729, 742
108. Mhv., Chap. viii, vv. 4, 14, 15 ; Chap. x, vv. 30, 34, 40
109. See, Altekar, A. S.—*State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 72
110. See, Macdonell, A.A. and Keith, A. B.—*Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. i, p. 28 ; Vol. ii, p. 5 ff. and references cited.
111. See, Altekar, A. S.—*The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, p. 11
112. See, Ibid., p. 11
113. UCH., Ibid., pp. 229-230 ; " Mvṭ., pp. 305-7 and JRAS., 1936, pp. 443 ff. "
114. Mhv., Chap. vii, vv. 69, 72 ; see also Chap. viii, vv. 17, 21, 27
115. Ibid., Chap. vii, vv. 71-72
116. Ibid., Chap. vii, v. 71 ; Chap. xxvi, v. 6
117. Ibid., Chap. vii, v. 71
118. See, Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 159 ff., Beni Prasad, *State in Ancient India*, p. 29
119. See, Altekar, op. cit., p. 160
120. Ibid., p. 160
121. Ibid., p. 160
122. Mhv., Chap. viii, v. 4. It is said the ministers ruled from Upatissagāma.
123. Ibid., v. 25
124. Ibid., Chap. xi, vv. 27-36 ; UCH., Ibid., pp. 133-134 ; See also, Thapar, R.—op. cit., p. 135
125. J., Vol. v, pp. 35, 511
126. Dpv., Chap. xi, vv. 1-5
127. Smp., Vol. i, p. 72
128. See, Chap. x
129. Smither, J. G.—*Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura*, Preface, p. i
130. Ibid., p. i
131. We find the Southern, Western and Eastern gates mentioned in the Mhv., see, Mhv., Chap. xv vv. 1, 3 ; Chap. x, vv. 85-90 ; Chap. xvi, v. 4
132. Ibid., Chap. x, v. 88. Here, there are four *dvāragāmas* mentioned.
133. UCH., Ibid., p. 15
134. Ibid., pp. 92, 108
135. Mhv., Chap. x, vv. 84-90
136. Ibid., vv. 95-102
137. UCH., Ibid., p. 109 ff.
138. Ibid., pp. 110-111
139. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 103 ; Dpv., Chap. xi, v. 4

140. Ibid., Chap. x, vv. 64, 80 ; Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 72, fn. 4
141. Ibid., v. 81 ; see also, UCH., Ibid., pp. 108, 234
142. Mvṭ., Vol. i, p. 293
143. J., Vol. iii, p. 59 ; See also, Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 144
144. J., Vol. iii, p. 27 ff. ; Tr. pp. 19-20 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 234, fn. 54
145. Fick, R.—*The Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 158
146. Fick, op. cit., p. 158
147. J., Vol. ii, p. 140 ; iii, pp. 59, 436
148. J., Vol. iii, p. 30
149. See, p. 345 (PTS. edn.)
150. See, Dhammuddesa-vāra-kathā Vaṇṇanā, pp. 124-125
151. UCH., Ibid., p. 234
152. HBC., p. 17
153. J., Vol. ii, p. 140
154. See, fn. 155 following
155. UCH., Ibid., p. 372 ; see also, AIC. No. 111
156. CJScG., Vol. ii, pp. 144-145
157. See, UCH., Ibid., pp. 219-223 ; See also, Tennent, E.—*Ceylon*, Vol. i, p. 468
158. Parker, H.—*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 347 ; See also, Dikshitar, V. R. R.—History of Irrigation in South India, *Indian Culture*, Vol. xii, pp. 71-80
159. UCH., Ibid., p. 219 ; CHI., Vol. i, pp. 10, 135, 203, 413, 594
160. CJScG., Vol. i, p. 156
161. UCH., Ibid., p. 220 ; Mhv., Chap. vii, vv. 43-44 ; Mvṭ., Vol. i, p. 261 ; see also, Mhv., Chap. vii, vv. 12, 16 ; Chap. x, vv. 8, 53
162. Mhv., Chap. ix, v. 11
163. Ibid., Chap. x, v. 83
164. Ibid., x, v. 88 ; See also, Parker, H.— op. cit., p. 360 ff.
165. Ibid., vv. 96, 101 ; Parker, op. cit., p. 364
166. Ibid., Chap. xx, v. 20 ; JRASCB. (NS.), Vol. vii, p. 44
167. Ibid., Chap. xxii, v. 4
168. CJScG., Vol. ii, p. 177
169. Mhv., Chap. xxiv, v. 58
170. Mhv., Chap. xxiii, vv. 45, 90 ; xxv, vv. 50, 66 ; xxviii, vv. 18, 39 ; xxxiii, v. 9 ; xxxvi, vv. 17-19 ; xxxxi, v. 99 ; xxxxix, vv. 5-9 ; Ex. Mhv., xxv, v. 162 ; Mvṭ., p. 451
171. AIC., No. 1 ; ASCAR., 1933, p. 18
172. Puj., p. 723 ; Raj., p. 40
173. Mhv., Chap. cx, v. 49; Chap. cxviii, vv. 46, 47 ; Chap. cxxii, v. 50 ; see also, JRASCB., NS., Vol. vii, p. 45
174. JRASCB., NS., Vol. vii, p. 46 and fn. 16 ; see also, EZ., Vol. iii, p. 157
175. EZ., iii, p. 156 ; CHJ., ii, p. 221 ; CALR., iii, p. 77 ; UCR., viii, No. 2, p. 122
176. JRASCB., NS., Vol. vii, p. 47
177. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 32 ; JRASCB., NS., Vol. vii, 1959, p. 47
178. JRASCB., NS., Vol. vii, 1959, pp. 47–49 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 222
179. Ibid., p. 48 ; Ibid., p. 222
180. UCH., Ibid., p. 222
181. Ibid., p. 222 ; see also, JRASCB., Ibid., p. 49 ; Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 84
182. Ibid., p. 222 ; JRASCB., Ibid., p. 49 ; Mhv., Ibid., v. 98
183. JRASCB., Ibid., p. 49 and fn. 26
184. Mhv., Chap. xxxvi, v. 131 ; Dpv., Chap. xxii, v. 62
185. See, *A Short History of Ceylon*, p. 28 ; *The Early History of Ceylon*, p. 26
186. Dpv., Chap. xxii, v. 72

187. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, vv. 47–50 ; see also, Ex. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, vv. 47–50; Puj., pp. 727–728 ; Raj., p. 52
188. UCH., Ibid., pp. 222–223 ; JRASCB., NS., Vol. vii, p. 50
189. JRASCB., NS., Vol. vii, p. 52
190. See, Supra, p. 50 ff.
191. See, Kauṭilya, Bk. iv, Chap. 3 ; see also, Shamasastry, R.—Tr. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, p. 234
192. See, Kauṭilya, Bk. viii, Chap. 4 ; see also, Shamasastry, op. cit., p. 359
193. See, Aiyangar, *Manimekhalai in Its Historical Setting*, p. 199 ff.
194. UCH., Ibid., p. 206
195. Aiyangar, op. cit., p. 80 ; Basham, *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvakas*, p. 197
196. Mhv., Chap. xxxii, v. 29
197. See, Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 222, fn. 6
198. See, Chap. xxxiii, vv. 37–79
199. Ibid., v. 38, p. 270
200. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 231
201. UCH., Ibid., p. 166, fn. 5
202. See, Mhv., Sinh. edn., Chap. xxxiii, vv. 38, 39, 40, and the Sinhalese *sannaya* for same.
203. See, pp. 151, 162, 166
204. See, pp. 118, 123, 128, 255, 281
205. See, pp. 30, 33, 41, 171, 174, 175, 180
206. UCH., Ibid., p. 166, fn. 5
207. See, PTS. edn., p. 445 ff.
208. UCH., Ibid., p. 167
209. See, Chap. xxii, v. 32
210. See, Chap. xxxvi, v. 20
211. Ibid., vv. 74–75
212. See, p. 41
213. See, Raj., p. 41

CHAPTER 5

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

It has been surmised earlier that Ceylon was inhabited by people from a very early period.[1] While we do not know for certain who the earliest inhabitants of the Island were, we are equally not certain as to who the earliest immigrants to the country were, although the chronicles mention that the first human beings to settle in Ceylon were Vijaya and his band of followers. We are also not in a position to know what religious beliefs were held by these early peoples of Ceylon, whether they be Vijaya and his people or pre-Vijayan local inhabitants, if there had been any. Considering the proximity of Ceylon to India and the fact that Indians seem to have been accustomed to sea navigation from earliest times as is evidenced in the *jātakas*[2] and the epics,[3] we could accept the position that from earliest times, people from the mainland would have emigrated to this Island. If so, it seems possible that these early inhabitants professed religious beliefs that were current in India during their time. In the absence of any evidence relating to the religious beliefs of the pre-Āryan local inhabitants of the Island, we are left with surmising on the religious beliefs that would have been held by the early Āryans who settled down in this country. If we accept the tradition that Vijaya and his followers were the first human inhabitants of the country and that they landed in Ceylon in the 5th century B.C., it would be worth our while to examine the religious conditions that prevailed in India during this period in order to determine, in at least some degree, the religious conditions that may have prevailed in early Ceylon after their arrival and settlement in this country.

Society in India, before and during the rise of Buddhism contained a multitude of religious sects practising their different creeds. There was first of all the Brāhmanical religion which had come down from the time of the Vedas. This, unlike some of the other religions that prevailed at the time, depended on the caste system and was mainly professed by the highest caste accepted at the time, that of the Brāhmins. The two main patterns of religious adherents that existed during this time among the various creeds were the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Samaṇas*,[4] the particular characteristics of which are found described in some of the Buddhist works.[5] As many as sixty-two views are mentioned as being prevalent in India during the time of the Buddha.[6] The Buddhist books mention six religious teachers who are contemporaries of the Buddha, and who are considered as prominent thinkers of the time.[7] These teachers are termed as *Titthakara* or heretics in the Buddhist works.[8] While they are called by this generic term *Titthiyā*, we find that these non-Brāhmanical *samaṇas* who professed views contrary to the Brāhmanical creed, being distinguished further into *Titthiyā*, *Ājīvakas* and *Niganṭhas* in the religious works of the times.[9] The Brahmajāla Sutta mentions the types of religious sects and their particular views that appeared in India during the time of the Buddha. The Buddha while rejecting all these views propounded his religion which was founded on the theory of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* doctrine. The term *samaṇas* as opposed to *brāhmaṇas* is applied not only to Buddhist recluses but also to the Jains and the *Ājīvakas*.[10]

The *Titthiyas* are the heretics as mentioned in the Pāli works. They are sometimes represented as the adherents of the six famous religious teachers who were contemporaneous with the Buddha.[11] A monastery of the *Titthiyas* appears to have been existing near the Jetavanavihāra itself during the time of the Buddha.[12]

The *Ājīvakas*[13] are represented as the followers of Makkhali Gosāla. This sect of religionists seems to have been highly esteemed and had a large following of disciples.[14] The *Ājīvakas* appear to have exerted much influence on the court of Magadha. Bindusāra, the father of Aśoka had *Ājīvakas* attached to his court.[15] He was also generally interested in the search for knowledge and ideas in that he had requested a sophist to be sent to him from Greece.[16] According to the *Divyāvadāna* we observe that Aśoka's mother, whose name is given as Dharmā, according to the Ceylon sources,[17] had an *Ājīvaka guru* who at the conception and later at the birth of Aśoka predicted that the son born to her would ascend the throne of Magadha.[18] From Aśoka's own inscriptions we observe him having donated caves to the *Ājīvakas*,[19] twelve years from his consecration. King Pingala of Suraṭṭha, a contemporary of Aśoka is represented as being a staunch believer in the *Ājīvaka* doctrine to such an extent that he is said to have started off to Pāṭalīputra intent on converting Aśoka to his faith.[20] We do not know the outcome of this visit, but we observe that he came back a convert to Buddhism. A passage in the *Petavatthu* informs us that the commander of his army Nandaka who had died in the meantime and was born as a *peta* appeared before him when Pingala was crossing the Vindhya ranges on his way back to Suraṭṭha, and speaking of himself as an earlier *Ājīvaka* advised him to give up that religion and profess Buddhism.[21] We also observe Dasaratha, grandson of Aśoka dedicating the Nāgārjuni caves to the *Ājīvakas*.[22] The *Ājīvakas* who originated in India during the time of the Buddha seem to have spread to other neighbouring countries too, for according to Ceylon chronicles we observe Paṇḍukābhaya in the 4th century B.C. building a monastery for their use in Ceylon, which indicates their presence in this country at the time.[23]

The *Niganṭhas*[24] was the name given to the Jains, the followers of Niganṭhanāthaputra, who is also known to his contemporaries as Mahāvīra. His doctrine is described in the Pāli works of the Buddhists.[25] Mahāvīra was a senior contemporary of the Buddha and had quite a following professing his doctrine. Bindusāra's father Candragupta is said to have professed Jainism. It is mentioned that Candragupta became a convert to Jainism in his later years and actually abdicated the throne, became a Jain ascetic and died of slow starvation in the manner of Jain ascetics.[26]

The period before the rise of Buddhism in India, especially in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. was one of spiritual unrest, and many were not satisfied with the Brāhmanical religion that had prevailed from the time of the Vedas. Thus we see the rise of other religious doctrines such as Jainism and Buddhism etc. during this period. Apart from these main doctrines, as has already been indicated, India was full of various other religious doctrines, as much as sixty-two or sixty-three different schools according to the Buddhist books.[27] The doctrines of *karma* and rebirth had been accepted by Hindu society long before the rise of Buddhism, and the escape from *Sansāra* had been a problem that was uppermost in their minds from very early

times. As a matter of fact both Buddhism and Jainism accepted many of the existing beliefs and ideas of the time with only certain modifications and interpretations of their own.[28] And during these early centuries the generally accepted means of escape from the round of births and deaths was by renouncing the world and becoming a homeless ascetic or monk. The ideal of the ascetic and that of the mendicant life as a means of escape from the round of births and deaths is to be found as early as the earliest Upanishads. In the *Bṛhad Āranyaka Upanishad*, Yajñavalkya says : " Thus Brāhmans who know this ātman, rise above the longing for sons, the longing for wealth, the longing for worlds and live the life of mendicants."[29] Thus there was a general tendency on the part of all religious recluses of the time to renounce the world and seek an escape from *Sansāra*. There were thus the Brāhmins, Jains, Samaṇas, Ājīvakas, Tīrthakas, in all, adherents of 62 or 63 different religious views besides Buddhism during this time. Buddhism which arose during the 6th century B.C. amidst this conglomeration of religious beliefs of the time, in the north-eastern part of India gradually extended its domain northwards as far up as the Himālayan regions. At the death of the Buddha his teaching and personality seem to have influenced the Indian society to such an extent that as many as eight claimants claimed on various grounds, a portion of his earthly relics for purpose of worship.[30]

It was during this period that the first Āryan emmigrants from India are said to have arrived in Ceylon. Thus it is possible that Vijaya and his seven hundred men coming from the Indian sub-continent being nurtured amidst the religious background summarised above, brought along with them at least some of these religious beliefs that prevailed in India during their time. Commenting on the religious beliefs of the early inhabitants of Ceylon, Adikāram makes the following observation : " As far as we can gather from the incidental references in the Chronicles and, to a certain extent, in the *Samantapāsādikā*, religions practised by the inhabitants were mainly Brahmaṇism—if we may use this inclusive though somewhat inaccurate term—, worship of Yakṣas and tree-deities, Jainism and a few other cults. It is, however, likely that the new colonists could not devote themselves much to religious pursuits as their time must have been fully occupied in making habitable and improving their newly acquired territory and also probably in defending themselves against the attacks of the aboriginal Yakkha and Nāga tribes."[31]

With this background in view it would now be possible for us to examine the early religious condition of the Island from the coming of Vijaya up to the introduction of Buddhism here. From stray references in the chronicles of Ceylon we observe that in early Ceylon there would have been adherents of the Brāhmanical religion found in Ceylon prior to the introduction of Buddhism. Upatissa, one of the followers of Vijaya and who founded the Upatissagāma, from where he seems to have administered the country from the death of Vijaya till the arrival of his successor Paṇḍuvāsudeva was not only a Brāhmin, but also held the post of *purohita* to Vijaya.[32] There was also a Brāhmin named Paṇḍula who was not only a man of great wealth, but also a man of academic attainments to such an extent that a prospective ruler of the country, Paṇḍukābhaya was entrusted to his care by his mother so that he be trained in the essential training necessary for royalty. This Brāhmin's own son Canda[33] was entrusted to the care of Paṇḍukābhaya by the father to serve him both as

his *purohita* as well as the commander of his army.[34] We do not however come across any instance of these Brāhmins who would not only have been present in Ceylon prior to the introduction of Buddhism, but also held positions of power and authority as is evidenced in the case of Upatissa and Paṇḍula, performing such religious observances as sacrifice like the Brāhmins in India did during that time. However a stray reference we observe in one of the Vessagiri cave inscriptions which speaks of a certain donor as *yagadata* seems to point to the fact that even after the introduction of Buddhism into the Country, a memory at least of the Brāhmanical sacrifice which may have prevailed probably prior to the advent of Buddhism seems to have been preserved in the country.[35] If on the other hand we accept the position maintained in the *Sutta Nipāta*[36] where Buddha explains *yājaka* as one who maintains himself as a *purohita*, and that according to both the Pāli sources[37] as well as the chronicles,[38] there were *purohitas* holding office in the country we have got to accept the position that these *purohitas* performed Vedic sacrifice as part of their duties. Paṇḍukābhaya is credited with having built a dwelling place each for the Ājīvakas and Brāhmaṇas apart from two other buildings named *sivikā* (*sālā*) and *sotthisālā*.[39] The term *sivikāsālā* has been explained in the commentary[40] as a hall where a Śivaliṅga has been installed for worship, or as a lying-in-home. Geiger accepts the second interpretation in his translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*,[41] while Paranavitāna seems to consider the first as a more possible interpretation,[42] as he says, the term has been mentioned in the company with other buildings of a religious nature. The word 'sivikā' has also been used in the Pāli works in the sense of palanquin, a litter.[43] From these it may be surmised that the *sivikāsālā* may even have been perhaps a litter built in the form of a palanquin. We might further consider this term as a derivative from the word Śiva, meaning thereby a hall intended for the worship of Śiva.[44] " Kauṭilya, in enumerating the deities to whom shrines should be dedicated within a king's capital, mentions Śiva also.[45] It is not stated whether the deity was to be represented by an icon or by the *liṅga* symbol. At this time, Śiva had not yet risen to the position of the Supreme Deity as he became to one great section of the Hindus at a later age. For Kauṭilya mentions him in the company of such minor divinities as the Aśvins (the Divine Physicians) Vaiśravaṇa and Madirā (the Goddess of Liquor)."[46] Mahāsena after he turned his venom away from the Mahāvihāra is said to have destroyed shrines of the *devas* found established in Ceylon during his time.[47] The *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* in commenting on the *devālayas* mentions that they were places which enshrined phallic symbols.[48] It may be observed here that phallic worship was not practised even in India before the 3rd century B.C. although it had been widespread during the Mohenjadāro period.[49] The mention of shrines for Śiva by Kauṭilya indicates the practice of Śiva worship during the time of the Mauryas. *Linga* worship is also indicated in the presence of coins attributed to the 2nd century B.C. bearing the *linga* emblem.[50] Thus when we observe the late development of phallic worship even in India we might consider the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* explanation as an instance of the author unwittingly including the condition of his own time as having been present in the earlier age.[51] " On the other hand, when we consider that phallic worship was the principal religious faith of the Tamils, the nearest neighbours of the Sinhalese, it is not difficult to believe that the latter people were also attached to this cult before

they adopted Buddhism ; and also continued to honour the Śivaliṅga even after this event. Proper names such as Siva, Mahāsiva and Sivaguta occurring in the earliest inscriptions show that this god was worshipped by the Sinhalese of the earliest period."[52] The personal name Siva of Girikaṇḍa Siva,[53] father-in-law of Paṇḍukābhaya may also be perhaps taken as evidence for the presence of the worship of Śiva in early Ceylon.

The term *sotthisālā* has been explained like *sivikā* (*sālā*) in a two-fold way in the *Ṭīkā*, as a hospital or as a house set apart for the recital of *mantras* (*sotthivacana*) by the Brāhmaṇas.[54] Both Geiger[55] and Paranavitāna[56] have accepted the first explanation of it being a hospital. The word *sotthika* or *sotthiya* is used in the sense of a learned man or a Brāhmin in Pāli works.[57] According to this meaning it would suggest that *sotthisālā* was a building where Brāhmins congregated, probably for religious worship. It would also be worthwhile for us to examine its Sanskrit meaning. According to Sanskrit usage, *svasti-vācana* was a religious rite preparatory to a sacrifice or any solemn observance performed by scattering boiled rice on the ground and invoking blessings by the repetition of certain *mantras*.[58] On the argument adduced by Paranavitāna in regard to the other term *sivikā-sālā*,[59] and the evidence of the observations cited above, we should perhaps consider *sotthisālā*, not as a hospital, but as a place of religious worship or a place where Brāhmins congregated, perhaps for religious worship.

The presence of Brāhmins in early Ceylon is seen from other incidental references. When the youngest child, a daughter named Cittā or Ummādacittā was born to Bhaddakaccānā, queen of Paṇḍuvāsudeva the Brāhmins in his court predicted that the son born to Cittā would slay his uncles for the sake of sovereignty.[60] We have already cited the case of Paṇḍula and his son.[61] Among the various buildings erected by Paṇḍukābhaya in his new capital of Anurādhapura was a residence for the Brāhmaṇas.[62] Shortly after his first consecration, Devānampiyatissa sent an embassy, including among others, a Brāhmin, to the Indian king Aśoka, who conferred on this Brāhmin, the rank of *purohita*.[63] There is a mention of a Brāhmin named Dīyavāsa whose *devālaya* is mentioned as being one of the places passed by Devānampiyatissa when he marked out the sacred boundaries of the consecrated area at Anurādhapura, at the instruction of the *thera* Mahinda.[64] When the Bodhi branch was brought to Ceylon by the *therī* Sanghamittā, one of the places between the sea-port and Anurādhapura at which special honour was paid to the sacred object was the village of a Brāhmin named Tivakka or Tavakka, the village itself being known by the name of the Brāhmin.[65] This same Brāhmin and his village were considered important enough to receive one of the eight Bodhi saplings which arose as the fruit that appeared on the sacred Bodhi tree was planted by the king at the instruction of the *thera*.[66] Along with the *kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma and Candanagāma, the Brāhmin Tavakka was one of the distinguished persons invited to be present at the planting of the sacred Bodhi branch at Anurādhapura.[67] Further, Aśoka sent, among others, eight persons from Brāhmin families to accompany the sacred Bodhi branch.[68] These continued to reside in the country. Kākavaṇṇatissa, the father of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī seems to have had Brāhmins in his court whom he

consulted regarding the strange longing his queen had at the conception of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[69] During the reign of Eḷāra in Anurādhapura, there lived near the Cetiya Mountain in a village called Dvāramaṇḍala, a Brāhmin named Kuṇḍalī[70] who was a friend of Dīghābhaya, a son of Kākavaṇṇatissa by another wife. To this Brāhmin was sent Nimila by Dīghābhaya with an errand in order to test his ability and endurance.[71] Brāhmaṇa Tīya of Nakula-nagara has already been mentioned[72] along with another Brāhmin soothsayer who predicted his elevation to kingship of the Island. Tīya was so powerful that he had not only a large following but also was strong enough to rise against the ruling monarch, who himself considered it expedient to come to terms with him. The famine that appeared in Ceylon during his time is even named after this Brāhmin. He is said to have caused such havoc and ruin to the country and the *sāsana*, that the *sangha* assembled in congregation to discuss what should be done to avert the danger. They finally decided to send eight *theras* to Sakka requesting him to allay this calamity. It is observed that even Sakka refused to intervene on their behalf, suggesting to them that the *theras* go to the other shore (India), and that he would protect them during their sea voyage,[73] since, as he says, it is not possible to ward off the rebel who has arisen (*na sakkā paṭibāhitun*). This episode as well as the fact that even the ruling king was frightened to meet him in open battle, and the large following he is said to have had, indicate the great power and authority Tīya would have wielded in the country. He also seems to have been held with great fear and even hatred to the extent of his being called a *caṇḍāla*.[74] When a dispute arose between the *theras* of the Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri over a *vinaya* rule during the reign of Bhātiya, the king appointed a Brāhmin, the minister named Dīghakārāyana to decide the issue.[75] "An inscription, in early Brāhmī characters, in a cave at the ancient *vihāra* named Baṁbaragala near Teldeniya mentions a king styled Pocinaraja Naga. It is difficult to identify this prince with any of the kings mentioned in the chronicles and possibly he was a provincial ruler of the hill country. This document gives us the interesting information that the wife of king Naga, by name Data (Dattā) was the daughter of a Brahmin."[76]

The infamous Anulā, the wife of Coranāga, had as one of her paramours, whom she elevated to the position of king, a Tamil Brāhmin named Niliya, who held the position of *purohita* to the court before he was so elevated.[77] One of the *vihāras* Mahāsena built after destroying the *devālayas* of the unbelievers was situated in the Rohaṇa district in the village of the Brāhmaṇa Kalanda.[78]

There are two terms *paṭaka*[79] and *nakati*[80] found mentioned in some of the early Brāhmī inscriptions, and from the nature of the terms themselves it seems probable that they were Brāhmaṇas. *Pāṭhaka* in Pāli means a reciter, one who knows, or an expert.[81] In the inscriptions cited we observe altogether eight villages or towns where these *paṭakas* are mentioned as having dwelt during the time. From the inscriptions we also observe that these *paṭakas* were men of consequence and standing in their respective villages or towns. The term *nakati* meaning astrologers were perhaps Brāhmins at the early period. As in the case of *paṭakas* it is observed that *nakatis* also occupied a position of leadership in the country.[82]

From the earliest inscriptions we observe, " One of the donors of caves at Sässēruva in the Kuruṇägala District was a Brāhmaṇa named Somadeva son of Vasakaṇi. The owner of a cave at Yāngala in the Nuvarakalāviya District is given in the inscription on the brow of the cave as Viritasana the son of the Brāhmaṇa Kosika (Kauśika). The Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the chronicles and the inscriptions were naturally those who were in sympathy with the Buddhist movement. There must have been many others who were indifferent or opposed to the cause of Buddhism ; and, hence were not mentioned in the records of the times." [83]

Jainism too is observed to have been practised in early Ceylon.[84] In the time of Paṇḍukābhaya there were three Jains named Jotiya, Giri and Kumbhaṇḍa for whom dwelling places were built by king Paṇḍukābhaya.[85] Jotiya's dwelling was built east of the *nīcasusāna*, and Giri too was housed in the same region. Further, in the same region was built a *devakula* (a chapel) for Kumbhaṇḍa which was known after his own name. We observe therefore that these three *niganṭhas* were not only honoured by Paṇḍukābhaya by providing them with places for residence, but also that they all lived in the same direction in the city, that is, to the east of the *nīcasusāna*. The dwellings of these three *niganṭhas* built by Paṇḍukābhaya seem to have been in existence during the time of his grand-son Devānampiyatissa, who included these buildings within the sacred boundaries of the *mahāsīmā*.[86] Giri's monastery is found mentioned in history on two subsequent occasions. During the reign of Khallāṭanāga, three of his nephews named Tissa, Abhaya and Uttara plotted against the king in order to capture the throne for themselves. The plot having leaked out, the three princes in their fear of the consequences, are said to have fled to the monastery of the Jain ascetic Giri where they ended their lives by entering the flames of a funeral pyre.[87] "This act of self-immolation by three brilliant young princes seems to have captured the imagination of the people, for at the place where the tragedy occurred, was built a *stūpa* named Aggi-pavisaka (Entering the Fire.)[88] The manner of their death suggests that these princes had leanings towards the Jaina faith, and we may even suspect that their plot was encouraged by the partisans of Jainism in Ceylon." [89]

When Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, the successor of Khallāṭanāga was fleeing after being defeated by the five Tamil invaders, he is said to have been insulted at by Giri, the Jain, as the king passed by his monastery.[90] And after Vaṭṭagāmaṇī succeeded in winning back his throne after a peroid of fourteen years and seven months, it is said that one of the first acts he performed was to demolish this monastery of the Jain ascetic and build in its place the Abhayagiri Vihāra.[91]

After these incidents we hear no more of any Jain establishment in Ceylon, and no remains of any Jain monastery has so far been found in any part of Ceylon. As Buddhism was introduced into the Island and became more and more spread in the country, it may be possible that their places of worship were appropriated by the Buddhists with the decline of the Jain faith, as in the case of Giri's monastery in Anurādhapura.[91]

Paribbājakas also seem to have been living in early Ceylon. In India the *paribbājakas* were a class of wandering ascetics not professing any single creed. " They moved about singly or in groups making one of them as their leader. Many of these Paribbājakas became ultimately Jainas or Buddhists, and many reverted to Brahmanism. They moved about in the towns and villages and lived a moderate recluse-life." [92]

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Buddha at his passing away instructed Sakka to protect Vijaya and his men when they landed in Laṅkā. This behest was entrusted to Uppalavaṇṇa by Sakka. It is mentioned that Uppalavaṇṇa appeared to Vijaya seated under a tree in the guise of a *paribbājaka*.[93] Vijaya and his men on landing in Ceylon are said to have first met this *paribbājaka* from whom Vijaya not only inquired for particulars regarding the Island, but they were also helped by the *paribbājaka* by sprinkling on them *paritta* waters and tying *paritta* thread on their arms in order to ward off any dangers that may come to them. According to the account the *paribbājaka* was not considered an uncommon sight by Vijaya or his men. At the behest of his father Sumitta, Paṇḍuvāsudeva his youngest son came to Ceylon, along with thirty others in order to assume the sovereignty of the Island, in the guise of *paribbājakas*.[94] These *paribbājakas* are said to have been received with due respect by the people of the Island when they arrived here.[95] Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have built a monastery for *paribbājakas* which was situated on the further side of the dwelling place of *nigaṇṭha* Jotiya, and on this side of the Gāmaṇī tank.[96] An *ārāma* for *paribbājakas* is said to have been in existence to the left of the *mahāsīmā* during the time of Devānampiyatissa.[97]

The presence of Ājīvakas, in Ceylon, followers of Makkhaligosāla, the rival of the Jains, has already been referred to.[98] They are mentioned by their generic name in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, and their presence in the Island seems to have been sufficiently large enough to warrant the building of a separate house of residence for them.

There are also other religious sects like *Tāpasas*, *Pabbajitas*, *Pāsaṇḍas*, and *Samaṇas* mentioned as having dwelt in Ceylon in early times. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Kuveṇi was seen by the men of Vijaya in the guise of a *tāpasī* under the foot of a tree.[99] Paṇḍukābhaya built a monastery for many *tāpasas*, north of the line of huts for the huntsmen as far as the Gāmaṇī tank.[100] Bhaddakaccānā with her retinue of thirty-two women arrived in Ceylon in the guise of *pabbajitās*, and were received with due civility by the people.[101] It is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* that during the time of Paṇḍukābhaya there lived many *pāsaṇḍas* and *samaṇas* in the area where Giri and Jotiya dwelt.[102] Five hundred families of heretical beliefs are said to have lived in early Ceylon during the time of Paṇḍukābhaya.[103] They are said to have dwelt east of the dwelling places of the huntsmen. Besides these, there is also the mention of *yavanas*, for whom Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have established a common dwelling ground.[104] It is possible that these *yavanas* not only influenced some at least of the local residents, but that they also professed a religion perhaps different from the types of religious practices that were prevailing in Ceylon at the time. One does not know what exactly were the heretical views followed by the five hundred families mentioned above, nor the religious faith of the *yavanas*.

The worship of *yakkhas* also seems to have been prevalent in Ceylon during the earliest times. It is observed from Jaina and Buddhist literary sources that in India during the period prior to and immediately after the advent of Buddhism, the middle and lower strata of society followed the worship of *yakkhas* as a principal factor in their religious worship.[105] These practices naturally found their way into Ceylon with the arrival of the people from the mainland of India. *Yakkhas* and *yakkhinīs* are found mentioned in the early legends of the visit of the *Tathāgata*[106] and in connection with the arrival of Vijaya in Ceylon,[107] although in these cases there is no mention of a *yakkha* cult being in vogue at the time. That practice probably originated from the time of Paṇḍukābhaya. Cittā and Kālavela, the two servants of Ummādacittā are said to have been killed by her brothers, and were born as *yakkhas*. These two *yakkhas* are said to have been responsible for the safety of Ummādacittā's son Paṇḍukābhaya.[108] When Paṇḍukābhaya ascended the throne, he is said to have settled the *yakkha* Kālavela on the eastern side of Anurādhapura, and Cittarāja at the lower end of the Abhaya tank.[109] The servant woman Cittā who was born as a *yakkhinī* was settled at the south gate of the city.[110] Paṇḍukābhaya further settled the *yakkhinī* Vaḷavāmukhī within the royal precincts.[111] A *yakkhinī* named Cetiyā who appeared as a mare and was captured by Paṇḍukābhaya from the vicinity of Dimbulāgala was greatly helpful to Paṇḍukābhaya in his battles against his uncles.[112] " Year by year he had sacrificial offerings made to them and to other (yakkhas);.." [113] " Cittarāja, a Yakṣa to whom special honour was paid by Paṇḍukābhaya, figures in one of the *Jātaka* stories. The mare-faced Yakṣiṇī installed in his palace by this ruler differed very little from Assa-mukhī (Horse-faced), figuring in another *Jātaka* story."[114] It is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* that Paṇḍukābhaya sat with Cittarāja besides him on a seat of equal height on festival days and had gods and men dance before him.[115] It is further said that Paṇḍukābhaya who had *yakkhas* and *bhūtas* as his friends enjoyed the pleasures of his good fortune, in the company of Kālavela and Cittarāja, who were visible in bodily form.[116] Parker tries to make out that the two *yakkhas* Cittarāja and Kālavela were two pre-Āryan chiefs of Ceylon who were subdued by the Āryan colonists, and who were treated with special honour by the king by way of diplomacy on his part.[117] But Paranavitāna has pointed out that they are not aboriginal chiefs of Ceylon, but were relicts of the *yakkha* cult that had prevailed in India.[118] And the statement that Cittarāja and Kālavela appeared in visible form need not be taken in its literal sense. It may be possible that this refers to the fact that images of these *yakkhas* were placed besides the king on these festive occasions. The king's motive in so doing would perhaps have been to impress on the people his might and majesty by showing himself an equal to these *yakkhas* who were objects of a popular cult in both India and Ceylon.[119] In this instance it may be interesting to cite a parallel instance where Aśoka in order to impress on his subjects the effects of his practice of the Dhamma says, that thanks to the practice of the Dhamma by him, the sound of the drum has become the sound of Dhamma showing the people divine manifestations such as heavenly chariots, elephants, balls of fire and other divine forms.[120] The temple of Kālavela built by Paṇḍukābhaya as a mark of gratitude, according to the story as narrated in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, appears to have continued down to later times, for Mahāsena is credited to have built a *cetiya*

at the *devālaya* of this *yakkha*.[121] It is however not stated in this context that Mahāsena demolished the *devālaya* and in its place built the *cetiya*, although he had in other places built *vihāras* after demolishing the *devālayas*.[122] As for the *cetiya* at the Kālavela shrine, Paranavitāna seems to think that both the *yakkha* cult and the *cetiya* worship probably existed side by side without one supplanting the other.[123]

There is also the mention of a *yakkha* who was the guardian spirit of the Tisāväva. According to an inscription of the tenth century it is said that this guardian spirit of the tank was converted to Buddhism by Mahinda and that thereafter he was helpful to the new religion as well as to the world.[124] This spirit is termed a *rakus* in the inscription, but Paranavitāna, citing examples,[125] indicates that the two terms *rākṣasa* and *yakṣa* had been indifferently used for the same being, and therefore he considers this spirit of Tisāväva as a *yakkha* who had been the subject of a cult in early times. It is no surprise that popular tradition has credited Mahinda with the conversion of this *yakkha*, for similar credit is given to other missionary *theras* who went to other countries to preach the Dhamma.[126]

There is the mention of another *yakkha* named Jutindhara, who is represented as the husband of Cetiyā or Vaḷavāmukhī, the mare-faced *yakkhinī* who was of so much assistance to Paṇḍukābhaya in his wars against his uncles. This *yakkha* who had his abode in the Dhūmarakkha mountain in the eastern part of the Island,[127] is said to have been killed in the battle at Sirīsavatthu.[128] It is however not specifically mentioned that this *yakkha* was the subject of a separate cult although it may be so surmised, considering the prevalence of the *yakkha* cult both in India and Ceylon and the fact that he was associated with Vaḷavāmukhī, for whom Paṇḍukābhaya paid special honour.

Another *yakkha* who seems to have received adoration at the hands of the early Sinhalese people was Maheja, for whom Paṇḍukābhaya built a shrine.[129] We observe further that this building formed quite a landmark up to the time of Devānampiyatissa. It is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*[130] that the royal elephant bearing the sacred relics to be enshrined in the Thūpārāma left the city by the south gate and went as far as the shrine of this *yakkha* before he returned to the site of the Bodhi tree. " No more reference to him is found in later literature and it is possible that his shrine was demolished to find room for the Buddhist monastic buildings that sprang up around the Thūpārāma."[131]

Vaiśravaṇa, the king of the *yakkhas* also received honour from Paṇḍukābhaya when he settled this *yakkha* chief in a banyan tree near the western gate of Anurādhapura.[132] Vaiśravaṇa is considered as one of the four guardian deities and is a very familiar deity both in Buddhist and Hindu mythology.

Another *yakkha* named Jayasena or Jayasumana, resident at Ariṭṭhapabbata is mentioned in connection with a duel with one of the ten warriors of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, namely Goṭhaimbara.[133] This *yakkha* is immortalised in the popular legends of Ceylon, and it seems quite probable that he received adoration from the early Ceylon people.

God Sumana of the Samantakūṭa mountain also seems to have been originally worshipped as a *yakkha* in early Ceylon. He is represented as being a resident of Nāgadīpa before he was born in the *rājāyatana* tree in Jetavana. He is later said to have emigrated to Ceylon, [134] and taken his abode at the Samantakūṭa mountain. This god Sumana is supposed to have become a *sotāpanna* after listening to the sermon preached by the Buddha, on his supposed first visit to Ceylon. [135] These stories seem to indicate that the worship of Sumana had originated in Ceylon before the introduction of Buddhism in this country. A *yakkha* named Sumana is mentioned in the Āṭānāṭiya-sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. " It is possible that Sumana of Adam's Peak was identical with this yakṣa and was later elevated to the dignity of a *deva*. The fact that his abode was on a mountain and not in one of the six heavens agrees quite well with the epithet of *bhummadeva*, ' the gods of the earth ' applied to the yakṣas." [136] This god Sumana has in still later times been considered to be identical with the Mahāyāna Bodhisatva, Samantabhadra. [137]

The worship of trees seems to have been another form of popular worship practised during the earliest times in Ceylon. " The worship of trees seems to have been intimately connected with that of the yakṣas and the cult of the *caityas*. Most of the sacred trees owed their sanctity as the abodes of yakṣas. Some of the *stūpas* mentioned in the *piṭakas* and which are said by Buddhaghosa to have been yakṣa sanctuaries were sacred trees or groves. Among the Bhārhut sculptures are several sacred trees which in the inscriptions engraved below them are said to be *cetiyas*. [138] Quite in keeping with this, the *cetiya* and the tree are intimately connected in popular Buddhism." [139] It is also believed that the worship of trees had been practised in the Indus civilization of Mohenjadaro and Harappa. [140]

Two trees that appear to have received worship during pre-Buddhistic times in Ceylon are the banyan and the palmyrah trees. Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have settled the *yakkha* king Vessavaṇa in a banyan tree near the western gate of Anurādhapura. [141] And the Vyādhadeva, the god of hunters was settled in a palmyrah palm, also near the western gate of the city. [142] These two trees, the banyan and the palmyrah, have thus been venerated in early Ceylon, as the abode of certain divine beings. There is also a reference to the *rājāyatana* tree, the abode of god Sumana, which was brought to Ceylon along with his arrival in the country. [143] Although Sumana appears to have been worshipped in pre-Buddhist Ceylon, and that his residence is supposed to have been the *rājāyatana* tree, there is no mention of it being venerated by the early people of Ceylon. [144]

There are also certain references in the *Mahāvaṃsa* to the practice of the worship of certain patron deities. We have already referred [145] to the existence of the god of the hunters, Vyādhadeva, who was installed by Paṇḍukābhaya in a palmyrah tree to the west of the city of Anurādhapura. [146] He seems to have been the patron deity of the hunters. There is also the patron deity of the black-smiths, Kammāradeva, whose *devālaya* was supposed to have been situated by the side of the sacred boundaries marked out by Devānampiyatissa. [147] The black-smith industry would have prevailed in Ceylon from earliest times, when tools for hunting and agriculture were needed by the people. In fact these blacksmiths had developed their skill

to such an extent that by the third century B.C. they were capable of turning out steel tools hard enough to cut even the hardest gneiss.[148] A Pura-deva, deity presiding over the city, whose shrine is mentioned in connection with the battle between Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Bhalluka, is found mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[149] Although this reference is made to the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, it is possible that the pura-deva would have been known to exist even earlier, perhaps from the time of Paṇḍukābhaya who was responsible for building the city of Anurādhapura. Another deity who may be mentioned here is the Pacchima-rājinī, whom Paṇḍukābhaya installed near the western gate of the city.[150] It may be possible that this deity was perhaps considered as the presiding deity of the western direction of the city. However we have no further information found in the chronicles regarding any details or functions of this deity. In discussing this subject Paranavitāna concludes that this Pacchimarājinī or the 'Western Queen' is identical with the Queen of the Western Women mentioned by the Chinese traveller, Hieun Tsang.[151] He further says : " What the nature of this goddess's cult was, when she ceased to be an object of popular devotion, whether there are any traces of her cult in modern Sinhalese folk religion and whether her cult was absorbed in that of any of the female divinities worshipped by the Sinhalese today, are questions, there is not sufficient evidence to answer with certainty."[152]

There also seems to have been the cult of astrology prevailing in early Ceylon. Paranavitāna arguing that the names found in the earliest inscriptions may indicate the religious pattern that prevailed in pre-Buddhistic Ceylon, mentions that the great majority of the personal names found mentioned in these inscriptions bear evidence of astrological influence, since they are mostly astral names.[153] The custom of naming a person after the constellation he was born in was practised in India from earliest times.[154] This was no doubt introduced into Ceylon by the early immigrants. Thus we come across such names as Anuruddha,[155] Visākhā,[156] Āsāḷha,[157] Phussadeva,[158] and the like. " Constellations which were in popular favour were Kṛttikā, Rohaṇa, Āśleṣa, Phalguṇa, Viśākha, Anurādha, Āṣāḍha and Revata. The constellation Anurādha seems to have been especially favoured by women, for most of the princesses of ancient Ceylon known to us were named after this *nakṣatra*, (Anuradi, Anuḍi, Anuḷa)."[159] We find public festivals of a national character, called *kṣaṇakrīdā* being held in early Ceylon to mark the appearance of certain constellations. Such a festival was the *chaṇa* festival in which Paṇḍukābhaya participated along with Cittarāja.[160] The water festival ordered by Devānampiyatissa,[161] was also held under a certain constellation.[162] Along with these may also be considered the presence of soothsayers and astrologers in early Ceylon, which indicates the belief in astral influence by the society at the time. Many incidents connected with the early history of the Island seem to have been predicted by astrologers or soothsayers.[163] Paṇḍukābhaya himself is said to have consulted them before he began the building of the capital city.[164]

According to the chronicles Buddhism was introduced to Ceylon only after the arrival of Mahinda and his companions. According to these sources there were no Buddhists in the country prior to his arrival although the Buddha is said to

have visited Ceylon thrice during his lifetime.[165] The story connected with these visits indicates that the inhabitants of Ceylon at the time were *yakkhas* and *nāgas* who are represented as non-human beings. Although the early Ceylon sources mention these visits of the Buddha to Ceylon, no such mention of them is made in the Pāli Canon.[166] The Mahiyaṅgaṇa *thūpa* too, wherein Buddha relics were enshrined appears to have existed in Ceylon prior to the arrival of Mahinda.[166] We may also incidentally note the significance of the worship of relics. When *thera* Mahinda informed Devānampiyatissa that he had not seen the Buddha for a long time, the king is said to have reminded the *thera* that he had told him that the *Sambuddha* had passed into *Nibbāna*. Mahinda's reply was that when a person beholds the relics he sees the Buddha too.[167] (*dhātusu diṭṭhesu diṭṭho hoti jino*). In a similar manner, sacred relics for the purpose of worship were specifically asked for by Sumana when he took up permanent residence in Ceylon.[168] In the light of these incidents and also the story of Bhaddakaccānā and her brothers, it would be rather difficult for one to believe that there had been no one in Ceylon prior to the arrival of Mahinda, who was either a Buddhist or was not aware of the great religous activity taking place in India during the lifetime of the Buddha, or later, during the time of the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka. We have earlier indicated that from earliest times before and after the arrival of Vijaya and his men there would have been constant intercourse between India and Ceylon. It is therefore hardly unlikely that there were no Buddhists here before the arrival of Mahinda, when such groups as Ājīvakas, Tāpasas, and Niganṭhas etc. are mentioned by name in the chronicles. Among the religious buildings constructed by Paṇḍukābhaya in Anurādhapura there is no mention of even a single building set apart for the Buddhists. The absence of such mention needs explanation if we were to surmise that there were Buddhists in Ceylon prior to the arrival of Mahinda. Both Oldenberg and Malalasekera state that this was probably done purposely by the early chroniclers in order to glorify the deeds of Mahinda, and connect the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon with the mighty Aśoka.[169] Rāhula however tries to deny such a conscious effort on the part of the Ceylon chroniclers. He argues : " It may be that, although Buddhism was known to the people, and although there were even a few Buddhists scattered in the Island, it was not necessary to erect any particular religious edifice as there were no bhikkhus to constitute a definite religion before Mahinda's arrival."[170] This supposition would go counter to the traditional story appearing in the *Mahāvaṃsa* itself, where it is mentioned that in the time of Paṇḍukābhaya there were numerous *samaṇas* residing close to the dwelling place of Giri.[171] We are of course not quite certain as to what type of religious adherents are intended by the term *samaṇa*. Before the rise of Buddhism in India there were two main religious sects, the *brāhmaṇas* and the *samaṇas*. They are mentioned in the early books[172] as well as in the edicts of Aśoka.[173] The Buddha's Order was one among the *samaṇa* sects as differentiated from the *brāhmaṇas*.[174] And it is quite possible that the term *samaṇa* used here refers to the Buddhist recluses, for this word has often been used in that sense in the Buddhist books.[175] The Buddha himself is sometimes addressed by non-Buddhists as *samaṇa*.[175] Further, we observe that Mahinda, when he met Devānampiyatissa at Mihintale, introduces himself and his companions to the king as *samaṇas*.[176] It is thus most likely that the *samaṇas*

mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, as having lived in Ceylon during the time of Paṇḍukābhaya, were none other than Buddhist recluses. If so, we have to accept the position that there were not only lay Buddhists, but also those who have entered the Order of the Buddha residing in Ceylon, at least during the time of Paṇḍukābhaya.[177]

Further, we have observed that according to the traditional story god Sumana arrived in Ceylon with his *rājāyatana* tree at the request of the Buddha and took up permanent residence in the country.[178] It has also been shown that the cult of Sumana had originated in Ceylon prior to the arrival of Mahinda.[179] If so it may be observed that Sumana who was originally worshipped as a *yakkha* in Ceylon, was perhaps one of the earliest lay Buddhists in Ceylon.

We have also the story of Bhaddakaccānā, Sakka Paṇḍu's daughter and her companions who are said to have arrived in Ceylon robed like nuns,[180] (*pabbajitākārā*). It may be possible that they all, or some at least were, Buddhists in faith. Further, Aśoka's missionary activities and religious zeal would have been felt in Ceylon prior to the arrival of Mahinda in the country. According to the chronicles an embassy was sent to the Mauryan king by Devānampiyatissa after he assumed rulership of the Island. Aśoka is said to have returned the courtesy by sending an embassy himself together with a message regarding Buddha and his teaching. This would mean that the Ceylon king was at least aware of the religious awakening taking place in India at the time. It was after this that Mahinda arrived in Ceylon. Thus one cannot clearly say that there were no Buddhists in Ceylon before Mahinda arrived in this country.

We might now conclude this survey of the religious condition that prevailed in Ceylon prior to the coming of Mahinda in the following words of Paranavitāna : " From the foregoing discussion about the religious conditions prevailing in Ceylon when the missionaries of Aśoka preached the doctrines of the Enlightened One, it becomes clear that the great majority of the people worshipped nature spirits, called the yakṣas, who were supposed to dwell in rivers, lakes, mountains, trees, etc. The worship of the sacred trees or groves was also connected with this primitive religion. The heavenly bodies received the adoration of the people, and to a great extent influenced their every day life. The more intellectual among the people, perhaps followed the Brahmaṇical religion. Ascetics of different sects lived in the country and each must have had his own following among the masses. These conditions are, on the whole very similar to the state of religious beliefs prevailing in North India during the life time of the Buddha."[181] Nor could we say there were no Buddhists in the Island during this early period.

The authentic history of the Island commences with the reign of Devānampiyatissa during whose time Buddhism was introduced to the Island. The circumstances under which this event took place may be narrated here, although we have surmised earlier[182] that there would have been Buddhists living in this country prior to this event. The prince named Piyadassi succeeded to the throne of Magadha under the name of Aśoka[183] at the death of his father Bindusāra, having come from Ujjain where he was viceroy at the time. Bindusāra, the second Mauryan king is credited with a

reign of 28 years.[184] At the death of his father, Aśoka is said to have killed ninety-nine of his hundred brothers and succeeded to the throne of his father.[185] Aśoka was formally consecrated ruler of his father's empire after four years of rule. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* he was consecrated 218 years after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha,[186] that is, in 265 B.C., reckoning the *parinibbāna* as having occurred in 483 B.C. Fleet considers Aśoka was crowned on 25th April 264 B.C.,[187] while Eggermont considers his coronation to have taken place in 268 B.C.[188] " But synchronisms furnished by the mention of certain Greek kings in the inscriptions of Asoka would point to the fact that this monarch's coronation took place in or about 270 B.C."[189]

In the course of time, Aśoka having been converted to Buddhism is said to have later undertaken a religious tour of the country visiting such places as the sacred Bodhi tree, Lumbinī, the birth place of the Buddha, the *stūpa* at Konākamana etc.[190] The Ceylon chronicles date these events to have taken place in the seventh year of Aśoka's reign.[191] According to Aśoka's own inscriptions the conquest of Kālinga[192] took place in the eighth year of his reign, and it is said he became attracted towards the Buddhist faith after this event, as a result of the remorse he felt in having killed a large number of men and animals in this war. The *Divyāvadāna* informs us that Aśoka wanted to build 84,000 *stūpas* on the same day and at the same hour.[193] The *arhant* named Yaśas is said to have hidden the sun with his hand in order to make this possible.[194] Eggermont has interpreted the hiding of the sun as the eclipse of the sun,[195] and it has been shown that three eclipses of the sun[196] occurred during the reign of Aśoka, in the 20th, 27th, and 37th years of his reign. The *Divyāvadāna* states that after the erection of the *stūpas*, and the eclipse of the sun the *thera* allowed Aśoka a vision of the places sacred to Buddhism, and Aśoka is said to have put up *cetiyas* and *stūpas* at some of these places. Lumbinī was one of the places visited by Aśoka. It has been indicated that these events followed in quick succession.[197] The reference to the vision of the sacred sites and erecting of further religious buildings have been interpreted to indicate a religious tour undertaken by Aśoka after the eclipse of the sun. This would probably have taken place in or immediately after the twentieth year of his reign since the pillar inscription erected at Lumbinī to mark the visit of Aśoka there, is issued in the twenty-first year of his reign.[198] Aśoka would have made his journey in the region of the Ganges during this period because we are told that he was present at some stage of the journey made by Moggaliputtatissa, down the river Ganges by boat, after the meeting of the Third Council held at Pāṭalīputta.[199]

This brings us to the meeting of the Third Council held under the chairmanship of *thera* Moggaliputtatissa. This Council was held in order to settle the true doctrine of the Buddha, and the Pāli canon as it exists today is said to have been redacted at this Council. The tradition regarding this meeting is narrated only in the Ceylon chronicles,[200] although the accounts of the Northern Buddhists do not contain such a tradition, and hence certain scholars are inclined to doubt the historicity* of the event.[201] " The Council having been held expressly for the purpose of settling the Theravāda doctrines, it is not strange that other schools of Buddhism have not preserved any tradition about it, and the consensus of opinion among scholars today is in favour of accepting as historical the Ceylonese account of the Third Council.

*See however, UCR., Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3 & 4, 1959, pp. 61-72

Moggaliputta Tissa Thera is also not mentioned in the writings of Buddhists other than the Theravāda. His historicity is proved beyond doubt by the discovery of an inscribed casket containing his relics in Stūpa No. 2 at Sāñci, and it appears probable that he is the same as Upagupta of the Northern Buddhist tradition. "[202]

At the end of the Third Council Moggaliputta Tissa decided to send missionaries to various places within and outside the Mauryan empire. Altogether nine missions headed by ten chief *theras* were sent.[203] To the Kāśmīra and Gandhāra region was sent the *thera* Majjhantika as the chief of the mission. *Thera* Mahādeva was sent as the chief of the mission to Mahisamaṇḍala, the modern Mysore. The *thera* named Rakkhita led the mission to the region named Vanavāsa in the southern part of the Mauryan empire. The yona (Greek) *thera* named Dhammarakkhita went as the leader of the mission sent to the Aparānta region, the country round Suppāraka associated with the Vijayan legend. To the region named Mahāraṭṭha, midway between Aparānta and Vanavāsa was sent the *thera* named Mahā-dhammarakkhita as the leader. *Thera* Mahārakkhita went as the head of the mission sent to the Yavana country, the country to the west of India where Greeks or Hellenised people dwelt. The mission to the Himālayan region in the north was led by the *thera* named Majjhima. *Theras* Soṇa and Uttara led the mission to the region named Suvaṇṇabhūmi, perhaps modern Burma. The mission to Ceylon was led by *thera* Mahinda, a son of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka himself. " The principal missionary to each country was attended by four others, for the purpose of the missionaries was to recruit members to the *Saṁgha*, and valid admission to the Order can only be effected by a chapter of at least five. Special importance appears to have been attached to the mission intended for the Island of Ceylon,for at its head was Mahinda Thera who, in addition to his spiritual attainments, second to those of no other colleague of his, enjoyed the prestige of being a son of Asoka himself."[204]

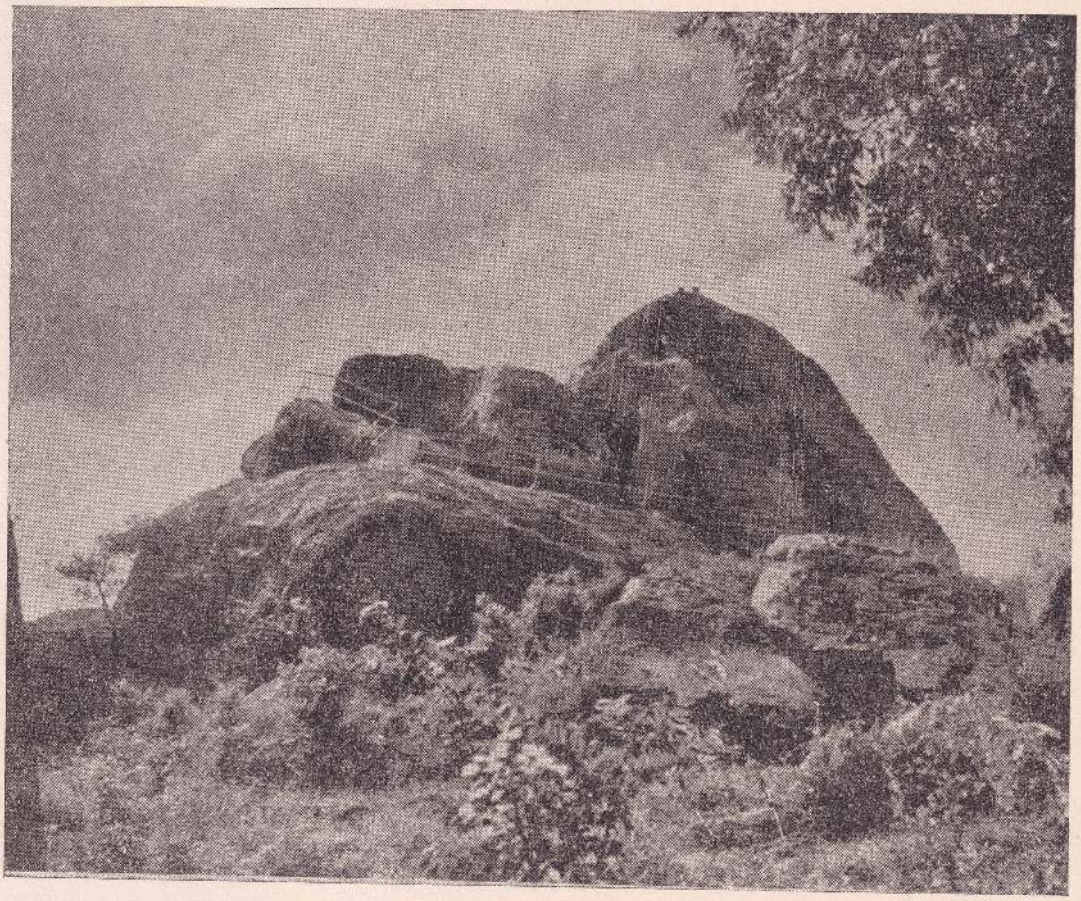
There appears to be some controversy regarding Mahinda's relationship to Aśoka. According to the Northern Buddhist tradition he is represented as a younger brother of Aśoka,[205] and Smith in accepting this view, is inclined to believe that the Ceylon tradition is an attempt on the part of the Ceylon chroniclers to give added prestige to Mahinda and to Ceylon.[206] But considering the fact that according to the Ceylon tradition Mahinda was a son of Aśoka through Vidisādevi, the daughter of a merchant at Vedisa, and that therefore he could be considered as of royal blood only on the father's side; speaking of him as a son rather than a brother, in which case he could be shown as being of royal blood from both sides, would bring no added prestige to the personality of Mahinda, as is thought by Smith. Mahinda's parentage cannot be settled in the light of Aśoka's inscriptions too, for there is only one son, namely Tīvara who is specifically mentioned by name in his inscriptions.[207] Further, details regarding Mahinda's parentage would have been of greater concern to the Ceylon chroniclers than to the Nothern Buddhists, and hence they could be relied on to have preserved the correct tradition. If Mahinda was actually a brother of Aśoka, " Ceylon Buddhists would not have acquiesced in an account which lowered the worldly position of Mahinda if he was in fact a brother of Asoka, in which case he would have been of royal blood on the mother's as well as on the father's side."[208]

Thus not being of royal blood on the mother's side, it is quite likely that Mahinda found it expedient to join the Buddhist Order, rather than be indifferently treated in the Mauryan court at Pāṭaliputta.

Although the relationship Mahinda held towards Aśoka cannot be settled in the light of Aśoka's own inscriptions, there seems no ground to doubt the veracity of the Ceylon tradition that Mahinda came over to Ceylon and established the Buddha-sāsana in this island.[209] And both the Northern and Ceylon traditions agree on this point. Just as much as we have inscriptional evidence to confirm the historicity of three of the *theras* who went as missionaries to the Himālayan region,[210] we have an inscription dating back to about the first century A.C. from Mihintale which refers to the images of *thera* Mahinda and three of his companions who came as missionaries to Ceylon. "The damaged part of the record no doubt contained the names of the other two companions also.[211] Thus the tradition that Ceylon was converted to Buddhism by a *thera* named Mahinda and his companions is vouched for by documents only two hundred years later than the date generally ascribed to the event." [212]

Mahinda came over to Ceylon with four other *theras*, from the *vihāra* called Vedisagiri-vihāra in the country of Avanti, and met Devānampiyatissa, the king of Ceylon, at Mihintale on the full-moon day of the month of Jeṭṭha. It is believed that Mahinda and his companions who numbered altogether six, came through the air from Avanti and alighted at Mihintale. If we are disposed to consider the story of the mode of their travel as open to doubt, we might consider Mahinda and his companions as having followed the common routes of travel available at the time. "The normal course would have been to arrive overland to a seaport on the western coast of India, most probably to Bharu-kaccha, and thence to take ship to the Island. Perhaps Mahinda Thera and his followers adopted this course. Another possibility is that the missionaries travelled overland right up to the crossing between South India and Ceylon. The fact that the propagation of Buddhism in the Tamil country has also been credited to Mahinda Thera, according to traditions prevalent when Hsüan Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India,[213] would give some support to the second possibility. It is of course quite possible that Mahinda Thera and his companions undertook missionary work in South India after the successful completion of their work in Ceylon, though this is not recorded in the Sinhalese chronicles ."[214]

Mahinda preached the doctrine of the Buddha to the king and the people, and very soon the new religion took a firm hold in the land, with both the king and the people becoming converts to the religion. Finally Anulā, the wife of the kings' younger brother joined the Order of Nuns, being ordained by Sanghamittā, Mahinda's sister who was invited to come over to Ceylon for this specific purpose.[215] Ariṭṭha, a nephew of Devānampiyatissa also joined the Order.[216] Many others joined the ranks of the *theras*, and both Mahinda and his sister Sanghamittā spent the rest of their lives in Ceylon working for the propagation of the Buddhist religion. Mahinda died in the eighth year of the reign of Uttiya, the younger brother who succeeded Devānampiyatissa,[217] and Sanghamittā in the following year of the same reign.[218]



Rock summit at Mihintale (*ārādhanō gala*)
(the first meeting-place between *arhant* Mahinda and Devānampiyatissa)

The conversion of the king and the people of Ceylon to the Buddhist faith can be regarded as the most important event in the national and cultural history of the Island. The introduction of Buddhism, with a civilization attached to it which was at its height during the Mauryan days, and the arrival here from India of many a master craftsman, brought about a distinctive culture pattern in the social and religious life of the country.

Thus the arrival of Mahinda and his sister Sanghamittā in Ceylon not only changed the entire religious and national pattern of the Sinhalese people, but also marked the beginning of the cultural life of the country. We could now attempt to examine the most outstanding cultural achievements attained by the people of Ceylon as a result of the labours of Mahinda and his sister Sanghamittā.

When Mahinda arrived in Ceylon he brought with him the Theravāda canon preserved in memory by oral tradition, and finally redacted at the Third Council at Pātalīputta. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ariṭṭha and fifty-five of his elder and younger brothers were the first people of Ceylon to receive *pabbajjā* at the hands of Mahinda.[219] A knowledge of the Pāli canon being very essential for a person who enters the Order, it is natural for us to surmise that Mahinda would have taken upon himself the task of introducing the Pāli canon to the first Ceylonese *theras*, apart from delivering daily sermons to the large gathering of people who came to see him. It is therefore possible that the first school started by Mahinda to teach the Pāli canon to Ariṭṭha and his companions centered round the sixty-eight rock cells that the king constructed at the Cetiya mountain.[220] After the Mahāmeghavana was offered to the Sangha, Devānampiyatissa wanted to know from the *thera* Mahinda whether the *sāsana* had been established in the country, to which Mahinda, according to the *Dīpavaṃsa*[221] and *Mahāvaṃsa*,[222] is said to have replied that it would take place only if a *sīmā* for the *uposatha* ceremony and other acts of the religion, according to the teaching of the Buddha, is established in the Island.[223] The *Samantapāsādikā*,[224] on the other hand, recording a different tradition, mentions that in answer to the king's query, the *thera* replied that the *sāsana* had only been established in the Island but not taken root, and that could take place only when a son of the soil born of parents of the Island, enters the Order in Ceylon, studies the Vinaya in Ceylon, and recites it in Ceylon itself. Tradition has it that Mahā-Ariṭṭha finally fulfilled this requirement and recited the Vinaya before a large gathering including the *theras* and the king.[225] This incidentally implies that *thera* Mahinda had taken upon himself the task of instructing Mahā-Ariṭṭha and others who entered the Order, in the Vinaya and the Pāli canon.

With the help of Ariṭṭha and other local *theras* Mahinda perhaps built up a commentarial literature in Sinhalese in order to facilitate the task of understanding the Pāli works. This *aṭṭhakathā* or commentarial literature gradually grew in size. Mahinda also brought with him the tradition of the stories connected with the Buddha and his *sāsana* as was handed down up to his time in India.[226] This included a history of the *sāsana*, important events in the political history of the times, especially the events regarding the kingdom of Magadha, the succession of teachers from the time of the Buddha, and the events connected with the Councils,

and the spread of Buddhism that occured as a result of the Third Council and the efforts of Aśoka in spreading the religion of the Buddha. After the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon, this tradition seems to have been continued wherein important local religious events, such as the establishment of the Mahāvihāra, the planting of the Bodhi tree and the building of various religious edifices were included in the accounts. In the course of time all the historical and religious traditions that grew up gradually, were brought together into some coherant form. Thus the Sinhalese commentaries on the Pāli canon contained a historical introduction called the *Mahāvaṃsa* of the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* or the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā Mahāvaṃsa*. Besides the *Mahāvaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* containing this main historical tradition, there were other *aṭṭhakathās* such as *Kurundī*, *Paccarī*, *Andha* and *Sankhepa*.[227] The preservation and the continuation of this tradition incorporating local events finally brought about the appearance of such historical literature as the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the importance of which, for the reconstruction of the history of the Island can hardly be estimated. One statement may suffice. " The mention of Asoka's name in the historical writings of Ceylon has contributed not a little to the resuscitation of his name and fame, after they had been forgotten in his own land during many centuries." [228]

The knowledge of the Pāli *tripiṭaka* and the commentarial literature thereof that was orally handed down to the Ceylon *theras* firstly by *thera* Mahinda, was most zealously preserved by the *theras* of Ceylon in the oral tradition, handing down the knowledge from teacher to pupil. During the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī the relentless famine known as Brāhmaṇa Tīya famine is said to have devastated the country. People were unable to obtain any food, and a large number of *bhikkhus* and laymen died as a consequence.[229] " Large number of *bhikkhus*, unable to get even the meagre sustenance with which they were content, are said to have left the shores of this Island to the more hospitable land of India. Sacred shrines of Buddhism, like Thūpārāma and Mahāthūpa, were deserted without worshippers, and their courtyards, on which thousands used to assemble on festive occasions a few years before, were overgrown with weeds, and their precincts were given over for cultivation. Harrowing details are given of the misery which the people underwent for want of food."[230]

As a result of the death that overpowered many a *thera*[231] who was the custodian of the *dhamma*, kept alive by oral tradition, the *sangha* realized the grave danger that threatened the Buddha's doctrine. It dawned on them that it was hardly possible for them to preserve the doctrine under these markedly trying and very adverse conditions. There was the dreadful famine, and royalty seemed reluctant to support the *bhikkhus*. They therefore decided to commit the sacred texts to writing. The *Mahāvaṃsa* makes only a brief reference to this event : " The text of the three piṭakas and the aṭṭhakathā thereon did the most wise bhikkhus hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away (from religion) the bhikkhus came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books."[232] The Sinhalese *Nikāyasangrahaya* says that this was done under the patronage of a chieftain at Aluvihāra in Matale, and five hundred *bhikkhus* participated in the task.[233] " How far the Alu-vihāra redaction agreed with or differed from the canon and commentaries settled by the 3rd Council and intro-

duced into Ceylon by Mahinda's mission, whether after their introduction into the island any passages previously considered unorthodox had crept into the orthodox scriptures and whether the Alu-vihāra council separated such interpolations, and how far the *Tipiṭaka* and its commentary reduced to writing at Alu-vihāra resembled them as they have come down to us now, no one can say. This much, however, is certain, that in the fifth century of the Christian era the present *Piṭakas*, etc., were considered orthodox both on the continent and in Ceylon, as is evidenced by the visits of Buddhaghosa and Fa Hsian ; and in view of the great care with which the orthodox monks attempted to preserve the purity of the Word there is not much probability that the canon underwent any material changes in the interval." [234]

This step taken by the Ceylon *theras* to have the Buddha's doctrine reduced to writing can be considered as one of the most important contributions made to the cause of Buddhism by Ceylon. But for the extreme self denial of the *theras* in preserving the text of the *Dhamma* and the commentaries under grave difficulties and subsequently writing them down, at least some of the sacred texts would surely have disappeared from existence. " The preservation of the Theravāda Canon, which had been lost in India itself at a comparatively early date, is the greatest contribution that the Sinhalese people had made to the intellectual heritage of mankind."[235]

The emergence of a considerable volume of commentarial literature in Sinhalese around the Pāli canon, the appearance of a collection of religious legends and historical accounts pertaining to both India and Ceylon, the writing down of the sacred texts, and the appearance of the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* subsequently, all go to indicate that from the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon there had been a continuous trend of religious and literary activity in the Island.

Skill in sculpture is another achievement of the Sinhalese people. Actual examples of sculptural achievements of the Indian people are met with from the time of the Mauryas, although there is evidence to indicate that the art of sculpture was practised in the time of the Indus civilization.[236] The Mauryan specimens consist of animals and other figures usually set up at the top of granite pillars.[237] In Ceylon however, we do not come across examples of very early sculptures produced by pre-historic inhabitants of the country. In the absence of such evidence one has to come to a negative conclusion to say that the pre-historic inhabitants at least did not produce any sculptural works. Therefore it seems probable that the art of sculpture was introduced to the Island with the arrival of the Buddhist missionaries from India. Mahinda is said to have come to Ceylon, after having stayed for a short while at Vedisagiri-vihāra, the modern Sāñchi.[238] When the *therī* Sanghamittā started off for Ceylon, it is mentioned that she was accompanied by various craftsmen.[239] This was the time when original sculptures connected with Bhārhut and Sāñchi had been

fashioned, and it is quite probable that some at least of the craftsmen who accompanied Sanghamittā on her mission to Ceylon may have been aware of these sculptural undertakings, although sculptors are not specifically mentioned in the list of the craftsmen who came along with the *therī*.

Although much sculptural work had been undertaken at both Bhārhut and Sāñchi, it is interesting to observe that no Buddha image had been fashioned at this period. " The early Buddhists had no statues of Buddha. He is not once represented in the sculptured bas-reliefs at Bharhut, which date from 150 to 100 B.C., and there is no image of him amongst the numerous scenes of the great Sânchi Stûpa. The oldest representation of the Buddha, that I am aware of, are found on the coins of the Indo-Scythian king, Kanishka, about A.D. 100. "[240] At the beginning, the sculptor had perhaps thought it not respectful enough to represent the Buddha in any human form.[241] Scenes requiring the presence of the Master are depicted with objects such as the footprint, parasol, *stūpa*, Bodhi tree, *āsana*, *swastika*, *triratana* or the *Dhammacakka* to indicate the Buddha.[242] Even in the Pāli commentaries references to the Buddha image are somewhat rare.[243]

The Buddha image produced by the Gandhāra school of sculpture is considered to have appeared somewhere about the beginning of the 1st century B.C. if not earlier.[244] And the earliest preserved image of the Buddha of the Mathurā school is dated as late as the 1st century A.D.[245] Kern tends to conclude that the worship of the Buddha image began somewhere in the 1st century B.C., if not later.[246] There seems to be a difference of opinion amongst scholars as to which school, whether the Mathurā or the Gandhāra school of sculpture, should get the credit for having fashioned the first image of the Buddha. And there does not seem to be any finality on this point.[247]

According to the *Sammohavinodanī*, a monk residing at a *vihāra* is expected to perform certain duties such as attending on the *cetiyangaṇa* and the *pānīya-mālaka* etc.[248] This account does not mention an image house, which probably indicates that image houses attached to monasteries were absent at the time Pāli commentaries were compiled, or that image houses, even if they were a feature of a monastery were not considered an important feature to warrant specific mention. The citation of the earliest reference to a Buddha image is found in the writings of the famous Chinese traveller, Fa Hieun.[249] In his account he mentions that at the time he visited India, there was a tradition which maintained that king Pasenajit caused an image of the Buddha to be fashioned with sandalwood during the lifetime of the Master. It is said that this image served as a model for all the subsequent images of the Buddha. In Ceylon too it appears that the Buddha image is mentioned as having been fashioned in the early stages of its history. There is a reference in the *Mahāvaṃsa* which seems to indicate that Devānampiyatissa placed a beautiful stone

image of the Buddha at the Thūpārāma.[250] This finds mention in the time of Jeṭṭhatissa, who is said to have removed it from the Thūpārāma and set it up in the Pācīnatissapabbata-ārāma.[251] The *Mahāvaṃsa* does not however include the fashioning of a Buddha statue in the accounts connected with Devānampiyatissa's religious works. We are therefore uncertain as to whether Devānampiyatissa actually got the image made, or whether later tradition attributed it to the first Buddhist king of the island.[252] However this particular Buddha image seems to have been held with great veneration. We observe Jeṭṭhatissa removing it to Pācīnatissapabbatārāma ; Mahāsena removing it from there and placing it at the Abhayagiri vihāra,[253] and other later rulers of the Island such as Buddhadāsa,[254] Dhātusena,[255] Silāmeghavāṇṇa,[256] Sena[257] etc. paying their respects to it in various ways.[258]

In the description of the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa we observe eight Buddha images said to have been placed at eight points within the chamber.[259] We find a similar description of the sculpture inside the *cetiya* built by Ajātasattu.[260] Both these instances cannot be verified. It may be that the descriptions are exaggerated, but it is interesting to observe that some of the subjects found mentioned in the Mahāthūpa account are found in the *stūpas* at Bhārhut, Sāñchi and Amarāvatī, and at Ajantā.[261] And since the statements regarding the images " refer to a period anterior to that in which the Buddha image first appeared in India itself, no credance can be attached to them."[262]

The next reference to images of the Buddha mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* is found in the account of the reign of Vasabha. It is said that Vasabha caused four beautiful Buddha images to be made, and built a temple in the courtyard of the Bodhi tree to house them.[263] Vohārikatissa is mentioned as having set up two bronze images in the Mahābodhi-ghara on the eastern side of the Mahabodhi tree.[264] Next, Goṭhābhaya is said to have placed three statues made of stone at three entrances to the Bodhi tree.[265] The next king coming within our purview is Mahāsena who is said to have caused two bronze images to be made and set them up on the western side of the Mahābodhi-ghara.[266] We have already made reference to the fact that Jeṭṭhatissa, the predecessor and elder brother of Mahāsena caused the stone Buddha image said to have been made during the time of Devānampiyatissa to be brought from Thūpārāma and set up at Pācīnatissapabbatārāma.[267]

At the beginning, in places of worship such as Bhārhut and Sāñchi, the one object of worship was the *stūpa*.[268] The Buddha recommended that *stūpas* be built over the corporeal remains of the Buddha, Pacceka-Buddhas, arhants and cakravarti kings, whose relics should be so honoured.[269] Such *stūpas* contained what was called the *sārīrika-dhātu*. The sculpture etc. that formed part of a *stūpa* was only meant as a source of edification for the faithful. In Ceylon too, we observe the

first objects of religious worship were the *stūpa* and the Bodhi tree. Relics for the first *stūpa* in Ceylon were brought here by *sāmaṇera* Sumana,[270] and the Bodhi branch was brought here by *therī* Sanghamittā.[271] If we are to overlook the reference to the Buddha statue supposed to have been made during the time of Devānampiyatissa, which itself was placed at the Thūpārāma,[272] we observe that the first images of the Buddha were those placed inside the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa.[273] *Thūpas* were mainly intended for the *sārīrika dhātu*, which would not be so easy to obtain. Thus *pāribhogika-cetiya* such as the Bodhi tree, the Bowl relic must have gradually come in for worship, as a result of the scarcity of the former. This too would have been limited in number and to fill the gap *uddesika-cetiyas* would have been gradually introduced into religious worship. This appeared in the form of the statue. In the references to the Buddha image made earlier,[274] we observe that it was placed near the Bodhi tree. This may be perhaps due to the fact that the isolated image itself was not sufficient to arouse religious fervour. Further, at this stage the Buddha image came also to be adopted as a *cetiya* wherein sacred relics were enshrined, in which case it comes to be considered more as a *stūpa* than as an image. Gradually it may have dawned on the devotees that the Buddha statue first placed under the Bodhi tree needed some form of protection, which requirement, brought about the *paṭimā-ghara* in the course of time. This *paṭimā-ghara* gradually developed into an important feature of a Buddhist place of worship, perhaps superseding the importance attached to the earlier *cetiya-ghara*[275] and *Bodhi-ghara*. The *paṭimā-ghara* may have been modelled on the famous *gandha-kuṭi*, the ' Fragrant Chamber ' occupied by the Buddha during his lifetime.

The first *paṭimāghara* that appeared in Ceylon seems to have been built by Vasabha.[276] Among other buildings erected at different places, he is said to have built a temple for four beautiful images in the courtyard of the Bodhi tree. What may be considered as an independant *paṭimāghara* was built by Mahāsena at the Abhayagiri Vihāra. He is credited with having built a *paṭimāghara* apart from other buildings such as a *bodhighara*, a *dhātughara* and a four sided hall.[277]

In the development of the Buddha statue there are certain features which came to be considered as important constituents of the image. Such special features may be enumerated as follows : *pīṭha*,[278] *pallanka*,[279] *maṇḍapa*,[280] pillars,[281] *pāda-jāla*,[282] *cīvara*,[283] *hema-paṭṭa*,[284] eyes,[285] *uṇṇaloma*,[286] halo,[287] hair,[288] *cūlāmaṇi*,[289] parasol,[290] and the lotus.[291] These features no doubt were a gradual incorporation into the structure of the image. With the advent of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism into the Island there gradually appeared the *Bodhisatva* image too.[292]

The essential feature of a *paṭimāghara* is the cella which accommodated the statue.[293] In the course of time other features were added to it, such as the *maṇḍapa*,[294] the *antarāla*,[295] and the *pradakṣināpatha*,[296] the path round the image inside the *paṭimāghara*, along which the worshippers walked round in adoration.

The emergence of the Buddha image, the addition of various features into it, the appearance of the *paṭimāghara*, along with other similar buildings like the *cetiya-ghara* and the *bodhigara*, and the gradual appearance of the *bodhisatva* image after the coming of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism into the Island; all presuppose that the practice of sculpture and architecture has been going on from very early times, perhaps from immediately after the introduction of Buddhism into the country. This also presupposes the presence of certain schools of art dealing with these subjects from where, those interested could gather their knowledge and experience of the craft they were concerned with.

We also come across another phase of the image construction, that is portrait sculpture. We do not know exactly when this feature would have appeared. However it is quite possible that this may have taken place sometime after the appearance of the Buddha and the *Bodhisatva* images. Tradition has it that the two portraits in the courtyard of the Mahāthūpa are those of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Bhātika Abhaya,[297] although there seems to be no evidence to support this view. The earliest mention of a royal figure in Ceylon appears in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, in connection with the battle of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī against king Eḷāra. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is said to have placed thirty two wooden figures of himself among thirty two divisions of troops (*bala-koṭṭhaka*),[298] before he finally faced Eḷāra in the battle for Anurādhapura. The *Mahāvaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* mentions an image house named Eḷāra-paṭimāghara.[299] We are not quite certain as to what is meant here. It could be a *paṭimāghara* built by Eḷāra, or a building where Eḷāra's statue was housed. It could even mean a *paṭimāghara* built at the place where Eḷāra fell. However a more definite case of portrait sculpture is mentioned in the time of Silākāla, who is said to have got figures of his maternal uncle and aunt made in gold and placed the figures in the temple of the Hair Relic.[300] Though this last reference is outside the scope of this study the citation indicates the development of the art of image sculpture. There are also other features like the *dvārapālas*, *kalpavṛkṣas*, *nāga* figures etc. hewn on rocks, which gradually came to be added to religious and other buildings.[301]

The art of painting too has been practised in Ceylon from earliest times. " References to painters and paintings in the chronicles as well as in the Pāli commentaries afford evidence to the widespread practice of the pictorial art during this period from the earliest times, but no example of a painting datable to a time before the reign of

Mahāsena exists in Ceylon."[302] According to the *Papañcasūdanī* we observe that a cave named Sūkarakhataleṇa where Buddha lived for some days had paintings on its walls.[303] In Ceylon, a cave at a place called Pulligoḍa in Tamankaḍuwa district has been observed to contain a number of wall pintings.[304] Wall paintings seem to have been a common feature in the early dwellings of monks.[305] Paintings on the walls of the shelter that enclosed the Thūpārāma are referred to in the chronicle.[306]

There is also a reference in the *Cūlavaṃsa* to the paintings done at the three chief *cetiyas*, namely the Mahāthūpa, the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana *vihāra*.[307] The early paintings done at different religious buildings would perhaps have had, as their themes, incidents connected with various popular *jātaka* tales. In fact the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hieun mentions illustrations from the *jātaka* tales.[308] These stray instances, although they fall outside the period under review, indicate that the subject of painting has received the attention of the early Sinhalese people from earliest times. This would mean that instructions and practice in the art of painting had been available to the student during this early period. This brings with it a series of ancillary developments, such as paints, tools and other materials which would have been used in this connection. The technique of the artist that had been picked up and developed from the time of the arrival of the first Buddhist missionaries to Ceylon may be considered to have culminated in the appearance of the famous frescoes at the Sigiriya rock.[309]

The carving of figures in ivory may be observed as another form of sculptural attainment of the early Sinhalese people. The earliest record of Indian work in ivory is found in an inscription at Sāñchi which mentions that one of the piers at the southern gateway of the *thūpa* had been executed and dedicated by the ivory carvers of Bhīlsā.[310] According to the *Jātakas*, Benares was one of the important centres of ivory carving in ancient India.[311] An ivory carving of a figurine of a nude female had been found in one of the relic caskets in the southern *vāhalkaḍa* of the Ruvanväli *cetiya*. This has been ascribed to the second century. " It thus is of about the same age as the ivory statuette of Indian workmanship discovered some years ago at Pompeii, and the ivories found at Begram in Afghanistan."[312] Other notable achievements are the manufacture of relic caskets of earthernware,[313] jewellery made of gold,[314] and products of the art of the lapidary such as beads, pendants etc., " whose presence in Ceylon during the early period is attested by Brāhmī inscriptions."[315]

The achievements of the Sinhalese people in regard to the building of tanks have already been observed.[316] The construction of the first great tanks which took place during the reign of Vasabha,[317] culminated in the tank building activities of Mahāsena, whose famous Minneriya tank is one of the largest in Ceylon.[318]

Another important cultural achievement of the Sinhalese people was the construction of the *stūpa*. This of course is not a particular invention of the Buddhists, for it had been in existence in pre-Buddhist times,[319] and actual remains of pre-Buddhist *stūpas* have been found in some places in North India.[320] " With the spread of Buddhism, due particularly to the missionary activities in the reign of Aśoka, the cult of relics and, with it, the idea of the *stūpa* were carried to various

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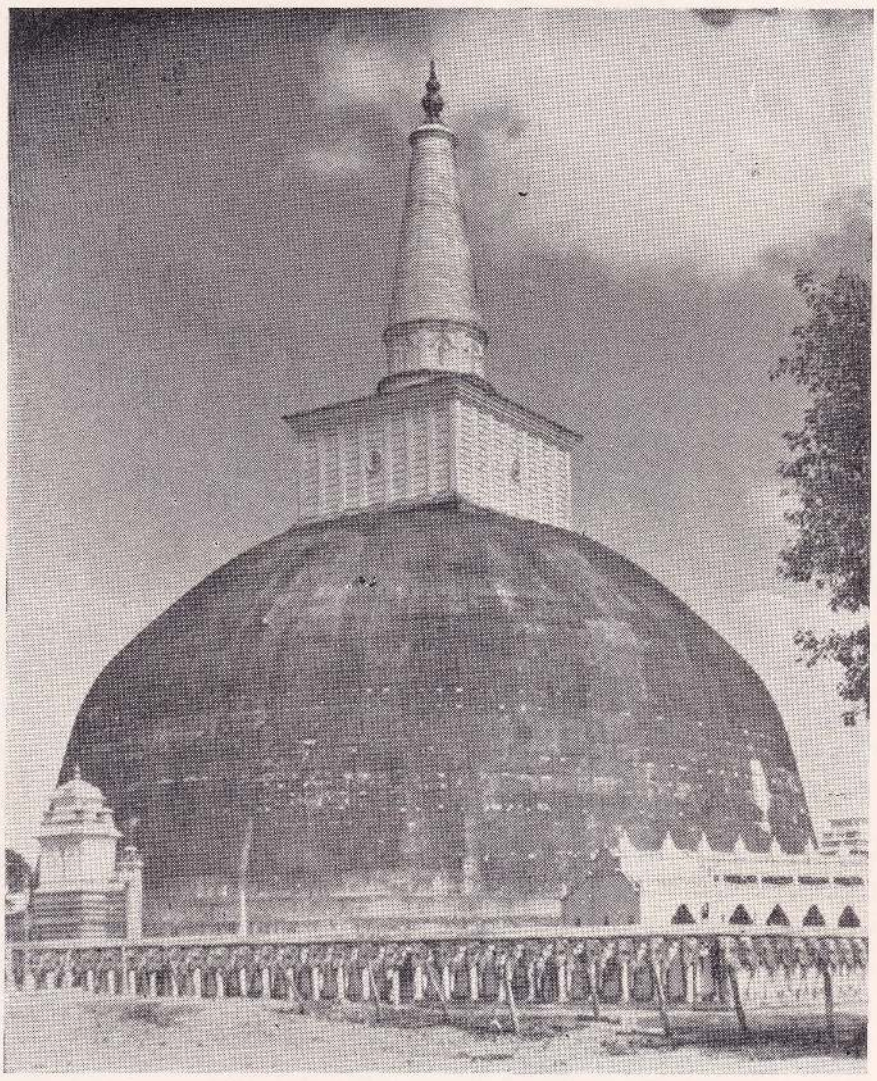


Ruvanväli *stūpa*, Anurādhapura
(Started by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and completed by Saddhātissa)

Thūpārāma *stūpa*, Anurādhapura
(built by Devrānampiyatissa)

regions outside India proper and became an important feature of the religious practices of these countries. The *stūpa*, in course of time, underwent many important changes, in its outward form, in India itself ; while, in those lands outside India, it developed on lines peculiar to each country, being influenced by the changes in the doctrine, the artistic traditions of the people and various other factors, so that certain *stūpas* which we find in Further India and the Malay Archipelago can hardly be recognised as evolved from the ancient Indian model."[321] According to the chronicles, Devānampiyatissa is credited with having built the first *stūpa* in Ceylon, the Thūpārāma enshrining the collar-bone relic of the Buddha.[322] The Mahiyaṅgaṇa *stūpa* however is, according to tradition, considered as having existed in Ceylon even before the advent of Buddhism into the country.[323] The *stūpa*, along with the Bodhi Tree were objects of religious veneration from very early times.[324] The early *stūpas* did not contain much embellishment, but were rather simple in design, and modest in proportion.[325] " The chronicles credit Devānaṁpiya Tissa and his immediate successors with the building of a number of *stūpas* in various parts of the Island, including the monument enshrining a portion of Mahinda's relics on the summit of Mihintalē hill. None of these *stūpas* is identifiable today, with the exception of the last named monument, and that, too, in the form which it assumed after a subsequent restoration.[326] The rulers of the branch of the royal family that settled in the south-east of the Island are said to have built several *stūpas* at Mahāgāma and other places in Rohaṇa. Of these, the *stūpas* at Mahāgāma, particularly the Tissamahācetiya, far surpassed in size the monument at Anurādhapura built by Devānaṁpiya Tissa. But we are not certain that these *stūpas*, when they were originally built, were of the same dimensions as they are today ; the question cannot be settled as they have been recently renovated and are again objects of worship. In the case of the great *dāgāba* at Tissamahārāma, however, we know that it was repaired and possibly enlarged in the reign of Iḷanāga."[327]

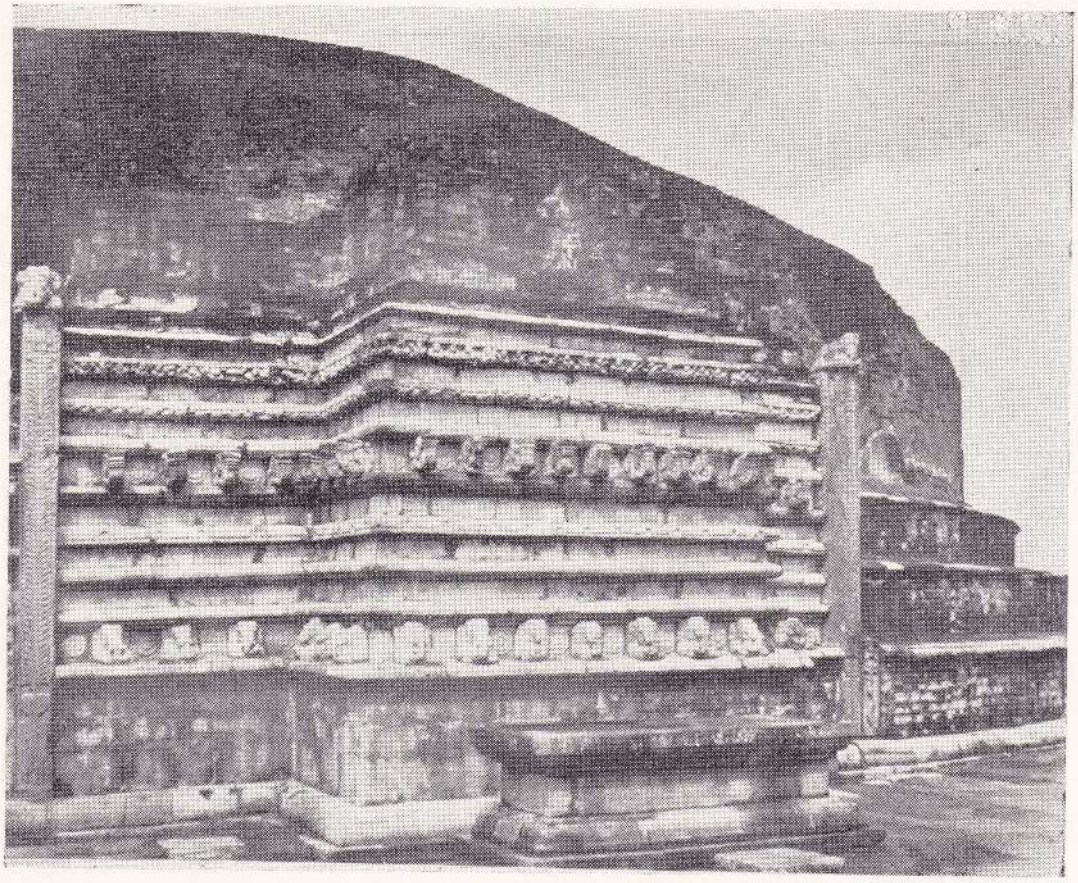
The practice of building large *stūpas* started from the time of Duṭṭagāmaṇī. " The Maricavaṭṭi (Mirisavāṭi), which was built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī not long after he came to the throne, has a diameter of 168 ft. at its base, as against the 59 ft. of the Thūpārāma.[328] The Mahāthūpa or Ruvanväli Dāgäba, which the same monarch started to build later in his reign, and nearly completed before he died, was of truly gigantic proportions, being 294 ft. in diameter at the base, and nearly 300 ft. in height originally.[329] The great *stūpa* at Sāñchī, which is the largest monument of this class of the same age in India, will be dwarfed by the side of the Mahāthūpa.[330] Both these stupendous *stūpas* were of solid brick masonry, the foundations going down to a considerable depth below the courtyard."[331] " The most conspicuous structures are the great Buddhist *dagabas* (*stupas*), far exceeding in dimensions anything of the kind now standing in India. That commonly called Jetawanarama, still 251 feet high, stands on a stone platform nearly 8 acres in extent, while the space included within the walled enclosure measures nearly 14 acres. The Abhayagiri *dagaba*, almost equal in mass, is said to have been originally erected in the first century B.C."[332] " In respect of size few Indian stūpas greatly exceeded that of

Sānchī, but in Ceylon the stūpa reached tremendous proportions. The Abhayagiri Dāgāba at Anurādhapura, the capital of the early kings of Ceylon was 327 feet in diameter, and larger than some of the pyramids of Egypt. It reached its present size, after a succession of enlargements, in 2nd century A.D."[333] " Mahāsena, the last king of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, a man of inexhaustible energy, has the honour of being the creator of the largest *stūpa* in Anurādhapura—the Jetavana (now erroneously called the Abhayagiri), which has a diameter of 367 ft. at its base, and still stands to a height of 232 ft. Its original height is said to have been 160 cubits, i.e. about 400 ft."[334]

" These colossal *stūpas* of Ceylon, dating from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.C., in spite of leaving their Indian models far behind in size, retained their shape with only unimportant modifications. The essential part of the *stūpa* was, as it still is, the dome, which was bubble-shaped and flattened, though not very pronouncedly, at the summit. The dome rose from a base of three receding stages ; the masonry of these, however, was not bonded to that of the dome. Surmounting the dome was a solid cube of brick masonry, the sides of which simulated a railing, and projecting above this square enclosure (*hataräs-koṭuwa*))was a massive octagonal stone pillar with rounded top, of which the base was placed on the covering of the relic chamber, the floor of the latter being on a level with the surface of the uppermost stage of the base. By the side of this stone pillar was an umbrella of stone, or a series or such umbrellas, supported by a shaft of stone."[335] The *stūpa* as it has come down to us, has not preserved all the features of the original form, this having given way to different forms of modifications and alterations in the course of time.

An important appendage that came to be incorporated into the structure of the *stūpa* is what is known as a *vāhalkaḍa*.[336] " These *vāhalkaḍas* are, from an architectural point of view, among the most important features of the Ceylon *stūpas* and supply the earliest examples of the plastic art of the Island."[337] This feature appears to have been introduced to the *stūpa* in the second century or thereabouts.[338]

The architectural features of the early *stūpas* in Ceylon would have been similar to those found in India. " According to the story given in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Mahinda, who first preached Buddhism in Ceylon, was born at Vidisā (modern Besnagar, not far from the ruins of both Sāñchī and Bharhut) and it was from a monastery in the vicinity of that town, probably same as the ancient *vihāra* at Sāñchī, that he started on his journey to this Island.[339] It is, therefore not unreasonable to assume that the type of the *stūpa* which was prevalent in and around Vidisā was copied by the earliest builders of *stūpas* in Ceylon, or at least that it had a good deal of influence on the early monuments of the Island."[340] The changes and modifications in the pattern of the *stūpa* that came to be introduced into it in the course of time indicate the emergence of a school of both architecture and sculpture from the earliest times in the country.



Vāhalkaḍa, Kaṇṭaka *cetiya*, Mihintale

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71. Ibid., vv. 24-25
72. See, Supra, p. 62 f.
73. *Sammohavinodanī*, PTS., pp. 445-446 ; EHBC., pp. 73-74
74. *Manorathapūranī*, Vol. i, p. 92 ; EHBC., p. 74
75. Smp., Vol. iii, pp. 582, 583 ; EHBC., p. 88
76. ASCAR., 1935, p. 10
77. Mhv., Chap. xxxiv, v. 25 ; Dpv., Chap. xx, v. 29
78. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, v. 41 ; see also, Mhv. Tr., p. 270, fn. 5
79. CJSeG., Vol. ii, p. 202, No. 615 ; p. 203, Nos. 618, 619 ; p. 204, Nos. 620, 621
80. Ibid., p. 214, Nos. 672, 674
81. See, *Pali Dictionary*, PTS. edn. ; *Mahāniddesa*, pp. 381-382
82. JRASCB., NS., Vol. v., p. 75
83. JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, pp. 322-323
84. Ibid., pp. 323-325
85. Mhv., Chap. x, vv. 97-99 ; JRASCB., Ibid., p. 323 ; HBC., p. 44 ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 108
86. Mbv., p. 135 ; HBC., p. 44
87. Mvṭ., p. 612 ; JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, No. 82, p. 325 ; HBC., p. 44 ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 165
88. " For this episide, see Mvt., p. 612. "
89. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 165 ; " For similar intrigues by the Jains in India, see, H. C. Ray, DHNI, II, p. 976. "
90. Mhv., Chap. xxxiii, v. 43 ; JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, p. 324 ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 166
91. Mhv., Chap. xxxiii, vv. 81-83 ; JRASCB., Ibid., p. 325 ; HBC., p. 44
92. UCH., Ibid., p. 119
93. Mhv., Chap. vii, vv. 5-6
94. Ibid., viii, vv. 10-11
95. Ibid., v. 12
96. Ibid., x, v. 101 ; JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, No. 82, p. 326 ; HBC., p. 45
97. Mbv., p. 135 ; HBC., p. 45
98. See, Supra, p. 73
99. Mhv., Chap., vii, v. 11
100. Ibid., x, v. 96
101. Ibid., viii, v. 24
102. Ibid., x, v. 98

103. Ibid., x, v. 100
104. Ibid., x, v. 90 ; see also, Ggr., Mhv., Tr. Eng., Intro. p. liv ; UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, pp. 89-108
105. JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, No. 82, p. 314
106. Mhv., Chap. i, vv. 20, 22-26
107. Ibid., vii, vv. 9, 11, 15, 19-21, 23, 26 etc.
108. Ibid., ix, vv. 22-23 ; see also, x, vv. 86, 104
109. Ibid., x, vv. 84-85
110. Ibid., x, vv. 84-85
111. Ibid., v. 86
112. Ibid., vv. 53-70
113. Ggr., Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 74
114. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 136 ; see also, HBC., p. 38, fn. 3
115. Mhv., Chap. x, vv. 87-88
116. Ibid., v. 104
117. Parker, H.—op. cit., p. 26
118. JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, No. 82, pp. 303-305
119. HBC., pp. 38-39
120. See, Girnar, Fourth Minor Rock Edict. However, some scholars are inclined to doubt this interpretation.
121. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, v. 44
122. Ibid., v. 40
123. JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, No. 82, p. 306
124. EZ., Vol. i, p. 33 ff. ; JRASCB., xxxi, p. 305
125. JRASCB., Ibid., p. 306, fn. 1
126. Mhv., Chap. xii, vv. 11-28, 44-50 ; Smp. (SHB.), p. 37
127. Mvṭ., p. 289
128. Ibid., p. 289
129. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 90 ; see also JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, No. 82, p. 307, fn. 1 ; Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 118. fn. 1
130. Mhv., Chap. xvii, v. 30 ; see also, Mvṭ., Vol. ii, p. 378
131. JRASCB., Ibid., p. 307
132. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 89
133. Rsv., p. 193
134. Mhv., Chap. i, vv. 52-57
135. Ibid., v. 33
136. JRASCB., xxxi, No. 82, p. 308
137. Ibid., p. 308 ; see also, CJScG., Vol. ii, p. 64 f.
138. HBC., pp. 41–42 ; Coomaraswamy, A. K.—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 47
139. JRASCB., Ibid., p. 318
140. Marshal, Sir John-*Mohenjadaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. i, p. 63 ff. ; HBC., p.42
141. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 89
142. Ibid., v. 89 ; see also, JRASCB., Ibid., pp. 317–318 ; HBC., p. 42, fn. 6
143. Mhv., Chap. i, vv. 52, 57 ; Dpv., Chap. ii, vv. 16–18, 49
144. See however, Mhv., Chap. i, vv. 67–68 ; Dpv., Chap. ii, v. 49
145. See, Supra, pp. 58, 80
146. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 89
147. Mhv., Sinh. edn., Chap. xv, v. 203 ; Mbv., p. 84
148. JRASCB., NS., Vol. v, pt. 1, p. 68
149. Mhv., Chap. xxv, v. 87
150. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 89
151. JRASCB., Vol. xxxi, No. 82, pp. 309–314
152. Ibid., p. 314
153. Ibid., p. 320
154. See, HBC., p. 46
155. Mhv., Chap. ix, vv. 9, 11

156. CJScG., Vol. ii, p. 216, No. 686
157. Ibid., p. 192, No. 551
158. Mhv., Chap. xxiii, v. 85 ; Rsv., pp. 204, 205, 206
159. JRASCB., Ibid., p. 320
160. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 87
161. Ibid., xiv, v. 1
162. Mvṭ., Vol. ii, p. 329
163. See, HBC., pp. 46–47
164. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 75
165. Smp., i, p. 89 ; Mhv., Chap. i, vv. 21–84 ; Dpv., Chap. i, vv. 45–80 ; Chap. ii, vv. 4–69
166. EHBC., p. 46
167. Mhv., Chap. xvii, vv. 2–3
168. Ibid., Chap. i, v. 33
169. See, *Vinaya*, i, Intro., p. lii ; PLC., p. 19
170. HBC., p. 49
171. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 98
172. See, *Vinaya*, ii, pp. 295, 296 ; D. i, p. 5 ; *Suttanipāta*, 129, 189, 441
173. See, 3rd M. R. E., 4th M. R. E. ; 9th M. R. E. ; 11th M. R. E. ; 13th M. R. E. ; 7th P.E.
174. Mookerji, R. K.—op. cit., p. 384
175. See, *Pāli Dictionary*, under ' samaṇa '
176. Mhv., Chap. xiv, v. 8
177. See, UCH., Ibid., p. 136 ff.
178. Mhv., Chap. i, vv. 52–53 ; Dpv., Chap. ii, vv. 16–18
179. See, Supra, p. 80.
180. Mhv., Chap. viii, vv. 20–24
181. JRASCB., Ibid., p. 327
182. See, Supra, p. 81f.
183. Smp., i, p. 45 ; *Indian Culture*, Vol. i, No. 1, 1934, pp. 120–121 ; Thapar, R.-op. cit., p. 227 where it is made out that the king's personal name was Aśoka, and Piyadassi the official name. ; Vincent Smith, *Asoka*, p. 41 makes out that Aśokavardhana was the king's personal name and Piyadassi his title.
184. Mhv., Chap. v, vv. 16–18
185. Ibid., vv. 19–21
186. Ibid., v. 21
187. JRAS., 1909, p. 26 ff.
188. *The Chronology of the Reign of Asoka Moriya*, p. 180
189. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 127
190. See, Thapar, R.-op. cit., pp. 50–51
191. See, Mhv., Chap. v, v. 171 ff.
192. See, 13th M. R. E. ; Havell, *History of the Aryan Rule in India*, p. 91
193. See, Chap. xxvi, p. 381
194. Thapar, op. cit., p. 50 ; *Divyāvadāna*, xxvi, p. 381 ; Dpv., vii, vv. 1–8 ; Watters, *On Yuan Tsang's Travels in India*, Vol. ii, p. 91
195. Eggermont, op. cit., p. 128
196. Thapar, op. cit., p. 50
197. Ibid., p. 50
198. Ibid., p. 51
199. Eggermont, op. cit., p. 128 ; Thapar, op. cit., p. 51
200. Mhv., Chap. v, vv. 275–281 ; Ns., p. 6
201. Mhv., Tr. Eng., Intro., p. lvi ff.
202. UCH., Ibid., p. 130; " Col. L. Waddell indentifies Upagupta of the Northern Buddhist tradition with Moggaliputta Tissa, JRAS., 1897, pp. 76–84 "
203. Mhv., Chap. xii, vv. 3–8 ; Dpv., Chap. viii, vv. 1–12 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 131 ; Thapar, op. cit., p. 47

204. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 131
205. See, Thapar, R.—op. cit. p. 24
206. See, Ibid., p. 24
207. See, Queen's Edict at Allahabad.
208. UCH., Ibid., p. 131
209. OCC., p. 64 ; Thapar, op. cit., p. 24 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 125
210. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 287 ; Rhys Davids, op. cit., pp. 299–301 ; Mhv., Tr. Eng., Intro., pp. xix–xx ; UCH., Ibid., pp. 132, 198
211. " Müller, AIC., No. 20, Müller has wrongly ascribed the record to Śrimeghavaṇṇa. "
212. UCH., Ibid., p. 132
213. " S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 230."
214. UCH., Ibid., p. 138
215. Mhv., Chaps. xviii and xix
216. Ibid., Chap. xix, v. 66
217. Ibid., Chap. xx, vv. 30–33
218. Ibid., vv. 48–50
219. Ibid., vxi, vv. 10–11
220. Ibid., vv. 12–17
221. Dpv., Chap. xiv, vv. 21–41
222. Mhv., Chap. xv, vv. 180–181
223. UCH., Ibid., pp. 139–140
224. Smp. (SHB.), p. 60
225. EHBC., p. 56
226. UCH., Ibid., p. 47
227. For an account of the Sinhalese Commentarial Literature, see, EHBC., p. 10 ff.
228. UCH., Ibid., p. 125
229. *Sammohavinodanī*, PTS., pp. 445–446 ; AA., p. 52 (SHB.) ; EHBC., pp. 74–75
230. UCH., Ibid., pp. 166–167
231. For an account of the hardship undergone by Ceylon *theras* in preserving the doctrine during the famine, see, EHBC., p. 74 ff.
232. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 237 ; see also, Dpv., Chap. xx, vv. 20–21
233. Ns., p. 9
234. PLC., p. 44
235. UCH., Ibid., pp. 267–268
236. Kramrisch, S.—*Indian Sculpture*, pp. 3–8
237. Ibid., pp. 9–12
238. Smp., p. 70 ; Mhv., Chap. xiii, vv. 6–7 ; Marshal, Sir John-*Guide to Sāñchi*, p. 8 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 132
239. Mhv., Chap. xix, v. 3 ; EHBC., p. 55
240. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, p. 53
241. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 367
242. Foucher, A.—*The Beginning of Buddhist Art*, pp. 5, 19, 72 etc. ; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, p. 107 ; Kramrisch, op. cit., pp. 25–26
243. See, EHBC., 2nd Impression, p. 141 ; see also, *Manorathapūranī*, ii, p. 6
244. Gangoly, O. C. – *The Antiquity of the Buddha Image*. pp. 57–58; Kramrisch, op. cit., pp. 39, 40
245. See, UCH., Ibid., p. 201
246. See, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 95
247. Coomaraswamy, A. K.—*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 60 ; Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 367
248. See, *Sammohavinodanī*, p. 349
249. See, Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, pp. 56–57 ; HBC., p 122, fn. 3
250. Mhv., Chap., xxxvi, v. 128
251. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 266
252. EHBC., p. 142, fn 7

253. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, v. 14
254. Cv., Chap. xxxvii, v. 123 ; xxxviii, vv. 61–62 ; see also, Cv., i, Tr. Eng., p. 35, fn. 4
255. Cv., Chap. xxxviii, vv. 61–64
256. Cv., Chap. xliv, vv. 68–69
257. Cv., Chap. li, vv. 77, 87
258. HBC., p. 122 ff. ; EZ., Vol. i, p. 217
259. Mhv., Chap. xxx, vv. 71–77
260. *Sumangalavilāsinī*, p. 612
261. See, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, section on sculptures ; *Guide to Sāñchi*, p. 40 ff. ; *Notes on the Amarāvatī Stūpa* ; *Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves*, Chaps. iv and v
262. UCH., Ibid., p. 266
263. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 89
264. Ibid., xxxvi, v. 31
265. Ibid., xxxvi, v. 104
266. Ibid., xxxvii, v. 31
267. See, Supra, p. 90 f.
268. See, Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 106 ; Maisey, *Sāñchi and Its Remains*, pp. 31 36, 56–57
269. See, SBB., Vol. iii, pp. 166–167
270. See, Mhv., Chap. xvii
271. Mhv., Chap. xviii, v. 15 ; xix, vv. 11–12, 24–26
272. See, Supra, p. 90 f.
273. See, Supra, p. 90 f.
274. See, Supra, p. 90 f.
275. For an account of *Cetiya-ghara*, see, Paranavitāna, S.—*The Stūpa in Ceylon*, pp. 75–96
276. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 89
277. Ibid., xxxvii, vv. 14, 15
278. Cv., Chap. li, v. 23
279. Cv., Chap. xxxxii, v. 57
280. Cv., Chap. xxxviii, v. 61
281. EZ., Vol. i, p. 227
282. Cv., Chap. xxxviii, v. 64
283. Ibid., v. 63
284. Ibid., v. 63 (*hema-vaḍḍha*) ; *Papañcasūdanī*, iii, p. 385 (see, *uṇhīsa-sīsa*)
285. EZ., Vol. i, p. 217
286. Vsp., p. 544 ; Cv., xxxviii, v. 63
287. Cv., Chap. li, v. 12
288. Cv., Chap. xxxvii, v. 63 ; EZ., Vol. i, p. 217
289. Cv., Chap. xxxviii, v. 62 ; EZ., Vol. i, p. 217
290. EZ., Vol. i, p. 227
291. Cv., Chap. xxxviii, v. 64
292. See, UCH., Ibid., p. 201 ff.
293. e.g. the main body of the building or hall.
294. e.g. the hall. See, Acharya, P. K.—*A Dictionary of Hindu Architeture*, pp. 468–490
295. e.g. the ante-chamber. See, Acharya, op. cit., p. 46
296. See, Acharya, op. cit., pp. 368–369
297. Paranavitāna, S.—*The Stūpa in Ceylon*, p. 66
298. Mhv., Chap. xxv, vv. 55–56
299. Mvṭ., p. 483
300. Cv., Vol. i, Chap. xxxix, v. 52
301. UCH., Ibid., pp. 264–265
302. Ibid., p. 267
303. *Papañacsūdanī*, PTS., pt. iii, p. 203
304. Smith—*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* p. 112

305. See, *Paramatthadīpanī*, pp. 408–409
306. Cv., Chap. xxxxii, v. 56
307. Ibid., xxxxi, v. 95
308. See, Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, p. 71
309. For a description, see, UCH., Ibid., pp. 407–409
310. Coomaraswamy, *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 175
311. Fick, R.—op. cit., pp. 279–280 ; see also, J., i, p. 320
312. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 267
313. Ibid., p. 267
314. Ibid., p. 267
315. Ibid., p. 267
316. See, Supra, pp. 59-62
317. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, vv. 94-96
318. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, vv. 47-50; see also, UCH., Ibid., pp. 222-223
319. Paranavitāna, S.- *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, p. 2
320. Ibid., p. 2
321. Ibid., p. 4
322. Mhv., Chap. xvii, vv. 62-64
323. See, Mhv., Chap.i, vv. 33-42
324. UCH., Ibid., p. 258
325. Ibid., pp. 247,258
326. " ASCAR., 1951, pp. 21 ff. "
327. UCH., Ibid., p. 258
328. " Mv., xxvi; For a description of this *stūpa*, see Smither, *Architectural Remains of Anurādhapura*, pp. 19 ff. "
329. " Mv., xxviii-xxxi; Smither, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff. The original height of this and other *dāgābas* has been calculated on the assumption that the carpenters' cubit of early days was of the same length as it was in the Kandy period. "
330. " The great *stūpa* at Sāñchī has a diameter of 120 ft. at the base; its height was 54 ft. "
331. UCH., Ibid., pp. 258-259
332. See, Smith, V.A.—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 142
333. Basham, A.L.—*The Wonder that was India*, p. 350
334. UCH., Ibid., p. 259; " Mv., xxxvii, v. 33; Smither, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff. "
335. UCH., Ibid., p. 260
336. For an account of the *vāhalkaḍas*, see, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, Chap. iv; Smither, op. cit., pp. 20-21
337. Paranavitāna, S.—*The Stūpa in Ceylon*, p. 47
338. UCH., Ibid., pp. 247,261
339. " Māhavaṁsa, VII., 6-7. See also, Guide to Sanchī, p. 8. "
340. *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, p. 13

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

It has been indicated earlier[1] that the social, political, religious and cultural background of the island of Ceylon is traced back to the Indian continent from where the earliest immigrants to the country came in remote times. In the field of education too, it is to be surmised that the pattern of education that prevailed in India during the time of the Vijayan immigration and later during the period of Aśoka when the Buddhist missionaries arrived in Ceylon, was brought here and instituted in the country. It is therefore worth our while to examine the theory and practice of education in India during these early times in order to ascertain the pattern of education that would have prevailed in early Ceylon.

Almost every aspect of the Indian national life in ancient times has been characterised by a dominant religious influence.[2] "Thus it is Religion that gave its laws to the social life and organization of the ancient Hindus, and regulated even their economic activities and pursuits."[3] This influence of religion on the Indian national life was exercised through education and learning. "Learning in India through the ages had been prized and pursued not for its own sake, if we may so put it, but for the sake, and as a part, of religion. It was sought as the means of salvation or self-realization, as the means to the highest end of life, viz. *Mukti* or Emancipation. The result is that it is Religion that creates Literature in India and wields it as an instrument for its own purposes, a vehicle of its expression."[4]

There were two main philosophic conceptions that dominated the early educational system of the Indian people, the doctrines of *karma* and rebirth. The educational system that was devised was planned to bring about a release from these bondages.[5] A person's main aim was to overome Death by achieving a knowledge of the Higher Truth of which Life and Death are but two phases. It is observed that it is the individual that dies and not the Absolute or the Universal which is not subject to change, decay or dissolution.[6] And it was the individual's duty to achieve this Absolute or Universal. "Education must aid in this self-fulfilment, and not in the acquisition of mere objective knowledge. It is more concerned with the subject than the object, the inner than the outer world."[7]

Evidence may be found for some form of educational system prevailing in India even in the time of the city states of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, as may be guessed from the system of writing revealed in their seals, which however has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered.[8] Next we have the Āryan system of education that gradually developed with the arrival and the establishment of the Āryan people on Indian soil. The religion of the early Āryans was a form of nature worship where natural phenomena such as the earth, the sky, the dawn, lightning, the winds, etc. were deified and worshipped. Their worship was carried out in the open without any temples or idols, and hymns in praise of their gods are found in the Vedic literature, which gives a wealth of information regarding the Āryan people. At the beginning education was primarily a family concern, where the father initiated the son in the study of the Vedas, and the profession of his *varṇa*.[9] It was also the custom of

chieftains or nobles to appoint family priests in the persons of learned Brāhmans who were expected to bring about prosperity for the family by the performance of sacrifice, etc.[10] These family priests would no doubt have performed sacrifice for the benefit of the family and perhaps have instructed the sons of the chief in the Vedic lore. " As the influence of the priests increased, the ritual of the sacrifice became more complex. The technical lore of language and hymns was handed down from father to son, and this was no doubt the beginning of Brāhmanic education. – – – Each experienced priest probably taught his sons or nephews the ritual lore and hymns which were traditional in the family, by letting them repeat them over and over again after him until all had been committed to memory, and probably each family guarded the secrecy of its own sacred tradition."[11]

In the course of time these family collections came to be gathered together and compiled into one single collection.[12] The duties of the priests performing the sacrifice also became elaborated as a result of which four different priests participated in its execution, the *Hotṛ*, *Udgātṛ*, *Adhvaryu* ;[13] and *Brāhman*, who was the 'high priest' in general charge of the entire sacrifice. At the beginning it was possible that each priest was able to perform any one of the different functions, but as the ritual became elaborated specialization set in. In the course of time Vedic lore also expanded to form four different branches, namely, *Ṛg*, *Yajur*, *Sāma* and *Atharva*. In order to facilitate the study of the Vedas, much explanatory details had to be given, at first orally by the teacher. But in the course of time these tended to be collected in a supplementary form of literature called *Brāhmaṇas*. " At the end of the *Brāhmaṇas* are certain treatises, known as *Āraṇyakas*,[14] or 'forest books.' They are allegorical expositions of the sacrificial ritual, and are considered to be the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Vānaprasthas*, an order of forest hermits that appeared about this time, who no longer performed the actual sacrifices, but only meditated on them. Some, however, have considered them to be treatises which, on account of their mystic sanctity, were only to be communicated in the solitude of the forest. They form a transition to the *Upanishads*, which are often embedded in them. These are treatises wholly given up to philosophical speculation and represent the last stage of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature. The higher philosophical knowledge which they set forth came to be recognized as the *Vedānta* (end of the *Veda*)—the completion and crown of Vedic learning. – – – The leading ideas of this philosophical speculation are that the world has been evolved from the *Atman*, or Universal Soul, and that this is also the Self within us. The inequalities of human life are explained by the doctrines of *karma* and transmigration."[15]

With the emergence of the highly organized system of Vedic learning and literature, there gradually arose an elaborate form of literature regulating and condensing the vast field of the Vedic teaching into a convenient form. This literature came to be known by the name of *Sūtras*. " *Sūtras*, or 'threads', consist of aphorisms, or pithy phrases, in which condensation and brevity have been carried out to such an

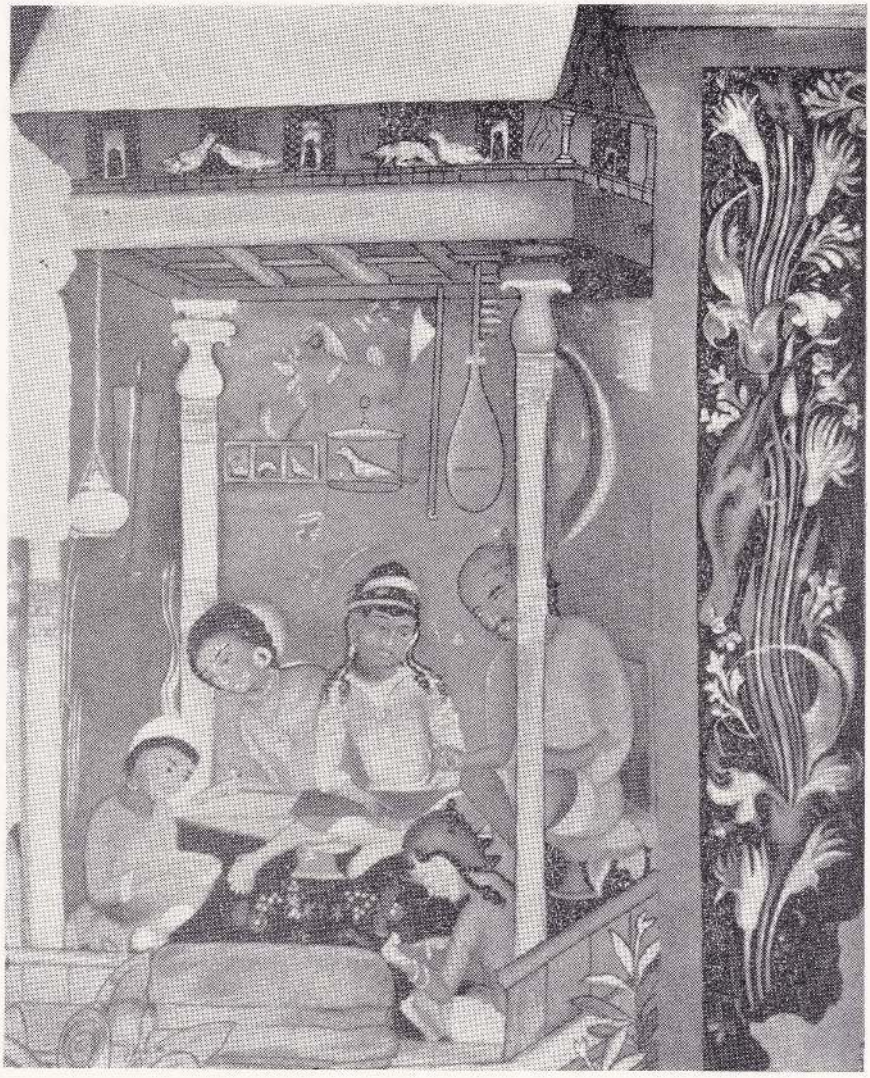
extent that the result is often an obscurity which can only be explained by a commentary."[16] The *Sūtra* period can be reckoned as being from about 600 to 200 B.C. It was in the *Sūtra* period that the old Vedic traditions received amplification and more detailed treatment. There thus resulted this new style of composition, the *Sūtras*, which required that the literary data should be compressed into as brief a form as possible as an aid to memory. A distinction was made between the *Smṛtis*, which form a significant portion of *Sūtra* literature, laying emphasis on memory as opposed to *Śrutis*, the name given to the Vedic literature which was based on hearing.

The *Sūtra* literature gives us a great deal of information about the education of the period covered. The number and variety of subjects of study is indicated by the various types of texts available, such as the *Śrauta Sūtras* dealing with the ritual, *Gṛhya Sūtras*, treating of numerous domestic duties, *Dharma Sūtras*, covering customs and traditions comprising the earliest extant legal literature, the *Śulva Sūtras*, connected with the sacrificial altar and constituting the earliest geometrical and mathematical works of India.[17] The *Sūtras* are also traditionally divided into six *Vedāngas*, (ancillary studies on the Vedas) comprising, 1. *śikṣā*—phonetics, 2. *chandas*—metrics, 3. *vyākaraṇa*—grammar, 4. *nirukta*—etymology, 5. *kalpa*—ceremonial and ritual, and 6. *jyotiṣa*—astronomy.[18] The treatises covered by these topics form a considerable body of literature revealing the multiform literary activity of the period.

The *Sūtra* period was also one of specialization. Being primarily an attempt to study the Vedas by transmitting the traditions from teacher to pupil and by committing the textual matter contained in the teaching, the *Vedānga* system of education gradually developed, widening its content and evolving into new branches of study. Many special fields of study came into being in this process, some of them bearing little or no relation to its original Vedic predecessor. There was hardly any aspect of man's religious, social or cultural life that was not covered by these studies which mark a great expansion of learning accompanied by a system of specialization.

It would now be expedient to examine some of the special characteristics of the Brāhmanic system of education. In this, entry into the field of education is marked by what is called the *Upanayana* ceremony,[19] which is performed commonly round the ages 8, 11, and 12 respectively for Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas respectively. With the *upanayana* ceremony a person becomes what is called a *dvija* (a twice-born one) and starts his first *āśrama* in life, that of a *brahmacārin*, devoted to a life of physical and spiritual discipline.[20]

" This conception of education moulds its external forms. The pupil must find the teacher. He must live with him as a member of his family and is treated by him in every way as his son. The school is a natural formation, not artificially constituted. It is the home of the teacher. It is a hermitage, amid sylvan surroundings, beyond the distractions of urban life, functioning in solitude and silence. The constant and intimate association between teacher and taught is vital to education as conceived in this system. The pupil is to imbibe the inward method of the teacher, the secrets of his efficiency, the spirit of his life and work, and these things are too subtle to be taught." [21]



Prince Siddhārtha at his studies
(from a painting in Ajanta Cave No. XVI)

A *brahmacārin* is distinguished by certain external marks[22] such as a girdle of *kusa* grass, an upper garment made of the skin of a particular animal according to one's *varṇa*, and hair and beard grown long. One of his duties is to tend the household fire both morning and evening by collecting firewood, and attend to all the household duties of the teacher. He is expected to subsist by begging for alms both for himself as well as for his teacher. Besides these, the pupil has to be always respectful towards his teacher as well as towards the members of his family,[23] and he is expected to live a most dedicated life.[24] The teaching method followed was that of oral tradition,[25] where the teacher imparts his knowledge by word of mouth and the pupil learns it with the help of the teacher by oral repetition until it is committed to memory. " Hearing of texts and words uttered by the teacher is to be followed by the process of *Manana*, deliberation, reflection on the topic taught, but it results only in an intellectual apprehension of its meaning. Therefore, there is the stage of learning, called *Nididhyāsana* or Meditation, by which can be attained the realization of truth." [26]

At the end of his period of *brahmacaryā* the student goes through a ceremony called the *samāvartana* or *snāna*.[27] After having given up his external marks of studentship and bathed and dressed in new attire the *brahmacārin* would proceed to the assembly of the learned men of the locality in a chariot or on an elephant, where the teacher himself formally introduces the pupil to the assembly as a competent scholar. After this the *snātaka* returns home after making his payments to his teacher to start on his next *āśrama* in life, namely that of a *gṛhastha*. In modern terminology the *samāvartana* ceremony may be equated with the graduation ceremony of the present day.

That the Hindu system of education has been responsible for the preservation of the ancient Indian literary heritage, even without the assistance of the art of writing, has been accepted with wonderment by all scholars. This is indeed an achievement when we consider the vast store of Indian literature that has been preserved by oral tradition through the long centuries till it was finally committed to writing in much later times. " Very few of the Vedic works have been lost. It is indeed a wonder how so vast a literature could have preserved without the help of writing for the purpose." [28]

The Buddhist system of education developed from the Brāhmanic and the Buddha himself may be considered to have received the Brāhmanic pattern of education that prevailed in India during his time.[29] A sixth century painting in the Ajantā cave No. XVI depicts a scene where prince Siddhārtha receives his educational instruction along with three other boys from a Brāhmaṇa teacher.[30] The school is in a verandah in his father's palace and a tablet for writing is held in their hands by each child. " Gautama, as a prince, was given, along with literary education, education in music and military arts like archery." [31]

Two of the most dominant philosophic conceptions that were accepted both before and during the time of Buddha were the doctrines of *Karma* and Rebirth (*Saṃsāra*). The effects of *Karma* whether good or bad had to be reaped by an individual whether in this life or hereafter. This brought about the world of *Saṃsāra*, the round of

births and deaths. Thus it became the custom of those who desired to put an end to this *Saṃsāra* which was conceived both as an illusion and as a source of misery, to forsake the world for a life of seclusion and solitude in the forest cutting themselves away from all worldly ties. Thus arose the hermitage and the monastic life. Prince Siddhārtha himself dissatisfied with the transitory pleasures of the worldly life took the step of renouncing his home, wife and child, and all the other pleasures and possessions he was accustomed to in his worldly state, and followed the path taken by all seekers after truth before his time, and assumed the ascetic life, in order to find a solution to the ills of the world.[32] Next he approached the well-known teachers of the day, Ālārakālāma[33] and Uddaka,[34] both Brāhmaṇs, in order to find an answer to his problem. He soon mastered their doctrines, but soon relized the inadequacy of their teachng.[35] Next he journeyed on his own and finally went to Uruvelā near Gayā, where he settled down to a life of meditation and austerity as was the custom at the time. Here for years he practised extreme self-mortification, the rigours of which pleased five other hermits to such an extent that they attended on him as their teacher for a period of six long years. But when the ascetic Siddhārtha gave up his pursuit of self-mortification at the end of six years, considering it worthless for a search after truth, they left him, being disappointed with him for the step he had taken. Finally Siddhārtha achieved full enlightenment, and for a period of forty five years wandered about the country preaching his doctrine, converting people and establishing the Orders of *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs*.

We thus observe that the Buddha himself was a product of his times. He followed the religious practices that prevailed in his time. But when he saw that they did not help him in the search after truth, he abandoned them and followed a path of his own. However, he accepted various philosophical concepts and religious practices that were prevalent at the time, either without any change or in a modified form.[36] This can be observed from his own life, as we have already seen, and from the way he built up his Order of *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs*.

" The history of the Buddhist system of education is practically that of the Buddhist Order or Saṁgha. Buddhist education and learning centred round monasteries as Vedic culture centred round the sacrifice. The Buddhist world did not offer any educational opportunities apart from or independently of its monasteries. All education, sacred as well as secular, was in the hands of the monks. They had the monopoly of learning and of the leisure to impart it. They were the only custodians and bearers of the Buddhist culture." [37]

The Buddhist form of education differed from the Brāhmanic pattern of education in two main characteristics. Firstly, it was not based on a study of the Veda and the Vedic lore ; and secondly, the Buddhist Order was open to everybody irrespective of caste.[38] Buddha recognised a community of lay adherents, (*upāsaka, upāsikā*) but advocated the life of the *bhikkhu* for those who were earnest in their endeavour for spiritual progress. " A life of meditation in the solitude of a forest was considered to be the best of all, but from the first this was adopted only by the most earnest, and the majority of the monks, or *bhikkhus*, lived in companies in monasteries, or *vihāras*. These *vihāras* formed a characteristic feature of Buddhism, and for many centuries they were widely spread in India." [39]

The first ceremony in connection with the entry into the Order is called *pabbajjā*. This ceremony may be equated with the one followed in connection with the entry of the *brahmacārī* to a life of Vedic study.[40] The *pabbajjā*[41] is a form of giving up all household connections and dedicating oneself to a complete religious life, (*agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati*). And once a person enters the Order, distinctions such as caste, profession, etc., he held in the lay-life are all discarded and forgotten, and he becomes a monk of the Sākyan Order.[42] If the *upasampadā* too is not conferred simultaneously the newly ordained monk is still called a *sāmaṇera*, 'a novice' in contrast to *samaṇa*, ' a monk'. A layman admitted to the Order under the Buddhist system is placed under the discipline of a preceptor who is to control his conduct. Unlike in the Brāhmanical system, there is no specific age limit fixed for entry into the Order as a *sāmaṇera*, but very young children were discouraged from being admitted, except under very exceptional circumstances. It is difficult to compare the *brahmacārī* stage of a *brahmin's* life with that of a *sāmaṇera* or *samaṇa*, although it has been made out that there are very similar characteristics in the two systems.[43]

At the *pabbajjā* ceremony the young novice declares his acceptance and confidence in the Three Refuges (*tisaraṇa*),[44] namely, Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha ; and undertakes to observe the ten precepts (*dasa sikkhāpadas*). Each *sāmaṇera*, at his ordination, is placed under two senior *theras*, one called the *upajjhāya*, and the other, *ācariya*. The institution of this practice is found described in the Vedic system too. The term *Ācārya* (*ācariya*) is found defined by Manu,[45] Gautama,[46] Viṣṇu,[47] Vasiṣṭha[48] etc. According to these sources, the " Āchārya is ten times more venerable than the *Upādhyāya* (Manu, ii, 145) ; he is chief among all Gurus (Gautama, ii, 50) ; he is called an *Atiguru*, along with father and mother (Vishṇu, xxxi, 1-2)."[49] " It may be noted that the term *Āchārya* is reserved by Patañjali for application to the highest type of teacher, to an original thinker and master like Pāṇini, while the other three terms* he uses with reference to the ordinary teachers."[50] According to Buddhist practice, however, the *upajjhāya* seems to be a higher authority than the *ācariya*.[51] From the description given of these two terms[52] it seems to indicate that the *upajjhāya* was responsible for instructing the young novice in the sacred texts and the doctrine, while the *ācariya* was responsible for training the *sāmaṇera* in the proper conduct of a *samaṇa*.[53]

After the period of novitiate is over a *sāmaṇera* undergoes a second ordination called *upasampadā* which is gone through usually after the twentieth year.[54] " The higher ordination of the Upasampadā by which a Sāmaṇera completes his course of probation and enters upon the full membership of the Saṁgha for which he is destined and has been prepared since his Pabbajjā ordination, marks an important point of distinction between the Brahmanical and Buddhist systems of education. Under the former system, the Brahmachārin, on completion of his studentship, and coming of age, returns to his home and family as a *Snātaka* and presently marries and becomes a *Gṛihastha* or householder. His 'going out of home' or *pravrajyā* was for a temporary period. In the case of the Buddhist, the 'outgoing from home into homelessness' (agārasmā anagāriyaṁ pabbajjā) is final. The

* Guru, Śikṣaka and Upādhyāya.

Brahmanical system, however, provided for exceptions. Brahmachāris were given the option to remain as such through life at his teacher's, and, after his death, with his family according to his choice (*Āpast.*, ii, 9, 21, 6 ; 8 ; *Gautama*, iii, 3, 7 ; *Manu*, ii, 247), the special designation of *Naishṭhika* being applied to them as a mark of distinction. But the exceptions became the rule in the Buddhist system. In the Brahmanical scheme, the final renunciation of the home and the world belongs to the third and fourth stage or Āśrama of life when the man, after passing the successive stages of the Brahmachārin, the Snātaka, and the Grihastha, becomes a *Parivrājaka*, a Bhikshu or a *Yati* or a *Sannyāsī*, a hermit and a wandering mendicant."[55] Even after a person receives his *upasampadā*, he is still enjoined to live under the supervision of two senior *theras* for at least ten years during which time he undergoes both mental and moral training.[56] This period of *nissaya*, as it is called, or 'dependence' is reduced to five years, or even extended to throughout life as the case may be in respect of learned or foolish persons respectively.[57] Once the period of *nissaya* is over, a person is entitled to offer *nissaya* to others as an *ācariya*.

From the period of first *pabbajjā* until the *nissaya* is completed, a person goes through a complete course of study and discipline under the care and guidance of two senior *theras*, and he normally resides in the *vihāra* with his supervisors. "Thus the monastic system, which was an important feature of Buddhism, provided that every novice on his admission should place himself under the supervision and guidance of a preceptor, and this state of pupillage was to last for ten years. I-Tsing says[58] that after five years from the time that the pupil masters the *Vinaya*, he was allowed to live aprat from his teacher, but he must put himself under the care of some teacher wherever he went until ten years have elapsed after he was able to understand the *Vinaya*. The main ideas of this connexion of teacher and pupil were taken over from Brāhmanic education, and are in close similarity with it. From this provision for the instruction of novices arose the Buddhist educational system."[59]

There appears to be three grades of *theras*[60] who have gone through the period of discipline called *nissaya*, after their *upasampadā*. The preliminary grade, if one may call it such, is known as *nissayamuccanaka* who counts five years after his *upasampadā*. The minimum educational requirement is also mentioned in this connection, and only when he has mastered this, is he called a *nissayamuccanaka* and is qualified to live independently. He is required to know from memory at least two *mātikās* generally known as *Bhikkhu* and *Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha* ; know four *Bhāṇavāras* from the *suttantas*, some important *suttas*, three *anumodanās*, particulars regarding fundamental *vinayakammas* such as *uposatha* and *pavāraṇā*, and a *kammaṭṭhāna*, topics of meditation leading up to arhantship. These he should know in order to be of benefit to himself as well as to his associates and pupils.

The next grade is termed *parisupaṭṭhāpaka* for a *thera* who counts ten years from the *upasampadā*, and possesses a higher degree of learning than that acquired by a *nissayamuccanaka*. He " should know by heart at least the two Vibhaṅgas of the Vinaya,[61] failing which, he should be able to recite these texts with three others. He should also know the Vinaya-kammas and the *Khandhakavatta*. If he was a

Majjhima-bhāṇaka, he should know the *Mūlapaṇṇāsaka* (the first 50 suttas) of the *Majjhima-nikāya*; if a Dīgha-bhāṇaka, the *Mahāvagga* (10 suttas of the second vagga) of the *Dīgha-nikāya* ; if a Saṃyutta-bhāṇaka, the first three sections of the *Mahāvagga* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* ; if an Aṅguttara-bhāṇaka, the first or second half of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, failing which, he should learn from the beginning to the Third Section (*Tika-nipāta*).[62] A Jātaka-bhāṇaka should learn the whole of the *Jātaka* text with its Commentary—not less than that.[63] If a monk was well-versed in these texts, he was considered well-read or well-educated (*bahussuta*) and was qualified to serve the assemblies."[64]

The topmost grade is spoken of as *Bhikkhunovādaka*, i.e., a *Bhikkhu* adviser to the *Bhikkhuṇīs*. He " should learn the three Piṭakas with their Commentaries, failing which, he should master the Commentary of one of the Four Collections (*Nikāyas*). That would enable him to explain the other *Nikāyas*. Among the seven Abhidhamma texts, he would master the Commentaries of four, because that would enable him to explain the rest. But the whole of the Vinaya Piṭaka should be mastered witih its Commentary."[65]

The unit of the Buddhist educational system was the young *bhikkhu* or group of *bhikkhus* living under the guardianship of two senior *theras*, the *upajjhāya* and *ācariya* who are responsible for their well-being, both physical, moral and educational. There were many such groups at one institution, which was a larger unit called the *Vihāra*, where different individual groups of teachers and students resided in harmony among themselves.[66] The institution and growth of this pattern of " collective life and organization in education is a fundamental point of distinction between the Buddhist and the Brahmanical system, which depended more upon the solitude of hermitages in the woods as an aid to spiritual life than the social atmosphere of a Saṁgha humming with the activities of several thousands of monks in residence in the neighbourhood of busy haunts of men where they could go for begging."[67]

In their studies, the *Bhikkhus* seem to have devoted their attention to different branches of the *Dhamma* according to their choice, such as the *Suttas*, *Vinaya* and the *Dhamma*.[68] The method followed was that of rote learning where students listened to the text recited by the teacher, repeated it themselves till it was committed to memory. Apart from committing to memory only, there was a higher grade of students who also discussed among themselves the contents of the texts, usually those who studied the *Vinaya*. Those who studied in order to become teachers of the *Dhamma*, were required, as part of their training, to talk over the *Dhamma* one with another before they attempted to preach to others. " There were, lastly, Bhikkhus of the highest classes who were given to meditation, i.e., the practice of the four *Jhānas* or meditations."[69]

At this early period, while teaching was mainly oral, writing as such does not appear to have been practised as an aid to education, although we have certain instances [70] where writing is referred to. And in the detailed list of articles and property belonging to the *vihāras* and *ārāmas* mentioned in the Vinaya texts we have no reference to either manuscripts or any writing material mentioned therein. " Along

with manuscripts there are no references to such accessories of writing as ink, pen, style, leaves, or other materials of writing, nor to the operations connected with the copying out of manuscripts which must have occupied a large part of the activities of the monks should they have had to do with written literature for their education."[71]

During the time of the Buddha, there were various teachers among his disciples who were distinguished for their particular branch of learning.[72] Thus Upāli was the chief of the *Vinayadharas*, Ānanda, the chief of the *Dhammadharas*. There were altogether eighty chief *theras* headed by Sāriputta and Moggallāna. These distinguished teachers took upon themselves the task of handing down their knowledge of the *dhamma*, etc. to others. We might also surmise that the order of *Bhikkhunīs*, started with the entry of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī with a following of five hundred other Sākyan women had its own form of religious and educational training. The *Therī-gāthā* gives us sufficient information regarding the social, religious and educational attainments of some of the leading *bhikkhunīs* who entered the Buddhist Order during and after the lifetime of the Buddha.[73]

The monasteries and nunneries were mainly responsible for the religious and educational training of the *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs*. Thus the laity had to seek other institutions as educational centres when they felt the need for embarking upon a course of secular education. At the same time, it is to the monastery that the laity always went for religious instruction. " It is thus clear that the laity depended for their religious education upon the monasteries which were the exclusive centres of such education because the monks alone had the monopoly as specialists and experts in the knowledge of the sacred lore. It is also clear that for their general, non-religious or secular education the laity and the public at large had to depend upon the systems and centres of education that existed in the country outside the Buddhist monasteries." [74]

The pursuit of training in handicraft, scribing, accountancy, art or drawing,[75] is referred to as having being studied by laymen. All of these subjects and many others mentioned as the vulgar arts (*tiracchāna-vijjā*) in the Sāmaññaphala-sutta in the *Dīgha-nikāya* [76] appear to have been studied before and during the lifetime of the Buddha. We also have the well-known story of Jīvaka [77] who had his medical education at Taxila for a period of seven years, at the end of which he graduated. On his return home to Rājagaha he effected many cures on the way, and finally became honorary physician to the Buddha and the Order of *bhikkhus*.[78] The *Milinda-Pañha* [79] and the *Jātakas* [80] too contain evidence of the practice of medicine and surgery during this early period. The Jātaka tales contain also evidence of the contemporary conditions regarding educational facilities available in India during these early times. Both Taxila and Benares are mentioned as centres of learning in the Jātaka tales.*

We hardly know of the social or educational pattern that would have prevailed in Ceylon prior to the advent of the Āryans. If we accept the fact that the first Āryan immigration to Ceylon was the one in which Vijaya and his seven hundred followers arrived in Ceylon, and that they arrived on the same day as the *parinibbāna*

*For an account of education as described in the *Jātakas*, see, Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, Chapter XX.

day of the Buddha, we might surmise that Vijaya and his men brought with them the educational tradition and pattern that prevailed in India during the time of the Buddha. We have however no evidence to indicate what type of education was received by Vijaya and his men in their homeland, and whether they were responsible for instituting this same pattern of education in the country of their adoption. And further, it may be possible that they were preoccupied with more urgent matters of colonisation rather than education at the beginning.

The most significant single event that changed the religious, cultural and social life of the Sinhalese people was the arrival of *thera* Mahinda in Ceylon and the establishment of the *Buddhasāsana* in this Island. Mahinda not only brought the message of the Buddha but also all the sacred texts, and perhaps also the art of writing that prevailed in India during his time. He brought with him also the religious tradition and the educational pattern that were in vogue in the monasteries in India during his time. Thus it may safely be asserted that the religious, cultural and educational tradition that grew up in Ceylon had their origin in the person of Mahinda. Along with Mahinda his sister Sanghamittā too was greatly instrumental in moulding the social, religious and educational character of the early women of Laṅkā.

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61. ' i.e., the two Vinaya texts known as *Pārājika* and *Pācittiya*. '
62. ' But according to the *Mahā-Paccariya* Commentary, if a bhāṇaka learns only one Section (*Nipāta*), he should choose the Fourth or the Fifth *Nipāta*.'
63. ' The *Mahā-Paccariya* lays down that in addition he should also learn the *Dhammapada* with the stories. Sometimes the Dhammapada-bhāṇakas are also mentioned as a separate class. DhpA. II (SHB) p. 600 '
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CHAPTER 7

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

It has been observed earlier that Ceylon had been inhabited by people long before the advent of Vijaya and his band of men.[1] Information regarding the language of these people[2] or their social and educational institutions[3] is also sadly lacking. We do not know how the heritage of their times was handed down to their younger generation. Like in all ancient forms of education it may be surmised that the parents were the early educators, and the home, the only educational institution at the time.[4] The Āryan form of education that prevailed in India during the earliest times passed through various institutional phases like the home, the hermitage in the forest, the teacher's home or the *gurukula*, monastic establishments like *vihāras* and *ārāmas*, and educational institutions of the type of Taxilā etc.[5] The educational institution reserved for the *bhikkhu* and the *bhikkhunī* was the *vihāra* and the *ārāma*. Although some information is available regarding the different types of subjects studied by laymen[6], it is not quite clear what institutional centre they attended in order to acquire proficiency in these respective subjects. The *Jātakas* however often speak of Taxilā as a centre of learning.[7] The school of medicine at this institution had been quite famous during the lifetime of the Buddha.[8]

It is therefore probable that the educational institutions that took shape in Ceylon from earliest times would have assumed identical patterns to those that prevailed in India during the earliest times, although we cannot say anything specific regarding their structure. Early man in Ceylon would have handed down his skill to his progeny at home, and the home was thus the earliest educational institution. Since it is surmised that there would have been different emigrations to Ceylon from India prior to the advent of Vijaya, the Vedic or the post-Vedic pattern of education would have been prevailing in Ceylon if these early inhabitants in any way were concerned with or interested in education.

It is possible that the earliest inhabitants in Ceylon hardly found any time at their disposal to engage in any educational pursuits. It is therefore also possible that apart from building dwelling places and the procuring of the wherewithal for their sustenance they had no inclination to institute any educational establishment at the beginning of their occupation in the Island. The *gāmas* establihsed by the early inhabitants would have conformed to the *gāma* pattern that prevailed in their mother-land. The settlements had certain specific features, and it would be safe for us to consider that at least some of these features were adhered to in their construction.

In the early pattern of the village, the village temple, or shrine was one of the features of the village.[9] The village temple was usually occupied by the religious monk, who apart from attending to his own religious practices, would have also been the teacher and spiritual adviser to the village community in which the temple stood. It would therefore seem possible that in the course of time his temple or residence would have functioned as the educational institution for those who desired to acquire some form of education, usually of a religious type. The *Jātakas* too

present us with a fairly satisfactory picture of the early village life.[10] Though these have been compiled only during the Aśokan times, they no doubt portray the conditions of an earlier period. According to these stories we often find recluses living in places, usually forests or caves close to villages, and at regular intervals going to the adjacent village in search of their needs such as salt and acid.[11] Though we cannot at all be certain regarding this, due to the lack of authentic and specific information, we could perhaps surmise that these early *bhikkhus* provided the laymen with some element of educational service to those who went to them in search of it. If so, their secluded dwellings were the earliest educational institutions in Ceylon. It has been indicated earlier that recluses of different religious beliefs lived in Ceylon prior to the advent of Buddhism.[12] It has also been surmised earlier that *samaṇas* or Buddhist recluses were in Ceylon before the coming of Mahinda.[13] The presence of Brāhmins in Ceylon whose special task it was to impart the Vedic lore to students also seems to indicate that there were educational institutions centering round them in Ceylon in early times. Apart from stray references in the chronicles, many instances of the presence of Brāhmins[14] in Ceylon are found in books like the *Rasavāhinī*[15] and the *Sīhaḷavatthuppakaraṇa*.[16] The monasteries of the three well-known *niganṭhas*, Jotiya, Giri and Kumbhaṇḍa[17] who lived during the time of Paṇḍukābhaya would have been important educational institutions of the time. It may incidentally be mentioned that the sanctuary of Giri became the final place of escape for the three princes Tissa, Abhaya and Uttara who after unsuccessfully plotting against the life of Khallāṭa Nāga escaped to this monastery in order to put an end to their lives by fire. The Office of *purohita* seems to have been established in Ceylon from the time of Vijaya himself.[18] We also observe that both Paṇḍukābhya and Canda, the son of the Brāhmin himself, studying together in the house of Paṇḍula, the Brāhmin teacher.[19] This Brāhmin is said to have been both rich and learned, and the fact that a future potential ruler of the country was sent to him for insturction, and that the village in which he dwelt was called after his own name, indicate the Brāhmin teacher's prestige and reputation. It is possible that his house was a very special educational institution of the time. The dwelling places of the two *niganṭhas* Jotiya and Giri built by Paṇḍukābhaya also may have been educational institutions.

With the advent of Buddhism into the country we observe the rise of dwelling places for monks. Mahinda and his companions spent their first *vassa* in Ceylon in the caves prepared for the purpose at Mihintale.[20] It is mentioned that Devānampiyatissa constructed sixty-eight caves at Mihintale round about the place where the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya was built afterwards.[21] The *theras* lived in these rock caves during the *vassa* season and went daily to the city for alms. It is thus possible that the religious instructions given to the early Ceylon *bhikkhus* were imparted by Mahinda and his companion *theras* at Mihintale. It may therefore be surmised that Mahinda's cave dwelling at Mihintale was probably the first educational centre established in Ceylon after the arrival of the Indian *theras*. The donation of caves to the *sangha* was widely prevalent in this early period as is attested by the numerous cave inscriptions found in Ceylon.[22] The cave-dwelling *saṅgha* were maintained by the laity, and they lived a life of meditation and study. Thus, around the cave dwellings there would have arisen the educational institution also, the two forms

not existing separately as such but conjointly. The cave which was but an isolated unit would have gradually developed into a larger unit of a group of caves as in the case of the sixty-eight cave dwellings around the vicinity of the Kaṇṭaka-cetiya at Mihintale. This tendency gradually produced the unit named as the *vihāra* which perhaps contained within its compass more that one cave dwelling. Cave donations have been made at places known as *vihāras*.[23] And, as has been already mentioned, a number of caves gradually constituted a *vihāra*, as is attested by such *vihāras* as Goṇṇagirika,[24] Pācīna-pabbata,[25] Dakkhinagiri,[26] and Kallakalena.[26] It may be surmised that the majority of the early *vihāras* in Ceylon were not of an elaborate nature, but were confined to a few caves situated closely together and containing such features as a *dāgoba* and an *uposathaghara*.[27] As one of the main requirements for a member of the *sangha* was to learn the sacred texts,[28] it is more than certain that the early education of the young novice was imparted at these cave dwellings or the *vihāras*. Many a *vihāra* has been specifically cited in the early inscriptions of Ceylon.[29] The practice of the donation of caves to the *sangha* in order to provide them with a place of residence at the beginning gradually developed into other forms of donations such as the grant of land etc. in order to maintain the *vihāras* that gradually developed as a result of the increasing numbers in the ranks of the *sangha*. The practice of such grants made to the *vihāras* gradually culminated in the institution of large monastic establishments that appeared in the later eighth and ninth centuries.

These developments run parallel to the social and economic developments among the community of *bhikkhus*. The *sangha* developed from a loosely organised body confined to different units of cave communities to a more compact social and economic unit, such as the well-organised *vihāras* which were capable of receiving and maintaining the various grants that were offered to the community. With this economical and socially independent development in the *sangha*, the educational activities too would have developed and progressed accordingly. Thus the institution of the *vihāra* was an essential constituent in the life of the *sangha* community in Ceylon, and along with it appeared educational activity too.

It has been mentioned earlier that it would be correct to surmise that the earliest educational institution that appeared in Ceylon after the introduction of Buddhism into the country was situated at Mihintale under the leadership of *thera* Mahinda.[30] The first dwelling place or *ārāma* accepted by *thera* Mahinda from the king was the Tissārāma[31] in the Mahāmeghavana park. Mahinda lived in this park for a few days before he repaired to Missakapabbata for the *vassa* retreat. In the Tissārāma the king built a *pāsāda* for the *thera* in the very beginning where "he had the bricks of clay dried speedily with fire. The dwelling-house was dark-coloured and therefore they named it the Kālapāsāda-pariveṇa."[32] The king is also said to have built many *pariveṇas* around the place for the benefit of the *theras*.[33] The names of these *pariveṇas* mentioned in the chronicle are Sunhāta-pariveṇa,[34] Dīghacaṅkamana-pariveṇa,[35] Phalagga-pariveṇa,[36] Therāpassaya-pariveṇa.[37] Marugaṇa-parivena,[38] and the Dīghasaṇḍa-senāpati-pariveṇa.[39] It was after residing for twenty six days in the Mahāmeghavana that the *thera* finally went over to the Missaka-pabbata for the *vassa*

season, where the king had sixty-eight cave dwellings built for the use of the *theras*. For the first *vassa* there were altogether sixty–two *arhants*,[40] and all the Ceylon *theras* required religious instructions, which as has been noted earlier was imparted by Mahinda and his companions. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, by the time the Thūpārāma *cetiya* was completed, there were altogether thirty thousand *bhikkhus* who had entered the Order.[41] Even if we are to cast doubts on the actual number, we would not be far wrong to consider that there arose a large community of *bhikkhus* in Ceylon soon after the arrival of *thera* Mahinda and his companions. A *vihāra* was also founded within the precincts of the Thūpārāma as residence for monks by Devānampiyatissa.[42] The Upāsikā-vihāra[43] where queen Anulā and her five hundred companions dwelt, and which became the residence of the *therī* Sanghamittā and her companions was another institution where religious instruction would have been imparted. It is mentioned that there were twelve buildings in all attached to the *vihāra* here. Later, *therī* Sanghamittā took residence at a *vihāra* named Hatthāḷhaka-vihāra.[44] Other residential buildings constructed by Devānampiyatissa are the Issarasamaṇa-vihāra,[45] Vessagiri-vihāra,[45] and Pācīnārāma[46] in Anurādhapura ; Jambukola-vihāra[46] in Nāgadīpa, and the Tissamahā–vihāra in the southern part of Ceylon.

" The first monastery in Ceylon was the Tissārāma in the Mahāmeghavana of Anurādhapura established by Devānampiya-Tissa. This later developed into the Mahāvihāra, the great Monastery. At the beginning there was only a clay-built house for the residence of bhikkhus, which was known as Kālapāsāda-pariveṇa.[47] Later on several other houses were erected in the Mahāmeghavana by the king and his ministers for the use of the monks."[48] Many residential *vihāras* are also mentioned in the inscriptions, such as the Mahavihāra,[49] Pilapavatavihara,[50] Tisa-vihara,[51] Ridīvihāra,[52] Nakamahavihara,[53] Ekadroika or Ekadorayavihara,[54] Mutigutikavihara,[55] Parivatakavihara,[55] Mahagama Rajamahavihara,[56] Nilagama Tisa-arama,[57] Kajaragama Rajamahavihara,[58] etc.

The number of *vihāras* or residential places for the *bhikkhus* increased rapidly in the course of time. Apart from their being mentioned in the chronicles, we also observe actual inscriptions relating to their existence, as has already been observed. In the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Mahāsiva is credited with having built the Nagaraṅgaṇa–vihāra.[59] Sūratissa, his younger brother is credited with having built five hundred *vihāras* in the Island on this and the further banks of the Mahavāli.[60] Mention is made of the Yaṭṭhālaya-vihāra[61] in the south, and the Nāgamahā-vihāra built by the brother of Devānampiyatissa.[62] Other *vihāras* mentioned as having been situated in the south are the Laṅkāvihāra,[63] Tissamahāvihāra,[64] Cittalapabbatavihāra,[64] Gamittha-vālivihāra,[64] Kūtālivihāra,[64] and Kotapabbatavihāra.[65]

Hundreds of *vihāras* are said to have existed in the Rohaṇa Kingdom.[66] Some of the *vihāras* mentioned in the *Rasāvahinī* are the following : Uddalolakavihāra,[67] Rājamahāvihāra,[68] Mahāvāpivihāra,[69] Mahātaḷākavihāra,[70] Pupphavāsavihāra,[71] Brāhmaṇārāmavihāra,[72] Mahānijjharavihāra,[73] Cetiyambavihāra,[74] Giritimbila Tissa-pabbatamahāvihāra,[75] Cittalapabbatavihāra,[76] Mātulavihāra,[77] Macalavihāra,[78] Yaṭṭālavihāra,[78] Tissamahāvihāra,[79] Kuṭṭāliyamahāvihāra,[79] Silāpassayantapariveṇa,[80] Kontarakaṭṭhapabbatamahāvihāra,[81] Nandimittavihāra,[82] Kappakandaravihāra,[83]

Vatturavihāra,[84] Mahasamuddavihāra,[85] Talangāravihāra,[85] Kālavelambakavihāra,[85] Uparikhaṇḍavihāra,[85] Velugāmavihāra,[85] Bhātivaṅkavihāra,[85] Kappalatā-pabbata-vihāra,[85] Asiggāhakapariveṇa,[86] Nīlapabbatavihāra,[87] Tissamahāvihāra,[88] Sāgiri-mahavihāra,[88] Cūlagallakavihāra,[89] Hatthikkhandavihāra,[90] Cetiyavihāra,[91] Cittalapabbatavihāra,[92] Kālatindukavihāra,[93] Nāgavihāra,[94] Ariyakavihāra,[95] Devagirivihāra,[96] Kumbhelamahāvihāra,[97] Mahālenavihāra,[97] Udumbaramahā-vihāra,[98] Kuṭumbiyavihāra,[99] Viyolakavihāra,[100] and Ariyākaramahāvihāra.[101]

It has been observed earlier that the cave dwellings gradually developed into *vihāras* which at first were none other than a group of cave dwellings.[102] It is also apparent from the foregoing list that the words *vihāra*, *ārāma* and *pariveṇa* have been used to indicate the residence of monks.[103] These residential institutions naturally had to become centres of learning where elder *theras* as well as novices not only practised their moral training, but also took steps to master the teaching of the Buddha by way of textual study. It is therefore safe to surmise that these *vihāras* were also the early educational institutions of the country. The earliest *theras* of India learnt the *Dhamma* from the Buddha himself during his limfetime and maintained it by oral tradition.[104] This pattern of oral tradition was followed in Ceylon, and as such it is safe to assume that every *vihāra* where *bhikkhus* dwelt became an educational institution by implication.

The number of *vihāras* increased in the course of time and the community of *bhikkhus* too increased in numbers, both due to their religious fervour and the generous endowments these *vihāras* received from the lay Buddhists of the country. The important *vihāras* that arose in the country are mentioned in the chronicles as well as in other books like the *Sīhaḷavatthu*, *Sahassavattu* and *Rasavāhinī*, not to mention the *Saddharmālankāraya* which is based on the *Rasavāhinī*. Kings as well as the people continued to establish and endow dwellings for the *bhikkhus* from time to time. At the time of Mahāsena there seems to have existed five great *āvāsas* or dwelling places for the *bhikkhus*.[105] These five are the Mahāvihāra, Cetiyavihāra, Thūpārāma, Issarasamaṇavihāra, and the Vessagirivihāra. According to *Saddharmā-lankāraya* they are Jetavanavihāra, Abhayagiriya, Mirisavāti, Dakkhiṇagirivihāra, and Mahāvihāra.[106] Mahāsena is also credited with having founded many *vihāras* for *bhikkhus*. The following is the account found in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[107] "The king built also the Maṇihīra-vihāra[108] and founded three vihāras, destroying temples of the (brahmanical) gods :—the Gokaṇṇa (vihāra), (and another vihāra) in Erakāvilla, (and a third) in the village of the Brahman Kalanda,[109] (moreover he built) the Migagāmavihāra and the Gaṅgāsenakapabbata (vihāra).[110] To the west, he built the Dhātūsenapabbata (vihāra) ; the king founded also the great vihāra in Kokavāta. He built the Thūpārāma-vihāra and the Huḷapiṭṭhi (vihāra) and the two nunneries, called Uttara and Abhaya."[111] Mention may also be made of the Yahisapavata monastery found mentioned in an inscription of the third year of Srīmeghavaṇṇa the successor of Mahāsena.[112]

"The living quarters of bhikkhus were generally known by such names as *vihāra*, *āvāsa*, or *pariveṇa*.[113] But the last name was the most popular one in ancient Ceylon.[114] In a monastery there were many *pariveṇas* which served as cells for monks. In

the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura there were once 364 such *pariveṇas* and *prāsādas*.[115] The Thūpārāma had a large number of pariveṇas among which Asiggāhaka parivena, in which Cūlanāga Thera lived, is known to us by name.[116] In the Tissamahā-vihāra in Rohaṇa there were 363 *pariveṇas* in the 9th and 10th centuries.[117] The name of the Silāpassaya-pariveṇa at that great monastery is known to literature.[118] Reference to a large number of *pariveṇas* in several vihāras built by many kings are found frequently in the Chronicles elsewhere."[119]

Having observed that in early Ceylon, the caves, *vihāras*, *ārāmas* or *pariveṇas* represented places of residence for the *bhikkhus*, and consequently places of educational centres, it now seems appropriate to examine the chief residential institutions of the early *bhikkhus* in Ceylon. The foremost and the earliest educational institution may be considered as the Mahāvihāra. On the second day after arrival in the Island, Mahinda spent the night at the Mahāmeghavana, which the king bestowed on the *sangha* community on the following day, by pouring water on the hand of *thera* Mahinda.[120] He also built in the Tissārāma a *pāsāda* for the use of Mahinda which became known as Kālapāsada-pariveṇa.[121] The king added further buildings to this, all of which were included in the Mahā-vihāra. These are described thus in the *Mahāvaṃsa* : " Then did he set up a building for the great Bodhi-tree, the Lohapāsāda,[122] a salākā-house,[123] and a seemly refectory. He built many pariveṇas in an excellent manner, and bathing-tanks and buildings for repose, by night and by day, and so forth. The pariveṇa on the brink of the bathing-tank (which was alloted) to the blameless (thera) is called the Sunhāta-pariveṇa.[124] The pariveṇa on the spot where the excellent Light of the Island used to walk up and down is called Dīghacaṅkamana.[125] But the pariveṇa which was built where he had sat sunk in the meditation [126] that brings the highest bliss is called from this the Phalagga-pariveṇa.[127] The (pariveṇa built there) where the thera had seated himself leaning against a support is called from this the Therāpassaya-pariveṇa.[128] The (pariveṇa built) where many hosts of gods had sought him out and sat at his feet is therefore called the Marugaṇapariveṇa.[129] The commander of the king's troops, Dīghasandana, built a little pāsāda for the thera with eight great pillars. This famed pariveṇa, the home of renowned men,[130] is called the Dīghasandasenāpati-pariveṇa.

" The wise king, whose name contains the words ' beloved of the gods ', patronizing the great thera Mahinda, of spotless mind, first built here in Laṅkā this Mahāvihāra."[131]

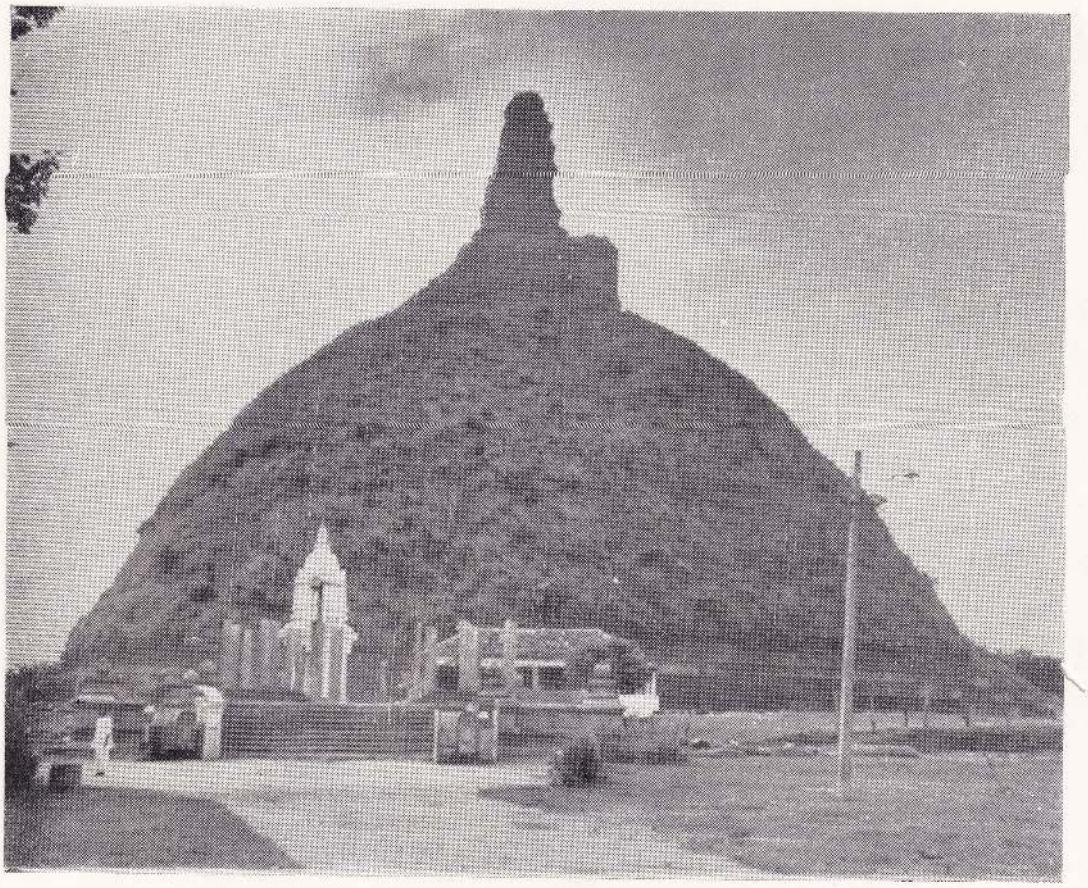
This is the origin and early development of the Mahāvihāra. In the course of time rulers from Devānampiyatissa down added various features to the Mahāvihāra and it assumed in no time a supreme place in the religious and educational life of the country. " In doctrine, as well as in discipline, all *bhikkhus* in Ceylon acknowledged the authority of the Mahāvihāra from the time of its establishment up to the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya."[132] Mahāvihāra comprised many *ārāmas* scattered here and there in the Mahāmeghavana, and in these there dwelt many *bhikkhus* both old and young, all devoted to the task of learning the *dhamma* and practising the religious life. Mahāvihāra was the most prominent educational centre where the earliest Buddhist *theras* began the task of compiling the Sinhalese commentaries which were

kept alive by oral tradition among the *sangha*. This task was performed by the Mahāvihāra *bhikkhus* with great personal sacrifice at times, such as during the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī and Mahāsena. During the Tīya famine which lasted for twelve years many a *bhikkhu* died through scarcity in food.[133] The Mahāvihāra was also responsible for keeping the early records of the *sāsana* which brought about the appearrance of the chronicles such as the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The *theras* of the Mahāvihāra were not only responsible for the writing down of the *aṭṭhakathā*[134] during the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, but also for preserving unsullied the *theravāda* doctrine when it was laid open to the inroads of heretical beliefs such as the Mahāyāna tradition which appeared in Ceylon at different times of the Island's history.[135] That the Mahāvihāra tradition of the Buddha's teaching was considered most authoritative and unsullied is authenticated not only by the fact that the Pāli commentators such as, Buddhaghosa,[136] Buddhadatta,[137] and Dhammapāla,[138] considered it appropirate and beneficial to work with the Mahāvihāra, but also by the fact that that they accepted the Mahāvihāra tradition in preference to the other traditions.[139]

The Brāhmaṇa Tīya famine drove many *theras* to depart from the Mahāvihāra to many a remote place in the country, and also to the sub-continent of India, deserting the Mahāvihāra.[140] Those who remained in the Island had to undergo many hardships.[140] There are however stories of *bhikkhus* who did not desert their monasteries even under these grave difficulties. The incidents referring to some of these *bhikkhus* mentioned in the *Rasavāhinī* indicate that some of them found their sustenance during the famine from non-human beings because of their great piety.[141] At the end of the famine the *theras* returned to their headquarters, that is to the Mahāvihāra, and the Mahāvihāra *bhikkhus* were responsible as a result for the writing down of the Pāli Canon, one of the landmarks in the history of Buddhism.[142] Up to the time of the establishment of the Abhayagiri and its breaking away from the Mahāvihāra, the Mahāvihāra enjoyed unrivalled supremacy as the most authoritative centre of Buddhist learning in the Island.[143]

The monastic institution next in importance to the Mahāvihāra is the Abhayagiri-vihāra. When Vāṭṭagāmaṇī became the undisputed ruler of the country after defeating the Tamils who had been ruling the country around Anurādhapura, he demolished a monastery belonging to the *niganṭha* called Giri, who had mocked the king when he was fleeing past his monastery. He built a *vihāra* in its place, and named it Abhayagiri-vihāra, combining a part of his name and that of Giri.[144] " In the fifteenth year after the first accession of that king,* a faction broke away from the old established Church, and formed themselves into a new sect which came to be known as the Abhayagiri– or Dhammaruci-nikāya. Their own version of the establishment of the new sect has not come down to us ; what we have is the Mahāvihāra account of the events, which has naturally to be accepted with some reserve. A *thera* named Mahātissa who, according to the *Nikāya-saṁgraha*, was no other than Mahātissa of Kupikkala who helped Vaṭṭagāmaṇī recover the lost sovereignty, and was rewarded therefor with the incumbency of the newly founded Abhyagiri-vihāra, was charged with the offence of frequenting the families of laymen, i.e. in modern parlance, meddling in politics, and was expelled from the Order. The

* e. g. Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya.



Abhayagiri *stūpa*, Anurādhapura
(built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya)

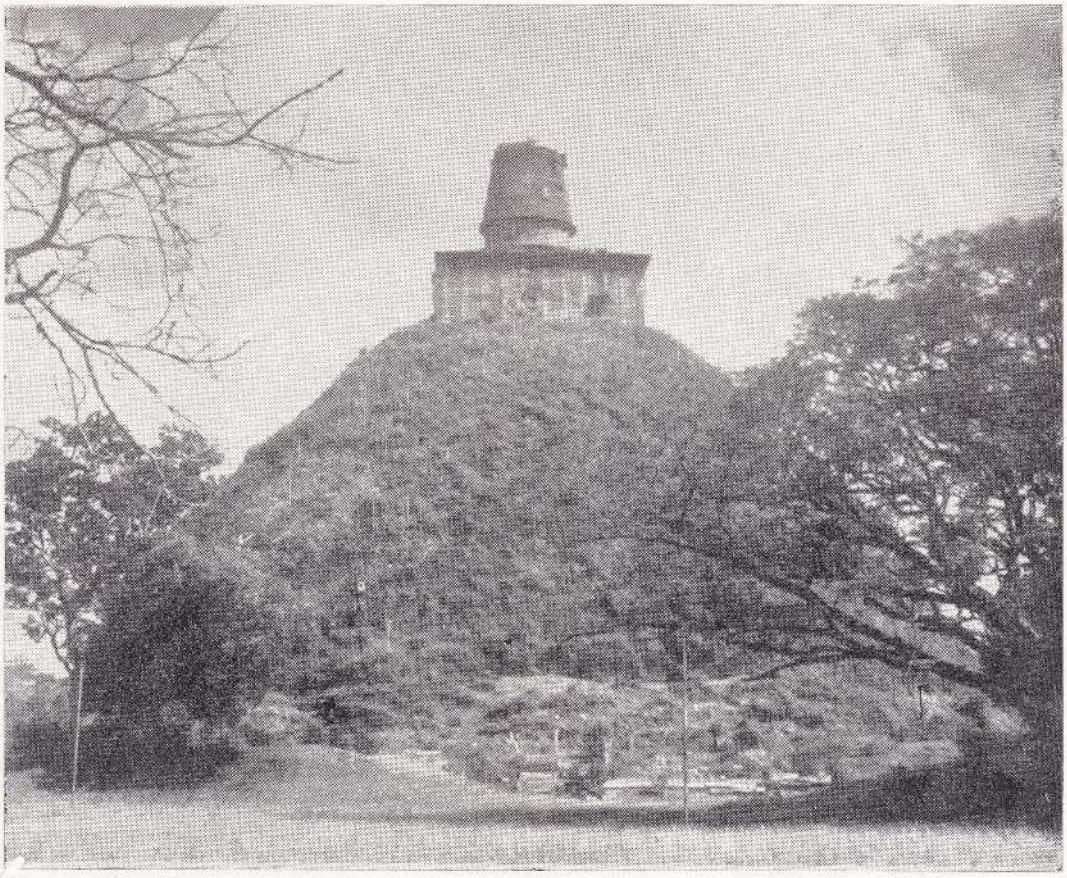
disciple of this Mahātissa, who rejoiced in the epithet of Bahala-massu, 'Bushy Beard', considered the judgment to be unjust, and protested against the action. Disciplinary action was taken against him, too, by the Mahāvihāra. Tissa, thereupon, with a following of about five hundred monks, left the Mahāvihāra and took up residence in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. The disciples of a religious teacher named Dhammaruci arrived at the Abhayagiri-vihāra from a monastery called Pallavārāma in India, and the secessionists accepted their doctrines as the true interpretation of the Buddha's teachings. The new sect which, from its headquarters, was known as the Abhayagiri, and on account of its doctrinal standpoint, was called Dhammaruci, enjoyed the favour of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya, and thus grew in numbers and influence."[145] Seven of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī's warriors built five *vihāras*[146] and offered them to Kambugalla Tissa *thera*. These appear to have been rival institutions to the Mahāvihāra, and it is possible that in the course of time these *vihāras* came within the Abhayagiri sect. From this time onwards there appeared in Ceylon two factions in the Buddhist *sangha*. The Mahāvihāra *bhikkhus* considered themselves as the orthodox ones and looked upon the Abhayagiri *bhikkhus* as heterodox and heretical.[147] In the course of the history of the Island, many kings partonised the orthodox Mahāvihāra, while others favoured the Abhayagiri, while yet others were supporters of both the institutions.[148] As against the Mahāvihāra *bhikkhus*, the *bhikkhus* of the Abhayagiri "seem to have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India, from which they derived inspiration and strength. They were liberal in their views, and always welcomed new ideas from abroad and tried to be progressive. They studied both Theravāda and Mahāyāna and 'widely diffused the Tripiṭakas'.[149] The Mahāvihāra, on the other hand, remained conservative, studied only the Theravāda, was opposed to the Mahāyāna, and discouraged any kind of innovation. It was faithful to the very letter of the orthodox teachings and traditions accepted by the Theravādins. The Abhayagiri monks, therefore, appeared in the eyes of the Mahāvihāra to be unorthodox and heretic."[150] The Abhayagiri-vihāra appeared as a rival institution to the Mahāvihāra, and the *bhikkhus* attached to it had Mahāyāna leanings, and studied not only Pāli, but also Sanskrit for their study of the *Dhamma*. Doctrinal and literary works of the Abhayagiri-vihāra have not come down to us except a work called *Saddhammopāyana*.[151] Interpretations of certain views attributed to *bhikkhus* of the Abhayagiri-vihāra are found mentioned by the Pāli commentators. But the only work the Abhayagiri *theras* have bequested to us is the " *Saddhammopāyana*, which is in verse, and discourses in a general way on the doctrines of Buddhism. Its old Sinhalese paraphrase supplies us with the interesting information that its author, Ānanda, styled a Kavicakravartin, composed the work for the benefit of a friend and colleague of his, named Buddhasoma, who had become lukewarm towards the religious life, and was contemplating a coming back to the lay life. The work is written in simple and dignified style and, in addition to its literary merit, is of importance to establish that the Abhayagiri-vihāra did not deviate from the orthodox school in any important matters of doctrine."[152]

I-tsing mentions the fact that the *bhikkhus* of the Abhayagiri also followed the Theravāda tradition like the Mahāvihāra *bhikkhus*.[153] On the other hand the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentator mentions the fact that in certain sections of the *Vinaya-*

piṭaka, like the Khandaka and the Parivāra, the canon studied by the *bhikkhus* of the Abhayagiri-vihāra had a different text to the corresponding text used by the Mahāvihāra fraternity and the interpretation of the two sources also differed.[153] As a result of these differing views, there arose a controversy in regard to the text and interpretation of a certain passage in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. This happened during the reign of Bhātika Abhaya. [154] The king appointed a Brāhmin scholar named Dīghakārāyaṇa to decide the issue between the two fraternities, and the Brāhmin is said to have decided in favour of the Mahāvihāra. [155]

It seems natural that the Mahāvihāra *bhikkhus* looked upon with disfavour the activities of the Abhayagiri *bhikkhus* due to the rising competition between the two centres of religious learning and education. " In view of the mutual accusations of not following the rules of discipline, it will be relevant here to consider the specific charges brought against the members of the Abhayagiri fraternity by the Mahāvihāra. The commentary of the *Mahāvaṁsa* gives us details with regard to these. In addition to the general charge of variant readings in their text of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, and the consequent differences in interpretation, the Abhayagiri sect is said to have maintained that it was unbecoming for monks to use fans with ivory handles. The Mahāvihāra rebutted this by quoting authority from their Vinaya text. The Mahāvihāra maintained that ordination can be conferred through a messenger ; their opponents denied the validity of such entry into the Order. The Mahāvihāra again maintained that the age of twenty years, necessary for admission into the Order, may be reckoned from the time of conception, and not from birth; this, their rivals declared to be illegal. There were also points in dispute with regard to the setting up of sacred boundaries. Lastly, there was much breath wasted on the point whether it was permissible for a monk to spit on the ground after rubbing the teeth with the brush. The Abhayagiri brethren maintained that it was unbecoming for a monk to do so, while the doctors of the Mahāvihāra ruled that the Buddha had nowhere prohibited this, and continued to spit on the ground at their morning ablutions.

" These points in dispute appear to be very trivial, and hardly worth quarrelling about. If at all they prove anything, it is that the inmates of the Abhayagiri-vihāra led a less luxurious life than those of the more ancient fraternity, and were disposed to take a more reasonable view of things, for example in the matter of spitting on the ground. If there were disagreements on the more fundamental matters affecting moral and spiritual laxity, the spokesman for the Mahāvihāra, who had mentioned these trivialities, would surely have strengthened his case by referring to them. The real reason for the condemnation of the Abhayagiri by the Mahāvihāra, therefore, must have lain elsewhere. This, one can guess when one walks over the ruins of the two monasteries. The grounds of the Abhayagiri monastery are more extensive and contain the remains of edifices equal to, or more magnificient than, those of the Mahāvihāra. The older monastery could not have viewed with equanimity the affluence of the later establishment, and must have come to the usual conclusion that men form about a successful rival, namely that the success had been achieved by questionable means. The hearing which the inmates of the Abhayagiri were prepared to give to new theories, afforded the Mahāvihāra an excellent opportunity to exploit the innate conservative tendencies



Jetavana *stūpa*, Anurādhapura
(built by Mahāsena)

of an Island people, to the disadvantage of their opponents, but when a ruler with strong individual opinions of his own ascended the throne, this proved disastrous to them."[156]

Thus we observe that although literary works of the Abhayagiri-vihāra have not come down to us except *Saddhammopāyana*, from the stray references we find about them in the works of the Mahāvihāra and the records of Fa Hieun,[157] the Abhayagiri would have been teeming with religious and educational activities from its very inception. This later institution reached a position of high prestige and eminence during the time of Mahāsena.

The Jetavanavihāra in Anurādhapura is another important religious and educational institution that prevailed from early times. The origin of this institution goes back to the time of Mahāsena. This king " built within the boundaries of the Mahāvihāra, in the garden called Joti, the Jetavana-vihāra,"[158] in the face of opposition from the Mahāvihāra *bhikkhus*, and dedicated it to a *thera* named Tissa of the Sāgaliya sect.[159] Within this monastery precincts, Mahāsena also built the Jetavana *stūpa*, which is the largest monument of its kind in Ceylon.[160] " This recipient of royal favour is described in the Mahāvihāra records as a hypocrite, a plotter and lawless, while he is described by his followers as all that a *bhikkhu* should be. As if to confirm the opinion that the Mahāvihāra had of this Tissa's character, a grave charge, for which the punishment was expulsion from the Order, was brought against him.[161] The judge who inquired into this charge found Tissa guilty, though it was known to him that the king was anxious to have the accused exculpated. It is, however, not recorded that Tissa was in fact expelled from the Order. The Jetavana-vihāra continued to be an establishment indpendent of the Mahāvihāra, and became the headquarters of the latest of the three sects into which the Buddhist Church in Ceylon was divided up to the twelfth century."[162]

The rivalry between these three religious institutions was however a healthy one for at least two centuries after the death of Mahāsena,[163] and " the claims of each party for the authoritativeness of its own interpretation of the doctrine, so far as we can gather from the records available, did not lead to the perpetration of un-Buddhistic acts in the name of Buddhism,"[163] though however the same cannot be said of the succeeding period.[164]

It may be observed that the *bhikkhus* of the Jetavana-vihāra also professed Mahāyanic teachings, like *theras* of the Abhayagiri-vihāra. Their achievements are mentioned as being through questionable means by the *bhikkhus* of the Mahā-vihāra,[165] which indicate that they were a powerful rival to the Mahāvihāra like the Abhayagiri-vihāra. The Jetavana-vihāra too, continued to hand on the religious and educational traditions of the country to those who came within its compass.

Although the above three *vihāras* were the three main institutions in Anurādhapura during the early period, it may not be out of place to mention also the *vihāra* named Dakkhiṇagiri-vihāra,[166] the monastery buitl by Saddhātissa.[167] This institution also seems to have acquired much fame since it is included in the list of institutions under the name of four *nikāyas*. These four main institutions and many more

minor ones scattered throughout the Anurādhapura kingodm provided a religious training and a textual education to those who came within their walls. These of course were mainly *bhikkhus* leading a religious life.

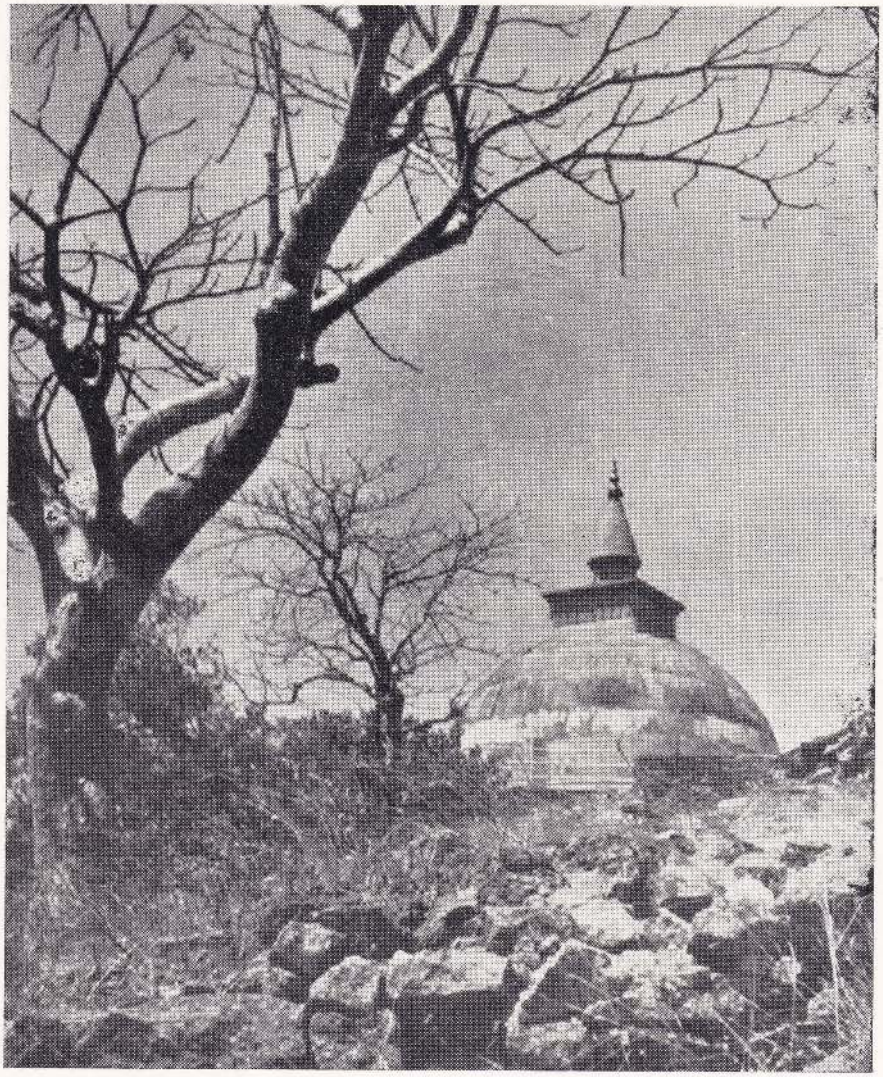
It has been observed earlier that there were various settlements scattered here and there in early Ceylon.[168] While the Anurādhapura region was the mostly populated region there were other settlements in places like Rohaṇa and Kalyāṇi. It is surmised that these settlers too came from the mainland of India, and as such the educational centres which arose at these centres were similar to the ones in the Anurādhagāma region. The Rohaṇa region was situated on the southern part of Ceylon beyond the Mahaväli-gaṅga and " comprised all the area to the east of the Mahaväli Gaṅga, together with lower Uva and the Hambantoṭa, Mātara and Galle districts, and its capital was at Mahāgāma (present Tissamahārāma)."[169]

The Tissamahārāma-vihāra was the most famous of the religious and educational centres of the Rohaṇa country during early times. Tradition has it that this *vihāra* was built by Kākavṇṇa-Tissa,[170] while Devānampiyatissa is also credited with having built a *vihāra* named Tissamaha-vihāra.[171] This institution functioned in the same important capacity in the Rohaṇa country, as the Mahāvihāra in the Anurādhapura kingdom. It grew in importance and popularity in the course of time. By the ninth and tenth centuries it contained altogether no less than 363 *pariveṇas*.[172] According to Fā Hieun we observe he computes there were altogether 10,000 *bhikkhus* at the three monasteries at Anurādhapura, namely Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and Mihintale, and that there were altogether 60,000 *bhikkhus* in the whole country.[173] Even if we are to consider these figures as somewhat exaggerated, and considering the fact that Tissamahārāma held a similar place of importance to the chief religious institutions of the Anurādhapura kingdom we might not be far wrong in surmising that in early times Tissamahārāma too would have contained at least a few hundreds of *bhikkhus* within its precincts. So did the other monasteries in the region.[174]

During the Tiya famine it is mentioned that many *bhikkhus* went to the Malaya district and the Rohaṇa kingdom in order to excape the severe famine.[175] It is mentioned in the commentary to the *Vibhanga*, that thousands of *bhikkhus* belonging to the Tissamahārāma and Cittalapabbata met with their death, unable to obtain food during the famine.[176] There is another reference in the *Vibhanga* which mentions that the Tissamahārāma-vihāra and the Cittalapabbata-vihāra, each contained barns of paddy sufficient to feed 12,000 *bhikkhus* for three years.[177]

Another famous and important monastic centre in the Rohaṇa district was the Cittalapabbata-vihāra, which is said to have been built by Kākavaṇṇatissa.[178] Vasabha is credited to have built ten *thūpas* here.[179] This monastery is found mentioned in many a Pālī work.[180] Along with the Tissamahārāma-vihāra this institution was not only a source of religious and educational inspiration for the *bhikkhus* residing in Rohaṇa, but was also highly regarded by the *theras* of the Anurādhapura region.[181]

The Kalyāṇi-vihāra in the ancient kingdom of Kalyāṇi by the banks of the river of the same name, is yet another monastic establishment that catered to the educational and religious requirements of the people of Ceylon. The earliest ruler of the



Cittalapabbata *vihāra* in Rohaṇa

Tissamahārāma *thūpa* in Rohaṇa

Kalyāṇi region is considered to be Uttiya, the younger brother of Devānampiyatissa, from whom the ruling clan is said to have descended.[182] It is however observed that there was also a prince named Uttiya who belonged to the Kataragama dynasty.[183]

It appears that the Kataragama and Kalyāṇi kingdoms which were only eight miles apart, were at first rival kingdoms,[184] till they were reconciled by a marriage alliance between Kākavaṇṇatissa of Rohaṇa and Vihāramahadevi, the daughter of Kalyāṇitissa of Kālaṇiya.[185] Kākavaṇṇatissa's father Goṭhābhaya is said to have built a thousand *vihāras*, in order to expiate the sin of having killed ten brother kings of Kataragama.[186] From after Kākavaṇṇatissa's time we hear no more of Kalyāṇi as a separate kingdom in the South.[187] The Kalyāṇi kingdom appears to have had a very remote origin. The Buddha is considered to have visited this place in the eighth year of his enlightenment, in the company of five hundred *bhikkhus*.[188] The kingdom of Kalyāṇi is associated with Tissa of Kalyāṇi and his daughter Vihāramahādevi.[189] The Kalyāṇi-vihāra, the chief *vihāra* in the Kalyāṇi kingdom is associated with the name of *thera* Kalyāṇi under whom the *uparāja* called Uttiya received his education.[190] It may be surmised that the *vihāra* would also have had many other *vihāras* affliated to it where, especially Buddhist *bhikkhus* received their religious and educational instructions.

It would be appropriate here to observe the various monastic institutions of the Island found mentioned in the inscriptions belonging to the period under review. The first of these is Pilipavata-vihara near Dimbulāgala in the Tamankaduwa district to which king Bhātika Abhaya dedicated a canal.[191] The next in point of time is the Ekadoraya[192] or Ekadorika[193] *vihāra* in the North Central Province to which king Saba and later Gajabāhu I, granted two tanks, one, the name of which is not mentioned, and the other the Upaladoṇika tank. We observe next a *vihāra* at Badakara-atana, the modern Vallipuraṁ, being established by a person called Piyaguka Tisa in the reign of king Vasabha.[194] From the Thūpārāma Slab Inscription [195] we observe Gajabāhu I granting certain incomes derived from the Gonagiri-utaviya[196] to a monastery named Ratana-araba.[197] Gajabāhu I granted also the Vaḍamanaka tank to the monastery called Tubaraba (Thūpārāma).[198] King Mahallaka-Nāga is credited with having benefacted four monastic institutions. Uvaraja-Naka who is identified with Mahallaka-Nāga[199] is represented as having donated a channel named Ulibilika and some fields to Ulibilika-Naka-Mahavihara.[200] He is further represented as having offered gruel, boiled rice and undergarments to twenty monks at three monasteries, namely Viharabijaka, Mutigutika and Paripavataka.[201] We observe that Mahallaka-Nāga's son Kaniṭṭhatissa "granted the income derived from certain tanks and 'anicuts' for the maintenance of the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra and for expenses connected with the repairs of its buildings, the 'Great Refection', and the supply of oil and offerings."[202] Five Great Monastic Residences[203] and the Abhayagiri-vihāra are also mentioned in the Jetavanārāma inscription of Mahāsena.[204] In another inscription we observe the granting of the gift of a tank to the Gagapavata monastery at Timbirivāva in Anurādhapura District by a lady named Anuḷabi in the reign of Goṭhābhaya, the predecessor of Mahāsena.[205]

It may thus be surmised that while the chief institutions observed above imparted religious and educational instruction to those who came within their walls, especially the *bhikkhus*, there were thousands of other institutions, small and large which performed similar services within their limited compass. It is also possible, like in the case of the *uparāja* of the Kalyāṇi kingdom, who received his education at the hands of the chief *thera* of the Kalyāṇi *vihāra*, that some laymen too received their education in these institutions.

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128. ' I.e. cell of the thera's support.'
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173. Legge, op. cit., p. 104 ; Giles, op. cit., p. 70
174. Rsv., p. 106 ; VbhA., PTS., p. 445
175. EHBC., pp. 74–75 ; AA. (SHB.), p. 52 ; about the famine, see also, VbhA., PTS., p. 445 ff.
176. VbhA., PTS., p. 445
177. Ibid., p. 445 ; HBC., p. 151
178. Mhv., Chap. xxii, v. 23
179. Ibid., xxxv, v. 81 ; Dpv., xxi, v. 1
180. VbhA., PTS., p. 489 ; AA. (SHB.), pp. 26, 386 ; DA., ii, p. 478 ; Rsv., pp. 151, 264
181. DPPN., Vol. i, pp. 871–872 ; DA., ii, p. 478 ; Mhv., Chap. xxi, v. 23 ; xxxv, v. 81
182. DPPN., Vol. i, p. 166 ; see also, Mhv., xxii, 13 ff., Mvṭ., ii, p. 430 ff.
183. UCH., Ibid., p. 147
184. Ibid., p. 145 ff.
185. Ibid., p. 147
186. Ibid., p. 146 ; Dhv., pp. 23–24
187. Ibid., p. 149
188. Mhv., Chap. i, vv. 72-75 ; Dpv., Chap. ii, vv. 42, 51–53
189. Mhv., Chap. xxii, v. 12 ff.
190. Rsv., p. 161 ; Sdhl., p. 463
191. See, EZ., iii, p. 154
192. Ibid., p. 162
193. Ibid., p. 165 ff.
194. For details, see, EZ., iv, pp. 229–237
195. See, EZ., iii, pp. 114–119
196. For remarks on this term, see, EZ., iii, pp. 116–117
197. For comments, see, EZ., iii, p. 118
198. EZ., i, pp. 208–211
199. See, EZ., iv, pp. 214–217
200. Ibid., pp. 211–217
201. Ibid., i, pp. 61–62
202. Ibid., p. 253 ; see also, pp. 252–259
203. See, Supra, p. 119
204. See, EZ., Vol. iv, pp. 281–285
205. Ibid., pp. 227–228

CHAPTER 8

SCHOLARS AND TEACHERS

Reference has already been made to the fact that the social, political, religious, cultural and educational traditions of the island of Ceylon have to be traced to the subcontinent of India, from where the earliest inhabitants of the Island are believed to have come.[1] The institution of teachers too would have been similar to the pattern that prevailed in India. There was in India in earliest times the Vedic *ṛshi* and the religious mendicant who devoted their life to the study of the sacred books. They in turn gradually became the teachers of their times, to whom flocked many a student in search of learning. As in the earliest form of society it would be perhaps safe for us to surmise that the parents were the first educators in the earliest Ceylon society as well. "The mothers teach young children to speak and to walk, to eat and to dress: they were kindergarten mistresses long before Froebel invented the term. The fathers and the male relatives teach the boys how to fish, to hunt, to fight, and to care for domesticated animals: they are master craftsmen, the direct ancestors of our vocational teachers. And the priests or medicine-men initiate the young men into the tribal lore and culture: they are the precursors of our academic teachers in university and secondary school."[2] It had been observed earlier[3] that early settlers in Ceylon would have been however preoccupied with the building up of their settlements after they arrived in the Island. It is presumed that theirs was a village or *gāma* civilization. One of the chracteristics of the *gāma* was the village temple, which was situated on the outskirts of the village. From earliest times the *ṛshi* or the religious recluse lived normally away from the village but not too far as he had to depend on the village for his sustenance. This was due to the fact that he required both peace and solitude in order to engage in his religious observances. It may be observed here that when *thera* Mahinda was requested to rest for the night in the Nandana garden by the king, he refused to accede to his request saying that the garden was too close to the city.[4] But when the king said, "The Mahāmegha-park is neither too far nor too near; pleasant (is it), and water and shade abound there ; may it please you to rest there! ",[5] the *thera* agreed to occupy it for the night because of its suitability for recluses. This incident too indicates the fact that the religious recluses usually kept away from the village, at the same time drawing their sustenance from it. Thus although it may be surmised that in early Ceylon the home or the parents maintained their educative functions during a child's early upbringing, they nevertheless would have looked up to the village temple or the resident recluse, who had both the learning and the leisure to fulfil more satisfactorily the duty of teaching. Thus it may be said that the early teachers of Ceylon were the religious recluses who dwelt in the temples in the outskirts of the *gāma* dwellings.[6] It has been observed earlier that prior to the advent of Mahinda and his companions there lived in Ceylon recluses who were adherents of various religious sects,[7] who would have considered it their religious duty to impart an education to those who came to them in search of it. No precise information of these early teachers in Ceylon can be given due to the lack of any specific information.

Coming to the time of Vijaya, it is possible that at first Upatissa, Vijaya's chaplain would have functioned not only as the royal chaplain, but perhaps also as a teacher, since one of the duties of a Brāhman was also to teach the Vedas.[8]

We observe that at the age of sixteen Paṇḍukābhaya was sent for the purpose of study, to a Brāhman named Paṇḍula, 'a rich man and learned in the vedas,'[9] who lived in the south of Anurādhapura in the village named Paṇḍulagāma. It is mentioned that both Paṇḍukābhaya as well as the Brāhman's own son Canda learnt from Paṇḍula.[10] It has already been observed that Paṇḍula was learned in the Vedas. He seems to have also mastered the art of soothsaying, for as soon as he met Paṇḍukābhaya he is said to have predicted his future greatness by saying, 'Thou wilt be king, and full seventy years wilt thou rule.'[11] It is possible that Paṇḍula was a very outstanding teacher of his time, in that a potential future ruler of the country was sent to him for instruction. Not only did Paṇḍula teach Canda and Paṇḍukābhaya, but he also advised the young prince in the choice of his future queen, and giving him a hundred thousand pieces of money with which to raise an army, he requested him also to take his son Canda as his chaplain.[12] It is however observed that Paṇḍula was at first paid a thousand by Paṇḍukābhaya as fees for his instruction.[13] Though it is not specifically mentioned in our sources, it may perhaps be relevant for us to consider that Canda and Paṇḍukābhaya were not the only pupils who received instructions at the hands of Paṇḍula during the time. We could also attest to the fact that Paṇḍula was both learned, rich and powerful, apart from holding a position of esteem in the country.[14]

The well-known *niganṭhas*, Jotiya, Giri and Kumbhaṇḍa may also have been reputed teachers of the time. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Paṇḍukābhaya is said to have built residences for them. " Northward from thence, as far as the Gāmaṇi-tank,[15] a hermitage was made for many ascetics; eastward of that same cemetery the ruler built a house for the niganṭha[16] Jotiya. In that same region dwelt the niganṭha named Giri and many ascetics of various heretical sects. And there the lord of the land built also a chapel for the niganṭha Kumbhaṇḍa; it was named after him. Toward the west from thence and eastward of the street of the huntsmen lived five hundred families of heretical beliefs. On the further side of Jotiya's house and on this side of the Gāmaṇi-tank he likewise built a monastery for wandering mendicant monks, and a dwelling for the ājīvakas and a residence for the brahmans, ..."[17] It may be assumed that all these three *niganṭhas* Giri, Jotiya and Kumbhaṇḍa were not only learned, to warrant the king to have honoured them with building monasteries for them, but were also responsible for teaching their adherents who were residents in the country. The reference in the *Mahāvaṃsa-Ṭīkā* to the three nephews of Khallāṭa Nāga who after their unsuccessful attempt on the life of the king, committed suicide by jumping into a fire at the monastery of Giri,[18] indicates that these princes would have come under the influence of the teaching of Giri during their lifetime. " The manner of their death suggests that these princes had leanings towards the Jaina faith, and we may even suspect that their plot was encouraged by partisans of Jainism in Ceylon."[19] Though not much information is given of Jotiya and Kumbhaṇḍa regarding their activities, it may perhaps be safe to assume

that, while they may be considered as being of less importance than Giri, they were also recognised leaders and teachers of their religious creed. Apart from these Jaina ascetics, we have already observed the presence in early Ceylon of other religious mendicants such as *brāhmaṇas*, *ājīvakas*, *paribbājakas*, *tāpasas*, *pabbajitas*, *pāsāṇḍas* and also *samaṇas*.[20] Though most of these are not mentioned by any specific personal names, it would perhaps be satisfactory for us to consider that these various religious recluses may have very probably functioned also as early teachers of Ceylon. They would have carried on the tradition accepted in India during the time, that of their duty not only to practise their religious observances but also to teach the religious doctrine to those who came to them for such a purpose.

We now come to more certain times with the reign of Devānampiyatissa. There is unanimous tradition that Mahinda and his companions brought the message of the Buddha to Ceylon during the time of Devānampiyatissa.[21] At the conclusion of the Third Buddhist Council held at Pāṭaliputta under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa it was decided to send missionaries to various countries. The leading *theras* of the time headed these missions. Thus, Majjhantika went as the head of the mission to Kashmīr and Gandhāra, Mahādeva to Mahisamaṇḍala, Rakkhita to the Vanavāsi country, Mahārakkhita to the Yona kingdom, Yona Dhammarakkhita to Aparāntaka, Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha, Majjhima to the Himālayan region, Sona and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, and Mahinda to Laṅkā.[22] The historicity of both Moggaliputta Tissa and Mahinda have been proved beyond doubt. In a *stūpa* at Sāñchi there has been discovered an inscribed casket containing the relics of the *thera* Moggaliputta Tissa.[23] He is considered identical with Upagupta of the Northern Buddhist tradition.[24] The historicity of Mahinda has been proved from a Brāhmī rock inscription of 200 B.C. at an ancient site named Rājagala or Rāssahela in the Vävugam Pattu of the Batticaloa district. The inscription indicates that it locates the *stūpa* of two elders named Iṭṭhiya and Mahinda who came to the island of Laṅkā. Paranavitāna who has edited this short inscription has identified the two names in the text 'Idika tera' and 'Mahida tera' as Iṭṭhiya and Mahinda who came as missionaries to Ceylon during the time of Devānampiyatissa.[25] "The record thus is of the utmost importance as evidence of the historicity of Mahinda-thera, and his companion Iṭṭhiya-thera. It establishes also that the account given in the chronicles of the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon is based on a genuine historical tradition in its essentials."[26]

Mahinda who brought to Ceylon the message of the Buddha [27] may rightly be considered as the first real historical teacher of the Island. He was the son of Aśoka by his Vaiśya wife, Devī of Vidisā.[28] According to *Mahāvaṃsa* it is observed that Mahinda entered the Order at the age of twenty, six years after the coronation of Aśoka.[29] According to this we could surmise that Mahinda was fourteen years of age when Aśoka was crowned and ten years when the struggle for the succession to the throne of Bindusāra started. It was Moggaliputta Tissa who ordained Mahinda. Moggaliputta Tissa's line of descent is traced to Upāli, the chief of the Vinaya in the following manner : Moggaliputta Tissa, Siggava, Soṇaka, Dāsaka and Upāli.[30] This whole line of *theras* beginning with Upāli and ending with Moggaliputta Tissa consists of *Vinayapāmokkhas* each in his own time. Moggaliputta Tissa,

" is Chief of the Vinaya for sixty-eight years after Siggava and dies eighty years after ordination, twenty-six years after Asoka's abhiseka."[31] This *ācariyaparamparā* and the respective dates of the different *theras* have been worked out by Geiger in the introduction to his *Mahāvaṃsa* translation.[32] After his ordination which was done by Moggaliputta Tissa, assisted by *theras* Mahādeva and Majjhanta[33] Mahinda learnt all the doctrine and the necessary religious practices at the feet of his teacher Moggaliputta Tissa.[34] It has already been observed that during the time of Aśoka, Moggaliputta Tissa was not only the leader of the Buddhist Order, but was also the chief of the *Vinayadharas*.[35] It is mentioned that at one stage Moggaliputta Tissa being mindful of solitary retreat left Pāṭaliputta and gave himself up to a life of solitude far away from the rest of the fraternity.[36] It should be observed that before doing so, Moggaliputta Tissa entrusted the honour of being the head of the Buddhist Order to *thera* Mahinda, which position he seems to have held for at least seven years during the solitary retreat of his teacher.[37] It is also interesting to observe that Mahinda held the position of the chief of the Vinaya next to his own teacher before he came over to Ceylon.[38] It should thus be observed that Mahinda held a position of pre-eminence among the *theras* in India. He was a son of the great emperor Aśoka himself, he was the *Vinayapāmokkha* next to his teacher, he was also the chief of the orthodox Buddhist fraternity in India during the retirement of his teacher, ' further up the Ganges on the Ahogaṅga-mountain.[39] At the end of seven years of retirement, Moggaliputta Tissa came to Pāṭaliputta at the behest of Aśoka, and finally held the Third Buddhist Council wherein a thousand *theras* presided over by Moggaliputta Tissa himself participated.[40] " Out of the great number of the brotherhood of bhikkhus the thera chose a thousand learned bhikkhus, endowed with the six supernormal powers, knowing the three piṭakas and versed in the special sciences, to make a compilation of the true doctrine. Together with them did he, in the Asokārāma, make a compilation of the true dhamma. Even as the thera Mahākassapa and the thera Yasa had held a council so did the thera Tissa. In the midst of this council the thera Tissa set forth the Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa,[41] refuting the other doctrines. Thus was this council under the protection of king Asoka ended by the thousand bhikkhus in nine months."[42] The main purpose of the council was to revise and rehearse the existing canonical literature. Nevertheless as Moggaliputta Tissa " was in favour of giving a touch of modernity to the canon by incorporating in it such important sermons as were delivered, or ecstatic verses as were composed by the distinguished Buddhist monks who were his contemporaries, or had shortly predeceased him, many new sections were added, besides an entire work, viz, *Kathāvatthu*, which was his own composition."[43]

It may be noted here that Mahinda held a place of eminence among the *sangha* of the time second only to that of his teacher Moggaliputta Tissa. We have also mentioned the fact that the Third Council consisted of a thousand *theras*. It is thus obvious that Mahinda was also a member of the Third Buddhist Council, and as such he was aware of all the deliberations and the final redaction of the Canon that took shape at the end of the Council. It was as a result of a decision made at this Council that Mahinda finally came over to Ceylon. Thus as regards his learning, piety, position and experience we find Mahinda eminently suited to the

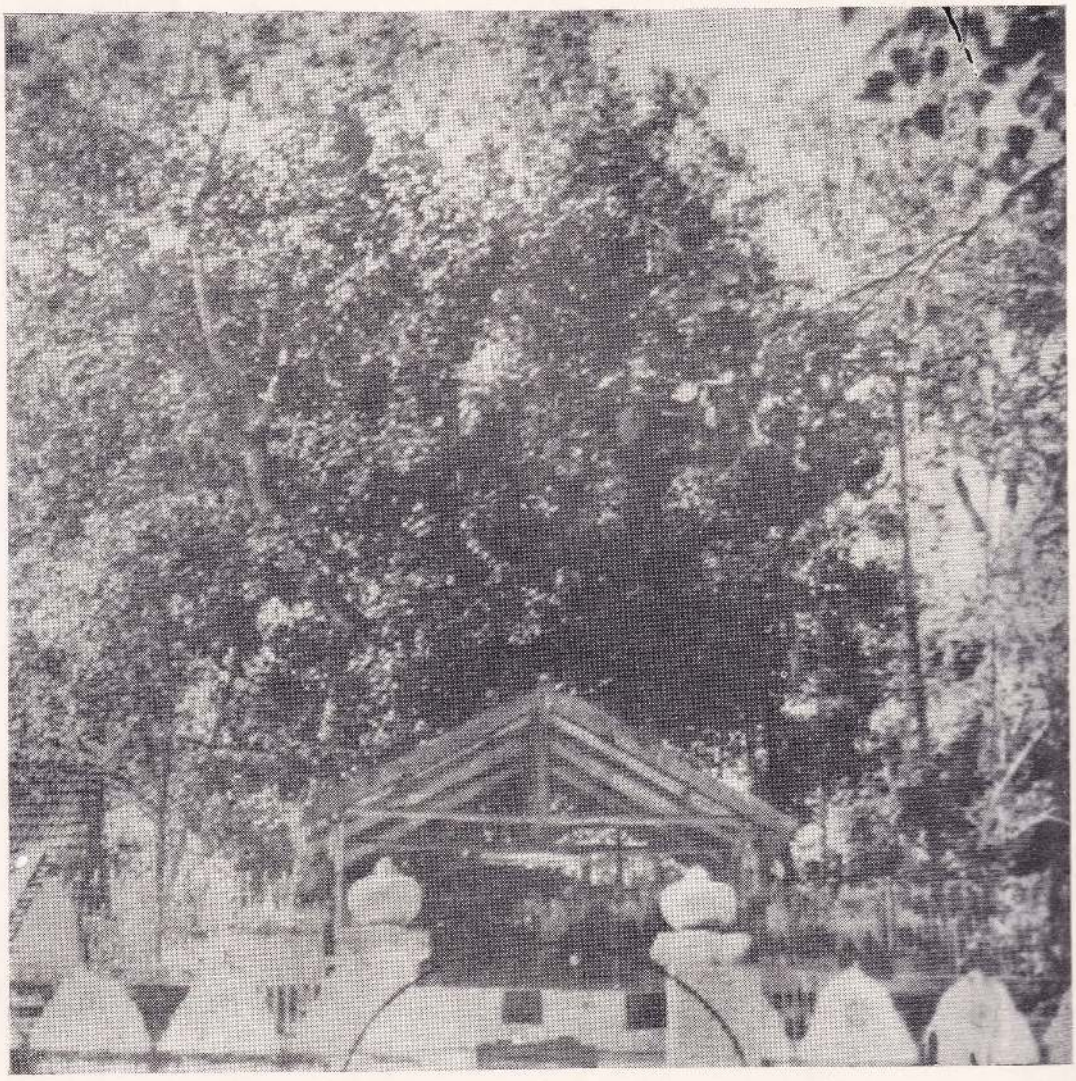
task he was selected to perform by heading the religious mission sent to Ceylon, whose king Devānampiyatissa was said to have been a personal friend of the Mauryan emperor, his father.

Mahinda arrived in Ceylon at the age of thirty-two, twelve years after his ordination, and three months after the second consecration of Devānampiyatissa.[44] He was accompanied by six others in the persons of Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Bhaddasāla Sambala, the novice Sumana and the lay-disciple Bhaṇḍuka.[45] We have already observed the historicity of both Mahinda and Iṭṭhiya.[46] We have also observed earlier that an inscription of about the first century A.D. found at Mihintale refer to the images of Mahinda and three of his companions.[47] Paranavitāna says that the damaged portion of the record would no doubt have contained the names of the other companions.[48] We thus observe that Mahinda and his companions are found mentioned not only in literary sources of a much later date, but also in epigraphical sources relatively not too far distant from their time. It is possible that like Mahinda, all his companions belonged to the group that specialised in the study of the Vinaya. In the Rājagala inscription observed earlier[49] we note that the name of Iṭṭhiya is mentioned before that of Mahinda, although we know that Mahinda was the chief and not Iṭṭhiya. Iṭṭhiya and the other four *theras*, along with Mahinda, are spoken of as being pupils of the same teacher—*samānupajjhāya*.[50] It is said that king Sirimeghavaṇṇa, the successor of Mahāsena had images of Mahinda, Iṭṭhiya and others made, and paid great hounour to them.[51] All the companions of Mahinda including the *sāmaṇera* Sumana and the lay-disciple Bhaṇḍuka, are all spoken of as possessing great *iddhi* power.[52] Sumana, the *sāmaṇera*, son of Sanghamittā, the sister of Mahinda, joined the Order when he was only seven years of age. Sumana possessed the sixfold *abhiññā* and also great *iddhi* power. He was entrusted by Mahinda with the task of obtaining relics for the *cetiya*, to be built by Devānampiyatissa, which he obtained from Aśoka, and from Sakka, the king of the gods.[53] Bhaṇḍuka was a son of the sister of Devī, the mother of Mahinda. He was an *anāgāmi* when he accompanied Mahinda to Ceylon. He was ordained in Ceylon by Mahinda on the day of their arrival in the Island,[54] which ordination should be considered as the first *pabbajjā* that took place in the soil of Laṅkā, at Ambatthala. Bhaṇḍuka attained arhantship immediately after his *pabbajjā* and *upasampadā*. He studied the doctrine at the feet of Mahinda before the party left for Ceylon.

Mahinda met the king of Laṅkā, Devānampiyatissa at the Missaka mountain where the latter had gone on a hunting expedition. After the exchange of the preliminary introductory conversation, Mahinda preached the *Cūlahatthipadopama sutta* to the king and converted him to the Buddhist faith.[55] " The sutta gives a clear idea of the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, and describes how one is converted to Buddhism and becomes a bhikkhu. It also describes in detail the simple and holy life of a bhikkhu, the sublime qualities he practises and possesses, the things from which he abstains, the various stages of development of his life and his attainment of arhantship which is the final fruit of Buddhism. The sutta contains also almost all the principal teachings of the Buddha, such as the Four Noble Truths. Apart from a general knowledge of Buddhism, it was necessa y o Mahinda to convey to his

host, who knew nothing about Buddhist practices, an idea of the Sangha and their mode of life, so that the king might learn how to treat his new guests. At the end of the sermon Devānampiya Tissa and his retinue expressed their willingness to embrace the new faith."[56] On the following day Mahinda preached the Petavatthu, Vimānavatthu and the Sacca-saṃyutta, dealing with the Four Noble Truths.[57] Later, in the elephant stall he preached the Devadūta–sutta to the people who had assembled to hear him.[58] This deals with the results of good and bad action. The same evening the Bālapaṇḍita–sutta was preached in the Nandana garden.[59] Other *suttas* were delivered in due course by the *thera*. They are the Aggikkhandhopamā,[60] Āsīvisūpamā,[61] Anamataggiya,[62] Cariyāpiṭaka,[63] Khajjanīya-sutta,[64] Gomayapiṇḍī-sutta,[65] Dhammacakkappavattana,[66] and the Mahappamāda-sutta.[67] The *thera* and his companions, now all recluses, lived for twenty-six days in all at the Mahāmegha grove in Anurādhapura.[68] These days had been very busy days for the group. Though Mahinda was the key figure in the group of seven, the others too would have been kept busy with their religious observances, and meeting the king, his courtiers and the common folk of the new country to which they had come. Apart from the sermons delivered throughout by Mahinda, the group would also have given religious and other instructions to those who would have come to see them constantly. Thus the Mahāmegha grove where Mahinda and his six companions took up residence during the early part of their stay in the Island would have been a hub of great activity during this period.

It is observed that for the first twenty-six days of the *thera* Mahinda's arrival in Ceylon, the community of *theras* numbered only seven including Mahinda. At the expiry of the twenty-six days which were spent at the Mahāmegha park, Mahinda and his companions retired to the Cetiyagiri at Mihintale. When the king went to see them Mahinda preached the Vassūpanāyikakkhandhaka[69] to him. It was as a result of this sermon that the first Sinhalese layman, the king's nephew, the chief minister Mahāriṭṭha,[70] who himself listened to the *thera's* discourse, entered the Buddhist Order of *bhikkhus*. Along with him fifty-five other elder and younger brothers of his are said to have received *pabbajjā* at the hands of the *thera* Mahinda.[71] All these Ceylonese recluses who entered the Order at the Missaka-pabbata soon received their *upasampadā*.[72] Thus for the *vassa* ceremony there were altogether sixty-three *theras* at the Missaka-pabbata including the leader of the community, *thera* Mahinda.[73] All these *theras* lived in the caves at Mihintale constructed for their use by Devānampiyatissa. Once Ariṭṭha and his companions entered the Order they would have acted most easily as a link between the Indian *theras* and the local Ceylonese population, including the king and his ministers. As has already been observed, during the *vassa* season the local Ceylon *theras* would have been instructed in the Buddhist doctrine as well as in the daily life of a monk, by Mahinda and his companions. At the end of the *vassa* season on the occasion of the enshrinement of the relics at the Thūpārāma *dāgoba*, Mattābhaya, the king's younger brother received *pabbajjā* along with a thousand of his followers.[74] According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, altogether thirty thousand people, both from within the city as well as without, are said to have entrered the Order on that day.[75] " And from Cetāvigāma and



Sacred *Bodhi* tree, Anurādhapura
(brought to Ceylon from India by *theri* Sanghamittā)
(3rd C. B. C.)

also from Dvāramaṇḍala and also from Vihārabīja, even as from Gallakapiṭha and from Upatissagāma, from each of these there received gladly the pabbajjā five hundred young men in whom faith in the Tathāgata had been awakened.

" So all these who, (coming) from within the city and without (the city), had received the pabbajjā of the Conqueror's doctrine now numbered thirty thousand bhikkhus."[76]

After the arrival in Ceylon of the *therī* Sangahamittā with the Bodhi tree, it is said that Ariṭṭha who went to Aśoka in order to bring the *therī* at the behest of Mahinda, so that she could confer *pabbajjā* on Anulā, sister-in-law of Devānampiyatissa, entered the Order with a retinue of five hundred, and finally attained arhantship.[77] The *Mahāvaṃsa* mentions that Devānampiyatissa built *vihāras* in Laṅkā a *yojana* apart.[78] There is no doubt the numerous *theras* who are said to have entered the Order gradually took up residence in these places, which would naturally have developed into centres of learning where the senior *theras* acted as the teachers. Of these mention may be made of Vessagiri and Issarasamaṇa *vihāras* where dwelt five hundred *vaiśyas* and five hundred nobles respectively.[79] Anulā, the consort of the king's brother, after having obtained *pabbajjā* along with a thousand other women[80] lived at the *upāsikārāma*, where *therī* Sanghamittā too took up her residence. Later she moved on to a *vihāra* named Hatthāḷhaka-vihāra. Once Sanghamittā and her companions[81] arrived in Ceylon, and conferred *pabbajjā* on a thousand women of Laṅkā, it is no doubt that the womenfolk of Laṅkā found a ready source in that company of *therīs* to receive their religious and moral instruction and training. In fact it is mentioned that Sanghamittā left the Upāsikāvihāra where she first took up residence because it was too crowded and because she ' longed for a quiet dwelling-place.'[82] This indicates that she would have had quite a strenuous time in her task of disseminating the Dhamma among the women of Laṅkā. However, Sanghamittā and her companions, and the women of Laṅkā who entered the Order under her leadership would have devoted much of their time and attention to the religious welfare, especially of the womenfolk of the Island. This has in fact been the custom even from the time of the Buddha. " After the women were admitted to the Order they did not lag far behind the men in preaching, but rendered much valuable service in this respect. They went into the women's parts of the houses, and also gave public discourses in the open."[83] It may be surmised that this pattern prevailed in Ceylon too with the institution of the *bhikkhunīsāsana*, and that Sanghamittā who is spoken of as ripe in experience,[84] much-heard,[85] possessed of extreme supernatural powers,[86] and great wisdom,[87] ' fulfilled the duties of the doctrine '[88] and ' brought much blessing to the people.'[88] Although the names of the *bhikkhunīs* who came to Ceylon along with the *therī* Sanghamittā are not mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Dīpavaṃsa* at two places gives a list of their names, in one eight and in the other ten names. In the first list[89] the names are: Uttarā, Hemā, Māsagallā, Aggimittā, Tappā, Pabbatacchinnā, Mallā, and Dhammadāsikā, whilst the other list[90] contains the following names: Uttarā, Hemā, Masāragallā, Aggimittā, Dāsikā, Pheggu, Pabbatā, Mattā, Mallā and Dhammadāsī. It is quite obvious that some of the names are identical and that there appears to have been some confusion in the list handed down. In the first account all the *bhikkhunīs* listed are mentioned as being of pure mental demeanour, attracted towards the Dhamma

and Vinaya, destroyed the four *āsavas*, reached the five kinds of 'mastery,'* possessed of the three *vijjās*, psychic power and reached the fruits of arhantship.[91] In the other list, only Uttarā is singled out for special mention. She is spoken of as being greatly intellectual.[92] This account goes to mention that these *therīs* taught the five texts of the Vinaya and the seven texts of the Abhidhamma. Another list of fourteen names of *bhikkhunīs*[93] is given, and they are described as being local *therīs*. It is mentioned that these, along with Uttarā with a following of twenty thousand *bhikkhunīs* taught the Vinaya-piṭaka, the five *nikāyas*, and the seven books of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka, at Anurādhapura.[94] Further lists of *bhikkhunīs*, both local and those who came from India are mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa*.[95] Among these, special mention may be made of the *therīs* who came from Rohaṇa. " According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* five well known bhikkhuṇīs Mahilā, Samantā, Girikālī, Dāsī, and Kālī came from Rohaṇa with a retinue of twenty thousand bhikkhuṇīs and taught the Vinaya at Anurādhapura. Among these Mahilā and Samantā were daughters of Kākavaṇṇatissa and, therefore sisters (or half-sisters) of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī ; Girikālī was the daughter of Kākavaṇṇa's *purohita* (chaplain), and the other two, though themselves self-restrained nuns, were daughters of a man of bad repute."[96] Mention may also be made of Kuṭakaṇṇatissa's mother who entered the Order of *bhikkhunīs*. The king, her son, is said to have built a nunnery for her, and this came to be known as Dantageha.[97] We also come across a *therī* named Sumanā *therī* who lived during the time of Dubbiṭṭhi Mahārāja (Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga)[98] and under whom a female devotee of the village of Mahākārakanda[99] entered the Order and finally attained arhantship when the two were going to participate in the *giribhaṇḍa-pūjā*[100] being held by Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga.[101] It is observed that these *bhikkhunīs* appear to have lived in Ceylon at various times after the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon. The *therīs* from the Rohaṇa district, mentioned in the accounts appearing in the *Dīpavaṃsa*[102] are said to have been greatly proficient in the Dhamma, and are mentioned as being especially expert in the Vinaya. During their time they are said to have taught the Dhamma and the Vinaya to the *bhikkhunīs* and the people of Ceylon. During the lifetime of the *thera* Mahinda and *therī* Sanghamittā, there grew up a large fraternity of *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs* with Mahinda and Sanghamittā as their leaders, and Ariṭṭha and Anulā as their local counterparts. All these *bhikkhus* and *bhikkhunīs* are said to have been greatly versed in the Dhamma and Vinaya, which they expounded to the others[103] both recluses and laymen.

Names of these *theras* mentioned in the chronicles and literary works may be observed as those of the leading *theras* of the times who devoted their time and energies to the pursuits of the religious life for themselves and to the dissemination of religious knowledge and education among the *bhikkhus* and the laymen of the times. Among these we come across a *thera* named Bhaddasāla for whom Mahāsiva built a *vihāra* called Nagaraṅgaṇa in the eastern quarter of the city of Anurādhapura.[104] We find a *thera* named Tissa being mentioned both in the *Sahassavatthu*[105] and *Rasavāhinī*.[106] He is spoken of as being resident in Tissamaha-vihāra. Reference is made to a *thera* named Mahātissa who was well-versed in the three *piṭakas*. Once when Kākavaṇṇatissa of Rohaṇa visited him at his monastery, he delivered a discourse of

* See, Shwe, Zan Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, PTS., pp. 58–59 ; Ñāṇatiloka, Ven., *Buddhist Dictionary*, p. 162.

the Buddha-sīhanāda-sutta to him.[107] Mahādeva *thera* of the Malaya country is mentioned as having delivered a sermon to a couple of this region who visited him, and made them to accept the five precepts. It is said that they observed the precepts steadfastly for twenty years, and finally when they died they were born as Kākavaṇṇatissa and Vihāradevi.[108] A *thera* named Mahānāga[109] of Kontarakaṭṭhapabbatamahā-vihāra[110] is mentioned as being a contemporary of *thera* Mahātissa referred to above. Mention may be made regarding the *arhant thera* who was said to have been boiled in a cauldron of oil by king Tissa of the Kālaṇiya kingdom.[111] It is said that Tissa's brother Ayya-Uttika studied under this *thera* and his writing resembled that of the *thera*, which unfortunately caused the *thera's* persecution. A *thera* of the first century B. C. is mentioned in the Nā-ulpata cave inscription.[112] We also find reference to two *theras* who it is said lived during the time of Kākavaṇṇatissa. *Thera* Mahā-Dhammadinna of the Vālaṅkara-Tissa-pabbata who lived in a cave named Datta was once reciting the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna–sutta to which a blind reptile listened with devotion. He was killed by an iguana (*godha*) and is said to have been born in a certain family in Anurādhapura during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and became known as Tissa-amacca.[113] Dhammadinna's teacher was Godhiya-Mahātissa *thera*.[114] The second reference is to a *thera* named Cullapiṇḍapātika-Tissa of the Tissamahāvihāra who was offered a *dāna* by an *upāsaka* named Nakula, a resident of a certain village in Rohaṇa. As a result of the circumstances under which the *dāna* was offered, the *thera* partook of the meal only after attaining arhantship.[115]

Many references are given in the chronicles and literary works to *theras* who lived during the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Apart from the *theras* who are said to have visited Laṅkā on the occasion of the laying of the foundation for the Mahāthūpa,[116] other senior and noteworthy *bhikkhus* of Laṅkā are mentioned in the books. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī himself is mentioned as being a *sāmaṇera* of the Koṭapabbata monastery in his previous life. He passed away at the Silāpassaya-pariveṇa at the Tissārāma and was born as Gāmaṇī, son of Kākavaṇṇatissa and Vihāradevi.[117] This *sāmaṇera* was "pious in his way of life, ... was ever busied with various works of merit." [118] In the account of the name-giving festival of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī to which it is said one thousand and eight *bhikkhus* came, the *thera* named Gotama who received the young child and administered the *tisaraṇa* and the five precepts, appear to have been the chief of that gathering of the *saṅgha*.[119] One of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's generals, Theraputtābhaya[120] lived as a *thera* both before he joined the king and after he left the army of the king.[121] He is spoken of as Theraputta-Abhaya because his father, a householder of Rohaṇa, living near Koṭapabbata at a place called Kattigāma[122] had become a *bhikkhu* under *thera* Mahāsumana[123] of Koṭapabbata. He had constantly attended on the *thera*, and one day as a result of his having listened to a Dhamma sermon of the *thera* he decided to join the Order of monks along with his son Abhaya.[124] Theraputta-Abhaya who, after Duṭṭhagāmaṇī established himself as sole ruler of Laṅkā, re-entered the Buddhist Order as a *bhikkhu* and attained arhantship in due course, was at the bed-side of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī at his passing away comforting him with timely advice at the final moment.[125] It is said that at the time the *thera* was living in Rohaṇa, and he came there miraculously at the wish of the dying king. " When the king did not see the thera Theraputtābhaya among them he thought : 'The great warrior, who fought

victoriously through twenty-eight great battles with me nor ever yielded his ground, the thera Therasutābhaya comes not now to help me, now that the death-struggle is begun, for methinks he (fore) sees my defeat.'

" When the thera, who dwelt by the source of the Karinda-river[126] on the Pañjali-mountain,[127] knew his thought he came with a company of five hundred (bhikkhus) who had overcome the āsavas, passing through the air by his miraculous power, and he stood among those who surrounded the king. When the king saw him he was glad at heart and he bade him be seated before him and said: ' Formerly I fought with you, the ten great warriors, by my side; now have I entered alone upon the battle with death, and the foe death I cannot conquer. '

" The thera answered : ' O great king, fear not, ruler of men. Without conquering the foe sin the foe death is unconquerable. All that has come into (this transitory) existence must necessarily perish also, perishable is all that exists ; thus did the Master teach.' " [128] Then the *thera* advised the king to reflect on the various meritorious deeds he had done during his life-time, so that thereby the king would be able to obtain for himself a desirable new birth after death. It was as a result of this suggestion that the king summoned his royal scribe to read out to him the *puñña-potthaka* which contained a list of the various deeds of merit the king had done.

Special mention is made of two gifts given by the king at a time of adversity. In the elaboration of these two instances we come across names of certain *theras* who were contemporaneous with the king. When Gāmaṇī was living in disguise as a result of fleeing from the father when the latter tried to arrest him because of an insult done to him by Gāmaṇī, he is said to have provided a *dāna* to five *theras*[129] by selling his two ear-rings. This was during the time of the Akkhakkhāyika famine.[130] These *theras* appear to be leaders of their groups at the time. Theraputtābhaya elaborates the first incident in the following manner giving names of the *theras* and how the *dāna* was partaken of by each group :

" When (the one) of those five theras the thera Malayamahādeva, who received the sour millet-gruel, had given thereof to nine hundred bhikkhus on the Sumanakūṭa-mountain he ate of it himself. But the thera Dhammagutta who could cause the earth to quake shared it with the bhikkhus in the Kalyāṇika-vihāra, (who were) five hundred in number, and then ate of it himself. The thera Dhammadinna,[131] dwelling in Talaṅga, gave to twelve thousand (bhikkhus) in Piyaṅgudīpa[132] and then ate of it. The thera Khuddatissa of wondrous power, who dwelt in Maṅgaṇa, divided it among sixty thousand (bhikkhus) in the Kelāsa (vihāra) and then ate of it himself. The thera Mahāvyaggha gave thereof to seven hundred (bhikkhus) in the Ukkanagara-vihāra and then ate of it himself. "[133]

The other incident speaks of an *arhant* from Piyaṅgudīpa who received alms from Gāmaṇī when the latter was fleeing after being defeated in battle by his brother Tissa at Cūlaṅgaṇiya. The *arhant* is said to have offered the food to *thera* Gotama,[134] probably his senior, and to five hundred *bhikkhus*.[135] Mention may be made of the *thera* named Godhagatta Tissa to whom Gāmaṇī's brother Tissa appealed in order to bring about a settlement between the two brothers, after Tissa was defeated in battle and finally put to flight. It was this very same *thera* who in the company of five

hundred other *bhikkhus* went to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī with Tissa and brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers.[136] The fact may also be observed that eight *theras* from Piyaṅgudīpa are said to have consoled the king, when Gāmaṇī was remorseful regarding the great slaughter of men that took place as a result of his war with the Tamils. These eight *arhant theras* are said to have been sent by the fraternity of *bhikkhus* living in Piyaṅgudīpa in order to assure the king that by killing the non-believers he had hardly committed any crime.[137]

Thera Indagutta appears to be not only one of the leading *theras* of the time, but he was also responsible for supervising and directing the construction of the Mahāthūpa.[138] When the king wanted to build the Mahāthūpa on a very large scale, one of the chief *theras* named Siddhattha prevented him doing so. Following the *thera's* instruction, Gāmaṇī marked out a moderate space for the *cetiya*.[139] On this occasion the *thera* named Piyadassi delivered a sermon at the end of the day's proceedings,[140] which was 'rich in blessing for the people.'[141] Two *sāmaṇeras* of great ability may be mentioned in connection with the Mahāthūpa. They are Uttara and Sumana who were entrusted with the task of bringing the stone slabs for the construction of the relic chamber.[142] The incident is narrated in connection with two women who worked for hire in the construction of the Mahāthūpa, and who were born in heaven as a result of their merit. They are said to have revisited the *cetiya* in the night and were observed by a *thera* named Mahāsiva of Bhātivaṅka.[143]

Thera Soṇuttara of Pūjāpariveṇa and 'gifted with six supernormal faculties'[144] was entrusted with the ardous task of bringing the relics for the Mahācetiya.[145]

Further Duṭṭhagāmaṇī caused regular *dhamma* sermons to be delivered in various *vihāras* in Ceylon and the preachers were duly offered gifts of various kinds.[146]

Five hundred *arhants* are mentioned as living in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī at a *pabbata* called Tulādhāra in the Rohaṇa district to whom prince Sāli offered *dāna*.[147] A certain *thera* of the Malaya district is mentioned as being responsible for causing Duṭṭhagāmaṇī come by the silver necessary for the construction of the Mahācetiya.[148] There appears to be however certain differences between this account and that found in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[149]

We observe that during the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, Phussadeva, one of the king's ten warriors, was taught the practice of archery by his father Uppala, a householder of the village of Kaviṭṭha,[150] near the Cittalapabbata *vihāra*.[151] This art has been handed down in the family, and Uppala took pains to teach the art to Phussadeva when he was only twelve years of age, with such dexterity that he mastered the art to such an extent that very soon he was acclaimed as an outstanding archer of his time. The *Mahāvaṃsa* has the following account of the ability of Phussadeva : " His father made him learn the archer's art handed down in the family, and he was one of those who hit their mark (guided) by sound, who hit by (the light of the) lightning, and who hit a hair. A waggon laden with sand and a hundred skins bound one upon another, a slab of asana or udumbara-wood eight or sixteen inches thick, or one of iron or copper two or four inches thick he shot through with the arrow; an arrow shot forth by him flew eight usabhas over the land but one usabha through the water."[152]

In a reference made to a barber named Tissa and his wife, of the village named Muṇḍavāka in Rohaṇa district we find eight great *theras* of the time mentioned.[153] At his death Tissa is represented as being born as Sāliya, son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. When Tissa got some pork from a *väddā* one day as payment for his labour, he prepared the pork and wished some *arhants* to visit him in order that he would be able to offer them a meal. The following day eight *arhants* are said to have visited his house. The *theras* mentioned are, Mahādhammadinna of the Talaṅgara *vihāra* in the Rohaṇa district, his teacher Godha *thera*, Mahāsaṅgharakkhita of the Mahāsamudda *vihāra*, Mahānāga of the Kālavelambaka *vihāra*, Mahāsaṅgharakkhita of the Uparikkhandha *vihāra*, Dhammagutta of the Velugāma *vihāra*, Mahānāga of the Bhātivaṅka *vihāra*, and Maliya-mahādeva[154] of the Kappalatā-pabbata-vihāra. These *theras* appear to be all *arhants* and would have been leaders of their respective *vihāras* where they were responsible for the spiritual and textual well-being of the *bhikkhus* of their respective dwellings. These *theras* may be considered as living in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, for they are represented as having received alms from Tissa, who in his very next birth was spoken of as being born as prince Sāliya.

We come across certain *theras* mentioned in both the *Sahassavatthu* and the *Sīhaḷavatthu*, as having lived during the time of Saddhātissa, brother of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. On a certain occasion when Saddhātissa requested the *theras* to tell him of any *bhikkhu* from whom he could get advice, the *theras* mentioned the name of a *thera* named Kuṇḍalatissa who was mentioned as residing at a place four *yojanas* distant from Anurādhapura.[155] This *thera* is said to have been king Aśoka during the time of Devānampiyatissa. The same account makes mention of a *thera* named Mahāvyaggha who is represented as instructing the *bhikkhus* in the Vinaya at the Lohapāsāda. He is spoken of as being a friend of Kuṇḍalatissa at the time he was born as Aśoka.[156] *Thera* Mahāvyaggha receieved alms at the hands of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[157] Reference is made to a *thera* named Tuvaṭakanāga who seems to have been greatly powerful during his time.[158] When king Saddhātissa wanted to hold a unique *pūjā* to the mahāthūpa, it is said that Māra wished to obstruct him. When the congregation of *bhikkhus* became aware of Māra's intentions, it is said that they appealed to *thera* Tuvaṭakanāga to defeat Māra's intentions, which he did. Kāla-Buddharakkhita *thera*, well-versed in the entire Tripiṭaka, who once preached a sermon based on the Kāḷakārāma Sutta pleased Saddhātissa (?) so much that he offered him the sovereignty of Ceylon.[159]

Mention may be made of a *thera* of the Cetiyagiri, who appropriating some rice belonging to the Saṅgha in order to cook rice for his father who had visited him, died the same night and was born as a *peta*.[160] He is spoken of as being both virtuous and learned,[161] and living during the time of Saddhātissa. A similar story is told of a thera named Saṅgha, who as a result of his having unwittingly caused two *theras* of Piyaṅgudīpa miss their *dāna* on a certain day, was born as a *peta*.[162] This *thera* who is mentioned in the story as having lived at a place called Pabbata-vihāra, appears to have been the chief *thera* of the *vihāra*, for it was he who instructed the men in the *vihāra* not to cook on that day. This *thera* is also spoken of as being both virtuous and learned.[163]

Mahānāga *thera* of the Setapabbata in the Rohaṇa district, who is mentioned as living in a cave in the rock accepted alms for twelve years from a family living in the village situated at the outskirts of the forest.[164] Though the *thera* is represented as living alone in the rock-cave, being frugal, virtuous and given up to meditation, it is possible that he followed the traditional practice of being the spiritual adviser and teacher of the village from where he obtained his sustenance. He is said to have lived during the time of Saddhātissa, and when he died, the king, along with his courtiers went to the Setapabbata and with the assistance of the *thera's* benefactors performed his obsequies.

We might also observe a *thera* named Piṇḍpātika-Tissa who lived at a place called Sudassana-padhāna-sālā during the time of Saddhātissa.[165] He was once provided with a *dāna* by the minister named Saddhātissa after having bought a packet of rice by paying eight *kahāpaṇas* to its owner. The circumstances under which the meal was offered to the *thera* prompted him to attain arhantship through compassion towards his benefactor.

Mention may also be made of *thera* Phussadeva of Kālakandara-vihāra,[166] who is spoken of as being the son of king Saddhātissa's sister.[167] According to the *Sahassavatthu*, Phussadeva who was a minister before he entered the Order went with his wife named Sumanādevī to a place named Giri where there was a *vihāra* called Hatthikucchi. Here he decided to enter the Order and was ordained by a *thera* named Mahādeva. From the context it appears that the *thera* Mahādeva was the chief of the Hatthikucchi *vihāra*, and he, apart from ordaining Phussadeva, was responsible for instructing him in the ways of a *bhikkhu*. Here it may be mentioned that Mahādeva *thera* of the Hatthikucchi-vihāra is another of these early teachers of Ceylon. Now Mahādeva *thera*, after having given higher ordination to Phussadeva *thera* instructed him to engage in meditation after going to a satisfactory place of residence suitable for meditative purposes. Phussadeva *thera*, on his wanderings finally arrived at a place called Kaṭakandara where the people of the place built him a *vihāra* on the banks of the Kaṭakandara river. He began his residence at the *vihāra*, and from thenceforth undertook the responsibility for the religious and moral education of the people of that village. Many beings of the village including men and animals are said to have been born in the *deva* world as a result of being well-disposed towards the *thera*. This finally resulted in Sakka, the king of the gods taking the *thera* to the *deva* world for the purpose of getting him to deliver a *dhamma* sermon to the *devas*. Phussadeva *thera* is said to have delivered an Abhidhamma sermon on this occasion.[168] According to the *Sīhaḷavatthu*, *thera* Phussadeva who is mentioned as being attached to a life of compassion, and devoted to religious practices, is represented as being the chief of five hundred *bhikkhus*, who were constantly advised by him.[169] He is spoken of as being 'greatly learned.'[169] When he was taken to the *deva* world by Sakka, *thera* Phussadeva is said to have recited from memory the Mahāvagga in the Saṃyutta-nikāya.[170] These incidents in the life of *thera* Phussadeva indicate that he was a reputed teacher of his time, apart from being a well-known preacher of the *dhamma*.

In connection with the story of Phussadeva *thera*, we come across another *thera* by the name of Sumana of Tambāya who had come with a following of five hundred *bhikkhus* to pay his respects to *thera* Phussadeva.[171] It seems possible that Sumana *thera* functioned not only as the leader, but also as the preceptor of these five hundred *bhikkhus*.

We next come across certain *theras* mentioned in the literature as having lived during the period in and around the Brāhmaṇa Tīya famine, who would have functioned as teachers and spiritual advisers to those who came in contact with them. First mention may be made of Mahānāga *thera* of Koṭapabbata[172] who was offered a *dāna* by Saṅgha-amacca of Mahāgāma after the *thera* had gone the entire village of Mahāgāma on his begging round without any success.[173] Another incident connected with the same Saṅgha-amacca is where he offered some oil to a *sāmaṇera* for the *sāmaṇera's* teacher at the Devagiri-vihāra.[174] Other *theras* connected with the story of Saṅgha-amacca are the forest-dwelling Dhammikatissa *thera* of the Cetiya-pabbata,[175] and Cūlanāga *thera* of Pidhānagalla.[176] *Thera* Tambasumana of the Brāhmaṇārāma-vihāra in the village of Mālā, who lived with a following of five hundred *bhikkhus*, became responsible for the provision of *dāna* to the *bhikkhus* throughout the period of the Tīya famine through a tree-god of the *vihāra* premises who promised to offer him *dāna* as a result of the good deed done by the *thera* in the previous birth.[177] We come across a *thera* who happened to be the only one in Ceylon during the Tīya famine who knew the Mahāniddesa. A *thera* named Mahā-rakkhita was prevailed upon by the other *theras* to learn this text from him so that it would not be lost at the former's death.[178] Mention may also be made of the *thera* Mahābhaya of the Pupphavāsa-vihāra[179] situated in the eastern direction from Anurā-dhapura.[180] He was ordained at the Pupphavāsa-vihāra and learned the Tripiṭaka texts from the *theras* of the *vihāra*. It is probable that the *thera* who was responsible for instructing him in the texts was perhaps the chief *thera* of the *vihāra*. However the account does not make any reference to the teacher from whom he learnt the texts, although we may surmise that it was probably the chief elder of the *vihāra*. *Thera* Mahābhaya who entered the Order as an elderly person is represented as having mastered the sacred texts, and it is possible that he in turn acted as the teacher to the residents of the *vihāra*. He also appears to have been the spiritual guide of the people of the village named Deva which was close to the *vihāra*, for during the Tīya famine the villagers are said to have approached the *thera* and requested him to come along with them to some other place in order to avoid the travails of the prevailing famine.

Coming to the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya we observe that *niganṭha* Giri who derided at the king when he was fleeing from the Tamil invaders would have been a reputed teacher of his time.[181] We have already observed that the three princes Tissa, Abhaya and Uttara who plotted against Khallāṭanāga escaped to the sanctuary of Giri.[182] It seems probable that Giri would have been both an adviser to, and a teacher of these princes[183] apart from others who would have visited him for similar purposes. Two *theras* of the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī who functioned as teachers are a *thera* named Mahātissa of Kupikkala[184] and the *thera* Tissa, chief of the Hambugallaka monastery.[185] *Thera* Tissa mentioned in the *Nikāyasangrahaya* seems no

other than *thera* Mahātissa of Kupikkala mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa.*[186] He helped Vaṭṭagāmaṇī to recover his lost kingdom and was rewarded by the king once he regained his kingdom with the gift of the newly-built *vihāra* Abhayagiri which was constructed at the place where the *niganṭha* Giri dwelt, after demolishing his residence. Tissa *thera* of Hambugallaka is spoken of as being learned and versed in the four *nikāyas.*[187] He was instrumental in reconciling the seven ministers of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī and the king. Mention may be made of Tissa of the Mahāvihāra, who with a following of five hundred monks left the Mahāvihāra and took up residence at the Abhayagiri-vihāra as a protest against the disciplinary order made by the *theras* of Mahāvihāra against his teacher Mahātissa.[188] We might also observe that the disciples of the teacher named Dhammaruci, who took up residence at the Abhayagiri-vihāra during the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī would also have functioned as teachers, for it is mentioned in the *Nikāyasangrahaya*, that as a result of their residence in Abhayagiri, the place very soon came to be known as Dhammaruci.[189] It is therefore no doubt that their doctrinal teaching had a great influence on the fraternity at the Abhayagiri *vihāra.* Tissabhūti *thera* of Maṇḍalārāma and living in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī is said to have been well versed in the Abhidhamma.[190] In this connection we ought also to observe *thera* Mahāsaṅgharakkhita of Malaya to whom Tissabhūti was sent to obtain *kammaṭṭhāna.*[191] Although no names are mentioned in any of our sources, we ought to observe that there were many a renowned teacher at Mahāvihāra during the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. Those *theras* of the Mahāvihāra who were responsible for the writing down of the Pāli scriptures during the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī[192] should also be considered as the leading scholars and teachers of the time. We also have to presume the existence of the wherewithal of writing material, such as *ola* leaves and styles at least from this period if not earlier. The earliest *aṭṭhakathās* kept in the monasteries, such as Mahāvihāra and Abhayagiri would also have been perhaps written down in *ola* manuscripts and preserved in these institutions.

Thera Mahāsumma, who was singled out by king Mahācūli-Mahātissa to offer a *dāna* with the wages he received for the labour he performed at the rice harvest should be considered as being both pious and learned, besides being a leading *thera* of the time. It is possible that he functioned as a teacher to other *bhikkhus* and was a spiritual adviser to the laity.

It is possible that at the Dantageha nunnery built for his mother by king Kuṭakaṇṇa-Tissa, there were *therīs* who functioned as teachers. The queen mother herself may have perhaps acted in this capacity in the course of time.[193] Tipiṭaka-Cūlanāga who lived during the time of Kuṭakaṇṇa-Tissa was a very famous commentator and a clever preacher of the *dhamma.* The king is said to have held him in great respect.[194] Three other *theras* should be considered in this connection ; Tipiṭaka Cūlābhaya, [195] a contemporary of his, Cūlasumma *thera*, an eminent commentator and teacher of Culanāga,[196] and Dhammarakkhita of Tulādhārapabbata in Rohaṇa to whom Cūlābhaya went to learn the *dhamma.*[197] Kuṭakaṇṇa-Tissa himself had been a *bhikkhu* before he assumed the sovereignty of the Island.

bhikkhus learned in the texts were provided with their requisites by king Bhātikābhaya. These *bhikkhus* would have naturally functioned as teachers during their

time. We find the case of a *thera* named Ābhidhammika Godatta of the Mahāvihāra who was considered a specialist in the field of Vinaya and Abhidhamma. King Bhātiya is said to have been greatly pleased with a certain judgment given by this *thera* in an ecclesiastical case.[198] We also find the instance of the brāhmin Dīghakārāyaṇa who was a great scholar during his time. It was he who was appointed by king Bhātiya to decide a certain doctrinal issue between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri *theras*.[199] Cūlābhaya-sumana, a resident of the Mahāvihāra and a contemporary of Bhātiya is said to have been an authority on the Vinaya.[200] During the time of Iḷa-Nāga we observe a *thera* named Mahāpaduma, a preacher of the *jātakas* and resident in a *vihāra* called Tulādhāra.[201] The king heard the Kapijātaka from the *thera* and " being won to faith in the Bodhisatta, restored the Nāgamahāvihāra and gave it the extension of a hundred unbent bows in length, and he enlarged the thūpa even to what it has been (since then); moreover, he made the Tissatank and the tank called Dūra."[202] We observe from our sources that *thera* Mahāpaduma was a reputed preacher of the time. It is equally pertinent for us to surmise that he would have had a number of resident *bhikkhus* under him and that he functioned as their teacher, and the spiritual adviser of the laity in the vicinity.

We observe from our sources that king Kaṇirajānu-Tissa was proficient in the religious law and learning to be able to deliver judgement in a case that arose between two groups of the Saṅgha.[203] "Some members of the *Saṁgha*, possibly as a result of the favourable treatment accorded to them by the previous rulers, had by this time become a law unto themselves, and this was brought home to Kaṇirajānu Tissa in a very unpleasant manner. A dispute arose among the community of *bhikkhus* at Mihintale, and the matter being referred to the king for decision, he went there, heard both sides to the dispute, and delivered his judgment in accordance with law and equity."[204]

King Vasabha is said to have built a *vihāra* called Mahā-valligotta for the *thera* of the Valliyera-*vihāra*.[205] The king also offered various requisites to the *theras* versed in the texts and to preachers.[206] The *thera* of the Valliyera-vihāra referred to appears to be the chief *thera* of the *vihāra*. Thus the *thera* of the Valliyera-vihāra and the other *theras* of distinction in regard to learning and preaching would have been the reputed teachers of the time of this king. Other *vihāras* such as Anurā-rāma in Māgama,[207] Mucela-vihāra in Tissavaḍḍhamānaka,[208] Kumbhigallaka-vihāra,[209] Issarasamaṇaka-vihāra,[210] and the Mahāvihāra[211] connected with the religious activities of Vasabha[212] must necessarily have been places of residence of religious scholars and teachers of the time of the king. In connection with the time of Vasabha, mention may also be made of *thera* Majibuka for whom gifts of water rates were given by the king beacuse the *thera* had looked after the dilapidated buildings at Patanagala.[213] The *thera* Majibuka would also have been a leading religious figure during the time. We come across a *thera* named Mahāpaduma, who seems to have been a scholar of repute since his opinions are found often quoted in the *Samantapāsādikā*.[214] This *thera* seems to have been skilled in medicine too. " Once, when Vasabha's queen was ill, a woman of the court was sent to Mahāpaduma for a remedy, he being evidently skilled in medicine. The Thera would not prescribe, but explained to his fellow-monks what should be done in the case of such an illness. The remedy was applied in the case of the queen and she recovered."[215] Another possible name that we could

recover is perhaps that of Piyaguka Tisa mentioned in the Vallipuram gold plate inscription in the reign of Vasabha.[216] The identity of the person is however not clear. Whether he lived in the time of Vasabha or Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, as is surmised by Paranavitāna, he too seems to have been an outstanding personality of the time. " Piyaguka Tisa indicates a person named Tissa who was a native of Piyaṅgu-(dīpa). If the alternative of taking this name as that of the *vihāra* be adopted, it follows that the monastery was named after a person called Piyaṅguka Tissa who need not necessarily have been contemporary with the inscription. A *thera* named Tissa who lived in Piyaṅgudīpa figures in the story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, as coming by air to receive alms from the king at a moment when the latter was in extreme adversity. It is clear from the narrative in the *Mahāvaṁsa* that Tissa of Piyaṅgudīpa was considered to have been a religious teacher of great spiritual attainments and a *vihāra* could conceivably have been named after him in later times."[217] We may also note that Gajabāhu's mother is spoken of as being learned.[218]

Thera Mahānāga of the Bhūtārāma is said to have so well pleased king Kaṇiṭṭhatissa that he built for him the Ratnapāsāda in the Abhayagiri.[219] Mahānāga, like in the case of the previous instances, may be considered as the chief *thera* of the *vihāra* referred to. Thus he was not only a leading figure in the Order of the time, but was also very probably a reputed teacher and scholar. A few other names of teachers and scholars of the second century A. D. which we could recover are Suma thera,[220] Ariṭe hamaṇa,[221] maha (ḷa) ka Asala,[222] Damarakita tera,[223] and Yahaśini-(Śamaṇa).[224]

We find king Vohārika-Tissa spoken of as possessing a knowledge of the Dhamma and the tradition.[225] A *thera* named Deva of Kappakagāma is also mentioned in connection with this king. Vohārika Tissa is said to have been pleased at this *thera* after he had heard a sermon delivered by him.[226] A disciple of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva by name was ' the great propagandist and dialectician of the Mādhyamika school of Māhāyana philosophy.'[227] 'It has been suggested that Āryadeva was the same as the *thera* named Deva who dwelt at Kappakagāma in the reign of Vohārika Tissa, and whose preaching was much appreciated by the king. But this identification cannot be taken as decisive.'[227] The king was also pleased with a *thera* named Mahātissa of Anurārāma.[228] It is no doubt that both these *theras* were not only learned but were also the leading *theras* at the time. According to the *Nikāyasangrahaya*, during the reign of Vohārika Tissa, the Mahāyāna doctrine is said to have been brought to Ceylon.[229] It this connection we observe that one of his ministers named Kapila is spoken of as being well-versed in all the sciences, and his scholarship was such that the king instructed him to examine the new doctrine and report on its authenticity.[230] According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* we observe that this king also offered regular giving of alms over the whole Island when the *Ariyavasa* festival was held.[231] This *Ariyavasa* was the preaching of a certain *sutta* by the *bhikkhus*.[232] The *theras* who were proficient in the *Ariyavasa sutta* are considered also as authorities in the *dhamma*.[233] This indicates that during this king's reign there were many monks learned in the *dhamma* in the country. At the same time we might incidentally note that the condition of the fraternity of at least some of the *bhikkhus* was not at all satisfactory, for we observe from the *Mahāvaṃsa* itself that Vohārika Tissa had to spend three hundred thousand pieces of money in order to free certain *bhikkhus* who were in debt.[234]

During the reign of Saṅghatissa there was a learned *thera* named Mahādeva of Dāmahālaka-vihāra. The king listened to a sermon preached by this *thera* detailing the merits of offering rice-gruel to the fraternity.[235]

Thera Nanda of the Mahiyaṅgana Mahāvihāra was a scholar and leader of the *sangha* during his time. Prince Saṅghabodhi was handed over to him at the tender age of seven years only by his father to be instructed in the *dhamma* and secular learning.[236] The *thera* taught him the *tripiṭaka* doctrine and the sciences. According to the account given in our sources, we observe that two other princes Saṅghatissa and Goṭhābhaya had been friends of Saṅghabodhi from their very tender age. Saṅghabodhi was not only instructed by *thera* Nanda, but he also lived with him in the *vihāra* itself. Although it is not specifically mentioned in our texts, it is possible that Nanda *thera* also taught Saṅghatissa and Goṭhābhaya along with Saṅghabodhi. All the three had been such bosom friends. In fact when *thera* Nanda decided to take Saṅghabodhi to Anurādhapura, these two princes followed them in their journey.[237]

During the reign of Goṭhābhaya we find the mention of a *thera* named Ussiliyā Tissa, who with a following of three hundred *bhikkhus* left the Abhayagiri *vihāra* where he was residing, and took up residence at the Dakkhiṇa-vihāra when an attempt was made by the Abhayagiri-vihāra *bhikkhus* to introduce the Vaitulya or the Mahāyāna doctrine into their midst.[238] This incident indicates that Ussiliyā Tissa *thera* was the leader of his group as well as its teacher. We come across yet another *thera* named Sāgala belonging to this group who should be consideed as a reputed teacher of the religion. " Sāgali, propagated his own interpretation of the scriptures and became the founder of a third school, called the Sāgaliyas after him."[239]

Another teacher we come across during the reign of Goṭhābhaya in the first instance is Saṅghamitta who came over to Ceylon from Kāveripaṭṭaṇa with a firm resolve to make the Mahāvihāra *theras* accept the Mahāyāna doctrine or to see their establishment destroyed if he failed.[240] Saṅghamitta is mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa as being " versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits, and so forth."[241] Having arrived in Ceylon during the reign of Goṭhābhaya he soon won the king's confidence. " This he did, not by prolonged wranglings on abstruse metaphysics, nor by eloquent discourses on ethics and doctrine, but through his understanding of human psychology. The king, so the story goes, was present one day at an assembly of the *Saṁgha* at the Thūpārāma. The senior *thera*, who was a maternal uncle of the king, addressed the latter by his personal name, calling him dear Goṭhābhaya '. Saṁghamitta, who was present in the assembly, vehemently protested at this taking of liberty with the king's majesty. Goṭhābhaya was quite convinced that a religious teacher who had such appropriate notions of kingship must necessarily be holding correct views on matters doctrinal as well. Not only did he show favour towards the teacher from abroad, but also went to the length of appointing him tutor to his two young sons."[242] Thus did Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsena, the king's two young sons come to be instructed by Saṅghamitta. The elder prince Jeṭṭhatissa was not much pleased with his tutor, because, it is said, he showed favour to the younger Mahāsena. the senior *thera* mentioned above should also be considered as a leading scholar and a religious dignitary of the time.

When Jeṭṭhatissa assumed kingship after the death of his father, Saṅghamitta through fear of him left Ceylon, but returned after his favourite pupil Mahāsena succeeded his brother to the throne.[243] "When he had carried out the consecration and the other ceremonies of various kind,"[244] Saṅghamitta, who failed in his attempt to convert the *bhikkhus* of the Mahāvihāra to Mahāyānism, advised the king to work against the Mahāvihāra.[245]

Another *thera* of repute we come across during the reign of Mahāsena is *thera* Tissa who belonged to the Sāgaliya sect of the Dakkhiṇa-vihāra. Our sources, especially those originating from Mahāvihāra represent him as a hypocrite, a plotter, a lawless and a crooked person.[246] He is also represented as having been charged by the fraternity of monks with having committed an offence of the gravest kind, possibly a *pārājikā*, for which it is said he was expelled from the Order.[247] Although *thera* Tissa is described in such contemptuous terms it appears that he would have been both a virtuous and learned *thera* of his time. A fragmentary inscription found near the Jetavana-vihāra at Anurādhapura[248] speaks of this *thera* in very laudable terms as, "the great elder Tis who was moderate in his desires, was content, and was known by the name of the great lord Sāguli.[249] "In remarkable contrast to the flattering language applied to him in this inscription, the chroniclers of the Mahāvihāra delight in heaping opprobrious epithets whenever they refer to Tissa. The *Mahāvaṁsa* calls him 'a hypocrite, a plotter, the lawless' and 'evil friend' (ch. xxxvii, v. 32). The later Sinhalese chronicles, the *Pūjāvalī* and *Nikāya Saṁgraha*, invariably attach to his name the sobriquet of *kohon* (P. *kuhana*) 'the hypocrite'. Perhaps, Tissa was not so black as he was painted by the orthodox chroniclers ; and there is no doubt that he suffered on account of the sectarian bigotry of his opponents."[250]

Another learned person of repute we ought to observe is the minister named Dhammika[251] who inquired into the charges brought against Tissa of the Dakkhiṇa *vihāra*, the favourite *thera* of Mahāsena.[252] It is said that he pronounced Tissa guilty of the charge against him and got him disrobed although it was known that the king himself wished otherwise.[253]

Thera Cittagutta, of the Koraṇḍa cave, supposed to have lived during the time of Mahāsena must also be considered as a *thera* of great learning.[254] It is said that there had been various paintings in this cave where he resided for thirty years, but never had he looked at them even once. At his passing away he had invited the *bhikkhus* who had assembled, to ask him any questions in regard to any doubt they had conceived in respect of the doctrine. This indicates that he would have been well-versed in the Dhamma. It is also said that he had attained to arhantship.

The above are a list of the *theras* who may be considered to have been teachers and scholars of their time whose period could be fixed with at least some degree of certainty. But we have also information regarding others whose period cannot be so fixed, since no particular mention of a period or king appears in the relevant stories. They are therefore detailed below as they too may be considered as having lived at any time during the period under review.

Thera Mahā-Dhammadinna[255] of the Vālaṅkara-samudda-pabbata-maha-vihāra[256] and *thera* Bahalamassu-Mahātissa[257] of the Vālagiri-vihāra[258] are both represented as leaders of two groups of five hundred *bhikkhus* each.[259]

We also find Mahā-Saṅgharakkhita *thera* of the Malaya country, *gāma*-dwelling Dhammarakkhita *thera* and Dīgha-bhāṇaka Abhaya *thera* of Cittalapabbata-vihāra who are each represented as leaders of three hundred *arhant* followers.[260]

The story of a *thera* who while travelling by sea recited the Cittuppāda section of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* introduces us to a fish which is said to have followed the boat on hearing the sound. On seeing it, the men in the boat killed it, and the fish is said to have been born as a human being. He entered the Order at the age of seven, learnt the entire *Tripiṭaka* and became known as Saddhāsumana *thera*, and finally attained arhantship.[261]

Thera Mahā-Dhammanandi of the Cūlagiri is reputed for being skilful in giving instructions to those desiring meditation. When he discoursed on the Dhamma many attained arhantship. Once he went to the Mahāvihāra in Māgama at the invitation of the *bhikkhus* there. At the time it is said there were altogether twelve thousand *bhikkhus*, of which sixty were experts on the *Tripiṭaka*. As a result of the explanatory answers the *thera* gave to various questions on the Dhamma asked of him, it is said that he caused six thousand *bhikkhus* to attain arhantship in three days. The story also introduces us to a *thera* named Mahānāga, whom Mahā-Dhammanandi met on his way to Māgama, who attained arhantship on the advice of the *thera*.[262]

A *thera* of Mahāvihāra ordained a boy named Soṇa and instructed him in the Dhamma and discipline. Later the *thera* decided to go on a pilgrimage to India. Along with other *theras*, *sāmaṇera* Soṇa also accompanied the *thera*. On the way the *thera* developed a mortal sickness at which he advised the others to proceed without being delayed as a result of his sickness. All the others proceeded except the *sāmaṇera*. Finally the *thera* died and Soṇa attended to his obsequies. It is said that Sakka arrived to help the *sāmaṇera* and he was finally taken to North Jambudīpa and left with a *thera* of great *iddhi* power. Soṇa studied the *Tripiṭaka* under him. On completion of his studies the *sāmaṇera* took leave of his teacher to return to Ceylon. But on his way back, at a place called Mahākoṭṭideva he conceived some doubt regarding a certain line in a verse. He is said to have immediately retraced his steps back to the teacher, and arrived at his *vihāra* in the middle of the night. On inquiry as to the cause of his return, the *thera* told him that what Soṇa had thought to be the answer was the correct one.[263] The *sāmaṇera* finally returned to Ceylon and taught the Dhamma and its meaning to thousands of *bhikkhus* in Ceylon. On the following year he is said to have reached arhantship. He is also credited with having delivered three sermons in one night at three different places, namely Piyaṅgudīpa, Mahāvihāra and Cetiyagiri.[264]

Tissamahā-thera of Amaramahālena gave religious instructions to a *thera* named Tissamahānāga of Kuṭumbiya *vihāra* in Rohaṇa. On his way back to his own place of residence, the latter is said to have attained arhantship by reflecting on the Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna while remaining under the belly of an elephant to shield him from a downpour.[265]

We find two *theras* of Piyaṅgudīpa being mentioned in regard to the story of Ariyagāla-Tissa.[266] They are Satisambodhi *thera* and Mahābuddharakkhita *thera* of *Yavana* royalty. When on one occasion the *theras* of Piyaṅgudīpa assembled and wanted to know in which place faithful people dwelt, *thera* Satisambodhi said the people of Laṅkā were full of piety, while Mahābuddharakkhita said that the *Yavana* people were faithful.

Another *thera* of Piyaṅgudīpa found mentioned is a *thera* called Sīhabodhi. He was responsible for saving the house-holder Dantakāra of Dantakāragāma in Sīhaḷadīpa from being drowned in the ocean when his ship was wrecked. It is said that at the time there were twelve thousand *bhikkhus* in Piyaṅgudīpa. A *thera* named Maliyamahādeva of Piyaṅgudīpa is also mentioned in connection with this story.[267]

Cūla-piṇḍapātika-Nāga *thera* of Ratti-vihāra is mentioned in connection with a *dāna* offered to him by a minister called Ambāmacca. The *thera* partook of the meal only after attaining arhantship.[268]

A *thera* of the Tissamahāvihāra in Mahāgāma, whose name is not mentioned in our source, except to say that he was a friend of Tissa-amacca preached the Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga *sutta* one day, to which the minister himself listened. From thence the *amacca* gave regular alms to the *theras* of the *vihāra*.[269]

Tissadatta *thera*[270] of Abhayavihāra[271] in Anurādhapura was once invited to a *dāna* to the house of a person named Dubbiṭṭhi-Mahātissa. He went there with a following of five hundred *bhikkhus*. From the account it appears that Tissadatta *thera* was the chief *thera* of the Abhayavihāra.[272]

A certain *bhikkhu* of the Kumbhīlatissapabbata-vihāra once recited the Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna which was listened to by five hundred bats living in a rock-cave close by. Subsequently the bats are said to have died and were born as human beings in the village close to the *vihāra*. After they all grew up they are said to have once come to the *vihāra* and listened to the *Ariyavasa* sermon preached there. The following day they listened to the Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna. Finally they all entered the Order under a *thera* named Saṅgha, possibly the chief *thera* of the place. Once when one of the five hundred complained about the smell of the bats' dung in the cave, Saṅgha *thera* is said to have told them about their previous birth as bats. This incident prompted them finally to reach their goal of attaining arhantship.[273]

The *thera* named Mahāsumma is considered to have been well-known in Ceylon as a clever preacher of the Dhamma. It is said he once preached the Vessantara-jātaka at the request of the king. However the name of the king or the time in which Mahāsumma lived are not mentioned in our source.[274]

Malaya Mahādeva-thera of the Veliya-vihāra is said to have brought about happiness and welfare to many people living in the neighbourhood of the *vihāra*.[275] This would mean that he functioned as their religious and spiritual teacher.

Thera Māleyya of the village named Kāmboja in Rohaṇa is said to have gone to the *deva* world to worship at the Silumiṇa *cetiya* where he met divines, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, Saddhātissa and Metteyya, along with many others of Ceylon who as a result of their

meritorious deeds had been born in the *deva* world. Māleyya-thera is spoken of as having come back to Kāmboja and informed the relatives of the gods he had met and advised them to do merits.[276]

Maliya-Mahādeva *thera* living in a rock cave named Candamukha in the Pabbata-vihāra once proclaimed the time for a Dhamma sermon. To this came a certain deity, and at the end of the sermon, when questioned by the *thera* he informed him that he had become a deity as a result of the meritorious deeds he had done at the *vihāra* when he was a human being.[277]

Mahā-Abhaya *thera* of the Mahāvālika-vihāra[278] who is spoken of as being well-versed in the Dhamma lived a forest-dweller's life. He was served by a certain *upāsaka* for twelve years. Under this *thera* a thief named Arati[279] entered the Order and finally became an arhant.[280]

We have a *thera* named Cūlanāga of the Asiggāhaka-pariveṇa in the Thūpārāma, who went to the Candavanka street in the city constantly for alms. When the *thera* later received an abundance of alms and requisites he distributed them to many hundreds of *theras* in the *vihāra*. When a group of five hundred *bhikkhus* later wanted to go on a pilgrimage to the sacred Bodhi tree in India, they invited Cūlanāga to accompany them.[281] These incidents in the story go to indicate that *thera* Cūlanāga was looked upon as a leader, adviser and *guru* by the other *theras* living in the *pariveṇa*.

We come across an *arhant thera* named Tambasumana who was well-known throught Laṅkā. He is said to have been virtuous, frugal and adviser of other *bhikkhus*. He lived with five hundred *bhikkhu* followers as a forest-dweller, and it is said that many sylvan deities constantly waited upon him.[282]

We ought to include a few other names of *theras* in this list. They are Khema who is mentioned as being well-versed in the *Tripiṭaka* and an expert on the Vinaya who is said to have handed down the teaching of the Buddha in Ceylon.[283] Cūlasumana *thera*, a master of the *Tripiṭaka* and a well-known commentator;[284] Sumanadeva *thera*, a teacher at the Lohapāsāda and an expert on the Abhidhamma;[285] Mahāsīva thera of Tissamahāvihāra in Rohaṇa who taught day and night both texts and commentaries to eighteen groups of monks;[286] Mahānāga *thera* of Uccavālika, the teacher of Dhammarakkhita of Talangara;[287] and "Sāketa-Tissa Thera, a great exponent of the dhamma, and a teacher of large numbers of monks."[288]

REFERENCES

1. See, Supra, Chaps. 4, 5, 6 and 7
2. *The Year Book of Education*, 1953, p. 4
3. See, Supra, p. 116
4. Dpv., Chap. xiii, vv. 16-17 ; Mhv., Chap. xv, vv. 7-8
5. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 97
6. See, Supra, p. 116 f. and Chap. 5
7. See, Supra, p. 72 ff.
8. Fick, op. cit., p. 4 ; see also, Shamasastry, op. cit., p. 6
9. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 69
10. Mhv., Chap. x, vv. 21-23
11. Mhv., Tr. Eng., 69
12. Mhv., Chap. x, vv. 23-25
13. Ibid., vv. 19-20
14. See, Ibid., vv. 20-26
15. " The Gāmaṇivāpi is perhaps the Karambāwa-tank which lies somewhat more than a mile north from Bulan-kulam. PARKER, however, identifies it with Peramiyan-kulam. *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 364. "
16. " Name of a sect of ascetics (the Jaina) who went about naked. "
17. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 75
18. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 165 ; Mvṭ., p. 612 ; HBC., p. 44
19. UCH., Ibid., p. 165
20. See, Supra, p. 72 ff.
21. UCH., Ibid., pp. 125, 132 ; see also, Dpv., Chap. xii, v. 34 ff. ; Mhv., Chap. xiii, vv. 15-20 ; xiv, vv. 1-23 ; Basham, A. L.—*The Wonder that was India*, p. 56
22. Mhv., Chap. xii, vv. 3-8 ; Dpv., Chap. viii, v. 1 ff.
23. See, Mhv., Tr. Eng., Intro. pp. xix-xx
24. UCH., Ibid., p. 130 ; Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 289 ; see also, Supra, p. 85
25. See, UCR., Vol. xx, No. 2, pp. 160-162
26. Ibid., p. 162, see also, UCH., Ibid., p. 132 ; Supra, p. 86
27. Oldenberg's view that Buddhism was introduced to Ceylon not by Mahinda, but as a consequence of its spread over the island from the neighbouring Kalinga is no more accepted ; see, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Intro., p. L ff.
28. See, Mhv., Chap. xiii, vv. 8-11
29. Ibid., v, vv 204-205,209 ; Tr. Eng., Intro., p. 1
30. See, Mhv., Tr. Eng., Intro., pp. xlviii-xlix
31. Ibid., p. 1
32. Ibid., pp. xlviii-li ; see also, Dpv., Chap. v, vv. 22-48
33. Dpv., vii, v. 25 ; Mhv., v, vv. 206-207
34. Dpv., vii, vv. 26-30 ; 41-42
35. See, Supra, p. 135
36. Dpv., Chap. v, vv. 19-20 ; Mhv., Chap. v, vv. 231-233
37. Mhv., Chap. v, vv. 231-232
38. Dpv., Chap. v, v. 48
39. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 46
40. See, Mhv., Chap. v, vv. 245-279 ; Dpv., Chap. vii, vv. 38-40
41. " A work of the Abhidhamma. *Kathāvatthu*, ed. by A. C. Taylor, Vol. i, ii, P. T. S. 1894 1897."
42. Mhv., Tr. Eng., pp. 49-50
43. *D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 334
44. Dpv., Chap. xi, vv. 40-41 ; Mhv., Chap, xiii, vv. 1, 13 ff.
45. Dpv., xii, vv. 12-38 ; Mhv., xiii, vv. 18-20
46. See, Supra, pp. 86, 134
47. See, Supra, p. 86 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 132

48. UCH., Ibid., p. 132 ; Müller, AIC., No. 20. Although Paranavitāna says that the damaged part of the record would have contained the names of the other two companions, it should really be three companions, not two ; for, Mahinda arrived in Ceylon with six others besides himself.
49. See, Supra, p. 134
50. Dpv., Chap. xii, vv. 26, 68, 84
51. Cv., Chap. xxxvii, vv. 68, 84, 87
52. Dpv., Chap. xii, vv. 34-35
53. Mhv., Chap. xvii, vv. 16-21
54. Dpv., Chap. xii, vv. 26, 58-60 ; Mhv., Chap. xiv, v. 32 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 139
55. Mhv., Chap. xiv, vv. 22-23
56. HBC., p. 50 ; see also, Dpv., xii, v. 54 ; Mhv., Chap. xiv, vv. 22-23
57. Dpv., Chap. xii, v. 81 ; Mhv., Chap. xiv, v. 58
58. Dpv., xiii, vv. 7-8 ; Mhv., xiv, v. 63
59. Dpv., Ibid., vv. 11-12 ; Mhv., xv, v. 4
60. Dpv., xiv, vv. 11-12 ; Mhv., xv, v. 176,
61. Ibid., v. 18 ; Mhv., xv, v. 178
62. Ibid., v. 46 ; Mhv., xv, v. 186
63. Ibid., v. 46 ; Mhv., xv, v. 186
64. Mhv., Chap. xv, v. 195
65. Dpv., Chap. xiv, v. 47 ; Mhv., Chap. xv, v. 197
66. Dpv., xiv, v. 47 ; Mhv., xv, v. 199
67. Mhv., xvi, v. 3
68. Ibid., vv. 1-2
69. Ibid., v. 9
70. There seems to be two Ariṭṭhas mentioned in the Mhv. who are both ministers and nephews of Devānampiyatissa. See, Mhv., xi, vv. 20, 25 ; xviii, v. 3; xix, vv. 5, 66 ; Smp., i, p. 90 ; HBC., p. 56
71. Mhv., Chap. xvi, vv. 10-11 ; Mhv., Tr. Eng., p 115
72. Mhv., Ibid., v. 16
73. Ibid., v. 17. Note however that the Mhv. states there were altogether sixty two *theras* in the country at the time. This seems erroneous, for there should be sixty three, e.g. 7+56
74. Mhv., Chap. xvii, vv. 57-58. For an account of the sons of Muṭasiva, the father of Devānampiyatissa, see, Dpv., Chap. xvii, vv. 77-78, 97
75. Mhv., Chap. xvii, v. 61
76. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 121
77. Mhv., Chap. xix, v. 66
78. Ibid., xx, v. 12
79. Ibid., vv. 14-15
80. Ibid., xvii, v. 9 ; xix, v. 65. See however, Dpv., xvi, v. 41 which mentions that Anulā entered the Order with five hundred others. Another five hundred mentioned in v. 40 do not appear to have any connections with Anulā.
81. Mhv. indicates that Saṅghamittā came to Ceylon in the company of eleven other *therīs*. See, Mhv., xix, v. 5. On the other hand Dpv. at one place gives the names of only eight *therīs* other than Saṅghamittā (see Dpv., xv, vv. 77-80) ; and at another, the names of only ten. (see, Dpv., xviii, vv. 12-13).
82. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 134
83. Horner, I. B.—*Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, p. 253
84. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 98
85. Mhv., Chap. xv, v. 21
86. Ibid., xix, v. 20
87. Dpv., Chap. xv, v. 77 ; Mhv., Chap. xix, v. 84
88. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 140
89. Dpv., Chap. xv, vv. 78-80
90. Ibid., xviii, vv. 12-13

91. See, fn, 89 above.
92. Dpv., Chap. xviii, v. 12
93. Ibid., vv. 15-18
94. Ibid., vv. 19-20
95. See, Ibid., vv. 21-42
96. EHBC., p. 70 ; Dpv., xviii, vv. 20-23
97. Mhv., Chap. xxxiv, vv. 35-36
98. For the identification, see, UCR., Vol. i, No. 2, pp. 82-83 ; see also, HBC., p. 270
99. According to Rsv. the name of the village is Kāraka. See, Rsv., p. 287
100. See, HBC., pp. 275-276
101. See, Sahv., pp. 183-184 ; Rsv., pp. 287-289 ; Sdhl., pp. 742-745
102. Dpv., Chap. xviii, vv. 39-41
103. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 141
104. Mhv., Chap. xxi, vv. 1-2
105. p. 148
106. p. 247
107. Sahv., p. 87 ; Rsv., p. 167 ; Sdhl., p. 475
108. Sīhv., pp. 128-129 ; IPSBK., p. 114
109. Sahv., p. 88 ; Rsv., p. 168 ; Sdhl., p. 477
110. Sahv., *giripāda-Kontarakaṭaka-mahāvihāra*, (p. 88) ; Sdhl., *giripāda nam danavvehi Koturu-kaḍu vehera*. (p. 476)
111. Mhv., Chap. xxii, v. 16 ff. ; PLC., p. 162 f. ; see also, *Telakaṭāha-gāthā*. For comments regarding the origin of the Kalyāṇi Kingdom, see, UCH., Vol. i, pp. 1, 147 ff.
112. EZ., Vol. i, pp. 146–147
113. Sahv., p. 125
114. Mvṭ., Vol. ii, p. 606
115. Sahv., p. 148
116. See, Mhv., Chap. xxix
117. Ibid., xxii, v. 25 ff.
118. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 148
119. Mhv., Chap. xxii, vv. 65–69
120. Ibid., xxiii, vv. 2–3 ; xxvi, v. 2
121. Rsv., pp. 197–200 ; however, Mhv. mentions that only the father had joined the Order at the first instance and hence Abhaya became known as Theraputta-Abhaya. See, Mhv., xxiii, vv. 55–63
122. In the Rsv. account the name is given as Kappakandara-gāma ; see also, Rsv., p. 197
123. Mhv. has the name as Mahāsumma ; see, Mhv., xxiii, v. 61
124. Rsv., p. 198 ; see also, fn. 121 above.
125. Mhv., Chap. xxxii, vv. 10–24 ; Sīhv., pp. 111–112 ; IPSBK, p. 100
126. " The Kirindu-oya or Māgama-ganga of which the mouth is in the Southern Province, east of Hambantoṭa, and the source in the mountains south of Badulla. Consequently the Pañjali-pabbata must be sought here also. " ; Mhv. Tr. Eng., p. 221, fn. 1
127. Sīhv. p. 111 mentions that the *thera* was living at Anurādhavihāra in Rohaṇa at the time.
128. Mhv., Tr. Eng., pp. 221 -222
129. According to the Sīhv. they are four : Deva, Dhammagutta, Dhammadinna and Vyaggha. See, p. 113
130. Mhv., Chap. xxxii, vv. 29–30
131. See, EHBC., p. 66
132. Eight *theras* from Piyangudīpa are said to have comforted Duṭṭhagāmani when he felt remorse over the killing of Tamils in war. See, Mhv., Chap. xxv, vv. 98–112
133. Mhv., Tr. Eng., pp. 224–225
134. See, Supra, p. 140 (?)
135. Mhv., Chap. xxiv, vv. 22–31 ; Chap. xxxii, vv. 31–32, 55 ; Sīhv., pp. 113–114. At Mhv. Chap. xxxii, v. 55, the number of *bhikkhus* are mentioned as being twelve thousand.
136. Mhv., Chap. xxiv, vv. 48–55

137. Ibid., xxv, vv. 101–111
138. Ibid., xxx, v. 98 ; xxxi, vv. 85, 102–103, 115–116
139. Ibid., xxix, vv. 51–56
140. Ibid., vv. 64–66
141. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 196
142. Mhv., Chap. xxx, vv. 57–61
143. Ibid., vv. 45–47
144. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 209
145. Mhv., Chap. xxxi, vv. 3–4, 15, 45–68
146. Ibid., xxxii, vv. 44–46
147. Rsv., p. 225 ; Sdhl., p. 575
148. Sīhv., p. 164 ; IPSBK., p. 149
149. See, Mhv., Chap. xxviii, vv. 20–35
150. According to the Mhv. the name of this village is Gaviṭa, (Mhv., Chap. xxiii, v. 82) while in the Sdhl. it is given as Goḍigamu (see, p. 539)
151. Rsv., pp. 204–206 ; Sdhl., pp. 538–541
152. Mhv., Tr. Eng., pp. 161–162
153. Rsv., p. 219 ; Sdhl., p. 565 ff.
154. See, Supra, p. 141 for the same *thera*, e.g. Malaya-Mahādeva
155. Sīhv., p. 138 ; IPSBK., p. 122
156. Sīhv., p. 139 ; IPSBK., 123
157. See, Supra, p. 141 ; Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 225
158. Sīhv., p. 139 ; IPSBK., p. 124
159. DPPN., Vol. i, pp. 578–579
160. Sihv., pp. 47–48 ; IPSBK., pp. 42–44
161. *Sīlasampanno sutavanto*
162. Sihv., pp. 50–52 ; IPSBK., pp. 44–46
163. *Sīlavā, bahussuto*
164. Sīhv., pp. 85–88 ; IPSBK., pp. 76–79
165. Sahv., pp. 22–23 ; Rsv., pp. 113–115 ; Sdhl., pp. 581–583
166. This is mentioned as Kaṭakandara in Sahv., see, Sahv., p. 115
167. Sahv., p. 115
168. Sahv., pp. 115–116
169. See, Sīhv., p. 20 ; see also, IPSBK., p. 16
170. Sihv., p. 21
171. Sihv., p. 24 ; IPSBK., p. 21
172. This is mentioned as Koṭṭagalla-pabbata in Rsv., see, Rsv., p. 279
173. Sahv., pp. 171–172 ; Rsv., p. 279. According to Rsv. the incident is said to have occurred during the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.
174. Sahv., p. 173
175. Ibid., p. 174
176. Ibid., p. 174 ; Rsv., p. 282. In Sahv. the name of the residence is given as Sudassanaṭhānagāla
177. Sahv., pp. 40–42 ; Rsv., pp. 128–130 ; Sdhl., pp. 593–595
178. HBC., p. 291 ; Smp., (SHB.), p. 503
179. Sdhl. has this name as Malvässā, see, p. 620
180. Rsv., pp. 117–120 ; Sdhl., pp. 620–624 ; see also, Sahv., p. 30
181. Mhv., Chap. xxxiii, v. 43
182. See, Supra, pp. 76, 117
183. UCH., Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 165
184. Mhv., xxxiii, vv. 49, 52, 67 etc.; UCH., Ibid., pp. 169, 171–172, 244–245
185. UCH., Ibid., pp. 170, 171, 172. This *thera* is mentioned as being well versed in four *nikāyas*, see, Mhv., Chap. xxxiii, vv. 71–72
186. UCH., Ibid., p. 245
187. Mhv., Chap. xxxiii, vv. 71–72
188. Ibid., vv. 95–97 ; Ns., p. 9 ; UCH., Ibid., pp. 245–246

189. Ns., pp. 9–10 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 246
190. *Atthasālinī*, PTS., p. 30 ; DPPN., Vol. i, p. 1028
191. DPPN., Vol. ii, p. 561 ; AA. (SHB.), pt. 1, p. 23 ; MA., Vol. i, p. 66
192. Mhv., xxxiii, vv. 100–101 ; Ns., p. 9 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 172
193. Mhv., Chap. xxiv, vv. 35–36
194. DPPN., Vol. i, p. 896
195. Ibid., pp. 907–908
196. Ibid., pp. 906–907
197. HBC., p. 297 ; Vsm., Vol. i, p. 96
198. HBC., pp. 163, 291 ; Smp. (SHB.), pt. i, p. 221
199. Smp. (SHB.), pt. ii, p. 418 ; see also, Supra, p. 124
200. Smp., ii, p. 305 ; DPPN., Vol. i, p. 908
201. Mhv., xxxv., v. 30
202. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 248
203. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 10 ; Mvṭ., Vol. ii, p. 640
204. UCH., Ibid., p. 174
205. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 82 ; EZ., Vol. i, pp. 67–68
206. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 92
207. Ibid., v. 83
208. Ibid., v. 84
209. Ibid., v. 86
210. Ibid., v. 87
211. Ibid., v. 88
212. For an account of Vasabha's activities, see, Mhv., Chap. xxxv, vv. 77–100 ; EZ., Vol. i, pp. 67–68
213. See, EZ., Vol. i, pp. 66–74
214. Smp., i, pp. 184, 283 ; ii, pp. 368, 471 ; iii, pp. 536–537, 538, 588
215. DPPN., Vol. ii, p. 528
216. See, EZ., Vol. iv, pp. 229–237
217. EZ., Vol. iv, p. 233
218. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, v. 117
219. See, Mhv., Chap. xxxvi, v. 7 ; DPPN., Vol. ii, p. 511
220. CJScG., Vol. ii, p. 217, No. 692
221. The fraternity of Ariṭa. EZ., Vol. i, p. 148
222. Venerable Asalaya. EZ., Vol. i, p. 21
223. EZ., Vol. i, p. 18
224. Ibid., p. 21
225. Mhv., Chap. xxxvi, v. 27; see also, EZ., Vol. iv, pp. 220–221
226. Mhv., Ibid., v. 29
227. UCH., Ibid., p. 250
228. Mhv., Chap. xxxvi, v. 30
229. See, Ns., p. 10
230. Ibid., p. 10 ; Mhv., Chap. xxxvi, v. 41
231. Mhv., Chap. xxxvi, v. 38
232. For an account of the *Ariyavasa*, see, HBC., pp. 268–273 ; UCR., Vol. i, No. 1, p. 59 ff.
233. See, UCR., Vol. i, No. I, p. 63 and fn. 26
234. Mhv., Chap. xxxvi, v. 39
235. Ibid., v. 68
236. See, *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vaṃsa*, p. 2 ; *Attanagalu-Vihāra-Vaṃsaya*, p. 5
237. Mhv., Chap. xxxvi, vv. 58–62
238. Ns., pp. 10–11
239. UCH., Ibid., p. 250
240. Ns., p. 11
241. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 264

242. UCH., Ibid., p. 251 ; Mhv., xxxvi, vv. 114–116. For an interpretation of this incident, see, Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 265, fn. 1.
243. Mhv., xxxvi, v. 123 ; xxxvii, v. 2 ; Ns., p. 12
244. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 267
245. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, vv. 4–16 ; HBC., pp. 93–95
246. Ibid., xxxvii, v. 32 ; see also, Ns., p. 13 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 254
247. Ns., p. 13
248. EZ., Vol. iii, pp. 226–229
249. Ibid., pp. 228–229
250. Ibid., p. 228, fn. 11
251. Ggr. translates the text as ' The high minister, known to be just, ... ', taking *dhammika* as an adjective (see, Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 270). Ns. however has, *Dhārmika namvū adhikarana āmatiyek* (a minister of justice named Dhārmika). See, Ns., p. 13
252. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, v. 39
253. Ibid., v. 39
254. Sihv., p. 153 ; IPSBK., pp. 137–138 ; Vsm., i, pp. 38, 171, 173
255. Rsv., Dhammadinna ; see, p. 232
256. Rsv., *Talangarapabbatāsanne Tissa mahāvihāra ;* see, p. 232
257. Rsv., Bahalamassu-Tissa *thera ;* see, p. 232
258. Rsv., Sāgiri-maha-vihāra ; see, p. 232
259. Sahv., pp. 121–123 ; Rsv., pp. 232–234
260. Sihv., p. 160 ; IPSBK., p. 145
261. Sihv., p. 164 ; IPSBK., p. 150
262. Sihv., p. 165 ; IPSBK., pp. 150–152
263. For a similar incident where a student returned to his teacher to get a point cleared, see, HBC., p. 290
264. Sihv., pp. 149–151 ; IPSBK., pp. 134–136
265. Sahv., pp. 184–185 ; Rsv., pp. 289–292
266. Sahv., pp. 53–58
267. Sahv., pp. 191–192 ; see also, Rsv., pp. 296–299
268. Ibid., p. 149 ; see also, p. 90
269. Ibid., pp. 158–159
270. Rsv., Tissa *thera* ; see, p. 270
271. Rsv., Abhayuttara-vihāra ; see, p. 270
272. Sahv., pp. 160–161 ; Rsv., pp. 270–271
273. Sahv., p. 187
274. Sihv., p. 159 ; IPSBK., p. 144
275. Rsv., p. 257
276. Sihv., pp. 10–14
277. Sahv., pp. 120–121
278. Rsv., Mahā-taḷāka ; see, p. 109
279. Rsv., Harantika ; see, p. 109
280. Sahv., pp. 14–15 ; Rsv., pp. 109–111
281. Sahv., pp. 117–120
282. Sihv., pp. 119–120 ; IPSBK., pp. 106–107
283. Smp., i, p. 63 ; see also, *Vinaya*, v, p. 3
284. DPPN., i, pp. 905–906 ; DA., ii, p. 514
285. See, *Atthasālinī*, p. 31
286. HBC., p. 293 ; AA. (SHB.), pp. 24, 29
287. Vsm., pp. 634–635
288. HBC., p. 298 ; see also, DA., iii, p. 1061

CHAPTER 9

CURRICULUM, METHODS OF TEACHING, EDUCATION OF WOMEN

We have earlier indicated that Ceylon was inhabited by human beings before the advent of Vijaya, and that these early people came from the mainland of India.[1] It is therefore to be expected that these people instituted here in Ceylon various social and cultural patterns that they were accustomed to in their motherland. We have shown earlier that prior to the introduction of Buddhism there were various religious adherents in the Island.[2] Among these we observe a large number of Brāhmins. Now, one of the sacred duties of Brāhmins is to learn and to teach the *Vedas* to others. It is therefore possible that the earliest form of curriculum, apart from the basic subjects, was confined to the study of Vedic texts, most probably centering round the sacred texts connected with the daily domestic worship and ritual. In connection with the story of Vijaya we observe the presence of singers and musicians who are supposed to have enlivened the revelries at a marriage ceremony in the city of Sirīsavatthu. If we are to accept this story we have to assume that music too would have formed part of the curriculum at the time.

From the numerous instances of soothsayers and Brāhmins we observe mentioned in the chronicles[3] we might surmise that the study of astrology, and Sanskrit to help in that study formed two other subjects in the curriculum of the times.

We come across the first ' gurukula ' introduced to us just prior to the time of Paṇḍukābhaya's reign, that of the school of the Brāhmin, Paṇḍula. According to our sources we observe Paṇḍukābhaya, and the Brāhmin's own son Canda being taught by Paṇḍula. We are however not informed as to what subjects were taught to these two by Paṇḍula. In the context we observe that as soon as Paṇḍula saw Paṇḍukābhaya he predicted that he would be king and that he would rule for full seventy years.[4] And when Paṇḍula dismissed Paṇḍukābhaya at the end of his studies we observe him requesting Paṇḍukābhaya to make his son Canda his chaplain after he became king. From these two incidents we could, it appears, to a certain extent guess what Paṇḍula may have taught these two youths.

In regard to Paṇḍukābhaya we ought to observe that he went to the school of Paṇḍula at the age of sixteen.[5] We observe that due to the circumstances under which the prince was brought up, up to that time he seems to have had no education at all. It is at the age of sixteen that his mother decides to give the young prince an education for which he is sent to Paṇḍula. In keeping with the prophecy Paṇḍula made, and the fact that the young prince belonged to the ruling family it seems evident that Paṇḍula provided Paṇḍukābhaya with an education that would be in good stead to him when he became the king of the land. According to the *Arthaśāstra* which gives us a description of the type of education befitting a prince, the formal education of a prince should cease at the age of sixteen.[6] And when we know that the study of a *kṣatriya* should commence at the age of eleven[7] we observe that the actual studentship lasts only six years. However in the case of Paṇḍukābhaya this situation does not arise due to obvious reasons.

Paṇḍula requests Paṇḍukābhaya to learn the arts (*sippaṃ uggaṇha*)[8] under him. However we are not specifically told what these arts are. On the evidence of the *Arthaśāstra*[9] we might conjecture that Paṇḍukābhaya received lessons in military arts such as swordsmanship, riding, warfare and heroic stories such as *Itihāsa* which included *Purāṇa*, *Itivṛtta* (history), *Ākhyāyika* (tales), and *Udāharaṇa* (illustrative stories), *Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*. It is possible that some at least of these were studied by Paṇḍukābhaya. It may incidentally be observed here that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī was made proficient in elephant and horse riding, swordsmanship and all arts (*sakalāsu kalāsu*).[10] Kauṭilya prescribes a prince to keep company with men of learning.[11] In the case of a king this requirement is epitomised in the person of the *purohita*. We ought to observe that while Paṇḍukābhaya was learning at the feet of Paṇḍula, a *purohita* was being moulded for him by Paṇḍula himself in the person of his own son Canda. This would mean that everything that was required to be known by a *purohita* according to the texts was very conscientiously taught Canda by Paṇḍula. Apart from the common subjects that the two youths may have together learnt from Paṇḍula, it is possible that Canda had other special subjects to master in order to equip himself for his future position of *purohita* to Paṇḍukābhaya. A *purohita* was expected to be well versed in military art, religious rituals, and also political science.[12] This would mean that Canda had to study both Sanskrit and sacred Vedic texts apart from the common subjects.

The story of the building of Anurādhapura by Paṇḍukābhaya reveals to us a few more facts about education in the country at the time. The presence of *Niganṭhas*, *Kumbhaṇḍas*, *Samaṇas* etc. indicate that religious education based on the *Vedas* and perhaps also the Buddhist texts was being pursued in the country.

With the arrival of Mahinda and the establishment of the *Buddhasāsana* in Ceylon, we find the emergence of the residence for *bhikkhus* and the custom of many *bhikkhus* living in a common *vihāra*. The early Buddhist *bhikkhus* of Ceylon had to learn the *Tripiṭaka* from the Indian *theras*. Thus in the monastic residence both Pāli, the study of grammar and the sacred Buddhist texts, namely the *Tripiṭaka* would have formed the major part of the curriculum. We observe that Mahinda as well as Saṅghamittā belonged to the school of *vinayadharas*. Thus the *Vinayapiṭaka* would have received a special place in the study of the sacred texts. In fact when once Devānampiyatissa inquired from Mahinda whether the *Buddhasāsana* had been well established in Ceylon, Mahinda replied that it would take firm root in the Island only when a person born of Ceylonese parents in Ceylon studies the *Vinaya* in Ceylon and expounds the same in Ceylon.[13] This statement indicates how much importance was given to the study of *Vinaya*. Further we are told that Saṅghamittā and her companions who came here from India resided at the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura and taught the local *therīs* the five texts of the *Vinaya* and the seven texts of the *Abhidhamma*.[14] A special study of the *Jātaka* stories and incidents connected with the life of the Buddha may also have been done during this time. In the description of the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa we observe Duṭṭhagāmaṇī getting various incidents of the life of Buddha depicted therein. The Vessantara-jātaka in particular is said to have been

depicted fully.[15] This account indicates to us that by this time the life history of the Buddha centering round the various important incidents of his life and *jātaka* stories, like the Vessantara-jātaka in particular would have formed the subject of studies.

Once when the institution of the *bhikkhus* became a common feature of the social pattern of the country it is quite plausible to consider that *bhikkhus*, because of their higher attainments and dedication to learning became the teachers of both the *saṅgha* and the laity. In fact the Sigālasutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* mentions that the education and the spiritual guidance of the laity became a duty devolved on the *saṅgha*.[16] Thus the pattern of education that evolved in Ceylon with the establishment of the *bhikkhusāsana* must definitely have taken a religious and spiritual significance as opposed to any secular pattern. And those mostly concerned with this pattern of education were also the *saṅgha*, and not so much the laity. And when the laity received this pattern of education they either accepted that pattern as such or went through it perhaps with the specific aim of entering the *sāsana* at some future time.

It is also possible that *Itihāsa* formed part of the curriculum of the time. When Mahinda came over to Ceylon he brought with him the traditional history of the *Buddhasāsana* in India. This included the names of Buddhist religious teachers, an account of the Councils, a list of the Magadhan kings, and an account of the missions etc.[17] With the establishment of the *sāsana* in Ceylon this tradition of the history of the *sāsana* would have been continued in the early monasteries. Once it was observed that the history of the Island became closely connected with the history of the *sāsana*, this new aspect had to be incorporated into the account of the *sāsana*. This new history of the Island and the *sāsana* was faithfully preserved in the main *vihāras* of the time, and it is possible that this history formed a part of the curriculum, for it appears to have been orally handed down in the various monasteries of the time. This tradition is said to have been finally written down in the 1st century B. C. along with the Pāli Canon and the Commentaries. As a result, the study of this particular branch would have been made easier than it was before. However it is possible that the oral tradition in learning which had been so deeply rooted in India,[18] and consequently in Ceylon was never supplanted. If that be so, the historical text perhaps functioned merely as a handbook for the teachers.

It is possible that Tamil too may have been studied in early Ceylon, especially when we note that the southern part of India has had connections with Ceylon from very ancient times. "Tamil has had a long history in Ceylon. The *Mahāvaṁsa* relates that Vijaya married a Pāṇḍya princess from Madhurā, and that she was accompanied by a hundred maidens and a thousand families of eighteen guilds who settled down in Ceylon. Coming to historical times, we find that two Tamils, Sena and Guttika, ruled at Anurādhapura in the latter half of the third century B. C. for a period of about twenty years. The famous Tamil king, Eḷāra, reigned in Ceylon during the next century for a long period covering over forty years. By this time Tamil must have been well-established in Ceylon. Large numbers of Tamil soldiers had already found their way to Ceylon, and Tamil merchants also had begun to engage in trade of different kinds. An inscription of the second century B. C.

found in Anurādhapura, mentions a corporation of Tamil merchants, of which the captain of a ship (*navika*) was the head.[19] A Tamil poet from Ceylon is said to have adorned the Tamil Śaṅgam at Madhurā;[20] he may perhaps have lived in the first century B. C., as he appears to be one of the earlier poets of the Śaṅgam Age."[21]

It is also possible that medical studies too formed part of the curriculum of early studies in Ceylon. In the Vinaya *piṭaka* we observe the Buddha instructing his disciples in the application of medicine in their daily monastic life.[22] The story of Jīvaka, the physician who was appointed honorary physician to the Buddha and the Order of *bhikkhus* is quite well-known in Buddhist literature. It is said that " Many people, afflicted with disease and unable to pay for treatment by him, joined the Order in order that they might receive that treatment. "[23] We also observe that the sixth *khandhaka* of the *Mahāvagga* is devoted to medicaments for *bhikkhus*. With this tradition as the background it is plausible for us to assume that studies in medicine formed part of the curriculum.

If we are to accept *sivikā-sālā* and *sotthi-sālā* as taken by Geiger to be lying-in-home and a hall for the sick,[24] we might consider that Paṇḍukābhaya was certainly concerned about the health of his people, and that it may be surmised that at the time medicine was studied in Ceylon.

We observe that Vihāradevi was accustomed to visit the monastery called Koṭa-pabbata after meal-time taking along with her, among other things, medicine to be offered to the *bhikkhus* of the *vihāra*.[25] When the young *sāmaṇera* of the Koṭa-pabbata–vihāra was unwilling to accede to her request to be born as son to her, Vihāradevi is said to have given the saṅgha, besides other things, all manner of medicine on behalf of the *sāmaṇera*.[26] When Duṭṭhagāmaṇī stormed Vijitanagara, it is said that the Tamils threw down balls of red hot iron and molten pitch. It is said that the molten pitch falling on the elephant Kaṇḍula tormented him with great pain. Here we find the elephant physician washing the pitch away from the elephant's back and applying balm.[27] This indicates that at the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, there were in Ceylon, physicians who specialised in treatment for the ailments of elephants. Further we observe that in the time of this king there were many physicians in the country. In Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's *puññapotthaka* it had been recorded that he had constantly in eighteen places " bestowed on the sick the foods for the sick and remedies, as ordered by the physicians."[28] We also find a physician named Tisa mentioned in a cave inscription of the second century B. C.[29]

King Lajjitissa is said to have distributed medicines to the *bhikkhus* in the villages,[30] and Vaḷagambā is said to have offered medicaments to *bhikkhus*,[31] while Vasabha is said to have maintained the sick during his reign.[32] All these instances indicate the presence of medical men. We have already noted the case of *thera* Mahāpaduma, living in the time of Vasabha, who is considered to have been skilled in medicine.[33] Having listened to the Gilāna-suttanta preached by a *thera* named Deva, Vohāratissa is said to have offered medicine to *bhikkhus* who were sick.[34]

It is however not possible for us to ascertain exactly where such medical studies were pursued by prospective physicians of early Ceylon. As has been shown earlier, the tradition of medical studies may have been followed in the monasteries by *bhikkhus*. If that be so, prospective lay physicians may have studied medicine in the monasteries from the *bhikkhus* who were versed in such study.[35] It is also possible that others learnt it from already practising physicians, living with them as their *antevāsikas*. We would perhaps not be far wrong in surmising that both these patterns of medical studies prevailed in Ceylon during the earliest times.

We find that the young prince Saṅghabodhi, son of Selābhaya in Mahiyaṅgaṇa was handed over to his uncle, *thera* Nanda, cheif of the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-mahā-vihāra.[36] As the father of the prince died when the child was only seven years of age, it is said that the *thera* brought up the young prince in the *vihāra* itself. From then onwards *thera* Nanda became responsible not only for the bringing up of the prince, but also for his education. Before the *thera* took Saṅghabodhi and his two friends Saṅghatissa and Goṭhābhaya to Anurādhapura it is said that he was responsible for giving a good education to the prince. It is however not possible for us to ascertain exactly what was studied by Saṅghabodhi under *thera* Nanda. Our source specifically mentions that the prince was taught the *Tripiṭaka* and other subjects (*bāhira sattha*).[37] We may however surmise that the prince being as young as seven years when he was brought to the *vihāra*, elementary subjects like reading, writing and number too would have formed part of the curriculum. It is further mentioned in the *Elu-Attanagalu-vaṃsaya*[38] that gradually the prince was taught also logic, grammar, etc. We have earlier drawn attention to the possibility that Saṅghabodhi's two friends Saṅghatissa and Goṭhābhaya may also have studied under Nanda along with Saṅghabodhi.[39]

Apart from the usual subjects Saṅghabodhi had to study, he also seems to have had to listen to regular Dhamma sermons by the *thera*.[40] It was at the end of one such sermon that the *thera* Nanda is said to have given a long admonition to the prince.[41] This pattern is in keeping with the monastic type of education coming down from Vedic times. The teacher became responsible not only for the text and subject teaching but also for character building and moral training. That the type of moral training given to Saṅghabodhi by his uncle, *thera* Nanda was a pattern approved then and subsequently can be gauged from the fact that Saṅghabodhi's behaviour as a king and hermit has been acclaimed by the Sinhalese in that he is considered as an outstanding monarch of Ceylon.[42] " His claim to greatness consists in that he was a hero of righteousness (*dharma-vīra*), the last of the three classes to which heroes are divided according to Indian theory. "[43] It is possible that this was brought about by the type of education he received at the hands of the *thera* Nanda, and his own attitude to life.

Saṅghamitta, a *thera* from Kāvīrapaṭṭana had so impressed Goṭhābhaya that the king appointed him tutor to his two sons Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsena. It is said that Jeṭṭhatissa however did not like Saṅghamitta, for his having favoured the younger prince, as a result of which the elder is said to have borne ill-will to the *bhikkhu*.[44] It

is possible that Mahāsena was ready to listen to the *bhikkhu* while the other was not. We are not told in our sources what type of subjects or lessons were taught by Saṅghamitta to these two princes. Thus in the circumstances we could only hazard a guess. We know that Saṅghamitta was an adherent of the Vaitulya or Mahāyāna school. We also know the circumstances under which Saṅghamitta came to Ceylon. It is said that he came with a firm resolve either to make the Mahāvihāra *bhikkhus* accept the Vaitulya doctrine, or failing which to have their monastery destroyed.[45] This being his mission, and knowing that Jeṭṭhatissa and Mahāsena would one day ascend the throne, Saṅghamitta would have tried to tutor his two pupils in such a way as to be able to make use of them in his task. It is possible that the elder Jeṭṭhatissa did not fall in line with the tutor. And as such Saṅghamitta seems to have concentrated his attention on the younger Mahāsena. However, except to say that Saṅghatissa set about his task with a view to making use of Mahāsena for his future plans,[46] we have no other information regarding the tutoring done by Saṅghamitta. It is possible that the lessons given especially to Mahāsena centred round religion. This may have been somewhat like the religion embodied in the book *Vayatudala* mentioned in the inscription from Jetavana.[47] We cannot possibly say what other subjects were taught to the two princes by Saṅghamitta.

From what has been discussed above we could conclude that the subjects of the curriculum in ancient Ceylon may be considered to be rather like the following : Sanskrit language and grammar, astrology, Vedic texts, military arts such as swordsmanship, riding, warfare ; Itihāsa, political science, Pāli language and grammar, Tripiṭaka, perhaps Tamil language and grammar, medical science, reading, writing, number, logic, prosody and rhetoric. It may be possible there were other subjects which were included in the curriculum of the time. But we are unable to ascertain what they may have been, due to lack of definite information.

As for the methods of teaching that may have been followed during these early times one might say that the usual traditional pattern was followed. The teacher recited the texts and it was the duty of the student to listen to him carefully and learn the text from the mouth of the teacher. In the case of the novice he resided in the *vihāra* with the teacher himself. The day was spent in following the various duties of a *bhikkhu* apart from learning. Spiritual and moral training too formed a part of the early training of the novice. The teacher was waited upon by the pupil as a form of duty. Both the duties of serving the elder and studying formed an important part of the life of a student. Each day was devoted to revision of earlier work, explanations and discussions, questions and answers which perhaps formed the general pattern of education during this time.[48]

We also ought to take into consideration the pattern of education that may have prevailed among the laity. We have already observed that medical studies may have been followed during the early times. We surmised that some may have studied medicine in the monasteries. But it is possible that laymen too would have taught the profession to pupils. In that case it is possible that the student resided with the teacher in his home and studied the subject while actually observing the teacher

practising his profession. Thus the method of teaching followed in this case would have been one of observation and imitation. The pupil observes the teacher prescribing his medicines and under the watchful and benevolent guidance and attention of the teacher he learns his art through practical lessons. The study of the prescriptions which had to be committed to memory had to be done at times convenient to the student either in the night or in the early hours of the morning. While the student was not attending to medical treatment with his teacher or to his own textual studies, the student would have attended to various household matters of the teacher as a matter of course, for he lived with his teacher as a member of the family as was the custom in the early *gurukulas*.

We are not quite certain as to whether any fee was paid to the teacher by the student in the early pattern of education in Ceylon. However we observe the case of Paṇḍukābhaya who paid a thousand *kahāpaṇas* to the Brāhmin Paṇḍula.[49] But at the end of his studies we observe the teacher giving the young prince a hundred thousand *kahāpaṇas* with which to raise an army,[50] which amount is incidentally very much more than the fee paid to him. This was before the advent of Buddhism into the Island.

The next example we observe from our sources is the instance of Saṅghabodhi who was educated under his own uncle, *thera* Nanda, chief of the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-mahā-vihāra. This is about five centuries after Buddhism had been introduced to Ceylon. We do not come across any case in between. In the story of Saṅghabodhi we do not come across any statement to the effect that any fee was paid to the *thera*. Apart from his being a close kinsman of Selābhaya we have also to consider the fact that he was a *bhikkhu*, and that Selābhaya himself was dead at the time he took over Saṅghabodhi. We have noted earlier that the *saṅgha* had come to consider the education and spiritual guidance of the laity as a part of their duty.[51] There is no doubt that Mahinda and those who came after him steadfastly followed this tradition as a matter of course. Under the circumstances there cannot be any question of a fee being charged by *bhikkhus* for their efforts towards the educational and spiritual guidance of other *bhikkhus* or the laity. In other words, the education provided in the monasteries in Ceylon in earliest times was free, both for members of the *saṅgha* and the laity who may have come there for their studies. In the case of crafts too it is possible that the training was provided free to the apprentice. But whatever work done by the apprentice that brought in any payment, perhaps went to the master craftsman. This in a way can be considered as a form of payment to the teacher. But the craftsman had to maintain the apprentice during his period of training. Craftsmen also may have worked free for the king and the monasteries. For this service they usually received land and other forms of emolument. Thus, on the whole it would be correct to say that the early form of education found in Ceylon was free. And the only form of payment that was made was that the student generally waited on the teacher, and the laity maintained the *saṅgha* by their generous gifts of *dāna* and other requisities.

The education of women too may be considered here. In India in Ṛg-Vedic times complete educational facilities appear to have been available to women.[52] Thus we come across women sages as well as women who have gone through the discipline of *Brahmacārya*.[52] During later Vedic times we find the tradition being maintained. "Two directions given in the *Aitareya Upanishad* (II, I) imply that elderly married women were permitted to hear Vedantic discourses. The Upanishads mention several other women as teachers, but it is not clear whether they were married. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* (vi, 4, 17) mentions an interesting ritual by which a person prays for the birth to him of a daughter who should be a *paṇḍitā* or a learned lady. The *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* (vii, 6) tells of an Aryan lady Pathyāsvasti proceeding to the north for study and obtaining the title of *Vāk*, i.e. Sarasvatī, by her learning. In this connection, we may note that women were taught some of the fine arts like dancing and singing which were regarded as accomplishments unfit for men (*Taittir. Saṁ.*, vi, I, 6, 5 ; *Maitrā. Saṁ.*, iii, 7, 3 ; *Śatap. Br.*, iii, 2, 4, 3-6)"[53]

In the Sūtra period too we find the earlier educational tradition being followed. Mention is made of instances where the wife has to utter Vedic *mantras* along with her husband at ceremonies, and it is enjoined in the literature that girls should be given an education and be married to learned husbands.[54] In the time of Pāṇinī we come across women versed in Vedic literature as well as those who have had a military training.[55]

Brāhmanical society in the Buddha's day had accepted the position that women were inferior to men. Nevertheless in the Buddhist Order we observe that a definite place has been allotted to women namely that of *bhikkhunīs* and *upāsikās*.

However we ought to note that the Buddha consented to allow women to enter the Order after great persuasion, due to the persistent efforts of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī and at the intervention of Ānanda.[56] Once women entered the Order it was a duty incumbent on them to study the *Tripiṭaka* and devote their attention to moral and religious training directed towards spiritual advancement. "A monk specially selected by the brotherhood was to impart instruction and admonition to the nuns twice every month in the presence of another monk. The discipline and duties of daily life were the same for nuns as for monks except that the solitary life was practically forbidden them."[57] At a time when women were considered to be inferior to men and always expected to be dependent and submissive, once they were admitted to the Order of *bhikkhunīs* by the Buddha, although with great reluctance, they found in the system an opportunity to engage in educational, religious and social enterprises.[58] "Buddhism produced numerous remarkable women within its own fold, who played a prominent part as leaders of thought in that religious reformation. The Order of Nuns was the training-ground of these women. We have unfortunately hardly any information in the sacred works, giving details of the actual training they had in the nunneries. That some of the nuns qualified themselves in the knowledge of the sacred texts so far as to be accepted as the teachers of other junior nuns is evident from a passage in the *Chullavagga* (x, 8), which mentions that a Bhikkhuṇī was the pupil of the Bhikkhuṇī Uppalavaṇṇā. Regarding their studies, the same passage informs us that the Bhikkhuṇī 'followed the Blessed One for seven

years, learning the Vinaya, but she, being forgetful, lost it as fast as she received it '. It was then ordained that Bhikkhus should teach the Vinaya to Bhikkhuṇīs." [59] We come across many prominent *therīs* in the Buddha-sāsana such as Mahā-Pajāpatī-Gotamī, Khujjuttarā, Dhammadinnā, Somā, Anupamā, Khemā, Sujātā, Cāpā, Kisā Gotamī, Sundarī, Paṭācārā, Sukkā, etc. The *Therīgāthā* [60] is a unique collection of poems giving sufficient evidence on the society of the time of the Buddha, the state of the *bhikkhunī-sāsana* and the great achievements of the individual *therīs* concerned. For a general, non religious or secular education, the women, like in the case of the public at large may have had to depend on systems and centres of education outside the monasteries, if they so desired to receive such forms of education. [61]

With regard to the education of women in Ceylon too, there is no doubt the tradition of the Indian pattern of education would have been followed from the time of the arrival of Āryans in Ceylon. However we have no evidence to ascertain what it may have actually been. But with the arrival in Ceylon of *therī* Saṅghamittā and the establishment of the monasteries for nuns, the monastic type of education became available to nuns. Saṅghamittā and the other *therīs* of her group undertook the responsibility of the moral, religious and educational training of the *therīs* who entered the Order. In this connection, the first batch of local *therīs* who would have gone through this form of training and education is Anulā and her following of five hundred maidens and five hundred women of the royal harem. [62] We are not told as to what type of education Anulā and her retinue received. But we could surmise that it would have been a study of the Pāli language and grammar and the *Tripiṭaka*, with special reference to the Vinaya *piṭaka*. [63] It is said that the *therīs* of Laṅkā were attached to the Dhamma and the Vinaya. [64] We find a list of eminent *therīs* of Ceylon most of whom are teachers of the Vinaya. [65] Their names are: Saddhamma-nandī, Somā, Giriddhī, Dāsikā, Dhammā, Dhammapālā, Mahilā, who is said to have kept the *Dhutaṅgas*, Sobhanā, Dhammatāpasā, Naramittā, Sātā, Kālī, Uttarā, Sumanā, daughters of Kākavaṇṇatissa whose names are not given, Girikālī, the daughter of Kākavaṇṇatissa's chaplain, daughters of minister Dhutta, namely, Dāsī, Kālī, Subhapāpikā, and Sabbapālī, Mahādevī, Padumā, Hemā, Mahāsoṇā, Dattā, Sīvalī, Nāgā, Nāgamittā, Dhammaguttā, Dāsikā, Samuddā, Sapattā, Channā, Upālī, Revatā, Mālā, Khemā, Tissā, the king's daughters Samuddā, Nāvā, Devī and Sīvalī, Nāgapālī, Nāgamittā, Mahilā, Pālā, Culla-nāgā, and Culla-nāgamittā. It is said that these *therīs* were the most eminent out of the fourteen thousand *bhikkhunīs* who are said to have lived during the time. [66]

We also find a list of very eminent, learned and righteous *therīs* who are supposed to have lived in Rohaṇa.[67] They are Cullanāgā, Dattā, Soṇā, Saṇhā, Gamika-dhītā, Mahātissā, Mahā-sumanā, Cūla-sumanā, and Mahākālī. There is another name Samuddā which appears immediately after this although it appears that she does not come into this category of Rohaṇa *therīs*.[68] However, considering the disjointed form of the text in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, and the fact that the name follows the list, it may be possible that Samuddā too belonged to this group.

These two lists appear to be the only evidence we can gather from the *Dīpavaṃsa* regarding *therīs* of Ceylon. The *Mahāvaṃsa* however does not contain such a list. From the sources we can only surmise as to the religious education the *therīs* received after they entered the Order. But we are left with no evidence at all as to the nature of the preliminary pattern of education women in early Ceylon may have received. We also do not know whether the average woman in early Ceylon received any form of formal education. It is possible that the women in royal and noble families received an education, perhaps of a private nature. We observe Mahinda preaching the Bālapaṇḍita-suttanta to women of noble families who had come to listen to him, and a thousand of them are said to have attained the first stage of salvation at the end of the sermon.[69]

In the story of Ayya-Uttika we find evidence to indicate that women were learned, at least among the royalty. Ayya-Uttika who had fled the court when king Kalyāṇa-tissa had come to know of his secret association with the queen, sent a letter to the queen through a man disguised as a *bhikkhu*.[70] This indicates that the queen was learned enough to be able to read, and perhaps she was proficient in other branches of education as well.

The story of Vihāradevi indicates that she would have received a good education at her father's palace. She is spoken of as keen witted (*sumedhā*) [71] and also knowing the right means (*upāya-kovidā*). [72] Further, not only does she seem to have had a knowledge of war strategy,[73] but we also see her in the battle-field with her son Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[74] At the consecration of the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra we are told ninety-thousand *bhikkhunīs* participated in it.[75] At the foundation-laying ceremony of the Mahāthūpa, a *thera* named Piyadassi is said to have delivered a discourse, at which, among others, fourteen thousand *bhikkhunīs* are said to have benefitted.[76] Mahācūli-Mahātissa is said to have given six garments each to thirty thousand *bhikkhunīs*.[77] Kuṭakaṇṇa-Tissa is represented as having built a hot-room (*jantā-ghara*) for the *bhikkhuṇīs*[78] Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga is said to have given gifts worth a hundred thousand to *bhikkhunīs*.[79] These instances, even if we are to discredit the numbers mentioned in some cases, indicate that there were, in ancient Ceylon, many *bhikkhunīs* who devoted their attention to a religious life and consequently to learning.

That women had learnt the art of dancing can be suggested from certain evidence we observe in our sources. We come across dancing women at the enshrinement of the relics in the Mahāthūpa.[80] We come across them again at the passing away of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[81]

The instance of Anulā is another evidence to suggest that women had received an education. Anulā who was the wife of Coranāga ruled the country for four years three months raising Siva, Vaṭuka, Dārubhātika Tissa and Niliya to the position of king and husband after poisioning the earlier husband in each case.[82] Although Anulā is represented as infamous, licentious and wicked, we should consider her to have been educated and clever enough to be able to govern the country. Cūlābhaya's younger sister Sīvalī too reigned for four months after the death of Cūlābhaya.[83] Thus Sīvalī too would have been educated enough to be able to run the government,

although for a very short period. Kuṭakaṇṇa's mother who entered the Order,[84] Iḷanāga's mother who admonished him not to kill the Lambakaṇṇas,[85] Subha's general's wife who saved the life of Vasabha by putting betel into his hands without slaked lime,[86] and Mahāsena's wife, the daughter of a scribe, who, grieved at the destruction caused to the Mahāvihāra by Saṅghamitta, got him murdered by a carpenter ; may all be considered to have been well educated. These instances, except perhaps the daughter of the scribe are however of women of royal and noble birth.

A woman named Hemā in a village to the west of Anurādhapura is represented as being intelligent and possessed of a memory capable of retaining anything at one hearing. She once listened to the *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* preached by a *thera*. It is said that she was able to retain in memory the entire *sutta* together with the commentarial portion, after one hearing. Later she recited the *sutta* to a *nāga* who invited her to preach to him.[87]

Kiñci-Saṅghā's story indicates that girls were taught the culinary art.[88] Then we have the instance of a daughter who helped the father with the making of bricks.[89] These two instances however indicate that, apart from royalty and nobility, girls from ordinary stations in life received an education of a domestic and vocational nature, if at all they received an education. There may have been exceptions, but the early society may have considered the woman's rightful place to be the home, and consequently they were prepared for it by the parents, perhaps especially the mother.

REFERENCES

1. See, Supra, Chap. 2
2. See, Supra, Chap. 5
3. Mhv., viii, v. 14 ; x, v. 75 ; xiv, v. 53 ; xxii, v. 47, etc.
4. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 22
5. Ibid., vv. 18–19
6. See, Shamasastry, op. cit., p. 9
7. See, *Laws of Manu*, SBE., xxv, p. 36
8. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 23
9. See, Shamasastry, op. cit., pp. 9–10
10. Rsv., p. 170 ; see also, Mhv., Chap. xxiv, v. 1
11. Shamasastry, op. cit., p. 9
12. Altekar, A. S.—*State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 160
13. Smp., Vol. i, pp. 102–103 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 142
14. Dpv., Chap. xviii, v. 14
15. Mhv., Chap. xxx, v. 88
16. D., Vol. iii, p. 191 ; see also, HBC., p. 287
17. UCH., Ibid., p. 47
18. Nāgasena learnt the *Tripiṭaka* by heart from *thera* Dhammarakkhita, See, *Milindapañha*, pp-16, 18
19. " Inscription No. 12 from Periya-Puḷiyankulam ; JCBRAS, No. 93, pp. 54–5."
20. " Iḷattu Pūtaṉ Tēvaṉār. Seven of his poems are included in the Śaṅgam anthologies *Akanāṉūṟu*, *Kaṟuntokai* and *Naṟṟiṇai*."
21. UCH., Ibid., pp. 42–43
22. *Mahāvgga*, vi, 1, 2
23. DPPN., Vol. i, p. 958
24. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 75
25. Mhv., Chap. xxii, v. 30
26. Ibid., v. 37
27. Ibid., xxv, vv. 29–34 ; Rsv., p. 176
28. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 223 ; see also, Mhv., Chap. xxxii, v. 38 ; Rsv., p. 181
29. CJScG., Vol. ii, p. 26, No. 403
30. Mhv., Chap. xxxiii, v. 27
31. Dpv., Chap. xix, v. 12
32. Mhv., Chap. xxxv, vv. 74, 94
33. See, Supra, p.147
34. Dpv., Chap. xxii, v. 40
35. See, Smp. (SHB), Vol. i, pp. 335–337; D., Vol. i, p. 9
36. See, *Attanagalu-vihāra-vaṃsa*, pp. 4–5
37. Ibid., p. 6
38. See, p. 7
39. See, Supra, p. 149
40. *Elu-Attanagalu-vaṃsaya*, p. 9
41. Ibid., p. 9 ff.
42. See, UCH., Ibid., pp. 189–190
43. Ibid., p. 190
44. Mhv., Chap. xxxvi, v. 177
45. Ns., p. 11 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 251
46. Ns., pp. 11–12
47. EZ., Vol. iv, pp. 272–285
48. Altekar, A. S.—*Education in Ancient India*, p. 153
49. Mhv., Chap. x, v. 19. It is however not specifically mentioned that the money was given to Paṇḍula.
50. Ibid., v. 24
51. See, Supra, p. 162

52. Mookerji, R. K.—op. cit., pp. 51, 105 " In the *Śatap. Br.*, xiii, 4, 3, 5, we find a Rājanya as a lute player and singer at the Aśvamedha sacrifice, probably the forerunner of the *Kshatriya* bards from whom sprang the Epic. The presentation of this subject is based on *JRAS.*, 1908, pp. 868–870 (Keith's comments,) and *Vedic Index*, i, 206 ; ii, 87. "
53. Mookerji, R. K.—op. cit., p. 105
54. Ibid., pp. 208-209
55. Ibid., p. 245
56. For details, see, *Vinaya*, ii, p. 253 ff.
57. Mookerji, R. K.—op. cit., p. 463
58. See, *Therī Gāthā* ; Horner, I. B.—op. cit., Chaps. iv and v
59. Mookerji, R. K.—op. cit., pp. 463–464
60. See, Rhys Davids, Mrs. C. A. F., *Psalms of the Sisters*
61. Mookerji, R. K., op. cit., p. 467
62. Mhv., Chap. xviii, v. 9 ; xix, v. 65 ; Dpv., Chap. xii, vv. 80–82 ; xv, v. 74 ff
63. See, Dpv., Chap. xviii, vv. 12–14
64. Ibid., v. 18
65. Ibid., xviii, vv. 15–37
66. Ibid., v. 37
67. Ibid., vv. 39–41
68. Ibid., v. 42
69. Mhv., Chap. xv, vv. 3–5
70. Ibid., xxii, vv. 13–17
71. Ibid., v. 36
72. Ibid., v. 37
73. Ibid., xxv, v. 55
74. Ibid., vv. 9, 55
75. Ibid., xxvi, v. 15
76. Ibid., xxix, v. 69
77. Ibid., xxxiv, v. 8
78. Dpv., Chap. xx, v. 34
79. Mhv., Chap. xxxiv, v. 87
80. Ibid., xxxi, vv. 102, 112
81. Ibid., xxxii, v. 78
82. Ibid., xxxiv, v. 16 ff. ; Dpv., Chap. xx, v. 26 ff.
83. Ibid., xxxv, v. 14 ; Dpv., Chap. xxi, v. 39
84. Ibid., xxxiv, vv. 35–36
85. Ibid., xxxv, v. 43
86. Ibid., v. 59 ff.
87. Rsv., pp. 239–241 ; Sdhl., pp. 655–660
88. See, Infra, p. 179
89. See, Infra, p. 178

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CHAPTER 10

ARTS AND CRAFTS, ETC.

From the references we find in the chronicles to the construction of various *dāgobas*, buildings and other numerous monuments we could surmise that in ancient Ceylon there would have been a large number of artisans and carftsmen who would necessarily have been responsible for their erection. According to our sources the first mention of craftsmen comes during the time of Vijaya himself. When Vijaya's ministers desired Vijaya to be consecrated king it was found necessary to have a *kṣatriya* queen. For this purpose the ministers are said to have despatched a letter to the Paṇḍu king in India requesting him to send brides for Vijaya and his companions.[1] In acceding to this request, it is said that the Paṇḍu king sent also 'craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds'[2] (aṭṭhārasannaṃ seṇīnaṃ).[3] The word *seṇī* is explained in the sense of a guild in the *Samantapāsādikā*.[4] This story of Vijaya's queen indicates that people belonging to various guilds came and settled down in Ceylon. The conventional number eighteen is mentioned here in connection with the guilds. Although a widespread guild system prevailed in India during this time, from the *Jātakas* we gather that while eighteen kinds of guilds are mentioned, only four are specifically mentioned in the texts.[5] We also see from our sources that in ancient Ceylon very often villages and streets were demarcated on the basis of the occupations of the inhabitants.[6] This perhaps may have originated with these earliest craftsmen and people of various guilds. Having settled down in Ceylon, it is pertinent for us to conjecture that these craftsmen and guildmen introduced their professions to the society at the time. That the guild system gradually took firm root in Ceylon is indicated by the merchants' guild of the fourth century at Kalahumanaka, with which a certain minister named Devaya deposited some quantity of grain and beans with the stipulation that from the interest earned meals should be provided for the *bhikkhus* of the Yahisapavata monastery during every *vassa* season.[7] We find similar instances of capital deposited with guilds in India to provide amenities to the *saṅgha* from the interest derived.[8]

We have already mentioned the incident of the presence of musicians and singers at the revelries connected with the marriage festivity at Sirīsavatthu-pura.[9] We also observe that Paṇḍukābhaya caused 'gods and men to dance before him'[10] on festive days. When the branch of the sacred Bodhi tree was sent to Ceylon, Aśoka is said to have sent 'different classes of artisans to perform the various services necessary for the Bodhi Tree,'[11] (*sabbesaṃ cāpi senīnaṃ*).[12] Bhātikābhaya is represented as having held many festivals at which dances, concerts and diverse kinds of musical instruments were played.[13] So had his younger brother, Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga.[14]

Thus we observe that from the time of the first immigrants numerous artisans who practised various kinds of arts and crafts came and settled down here in Ceylon. With the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon during the time of Devānampiyatissa, and with the bringing of the Bodhi tree further groups of various artisans arrived in

Ceylon. It is possible that some of these had witnessed the sculptural and architectural achievements of India during the time, such as at Bhārhut and Sāñchi.* In fact we observe that Mahinda himself started off on his journey to Ceylon from Vedisagirivihāra, the same as the modern Sāñchi.[15]

In the two instances of the arrival of the queen for Vijaya and the bringing of the Bodhi tree, Vijaya and Devānampiyatissa both offered great hospitality and honour to the various artisans and craftsmen who came on the two occasions. It is no doubt these occasions were not the only instances in which artisans and craftsmen came to Ceylon. And whenever they arrived it is possible they were received with equal enthusiasm.

From the earliest times we observe that these craftsmen received the ready patronage of both royalty and nobility. Kings and ministers employed these craftsmen in the construction of palaces, *dāgobas* and other places of worship. We also observe some of these craftsmen in very cordial and close association with ruling monarchs. They were often held with respect and confidence by the rulers. Thus we observe that Mahācūli-Mahātissa considered it fit and appropriate to erect a memorial to perpetuate the memory of a lapidary who died in the king's service.[16] We also see the city carpenter of Anurādhapura in the person of the *Damila* Vaṭuka had been associated with the royal family so much that Anulā had thought it expedient to marry him and raise him to the position of the ruler of the Island.[17] Subha, through fear of Vasabha entrusted his daughter to a brick-layer giving him at the same time his mantle and royal insignia.[18] Like in the case of the child prince Paṇḍukābhaya whose safety was entrusted to a person in Dvāramaṇḍala,[19] possibly the *gāmabhojaka* of the place, one could perhaps suggest that Subha, in this case, selected the brick-layer as custodian of his daughter, feeling certain that no one would expect a king's daughter to be entrusted to the care of such a person, and as such she would not be found out. But this does not seem to be the case. It is mentioned in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* that the brick-layer was a dear friend of the king,[20] and as such, it transpires that Subha turned to him for help in his difficulty, not because one could not suspect a princess to be entrusted to a person like a brick-layer, but because of their close friendship he could be trusted with an assignment of that nature. We also find the daughter of a scribe being an exceedingly beloved wife of Mahāsena.[21] This particular wife who is mentioned as being a favourite of the king was very much grieved at the destruction of the Mahāvihāra carried out by Saṅghamitta and Soṇa on the orders of Mahāsena, that she won over a carpenter working in the Thūpārāma to assassinate *thera* Saṅghamitta,[22] who, as we note, was not only the king's tutor but was also his most favourite spiritual adviser.

During this early period one of the most important forms of constructional works was the *stūpa*. It was at the behest of Mahinda that Devānampiyatissa built the first *stūpa* in Ceylon. Said the *thera* : " Long is the time, O lord of men, since we have seen the Saṃbuddha. We lived a life without a master. There is nothing here for us to worship.' And to the question : ' Yet has thou not told me, sir, that the Saṃbuddha is passed into nibbāṇa ? ' he answered : ' If we behold the relics we

* These are ascribed to a period between 250-200 B.C. See, Cunningham, A : *The Stūpa of Bharhut ; The Bhilsa Topes.*

behold the Conqueror.' 'My intention to build a thūpa is known to you. I will build the thūpa, and do you discover the relics."[23] This practice of building in Ceylon, a *stūpa* over the relics of the Buddha started firstly by Devānampiyatissa, culminated in the construction of the Mahāthūpa by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and the Jetavana-vihāra by Mahāsena which is considered to be the largest monument of this kind in Ceylon. A special feature of the *stūpa* that appeared during the second century or thereabout is the *vāhalkaḍa*, frontispieces constructed facing the four cardinal points.[24] The building of these edifices presupposes the existence in Ceylon in early times of numerous artisans and craftsmen.

Consequent to the *stūpa*, there appeared the Buddha statue in course of time. In India we find no Buddha statue at places like Bhārhut and Sāñchi. "The early Buddhists had no statues of Buddha. He is not once represented in the sculptured bas-reliefs of Bharhut, which date from 150 to 100 B.C.,* and there is no image of him amongst the numerous scenes of the great Sānchi Stūpa."[25] At first the Buddha was represented by the *srīpāda*, a *chatra* or a column of fire.[26] In Ceylon too it appears there was no attempt made by any sculptor to fashion out a figure of the Buddha during early times. However we observe a reference in the *Mahāvaṃsa* to an image of the Buddha made during the time of Devānampiyatissa : "The great and beautiful stone image that was placed of old by Devānaṃpiyatissa in the Thūpārāma did king Jeṭṭhatissa take away from the Thūpārāma, and set up in the ārāma Pācīnatissapabbata."[27] However, in the account of Devānampiyatissa's activities as given in the *Mahāvaṃsa* we do not find any reference to a Buddha image made by him. Similarly the Indian tradition takes the origin of the Buddha statue to the life-time of the Buddha himself, where king Pasenajit is said to have made a statue of sandal-wood in the likeness of the Buddha.[28] In connection with the construction of the Mahāthūpa it is said that a shining seated golden Buddha image was placed at the foot of the Bodhi tree inside the relic chamber.[29] "In the description of the relic-chamber of the Mahāthūpa, also, Buddha images are listed among the objects deposited therein. But, as the statements refer to a period anterior to that in which the Buddha image first appeared in India itself, no credence can be attached to them."[30] However that may be, after the Buddha image had been introduced to Ceylon, it appears that in the course of time a particular tradition and a definite school of sculpture appear to have emerged, in that particular features came to be laid down as necessary factors in the construction of the Buddha image such as *pallaṅka*, *cūlāmaṇi*, *pādajāla*, *cīvara*, etc. A sculptor (?) (*rupadaka*) named Tisa is mentioned in a cave inscription at Periyakaḍu-vihāra in the Kurunāgala district.[31] The inscription is assigned to a period between 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D. By the time of the *Aṭṭhakathās* it appears that the sculptor's art had developed to a degree that there were not only images, but also image houses to shelter them.[32] According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the first *paṭimāghara*, or image house was built in Ceylon by Vasabha.[33] This building however appears to have been constructed in the courtyard of the Bodhi tree. Next we observe Mahāsena setting up a great stone image at the Abhayagiri-vihāra, having brought it from the Pācīnatissapabbata-vihāra and building a *paṭimāghara* for the image.[34]

* See, supra, p. 174 fn.

We observe a further development in sculpture round about the time Mahāyāna was introduced to Ceylon. During the reign of Vohāratissa the Vaitulya doctrine is said to have been introduced to Ceylon. Although it is said to have been suppressed then by the king, from the events that occurred in subsequent times,[35] we can judge that the belief had come to stay in the Island. Thus it may be surmised that the Mahāyānic form of religious practice took root and spread in the country. One such practice was the introduction of the *Bodhisatva* cult. This brought about the appearance of the *Bodhisatva* image. Although the *Bodhisatva* image is first met with in the time of Jeṭṭhatissa II,[36] it is possible that its evolution would have taken place from the time of the introduction of Mahāyānism into the country.

The early sculptor seems to have tried his hand at portrait sculpture as well. The two stone figures in the compound of the Mahāthūpa are commonly believed to be of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Vihāramahadevi although there is no evidence to support it. "The colossal statue in the round near the southern gate of the Ruvanväli Dāgāba is popularly believed to be a representation of king Bhātiya,"[37] according to Paranavitāna.

The first instance of an image being mentioned in our sources is met with in the description of the war of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī against Eḷāra. "The king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi also took counsel with his mother and by her counsel formed thirty-two bodies of troops. In these the king placed parasol-bearers and figures of a king; the monarch himself took his place in the innermost body of troops."[38] From the context it is clear that the figures were intended to deceive the enemy. It also appears that the figures were intended to represent Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. These were made of wood (*kaṭṭhamaya*).[39] However we do not know whether these figures were merely suggestive ones or whether they were made as an exact likeness of the king.

We come across a reference to an Eḷāra Paṭimāghara in the *Mahāvaṃsa* commentary.[40] We do not know exactly whether this could be taken as a building where Eḷāra's image had been placed. It can also have been so named perhaps because the building was constructed by Eḷāra, or even because it was an image house built at the place Eḷāra fell in combat with Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.

These are the only instances of portrait sculpture we come across within our period. However there is a definite reference to a portrait sculpture during the time of Silākāla, although the period does not fall within our purview.[41] Ivory workers also appear to have practised their art in Ceylon in early times. An ivory figurine of a nude female found at the southern *vāhalkaḍa* of the Mahāthūpa is attributed to the second century.[42]

It has been observed earlier that although there is literary evidence to indicate the wide-spread practice of art and painting in early Ceylon no example of a painting that could be datable to a time before the reign of Mahāsena exists in Ceylon.[43] It appears that not only laymen but also *bhikkhus* functioned as artists. We also note the wherewithal used by the artist. He used the *tulikā*,[44] a kind of brush, and colours, usually about four in number, red, green, yellow and black. When Aśoka wanted to get at the southern branch of the Bodhi tree, he marked it with red arsenic.[45] Bhātikābhaya adorned the courtyard of the Mahāthūpa with essences

of the colour of black, yellow and red.[46] *Theras* who were entrusted with providing a drawing of a suitable building as plan for the Lohapāsāda made a drawing of the heavenly Ambalaṭṭhika *pāsāda* on a linen cloth with red arsenic.[47] Various painters are said to have worked on the cloth covering of the upper portion of the Mahāthūpa left undone by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī at the time he fell sick. Saddhātissa commanded " painters to make on it a vedikā duly and rows of filled vases likewise and the row with the five-finger ornament. "[48] The Mahāthūpa was further painted by Saddhātissa with pigments made of *lākhā* and *kankuṭṭhaka*.[49] Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga constructed four arches ' well planned by artists '[50] at the four entrances to the Mahāthūpa. It is said that the cave in which Cittagutta *thera* resided for sixty years contained beautiful paintings of the renunciation of the last seven Buddhas.[51]

The construction of irrigation works, the building of *dāgobas* and palaces, the practice of agriculture, and the waging of wars in reigns like that of Paṇḍukābhaya and Duṭṭhagāmaṇī indicate the use and prevalence of implements and weapons made of metal. This indicates that there were smiths of various kinds in early Ceylon.[52] In the story of the marking of the sacred boundary, we find a reference to a patron deity of smiths, *kammāradeva*.[53]

We come across many instances of smiths' work being mentioned in stories connected with Kākavaṇṇatissa. When Nandimitta went to Rohaṇa it is said he met Kākavaṇṇatissa in the armoury.[54] Similarly when Nimmala, the youngest son of the householder Saṅgha of Kaṇḍakapiṭṭhigāma[55] in the district of Koṭṭhivāla,[56] was sent by Dīghābhaya to Kākavaṇṇatissa, he met him again in the armoury getting smiths to fashion various kinds of weapons.[57] When Dāṭhāsena of the village of Kububandha in Rohaṇa went to join the royal service of Kākavaṇṇa it is said he met the king in the company of five hundred smiths getting the various weapons tempered.[58] It is said that Sāliya, son of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, had been born as a smith named Tissa in the village of Muṇḍavāka on the banks of the Mahāvāluka river, in his previous birth.[59] According to the *Rasavāhinī*, Asokamālā is mentioned as being the daughter of a smith who lived in the village of Hellola.[60] There is also the mention of a smiths' village close to the *vihāra* called Hatthikkhanda.[61] We come across a clever and very well known smith living in Anurādhapura who in his next birth entered the Order and became an *arhant*.[62] Mention is made of a well known goldsmith named Kunta to whom king Saddhātissa gave some gold instructing him to fashion a golden bowl for him.[63] We find a certain chieftain named Veṇisāla got his son proficient in the art of weapons, probably swordsmanship, and got him enlisted in the service of the king.[64]

Saddhātissa is said to have caused Buddha images to be fashioned in gold.[65] A jewellers' village situated in the western quarter of Anurādhapura is mentioned in an inscription of the time of Sirināga II.[66] A fragmentary cave inscription at Māmpiṭa in Kāgalla district mentions a son of a jeweller whose name is not preserved.[67] It is mentioned in the *Sīhaḷavatthu* that once the people of the western quarter of Anurādhapura brought five hundred cart-loads of vessels made of gold, silver and copper as presents to prince Sāli.[68] It may be surmised that it was because of the presence of copper smiths in Ceylon at the time that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī could cover the

roof of the Lohapāsāda with plates of copper.[69] Vohāratissa is said to have caused two bronze images to be made.[70] In Anurādhapura during the time of Eḷāra, mention is made of a potters' street in the city, from where Veḷusumana bought a large pitcher.[71] We come across a potter and a musician in the story of Mahādatta.[72]

Brick-layers and other artisans can be presumed to have been employed in the construction of the four gateways at the Utara-maha-ceta said to have been done by Malu-tisa.[73] Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is mentioned as having assembled the bricklayers of the country who numbered five hundred.[74] During Saddhātissa's time a certain poor farmer of Anurādhapura is said to have earned his livelihood by making bricks with his daughter.[75] A common potters' pit from where perhaps clay was obtained is mentioned in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*.[76] During the first or second century A.C. a *thera* named Nanda residing at a place called Dakavahanaka in the village of Kaḍahavapi had the Kirivehera at Kataragama enlarged and also got *bhikkhus* at the place called Akujuka to construct a flight of steps at the four entrances.[77]

King Mahallaka-Nāga is mentioned as having got cloth weavers to weave in silk, outer garments for *bhikkhus* of the Viharabijaka, Mutigutika and Parivataka monasteries.[78] We come across musicians, singers and dancers being mentioned in the story of Goṭha-imbara.[79] We also come across tailors in the story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.[80] A certain *amacca* named Siva who was administering Mahātitthapaṭṭana in Sīhaḷadīpa is said to have summoned many exorcists living in the area in order to find out whether any one of them could cause the death of one who had gone abroad.[81] We come across a cave of a lay-devotee named Majhima who is mentioned as being a son of an astrologer.[82] The inscription in question is assigned to a period between 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.

In an incident in the story of Sāli we come across evidence of the presence of art and painting in ancient Ceylon. Once when prince Sāli was travelling along the city of Anurādhapura in a chariot, Asokamālā, the *caṇḍāla* woman whom he subsequently married, on seeing the prince, through fear, is said to have stepped off his path and remained leaning against a wall close by. Sāli arriving at the spot and seeing her is said to have thought that the woman he saw against the wall was a painting. He is said to have asked his followers as to who the artist was who had painted that figure.[83] The Koraṇḍa-mahā-lena in which *thera* Cittagutta lived is said to have contained paintings depicting the renunciation of seven former Buddhas.[84]

King Vasabha is represented as having given the revenue derived from Ketavalika tank to a *thera* named Majibuka for looking after dilapidated buildings at a place called Patanagala belonging to an architect named Ayisayi, son of Batakaya, a keeper of the (royal) store.[85] We come across other architects in the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī. Sirivaḍḍhaka is the name of the architect entrusted with the construction of the Mahāthūpa, and his assistant is a man named Acala.[86] *Thera* Indagutta who was entrusted with the supervision of the work of the Mahāthūpa[87] may also be considered to have been proficient in architecture and most probably other allied arts as well.

We come across an accountant who lived in the time of Gajabāhu I, Gamini Abaya in the inscription. The city accountant whose name is not preserved, is represented as having dedicated the water rates of the Nakaravavi to the community of monks at the Ratana-araba monastery.[88]

Cookery also seems to have been taught to girls during early times. We find the instance of a girl named Kiñci-saṅghā, daughter of a minister named Saṅgha living in Mahāgāma who was made to study cookery by her parents.[89] Archery too seems to have been studied in ancient times. We have already drawn attention to the fact that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is said to have studied archery in his youth.[90] We also observe the instance in which Phussadeva, one of the warriors of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, who was taught archery by his father Uppala of the village of Gavita in Rohaṇa.[91] It is mentioned that this particular art had been handed down in the family.

The above instances indicate quite convincingly that artisans and craftsmen of all kinds practised their art in ancient Ceylon, in most cases patronised by either royalty or nobility. The wide prevalence of them indicate the presence in ancient Ceylon, of master craftsmen and apprentices who learnt the art from them before they themselves began practising the art on their own. The institution of the master craftsman and the apprentice must have been introduced to Ceylon from the mainland. Rules and codes of conduct in regard to both the teacher and the apprentice had appeared from very early times in India.[92] If anyone desired to achieve proficiency in a certain craft it was the custom at the time for him to become apprentice to a master craftsman, during which period he had to live with the craftsman. During the period of his apprenticeship the relationship between him and the master craftsman was one of both trainee and employee. At the same time he had to function as a pupil and a servant of the craftsman. The grades of craftsmanship are mentioned in books where we find altogether four such grades mentioned ;[93] *śiṣya*, the young apprentice ; *abhijñā*, the craftsman possessing full knowledge ; *kusala*, the skilled craftsman and the *ācārya*, the teacher capable of introducing new modes and inventions. These different grades of craftsmen were employed at different levels. It was usually the state or ruler who employed them. When the employer was the king it was only perhaps the last two grades that found favour with him, for the king would wish to enlist into his service the best talent available. Thus we observe that when Duṭṭhagāmaṇī wanted to get at a brick-mason to entrust him with the building of the Mahāthūpa not only did he assemble the brickmasons in the country who happened to be about five hundred, but he also questioned them as to how they were going to build the mahāthūpa.[94] The king is further said to have questioned the master-builder whom he had chosen as to who his *antevāsī* was.[95] The various craftsmen whose art seems to have been handed down in the family, in the course of time banded themselves into guilds. From this stage the hereditary nature of the crafts would probably have gradually lost its significance.

As we have already noted, artisans and craftsmen appear to have been in Ceylon practically from the time of Vijaya and his men. Master craftsmen among them, apart from handing down the art in the family, would have also followed the apprentice system prevalent in India. Thus we see Acala who was the assistant of the

master-builder Sirivaḍḍhaka.[96] Training in the case of the apprentice would have followed the normal practice obtained in India. The apprentice would have, like in the case of apprentices in India, entered the pupilage of the craftsman, living with him, and attending to the business of the household when he was not actually learning his art. The training would have been one of graded difficulty, at first easy tasks being assigned, and gradually introducing more and more difficult assignments. This pattern of learning by doing under the watchful care of the teacher would certainly have brought in good results, for not only was the teaching individual, but it was also directed towards the aptitude and ability of the apprentice. Further, the apprenticeship itself was undertaken not on compulsion, but on personal choice and desire. And there is also to be considered, what may be called the *dharma*, or the code of conduct of a craftsman to which both the craftsman and the apprentice had to conform. This kept alive the best tradition of the art. This would very probably have been the pattern of training that would have been generally followed in connection with all the arts and crafts in the country. It is interesting here to observe that a similar pattern was followed in the case of the teaching available in the monastery. The young novice, during the period of his learning, had to live in the monastery with his teacher. And the *ācariya*, or teacher, usually a senior *thera*, was responsible not only for textual learning of his *antevāsika*, but also for his moral and religious training.

11—H 13757 (5/69)

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3. Mhv., Chap. vii, v. 57
4. See, Vol. iv, p. 910
5. J., i, p. 267 ; ii, p. 314 ; vi, pp. 22, 427
6. Vsm., pp. 91, 650 ; Mvṭ., p. 483 ; EZ., Vol. iv, p. 222
7. EZ., Vol. iii, p. 222
8. ASWI., iv, p. 96, No. 24 ; p. 103, No. 12 ; EI., viii, pp. 88–89 ; Appendix to x, p. 132, No. 1162
9. See, Supra, p. 160
10. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 74
11. UCH., Ibid., p. 141 ; see also, Mhv., Chap. xix, vv. 1–4
12. Mhv., Chap. xix, v. 3
13. Ibid., xxxiv, v. 60
14. Ibid., v. 77
15. Ibid., xiii, vv. 6–7 ; 18–20 ; see also, Smp., Vol. i, p. 70
16. JRASCB., Vol. xxxvi, p. 66
17. Mhv., Chap. xxxiv, vv. 19–20 ; Vsp., Vol. ii, p. 626
18. Ibid., xxxv, vv. 101–103
19. Ibid., x, v. 1
20. See, Vsp., Vol. ii, p. 650
21. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, v. 26. The Ns. however says she was the daughter of a *Lambakarṇa*, see, p. 12
22. Mhv., Chap. xxxvii, vv. 27–28 ; UCH., Ibid., p. 252
23. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 116
24. UCH., Ibid., p. 261 ff.
25. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 53 ; see also, EHBC., p. 141 ; Supra, p. 90
26. Kramrisch, St., op. cit., pp. 25–26
27. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 266
28. Legge, op. cit., pp. 56–57 ; see also, HBC., p. 122, fn. 3
29. Mhv., Chap. xxx, v. 72. According to the description of the relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa we could surmise that a large number of different kinds of artisans and craftsmen were engaged in its construction. See, Mhv., xxx, vv. 62–97
30. UCH., Ibid., p. 266
31. CJScG., Vol. ii, p. 214, No. 671
32. See, HBC., pp. 126–128
33. Mhv., Chap. xxx, v. 83
34. Ibid., xxxvii, vv. 14–15
35. See, EHBC., pp. 90–91 ; CJScG., Vol. ii, pp. 36–37
36. Cv., Chap. xxxvii, pp. 102–103
37. UCH., Ibid., p. 266 ; see also, Supra, p. 93
38. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 174 ; see also, Supra, p. 93
39. *rañño patirūpakaṃ kaṭṭhamayarūpakaṃ*, (wooden figures resembling the king) ; see, Mvṭ., Vol. ii, p. 481
40. See, Mvṭ., Vol. ii, p. 483
41. See, Cv., Chap. xxxix, v. 52
42. UCH., Ibid., pp. 266–267
43. See, Supra, pp. 93–94
44. Mhv., Chap. xviii, v. 39
45. Ibid., v. 39 ; see also, xv, v. 80
46. Ibid., xxxiv, vv. 52–53
47. Ibid., xxvii, vv. 17–18
48. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 220
49. Mhv., Chap. xxxii, v. 6

50. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 243
51. Vsm., p. 38 ; HBC., p. 114 ; DPPN., Vol. i, p. 869 ; see also, Supra, p. 150
52. See, Supra, pp. 80-81
53. See, Mbv., p. 135 ; Mhv., Sinh. edn., xv, v. 203
54. Rsv., p. 184
55. Mhv., *Khaṇḍakaviṭṭhika* (xxiii, v. 19) ; Rsv., *Khaṇḍakaviṭṭhi* (p. 187) ; Sdhl., *Kaḍaviṭi* (p.510)
56. Sdhl., *Koṭasara Kīlavāpi* (p. 510)
57. Sahv., p. 92
58. Rsv., pp. 208–209
59. Rsv., pp. 218–220 ; see also, Sīhv., p. 26 ; IPSBK., p. 23
60. Rsv., p. 222. However, the chronicles represent her as a daughter of a *candāla* ; see, Mhv., xxxiii, vv. 2–3
61. Rsv., p. 258
62. Sīhv., p. 119 ; IPSBK., p. 106
63. Sīhv., p. 107 ; IPSBK., p. 96
64. Rsv., p. 267
65. Sīhv., p. 35 ; IPSBK., p. 30
66. EZ., Vol. iv, p. 222
67. CJScG., Vol. ii, p. 203, No. 617
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69. Mhv., Chap. xxvii, v. 42
70. Ibid., xxxvi, v. 31
71. Rsv., p. 166
72. Sīhv., p. 15 ; IPSBK., p. 12
73. EZ., Vol. i, pp. 254–256 ; see also, p. 258
74. Mhv., Chap. xxx, v. 5
75. Sīhv., p. 121 ; IPSBK., p. 108
76. See, p. 135
77. EZ., Vol. iii, p. 215
78. EZ., Vol. i, p. 62
79. Sahv., pp. 96–97
80. Mhv., Chap. xxxii, v. 3
81. Rsv., p. 246
82. CJScG., Vol. ii, p. 214, No. 674
83. Sīhv., pp. 28–29 ; IPSBK., pp. 24–25
84. Sīhv., p. 153 ; IPSBK., pp. 137–138
85. EZ., Vol. i, pp. 69–70
86. Mvṭ., Vol. ii, p. 535 ; DPPN., Vol. i, p. 24 ; ii, p. 500
87. Mhv., xxx, v. 98 ; Mvṭ., ii, p. 550 ff.
88. EZ., iii, p. 116. For other possible explanations of *gaṇaka* (accountant), see, p. 119
89. Rsv., p. 149 ; Sahv., p. 66
90. See, Supra, p. 161 ; Mhv. reference makes special mention of this fact.
91. Rsv., p. 205 ; Mhv., Chap. xxiii, v. 85
92. See, Mookerji, R. K., op. cit., pp. 349–350
93. Sarkar, R., *The Socio-Economic Organisation of Nothern India*, p. 318
94. Mhv., Chap. xxx, vv. 5–14
95. Vsp., Vol. ii, p. 535
96. See, Supra, p. 179. A master-builder is also called a *sthapati*. See, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 709 ff.

CHAPTER 11

GENERAL STANDARD OF EDUCATION, BOOKS AND LITERARY ACTIVITY

According to tradition Vijaya was a son of a king.[1] Upatissa who built the Upatissa-gāma was a chaplain.[2] Some of the other chieftains among the retinue of seven hundred, such as Anurādha,[3] and the three ministers who built Udeni, Uruvelā and Vijita[4] too would have belonged to the nobility. At this time both the Brāhmanic and the Buddhistic pattern of education prevailed in India. This indicates that Vijaya and his chiefs who belonged to the upper class of society would, as a result, have received the type of education that was prevalent among the upper class of society in India at the time. The *Mahāvaṃsa* which has preserved for us the ancient tradition seems to give us evidence of the learning of the ministers of Vijaya. When it was found necessary to have a woman of noble birth as queen for Vijaya, for him to be consecrated, the ministers are said to have sent letters to the Paṇḍu King.[5] And in acceeding to the request of the ministers, the Paṇḍu king, while sending his daughter and many other maidens, is said to have sent a letter too.[6] Towards the latter part of his earthly existence Vijaya is said to have sent a letter to his brother Sumitta requesting him to come over to Ceylon and rule the country after his death.[7] These statements in the *Mahāvaṃsa* regarding the writing of letters by both Vijaya and his ministers indicate that they had had a formal education, and were conversant with writing. Possibly other allied educational activities were engaged in by them. We however do not know what type of script they may have used during these early times. It is suggested that the *Brāhmī* alphabet had been in general use in India long before Aśoka had used it in his inscriptions, and from about 500 B.C. or thereabouts.[8] If that be so it may be perhaps possible that the script used by Vijaya and his ministers was *Brāhmī*.

With many a Brāhmin living in Ceylon from the time of Vijaya and from the numerous references to soothsayers in the Chronicles,[9] we could perhaps surmise there was a fair standard of education in early Ceylon. Brāhmins like Paṇḍula, the presence of *Niganṭhas*, *Kumbhaṇḍas*, *Samaṇas* and other religious recluses[10] indicate that learning was prevalent during the time.

With the arrival of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā there began a great enthusiasm for the new religion and many a layman joined the Order. Mahinda's early sermons were said to have been greatly fruitful. This indicates that the early Ceylon people were sufficiently advanced in learning for them to be able to understand the sermons of the *thera*. Devānampiyatissa himself is said to have been tested for his intelligence by Mahinda, who at the end of a series of questions to which the king answered,[11] was satisfied that 'he was a keen witted man.'

Throughout their missionery work in Ceylon from their arrival in the Island up to their death both Mahinda and Saṅghamittā worked untiringly for the dissemination of religious learning, and the establishment of the *Bhikkhu* and the *Bhikkhunī sāsana*. Numerous religious buildings are said to have been constructed by Devānampiyatissa[13] and his successors, and thousands of Sinhalese people entered the Order.[14] Mahinda's statement to Devānampiyatissa that Buddhism should be considered to have taken root in the Island only when a person born of Sinhalese parents in Ceylon studies the *Vinaya* in Ceylon and expounds the same in Ceylon,[15] and the fact that Ariṭṭha soon fulfilled that condition, indicates that learning was encouraged at the time. Mahinda brought with him to Ceylon the Pāli texts and the *aṭṭhakathās*, and these were taught to the Sinhalese *theras* following the oral tradition that prevailed in India at the time. This envisages a hub of activity in the residences of the early *theras* in Ceylon. Apart from the *bhikkhus*, the laity too, no doubt, would have shown a desire to learn about the new religion. It was perhaps in order to facilitate this study that Mahinda produced, in the course of time an extensive collection of *aṭṭhakathās* in Sinhalese with the help of the local *bhikkhus* headed by Ariṭṭha himself.

We find in Ceylon a large number of inscriptions written in the *Brāhmī* script, and belonging to the early period of Ceylon history.[16] The earliest of these probably belongs to that of Devānampiyatissa's time,[17] although we are more certain of the inscriptions of the time of Uttiya, the successor of Devānampiyatissa.[18] The earliest inscriptions which are called cave inscriptions are very short, often containing only a few words, and the later rock inscriptions appearing from about the first century A.D. all indicate that they were meant not only as a record of the donations made by various individuals, but also intended to be read by those who saw them. The epigraphs were usually inscribed at the sites of ancient *vihāras*, and were dispersed throughout the country, except in certain areas which perhaps were not populated at the time.[19] The existence of the *vihāras* too suggest the practice of study and learning.

Aśoka seems to be the earliest Indian king to resort to the practice of erecting inscriptions in his kingdom. They are scattered in various parts of India, and have been inscribed in the various vernaculars of the region where the inscription had been erected. The presence of these inscriptions in the vernacular has been taken to imply the existence of a general standard of education among the people of the area, which enabled them to read, understand and conform to the instructions in the royal edicts.[20] Smith infers that this education was probably given by the *bhikkhus* in the various monasteries of the time.[21] On the other hand there are others who question this assertion. " The vernacular inscriptions of Aśoka certainly seem to imply that there was a considerable amount of literacy, but what proportion of the population could read and write it seems quite impossible to conjecture. Even if only a few possessed these accomplishments it might have seemed quite worth while to Aśoka to erect his monuments and have inscriptions put on them, for the few could read them to the many. But it is very doubtful whether the Buddhist monasteries had become as early as this centres of a widespread popular instruction, an l it is not certain that they ever became such in India. "[22]

The same may be said of the inscriptions of early Ceylon. Although the presence of the inscriptions indicates the ability to read on the part of the early inhabitants of Ceylon, it is difficult to conjecture the exact proportion of literacy among the early peoples on this evidence. We have also to assume in the case of the early short inscriptions that they were perhaps drafted by the *bhikkhus*, if not the donee, and the incision was done always by a craftsman to whom the script was given. The fact that he incised the inscription does not necessarily imply his ability to read the text. As was observed in the case of the Indian inscriptions, it is possible that those who could read, read it for the others who could not read. " A passage in the *Majjhima Commentary*[23] may be taken as indicative of the extent of literacy then obtaining in the rural areas in Ceylon. It says that when an edict is sent out by the king to a remote province, those who cannot read get someone else to read it for them. "[24] This situation may be perhaps true of the laity. And it is possible, unlike in India that the monasteries of the *bhikkhus* in early Ceylon became centres of learning from their very inception, for the *bhikkhus*, and perhaps for the laymen as well, because of the general enthusiasm on the part of everybody in the Island at the time to know of the new religion, and in the case of some to completely abandon the lay life and enter the Order, and because the king and his ministers actively encouraged the propagation of the religion and its spiritual practices.

Along with the inscriptions which no doubt were meant to be read by the people, there are various references in the chronicles and the literary works, which seem to indicate that there was a fair general standard of education in early Ceylon. Devānampiyatissa set up a pillar at the site of the Mahācetiya,[25] and deposited a gold plate in a chest in the palace[26] indicating that Duṭṭhagāmaṇī would construct the Mahācetiya etc. When the gold plate was found Duṭṭhagāmaṇī had the inscription read, probably by the chief record keeper. The inscription read : ' When one hundred and thirty-six years have run their course, in future time will Kākavaṇṇa's son, the ruler of men, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, build this and that in such and such wise. '[27] And the pillar was also seen and its intention understood by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī.[28] Apart from the contents of the pillar and the gold plate, the tradition itself had prevailed among the people of the time. King Kalyāṇatissa, in order to avert the danger that befell his kingdom as a result of his cruelty to the *arhant thera*. placed his daughter Devi on a vessel wherein was written, ' a king's daughter', and set the vessel in the sea.[29] The writing on the vessel was no doubt intended to be read by anyone who came across the vessel.

Prince Dīghābhaya sent Nimila to a Brāhaman friend of his named Kuṇḍalī in the village of Dvāramaṇḍala with a letter,[30] and the Brāhman sends back Nimila with a reply.[31] Kākavaṇṇatissa's ministers sent a letter to Duṭṭhagāmaṇī at the death of his father,[32] and Duṭṭhagāmaṇī sends letters to his brother Saddhātissa to send his mother and the elephant Kaṇḍula to Anurādhapura.[33] Duṭṭhagāmaṇī had employed a scribe to write his *puññapotthaka*, which he got him to read at his death-bed.[34] Duṭṭhagāmaṇī is further said to have sent a person named Mahānela with a letter to a merchant friend of his.[35]

A banner raised at a *cetiya* named Dīghāvu in Rohaṇa is said to have contained some writing.[36] It is possible that the banner in question was hung in honour of the *cetiya* by an ordinary person of the area. Dubbiṭṭhi-Mahātissa of Mahelanagara close to Anurādhapura is said to have torn to pieces the document of debt of a man with whom he was pleased, because he had invited a *thera* named Tissa and five hundred other *bhikkhus* on his behalf to his house, although it was done as a ruse to disturb his *vappa-mangala*.[37] We find a person who had employed a servant woman named Mātudevikā-Nāgī, after recording the fact of lending the money, giving her sixty *kahāpaṇas*.[38] In a similar instance, a servant woman named Nāgā is given sixty *kahāpaṇas* by her master afer having recorded the fact in a document.[39] These instances indicate that the average person too had a fair amount of learning to be able at least to read and write. But in the case of the nobility and the *bhikkhus*, there is no doubt that they received a good education, as is attested to by the stories of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and the practice of *bhikkhus* whose duty it was to learn the *Tripiṭaka*.

The early Sinhalese Prākrit found in the earliest forms of the inscriptions appears to contain a metrical nature. In the numerous Prākrits of the mainland, poems and religious works had been written from earliest times.[40] That poetry had prevailed in India from Vedic times, is attested by the Vedas. That by the time of the Buddha, if not earlier, it had developed principles and rules of its own, is attested by the fact that the Buddha is represented as having classified four types of poets.[41] Paranavitāna has drawn attention to the fact that some of the early inscriptions of Ceylon had been written in verse.[42] He has noted altogether three such inscriptions with a possible fourth which he considers to be an incomplete stanza. Many of the inscriptions of the early period up to about the second century A.D. seem to have been written in verse.[43] "It may be surmised that the origin of Sinhalese poetry is perhaps as old as the earliest Sinhalese language developed by the first settlers in this country; and, that on inscriptional evidence it could be stated to be at least as old as the earliest inscriptions, and by the time of the Sīgiri verses the poet's art in Ceylon had developed to the extent of having its own terms for various types of versification."[44] These inscriptions, apart from indicating that they were meant to be read, also give us sufficient evidence to assert that the art of poetry was practised by the early peoples of Ceylon. All these observations tend to the conclusion that the general standard of education in early Ceylon was good.

We have earlier alluded to the fact that Mahinda with the help of Ariṭṭha and the other *theras* of Ceylon produced an extensive collection of *aṭṭhakathās* in Sinhalese, based on the *aṭṭhakathās* he is said to have brought along with him on his journey to this Island. These, no doubt were meant as explanatory treatises for the Pāli texts, the Sinhalese being more understood by the local *bhikkhus* than the Pāli. And this *Sīhaḷa-aṭṭhakathā* which would have been constantly in use from the time it was first produced, would have, as such developed in form, in the course of time, since they would have been used at different centres of learning and by different teachers.[45] We find an instance recorded in the *Samantapāsādikā* where a *thera* of Ceylon named Mahāpaduma of the first century A.D. differing from the interpretation given in the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*,[46] the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā* being the name given to the

collection of original commentarial literature. Among the early Sinhalese *aṭṭhakathās* the most important ones appear to be the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, *Kurundi-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Paccarī-aṭṭhakathā*.[47] Once Mahinda produced his *aṭṭhakathās*, they appear to have not only been made use of in the study of the Pāli texts, but additions to explanations and various anecdotes based on local Ceylon incidents appear to have been included in them in the course of time.[48] These *aṭṭhakathās* continued to be used in the oral tradition, perhaps with only a few written manuscripts available only in the most important monasteries of the Island like the Mahāvihāra and the Uttara-vihāra, when in the time of Vaḷagambā they, together with the *Tripiṭaka* were written down fearing their loss if the oral tradition were to be continued.[49] It is said that the *theras* of the time became aware of this necessity due to the severe famine that gripped Ceylon at the time, during which many a learned *thera* died.[50] Along with this should be considered the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* which may have had its origin from the time of Mahinda. *Thera* Mahinda who brought with him the tradition connected with the Buddha and his *sāsana* in the mainland, would have continued the pattern here in Ceylon. Thus the early history of the *sāsana* in Ceylon came to be considered as important events worthy of record to be handed down to posterity. When it was observed that the history of the *sāsana* and that of the country came to be so closely linked, the two accounts had to be merged into one. Thus appeared the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṃsa* of the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā*.[51] This was a gradual process and the final result was attained in the first century A.D. when the *aṭṭhakathās* were written down in books.

The Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anurādhapura was held with great veneration from earliest times. Aśoka is said to have offered his kingdom thrice to the Bodhi Tree.[52] The first thing that Devānampiyatissa did on receiving the Bodhi Tree in Ceylon was to honour it with offering his kingdom to the Tree and acting as door-keeper at the pavillion where the Tree was placed.[53] Subsequently much honour was paid to the Tree both by Devānampiyatissa[54] and his successors on the throne of Lankā,[55] not to speak of the people of the country. We observe Aśoka sending many people to watch over and perform the various services necessary for the Bodhi Tree, when it was sent to Ceylon.[56] All these indicate the great reverence with which the sacred object was held. When the Daḷadā was brought to Ceylon we observe a poem in Sinhalese composed in its honour soon after it was brought.[57] Likewise, it is possible to consider that a similar work may have been composed dealing with the history, the customs and services that should be shown to the Tree. The *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā* mentions a *Mahābodhivaṃsaṭṭhakathā* written in Sinhalese.[58] This would have borrowed much material from the *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā* and confined itself mainly to an account of the Bodhi Tree. A similar work is the *Mahācetiyavaṃsaṭṭhakathā*, dealing with the history of the Mahāthūpa. That both the Bodhi Tree and the Mahāthūpa were held with the greatest honour by the early Sinhalese people can be seen from the account of the various forms of honour paid to these two sacred objects as found narrated in the chronicles. It can therefore be considered as no surprise that works dealing with these two objects were written during the earliest period. We also have to consider both the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* in this connection, although both these works were written after our period of survey.

It has to be conceded that these two works were gradually evolved before they came to be written down, and as such the tradition regarding the various events had to be maintained from the earliest times.

We have got to take into account here, those who are called the Porāṇas, who appear to be a category of eminent *theras* who were responsible for maintaining the literary tradition of Ceylon in ancient times. Adikāram mentions that the institution of Porāṇas had its origin in India, and that it appears to have been maintained in this country as well.[59]

During the time of Vaḷagambā the *theras* of Ceylon committed to writing, the Pāli Canon and the *aṭṭhakathās*.[60] Tradition has it that this was done at Aluvihāra in Matale under the patronage of a local chieftain,[61] although the chronicles do not associate Aluvihāra with this redaction. Paranavitāna considers this writing down of the texts as the greatest contribution of the Sinhalese people to the intellectual heritage of mankind.[62] "A considerable literature in Old Sinhalese had grown around this Canon, consisting of exegetical texts, religious legends and historical accounts pertaining to India as well as to the Island. Of this literature, not a vestige has been preserved up to our day; but it provided material for the extensive commentarial literature in Pāli and the chronicles in that language written in the fifth century and later."[63]

We have also to consider the *bhāṇaka* system that prevailed in Ceylon in early times. This had its origin in India, where different sections of the Canon were entrusted to different groups of *theras* who had already had a reputation for proficiency in that section of the Canon at the time the first Council was held at Rājagaha.[64] The *bhāṇakas* had the duty of preserving through learning the particular section of the Dhamma which was their speciality. This practice was followed in Ceylon and it was perhaps mainly due to this that the Ceylon *theras* were able to preserve in oral tradition the word of the Buddha, until it was written down in the first century A.D.[65] Adikāram opines the first century A.D. to be the first literary period in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.[66]

We have next to consider the reign of Gajabāhu as a period of literary activity. "Gajabāhu is the hero of a considerable cycle of Sinhalese ballads and folk-tales connected with the cult of the goddess Pattini, still an important element in the religion of the Sinhalese. These stories state that Gajabāhu invaded South India, overawed the Coḷa king and brought back to the Island, not only the Sinhalese who were taken captive there in the reign of his predecessor, but also twelve thousand men from the Coḷa kingdom as reprisals.[67] These stories contain incredible details with regard to the manner of Gajabāhu's crossing over to the opposite coast, and his exploits there, and familiar folk-tale motives in other respects. If we consider these ballads on their own merits, therefore, they can easily be dismissed as of no historical value, particularly as their statements do not receive any support from the earlier chronicles.

"The Tamil epic poem, *Śilappadikāram*, which, according to some authorities, was composed in the second century and according to others,in the sixth or seventh century, and of which the subject matter is the story of Kaṇṇagi, deified as Pattini,

refers to Gajabāhu of Ceylon.[68] He is said to have been present on the occasion when Śeṅguṭṭuvaṇ, the Cera king, consecrated a shrine in honour of Pattini, and established a place of worship to that goddess in his own dominions. In the Sinhalese ballads, as well as in the late historical work, the *Rājāvali*, Gajabāhu is said to have brought to Ceylon, on his return from the Coḷa country, the anklet of the goddess Pattini. In view of the reference in the *Śilappadikāram*, the stories which state that Gajabāhu undertook a military campaign in South India cannot be regarded as altogether baseless. The statement in the *Pūjāvalī* that captives were taken from Ceylon by the Coḷa king for labour on the Kāverī receives some measure of support from South Indian tradition which states that Karikāla had dykes on the Kāverī built by enemies captured by him, though there is no particular reference therein to Ceylon.[69] The Coḷas and the Ceras were rivals at this time and if, in fact, Gajabāhu went to South India as an enemy of the Coḷa ruler, he must have considered the Cera as his ally; his presence at the consecration of a shrine in that country, and his introduction into this Island of the worship of a goddess favoured by the Cera, thus appear plausible."[70]

In connection with the story of Gajabāhu, it is said that on his return from South India he brought a large collection of books written in Tamil dealing with the cult and worship of Pattini,[71] although this fact is not mentioned even in the *Rājāvaliya* which carries a glorified account of the exploits of Gajabāhu. Further to the fact that Gajabāhu brought into Ceylon a large collection of Tamil works, it also mentions that the king caused these works to be read to him.[72] That the king had taken a keen interest in the worship of Pattini is evidenced in his bringing the anklet of the goddess, the Tamil works, and his getting them read to him. The king may have perhaps gone a step further by either getting these works rendered into Sinhalese, or getting Sinhalese works composed in the light of the material available in the original Tamil works. Thus if we are to consider as possible the story of Gajabāhu as having gone to South India, and brought here the anklet of Pattini and her worship together with the Tamil works embodying the cult and worship of the goddess, we may be perhaps justified in our assuming that there may have taken place a sufficient amount of literary activity at the time, centering round the cult of the goddess, especially because of the interest shown by the king towards the books and the new form of worship he had brought to the Island.[73]

During the time of Mahāsena there was not only a move in the country to introduce religious reforms such as the introduction of the Mahāyāna, but that itself seems to have brought about literary activity. An inscription from Jetavana purported to be established by Mahāsena himself,[74] " mentions the writing of 'Vayatuḍala' in books, and possibly too the keeping of such books in the orthodox establishments known as the 'Five Great Residences'."[75] It is mentioned in the *Nikāyasangrahaya* that during the time of Vohāratissa there was introduced into Ceylon, the *Vaitulya-piṭaka* composed by heretical Brāhmins called Vaitulyas, who had entered the Order of the *bhikkhus* during the time of Aśoka.[76] This appears to be a Sanskrit work of the Mahāyāna school.[77] Although it is mentioned that the work was consigned to the flames by Vohāratissa it is possible that the work itself survived, for in the time of Goṭhābhaya we observe the Abhayagiri monks again upholding the Vaitulya

doctrine. Then in the time of Mahāsena, as we have already seen, the ' Vayatuḍala ' (Vaitulya) books were kept in the chief monasteries at Anurādhapura.[78] The above instances indicate not merely the presence of the Vaitulya books, but also their study by the *bhikkhus*, especially the *theras* of Abhayagiri.

The three books, *Dīpavaṃsa*,[79] *Mahāvaṃsa*[80] and the *Rasavāhinī*[81] give us evidence of the fact that the ancient *theras* of Laṅkā had maintained a history of the *sāsana* and the Island. The *Rasavāhinī* mentions that the *arhants* of old had recorded in Sinhalese the various stories that had arisen here and there in the country.[81] And quotations appearing in literary works as having been extracted from *Porāṇā* bespeak an extensive literary activity at the time.

The evidence we have so far brought forth go to indicate that there was a fair general standard of education in early Ceylon, that especially the *theras* of the time had resorted to literary activity and the production of books, although we have no existing Pāli or Sinhalese works that could be assigned to the period of our survey.

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3. Ibid., v. 43
4. Ibid., v. 45
5. Ibid., v. 51
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7. Ibid., viii, vv. 1–3
8. See, Bühler, On the Origin of the Brāhma Alphabet, pp. 35, 36, 89–90
9. See, Supra, p. 170, fn. 3
10. See, Supra, pp. 76, 77, 117 etc.
11. Mhv., Chap. xiv, vv. 16–21
12. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 92
13. Mhv., Chap. xx, vv. 17–27
14. See, Mhv., xvi, vv. 10–11 ; xvii, v. 61 ; xiv, vv. 65–66 ; xx, vv. 14–16
15. See, Supra, p. 161
16. ASCAR., 1905, p. 43 ff.
17. See, Mhv., Chap xv, v. 174
18. ASCAR., 1933, p. 14 ; CALR., ix, pp. 95–97 ; CLR., ii, 1888, p. 408 ; ASCAR., 1905, p. 45
19. See Epigraphical Map of Ceylon facing p. 142 of UCR., Vol. vii, No. 2 ; see also, UCH., Ibid., map facing p. 16
20. Keay, F. E., op. cit., p. 170
21. See, *Asoka*, p. 138-139
22. Keay, F. E., op. cit., pp. 170–171
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24. HBC., p. 298 ; see also, fn. No. 2
25. Mhv., Chap. xv, v. 173
26. Ibid., xxvii, vv. 5–7
27. Mhv., Tr. Eng., p. 182
28. Mhv., Chap. xxviii, v. 2
29. Ibid., xxii, v. 21 ; see also, Rsv., p. 162
30. Ibid., xxiii, vv. 23–25 ; see also, Rsv., pp. 188–189
31. Ibid., vv. 33–35
32. Ibid., xxiv, v. 16 ; see also, Rsv., p. 171
33. Ibid., v. 18 ; Rsv., p. 171
34. Ibid., xxxii, v. 25
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36. Sihv., pp. 52–53 ; IPSBK., pp. 46–47
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39. Rsv., pp. 121–122
40. Grierson, G. A., *Linguistic Survey of India*, 1907, Vol. i, pt. 1, p. 121
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42. See, JRASCB., Vol xxxvi, No. 98, p. 58 ff.
43. See, UCR., Vol. xiii, No. 4, pp. 177–193 ; see also, *Gī Kave Vagatuga*, Chap. 2
44. UCR., Vol. xiii, No. 4, p. 193
45. See, HBC., p. xxv
46. Smp., i, pp. 184, 283 ; ii, p. 368 ; see also, EHBC., p. 11
47. See, EHBC., pt. 1, Chap. 2, pp. 10–14
48. EHBC., p. 12
49. Mhv., Chap. xxxiii, vv. 100–101 ; Dpv., Chap. xx, vv. 20–21 ; HBC., pp. 81–82
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51. UCH., Ibid., p. 47 ; PLC., p. 45 ; HBC., Intro., pp. xxvii–xxviii
52. Mhv., Chap. xix, v. 13
53. Ibid., vv. 31–32

54. Ibid., vv. 33–63
55. Mhv., xxviii, v. 1 ; xxxiv, v. 58 ; xxxvi, vv. 25, 52, 55, 126 ; xxxvii, v. 15
56. Ibid., xix, vv. 1–3
57. PLC., pp. 65-66 ; *Dāṭhāvaṃsa*, v. 10 ; HBC., Intro. pp. xli–xlii
58. See, PLC., p. 159 ; HBC., Intro., p. xxiv
59. See, EHBC., p. 23
60. Mhv., xxxiii, vv. 100–101 ; Dpv., xx, vv. 20–21
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62. UCH., Ibid., pp. 267-268
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64. See, EHBC., p. 24 ff.
65. For an account of the *Bhāṇakas*, see EHBC., pt. ii, Chap. 3
66. See, EHBC., p. 87 ; see also, pt. ii, Chap. 5
67. ' A representative ballad of this class is the *Aṁkoṭa-haṭana*, a brief account of which is given in JCBRAS, XXIV, p. 55. Another is the *Gajabā-katāva*.'
68. ' Edited by V. Saminathaiyar, Madras, 1920, pp. 30 and 589.'
69. ' Coḷas, p. 36. '
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72. See, JRASCB., Vol. xxviii, No. 73, 1920, p. 19
73. See, *Gī Kave Vagatuga*, pp. 36–39
74. See, EZ., Vol. iv, pp. 273-285
75. EZ., Vol. iv, p. 280
76. See, Ns., p. 10 ; Ns., Tr. Eng., p. 12
77. See, HBC., pp. 87–90
78. See, Supra, p. 189
79. Dpv., Chap. i, v. 4
80. Mhv., Chap. i v. 2
81. Rsv., p. 1, vv. 5–7

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE *

Rulers	*EZ iii*	*Mhv. Ggr.*	*UCH*	*Remarks*
Vijaya	483–445 B.C.	483–445 B.C.	—	1
Interregnum	445–444	445–444	—	
Paṇḍuvāsudeva	444–414	444–414	—	
Abhaya	414–394	414–394	—	
Interregnum	394–377	394–377	—	
Paṇḍukābhaya	377–307	377–307	—	
Muṭasiva	307–247	307–247	—	2
Devānampiyatissa	247–207	247–207	250–210	
Uttiya	207–197	207–197	—	
Mahāsiva	197–187	197–187	—	
Sūratissa	187–177	187–177	—	
Sena Guttika	177–155	177–155	—	3
Asela	155–145	155–145	—	
Eḷāra	145–101	145–101	—	4
Duṭṭhagāmaṇī	101–77	101–77	161–137	
Saddhātissa	77–59	77–59	137–119	
Thūlathana	59	59	119	
Lañjatissa	59–50	59–50	119–109	
Khallāṭanāga	50–44	50–44	109–103	
Vaṭṭagāmaṇī	—	44	103	
Five Tamil Rulers	44–29	44–29	103–89	
Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (back)	29–17	29–17	89–77	
Mahācūlī-Mahā-Tissa	17–3	17–3	77–63	
Coranāga	3 B.C.–9 A.D.	3 B.C.–9 A.D.	63–51 B.C.	
Tissa	9–12	9–12	51–48	
Anulā with Siva Vaṭuka Dārubhātika-Tissa Niliya	12–17	12–16	48–44	
Kuṭakaṇṇa-Tissa	17–39	16–38	44–22	
Bhātika-Abhaya	39–67	38–66	22–7 A.C.	
Mahādāṭhika-Mahānāga	67–79	66–78	7–19	
Amaṇḍa-Gāmaṇī-Abhaya	79–89	78–88	19–29	
Kaṇirajānu-Tissa	89–92	88–91	29–32	
Cūlābhaya	92–93	91–92	32–33	
Queen Sivalī	93	92†	33	
Iḷa-nāga	93–103	95–101	33–43	
Candamukha-Siva	103–112	101–110	43–52	

Rulers	*EZ iii*	*Mhv. Ggr.*	*UCH*	*Remarks*
Yasalālaka-Tissa ..	112–120 ..	110–118 ..	52–60 ..	
Subha-rāja	120–126 ..	118–124 ..	60–67 ..	
Vasabha	126–170 ..	124–168 ..	67–111 ..	
Vaṅkanāsika-Tissa ..	170–173 ..	168–171 ..	111–114 ..	
Gajabāhuka-Gāmaṇī ..	173–195 ..	171–193 ..	114–136 ..	
Mahallaka-Nāga ..	196–202 ..	193–199 ..	136–143 ..	
Bhātika-Tissa	202–226 ..	199–223 ..	143–167 ..	
Kaniṭṭha-Tissa ..	226–244 ..	223–241 ..	167–186 ..	
Khujja-Nāga	245–247 ..	241–243 ..	186–187 ..	
Kuñca-Nāga	247–248 ..	243–244 ..	187–189 ..	
Siri-Nāga I	249–268 ..	244–263 ..	189–209 ..	
Vohārika-Tissa ..	269–291 ..	263–285 ..	209–231 ..	
Abhaya-Nāga	291–299 ..	285–293 ..	231–240 ..	
Siri-Nāga II	299–301 ..	293–295 ..	240–242 ..	
Vijayakumāra	301–302 ..	295–296 ..	242–243 ..	
Sanghatissa I	302–206 ..	296–300 ..	243–247 ..	
Siri-Sanghabodhi ..	306–308 ..	300–302 ..	247–249 ..	
Goṭhābhaya	309–322 ..	302–315 ..	249–262 ..	
Jeṭṭhatissa I	323–333 ..	315–325 ..	263–273 ..	
Mahāsena	334–361 ..	325–352 ..	274–301 ..	

**See.* EZ., iii, pp. 4–11
Mhv., Ggr., Tr. Eng., pp.–xxxvi-xxxviii
UCH., Vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 843–844 ; see also,
EZ. v, p. 86 ff., and *A New History of the Indian People*, pp. 262–264

1 UCH. gives no dates to the rulers Vijaya to Muṭasiva inclusive.
2 EZ. has a ruler named Gana(pa) Tissa before Muṭasiva.
3 Named as Guttaka in EZ.
4 UCH. gives no dates for Uttiya to Eḷāra inclusive.
† Here Mhv. gives a period of 3 yrs. as interregnum.

APPENDIX II

PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE PERIOD

VIJAYA	..	Arrival in Ceylon Building of *gāmas*
PAṆḌUKĀBHAYA	..	Establishment of Anurādhapura as capital Construction of common tank Construction of buildings for religious leaders
DEVĀNAMPIYATISSA	..	Arrival of Mahinda Establishment of the *Buddhasāsana* Establishment of Mahāvihāra Arrival of *therī* Sanghamittā with the Bodhi branch Beginning of religious, educational and literary activity in Ceylon Building of Thūpārāma
DUṬṬHAGĀMAṆĪ	..	Famine Religious fervour Construction of religious buildings Arrival of foreign *theras* at the Mahācetiya festival Cultural attainments
VAṬṬAGĀMAṆĪ	..	Tīya famine Writing down of the Tripiṭaka Founding of the Abhayagirivihāra Dissension among the *sangha*
KUÑCANĀGA	..	Ekanālika famine
VOHĀRATISSA	..	Emergence of Mahāyāna 'Purification' of the *sangha*
SIRISANGHABODHI	..	Fourth famine in the country
GOṬHĀBHAYA	..	The emergence of the Sāgaliya sect The arrival of Sanghamitta
MAHĀSENA		Mahāyana forges ahead Set back for the Mahāvihāra Building of the Jetavanavihāra Construction of irrigation works

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